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President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Madam President, your election to the Presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly is a fitting recognition of your exceptional contributions as a diplomat of your country and as an untiring and devoted worker for the cause of the United Nations. During a distinguished service, spanning a period of fifteen years, you have acquired rich and varied experiences from which, I am sure, the Assembly will greatly profit. That the second woman President of the General Assembly should be found in your person, an illustrious daughter of Africa, is a source of great pride to all of us.

2. Having had the opportunity of working with you in the various halls of the United Nations, you may well understand how happy I am that a friend of long standing, as well as a great friend of my country, should be in the Chair today as I speak.

3. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to extend the sincere condolences of my Government to the family of Mr. Emilio Arenales, and to the Government of Guatemala, in whose untimely death they have sustained a great loss.

4. The year 1969 will go down in the history of mankind as an important watershed. Future historians will, no doubt, record that by first setting foot on the moon, man not only realized an age-old dream, but also, with that achievement, opened up entirely new horizons for his imagination. It will also be said that that achievement dramatically transformed man's perspective of himself.

5. If it has been true in the past that man has made progress by constantly holding out visions of his future and by acting out those visions, it should now be clearer than ever that never before in human history has man's future

looked brighter, his challenge nobler, his means greater. If we were thus to be led today by our past, we should have every reason to be optimistic about our future. Can we, however, in point of fact, look to the future with such firm optimism?

6. The paradox today is that we have entered a qualitative new age, in which our past has become increasingly irrelevant to our future. Up to very recently man never possessed the technical capability to commit mass suicide. So long as he had not reached that point man was capable of seeing his future without the spectre of total destruction impairing his vision or limiting his imagination. Now that that point has been passed, a dark shadow has been cast over man's imagination; a sort of terminal point to his vision seems to have been reached.

7. Above everything else, the extraordinary feat of man's landing on the moon has vividly underscored the dramatic scientific and technical achievements mankind has made in all areas and on all fronts of knowledge. The latest achievements of man should leave no one in doubt that man has now the means to eradicate from the face of the earth his age-old Nemesis of ignorance, poverty and hunger. If man does not soon do away with those evils which still plague two thirds of mankind, it certainly will not be for lack of know-how but for lack of will, and the inability to organize and order his efforts and goals.

8. The other side of the picture is not, however, so hopeful. The same scientific and technical capability which put men on the moon can also be used for total self-destruction. Thus, in that sense, man's landing on the moon was as much as demonstration of the frightening power he has acquired for self-destruction as it is of the many promising things these latest achievements hold out for mankind. Even as we rejoice and marvel at man's fantastic voyage to the moon, the lesson of what it all means should not be lost on us. More than ever, it should now be clear to us that, in the interest of the survival of mankind, the destructive uses to which these dramatic scientific and technological achievements can be put should be controlled, and their application for economic and social development accelerated.

9. This brings me directly to the two important questions which we have debated for many years here at the United Nations. These are, first, the question of disarmament, and second, the problem of economic and social development.

10. The Secretary-General is quite right when he says with respect to disarmament that "the world is standing at what may be regarded in the perspective of history as one of the decisive moments in the grim challenge of the nuclear arms race" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 26]. Yet, we must all agree

that the choice available seems to be very clear, nor should the present situation require unusually sophisticated understanding. There are at least two States which have enough power to destroy each other and, in the process, the rest of the world. In pursuit of an illusory concept of superiority those same countries have unleashed a feverish arms race. They are also acquiring at an alarming rate "over-kill capacity", that is, the capability to destroy each other several times over. The end result of this process has been graphically described by the Secretary-General in the following terms: "As the spiral of the nuclear arms race goes up, the spiral of security goes down." [Ibid., *para.* 28.]

11. In this situation, the choice that the two super-Powers will have to make is not the classical dilemma of the lesser of two evils: they will either have to give up their nuclear weapons entirely and place under effective control the development of science and technology for weapons purposes, or they will immeasurably enhance the risk of total destruction and the sense of insecurity to the point where, even if one day the big Powers wanted to, so complicated would be the problem of inspection that they would no longer be able to reduce their nuclear arsenals. This is not idle speculation; already we see the handwriting on the wall with plans for anti-missile defence and missiles with multiple warheads. If science and technology have, throughout history, found immediate application in weapons of war, the present rate of application is unprecedented. With every advance, man's chances of controlling the use of these weapons has gradually diminished to a point where a totally uncontrollable stage will soon be reached.

12. This problem seems to be even more urgent with regard to chemical and bacteriological weapons. For one thing those weapons are cheaper than nuclear weapons to develop and one can more effectively conceal their development. Secondly, more countries, about thirty by the latest estimate, have the potential to develop chemical and bacteriological agents into lethal and uncontrollable weapons of war.

13. The Secretary-General's report on this aspect, drawn up with the assistance of fourteen eminent scientists, confirms our worst fears. The report stated: "Were these weapons ever to be used on a large scale in war, no one could predict how enduring the effects would be and how they would affect the structure of society . . . in which we live."¹

14. Unless the international community, and particularly the super-Powers, summon their last effort of will, the chances for mankind's winning the race for time will be soon out of the question. At any rate, there does not seem to be very much time left; considering the alarming rate of scientific and technological development, at the most we only have ten years.

15. It is thus with an apprehensive understanding of what has been often described as the "mad momentum" of the ever escalating arms race that my delegation enthusiastically welcomes the Secretary-General's proposal that the seventies should also be declared a Disarmament Decade. We also

¹ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.69.I.24), para. 375.

agree with him that, similar to the exercise presently under way to establish goals and specific objectives for common action with respect to economic and social development in the decade of the seventies, specific objectives and timetables should be established in the field of disarmament.

16. Science and technology are also exerting a decisive influence on economic and social development. The growing scientific and technological gap between the developed and the developing countries is the root cause of the widening disparity in their development. The present unequal sharing of the benefits of international trade between them, a factor which the developing countries consider one of the most restrictive to their economic development, can, in large measure, be explained by the uneven distribution of the benefits of modern science and technology. New scientific advances have enabled many a developed country to produce comparable, even at times better, substitutes for some of the commodities which they have traditionally imported from the developing countries, and their ability and efficiency in this regard has also increased.

17. The impact of science and technology on agriculture in the already developed countries has been so spectacular that many of them find it today cheaper and more convenient to produce their own food and other agricultural commodities which they can use for industrial purposes. In many a developed country the agricultural revolution not only preceded the industrial revolution but, in fact, made their industrialization possible. Except for a handful of countries, the result of this historic development has been to make the developing countries uncompetitive vis-à-vis the developed countries in the production of almost every agricultural commodity and industrial product. In the few instances where the developing countries have still preserved certain advantages, it has not been because of any advantages resulting from efficiency of techniques or organization, but from such factors as climate and unusually generous gifts of nature. Those exceptions are countries which produce some tropical agricultural products which are needed in the industrialized countries, or are countries which dispose of such valuable wealth as oil or other precious minerals which are in short supply in the developed countries themselves.

18. The application of science and technology in production also means, in the immediate sense, capital and trained manpower—two resources which the developing countries have in such pitifully limited supply. However, the fact that there is not enough capital or trained scientific and technical manpower, severely limits the development of science and technology in those countries. Whereas countries which are at an advanced stage of scientific development have an increasing ability to develop their science and technology at a much higher rate, the developing countries are caught in a vicious circle. The net result of this phenomenon is to make the importation of scientific and technical know-how into the developing regions exorbitantly expensive. Even more serious, because of the disparity in the level of their development, and therefore in their problems, the development of science and technology in the advanced countries is turning away from the needs of the developing countries.

19. We have today reached a stage where even if the developing countries were to do all that they should in order to develop with optimum efficiency—which they are not doing for reasons which must be obvious—they simply cannot go anywhere, for such external factors as the widening technological gap, the unequal division of the benefits of trade over which they have no control, have a more decisive influence on their economic development than the decisions that they themselves can make. To assume, on the other hand, that the developing countries will be doing all that they can or to demand that they should do all that they must, is an idea bordering on the unrealistic. It should be obvious that the fact that the developing countries are under-developed means in a large measure that they simply do not have the ability to do things right; if they had that ability, they would not be under-developed countries in the first place.

20. Given the present historical circumstances, the built-in and widening technological gap, there is no substitute for well-ordered and mutually beneficial international co-operation, based on the understanding that we have reached a point in history where the action of one country not only affects others indirectly, but also that the actions of the rich and industrialized countries vitally affect the destinies of the developing countries; so much so that for many a developing country what the advanced countries choose to do or not to do at a given moment spells the difference between economic development or stagnation.

21. It is against this background that we should approach our task of elaborating specific goals and objectives for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Unless we are able to agree on what the developing and the developed countries should do separately or jointly for the fulfilment of certain mutually agreed minimum objectives on this uphill and difficult road of economic development, we might not only be cancelling the benefits which may come about from the efforts of each one of us, but we could even be working at cross-purposes. It seems to my delegation that before we can hope to establish a framework for collective action for the Second United Nations Development Decade, we must learn how far the world has become interdependent. There should be a profound understanding of that basic truth, which for the first time in history has posed urgent problems. Now that mankind has begun to share a common destiny, a solution to the development problem should be foreseen, not on altruistic motives but on the enlightened self-interest of all members of the international community.

22. Changing the call for international co-operation in the economic and social field from one of appeal to humanitarian instinct to that of a plea for enlightened self-interest in which the benefits to all concerned would be emphasized, will, however, require a fundamental change of attitude. In this regard, the United Nations has a useful role to play in shaping man's new conscience for this historically unprecedented age. Member Governments, in particular, should take it upon themselves to inform their peoples of the advantages that they could have from an effective system of international co-operation.

23. Obviously, the United Nations does not have the means to undertake, in this respect, a massive campaign on

all fronts. However, it seems to us that a limited but effective campaign to reach opinion leaders in the Member countries, through their universities, Press, business and public life, especially in the advanced countries, is indispensable if the Second United Nations Development Decade is to achieve anything.

24. I now wish to turn my attention to some of the outstanding political problems that are before us.

25. A candid appraisal of the record of the United Nations in these troubled times inescapably leads one to the conclusion that the United Nations is undergoing a "crisis of confidence". Our diagnosis may differ but today no one can seriously deny that fact. There seems to be a general weakening of idealism. People everywhere simply do not believe any more that the promise which the Charter of the United Nations held out for mankind will ever be realized. In recent times, even those of us who are fortunate enough to work in diplomacy, in these halls and elsewhere, have had difficulty to come up with anything that we can call progress, even to satisfy our self-esteem.

26. Various reasons have been advanced to explain why this has come about. One school of thought, which has gained wide acceptance in certain well-known quarters, holds the Afro-Asian countries responsible. By making impossible demands which they know that the United Nations cannot meet, these critics assert that the Afro-Asian countries are slowly wrecking the Organization and they contend that the Afro-Asian countries are relying more on their mechanical majorities rather than on serious negotiation.

27. Another school of thought attributes the prevailing ineffectiveness to the fact that the United Nations, particularly the General Assembly, is too idealistic an Organization to really reflect in its actual working the realities of the world; it cannot, therefore, be expected to act responsibly and realistically. Yet to another group the United Nations is an Organization designed to maintain the *status quo* of a world which in 1945 was emerging from the holocaust of a devastating war. Hence, according to this point of view, it cannot now be expected to accommodate the revolutionary changes that took place in the last quarter of a century, thus making the present contradictions and deadlock inevitable.

28. No one, of course, can claim that he and he alone has the correct diagnosis for this malaise of the will. All these explanations may have, in their own ways and in varying degrees, something of the truth. We must all agree, however, that whatever is said of the United Nations, no one can seriously suggest that something is wrong with the principles which inspired the Charter; the weak point has always been in the realm of implementation of those principles by Members of the Organization.

29. It should be clear in this respect that if all of us, as Members of the United Nations, were to accept a certain amount of responsibility for having made the United Nations less effective than it is capable of being, it should be equally obvious that some Members would, in this regard, assume more responsibility than others.

30. Let us, for example, review the record with respect to colonialism. Although the Charter of the United Nations

held out the promise of self-determination to all subjugated peoples, the Organization did little about decolonization until the beginning of the sixties. The failure to involve the United Nations in the decolonization of most of South-East Asia, North Africa and other parts of Africa led, as we all know, to bloodshed which conceivably could have been avoided. The record of the United Nations in the field of decolonization in the first fifteen years of its existence can, in fact, be summed up appropriately as one of a string of missed opportunities. On the part of some influential Members, their records amount to a complete abdication of their responsibilities and obligations under the Charter.

31. What we are today witnessing, with respect to the remaining colonial questions in Africa, is the continuation of the same pattern; a group of countries which have either been invested by the Charter of the United Nations with great responsibility for the fulfilment of its principles, or which circumstances have given the power to effect improvement in all critical colonial situations, still persist in their refusal to live up to the full measure of their responsibility.

32. Be it with respect to the Portuguese Territories in Africa, or to Rhodesia or the question of Namibia, or *apartheid* in South Africa, any prospect of evolving satisfactory solutions through persuasion or negotiation is ended. The record shows that in most cases for over ten years, all the available means of United Nations diplomacy have been used to that end repeatedly, but to no avail. If one were to be candid in one's appraisal of this record, I cannot see for a moment how one could still harbour the hope that somehow the colonial régimes in southern Africa will be persuaded to change their policies. Under the circumstances, the only conclusion that logically presents itself is that those who still entertain further hope on this score are either indulging in wishful thinking, or simply trying to justify their failure to act in a manner required by their responsibility.

33. It should be clear by now that we have reached a position in which, if any plea for a change of course is to be addressed, it should be addressed not to the colonial régimes in southern Africa—for we know they cannot hear—but to a handful of Governments whose failure to act forthrightly and in accordance with their responsibility has made it possible for those colonial interests to persist in their defiance of the United Nations.

34. It should surprise no one, therefore, that no improvement has been seen in any one of the critical colonial situations in southern Africa. The colonial wars which Portugal is waging in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have increased in savagery and in repercussions; yet the world seems to hear little or nothing about them. Those Member States whose generous gift or sale of arms has made it possible for Portugal to sustain those wars have lately intensified their efforts so as to increase their share of the spoils of war by helping Portugal to tap the resources of those Territories. In this respect the long-term implications of the massive influx of South African and Western capital into Angola and Mozambique should not be lost on anyone.

35. With respect to Rhodesia, even the most optimistic advocates of mandatory economic sanctions should see by

now that those measures which have been in force since June 1968 have failed to bring down the illegal rebel régime of Ian Smith. The reports that have been submitted by the Security Council committee on the implementation of sanctions have proved demonstrably that those sanctions are not in general being complied with. If the sanctions were fully implemented, a small country such as Southern Rhodesia, which depends entirely on import and export for its life sustenance, could not possibly have survived such a severe punishment to its economy.

36. On our part, we have never had any illusion that South Africa and Portugal would co-operate in this respect with the United Nations despite the fact, of course, that under Article 25 of the Charter they have an obligation to abide by the decisions of the Council. What has surprised us, however, is what the reports of the Security Council's committee have shown by implication; that is the fact that a number of countries, while giving the formal appearance of implementing the sanctions, have not prevented some of their nationals from buying and selling to Rhodesia through intermediaries.

37. In this connexion the fact that some important members of the international community are still maintaining consular representation in Rhodesia should not be overlooked.

38. Assuming that their hope has always been genuine, to those who have hoped against hope that by some miraculous process the Salisbury régime would be prevailed upon to change its course, the imposition on the Territory of a system of *apartheid* and the increasing repressive measures which that régime has taken against the freedom fighters should now be the last straw. By those actions the régime of Ian Smith seems to have burned all the remaining bridges that linked it to the international community and those who had persisted in giving it the benefit of the doubt.

39. South Africa has also continued to tighten its hold on Namibia. Since, at the same time, Namibia is being progressively integrated into the *apartheid* system of South Africa, policies designed to break up the territorial integrity of the Territory are being implemented. In the meantime no action has been taken to give effect to the United Nations assumption of administrative responsibility for the Territory; all that the United Nations has done over the past year has been to address several pleas to South Africa to spare from execution some of the freedom fighters who have been sent to gaol for resisting oppression—pleas no sooner made than they were rejected by the South African régime.

40. With respect to the remaining colonial questions in southern Africa the following conclusions must therefore emerge. First, the totally inadequate response of the United Nations to the defiance of the colonial régimes in southern Africa has contributed much to dampening enthusiasm for the United Nations. Secondly, by now it should be clear that no further pleas would make the colonial régimes change their course of action. Thirdly, if there is any hope for improvement in all those critical areas, that improvement will have to come as the result of the more influential Members of the Organization taking effective action commensurate with their responsibility under the Charter.

41. There is also some scepticism, especially among the small countries, about the United Nations being able to respond to their security needs. As is well known, because of the impasse in the Security Council, the hope of collective security under the Charter has never been realized. On the other hand, the increasing role of the United Nations in peace-keeping has been nipped in the bud as a result of the big Powers' refusal to share responsibility with the smaller countries for the maintenance of peace and security.

42. I regret to say that the Special Committee of Thirty-three,² which has been charged with the task of studying the various aspects of peace-keeping, has not been able to tackle the fundamental questions. I believe the time has come for the General Assembly to examine new ways of keeping alive the peace-keeping role of the United Nations which, it must be emphasized, grew, in the first place, in response to the demands of the smaller countries of the Organization.

43. In Viet-Nam, the Middle East and Nigeria the guns have not been stilled; even as we deliberate here at the United Nations, men are killing one another in all those places.

44. If there is anything we can call progress, it is the fact that, at least with respect to Viet-Nam, the Paris talks are still continuing. There have also been some indications lately that the level of fighting could be de-escalated. Even if there have been serious snags in putting into motion a process of de-escalation which could lead to a cease-fire, at least with respect to Viet-Nam, the key to the final solution is very clear. That solution lies in the prospect that the people of South Viet-Nam will be able to determine, without foreign interference, the political and social system under which they wish to live.

45. With regard to the Middle East, I said last year: "It almost seems as if the preservation of the fragile cease-fire arrangements is consigned to a blind interplay of incidents rather than the dictates of international obligations or even of self-interest." [1683rd meeting, para. 14.] Since that time, such has been the extent of deterioration of the situation that I regret I cannot even repeat those words this year, for the fact today is that the cease-fire arrangements have collapsed in many sectors. Instead premeditated, highly planned and large-scale violations of the cease-fire have become daily occurrences. Along the Suez Canal and the Jordan-Israeli cease-fire sector the violations have assumed the dimensions of continuing warfare.

46. My Government believes that the main impetus for a solution of the problem of the Middle East should come from the big Powers within the framework of the United Nations. The problem in the immediate sense being one of turning the course of this continuing warfare, the big Powers have, under the Charter of the United Nations, an inescapable responsibility to act. Because of the fact that the big Powers are vitally involved, either economically or as suppliers of arms to the parties in conflict, and because of the danger in this situation of big-Power confrontation, those powers, as permanent members of the Security

Council, also have the added responsibility to act urgently and forthrightly.

47. The basis for both the immediate and the long-term solution to the conflict is contained in the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. As I said last year, that resolution contains a delicately balanced mutual set of obligations. The problem has been with regard to the timing of the implementation by the parties concerned of the various components of those obligations. If the big Powers were to give a guarantee under the umbrella of the United Nations, that problem, we believe, should pose no insurmountable difficulty.

48. However, time seems to be of the essence in the situation; the more the solution is delayed the more intractable will the problem become. Foreign occupation of a territory cannot be tolerated without also generating resistance from the occupied people; the longer the occupation lasts the stronger will that resistance be. The prolonged occupation is already bringing unpredictable and uncontrollable elements into the Middle East situation.

49. The fact that the Nigerian civil war is continuing unabated is a matter of grave concern to my Government. As Chairman of the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria, my own Sovereign has devoted much of his valuable time to trying to find a solution to that situation, which can only be described as a great tragedy for the people of Nigeria and of Africa. Undaunted by the lack of progress, my Sovereign will continue his efforts until a solution is found to that conflict.

50. If progress has not been made so far, it is, above all, because of the deep-seated and delicate nature of the conflict. The civil war in Nigeria was born of the complications and frictions that accompany nation-State building. Such a problem is not uniquely Nigeria's. In varying degrees many countries have problems of minorities and nationalities. Because of the changes and readjustments brought about by the necessity of creating organizations and institutions that cut across the old fabrics of tribal and national loyalties in the newly independent States of Africa and Asia, this problem has acquired new dimensions, and in some places has led to intermittent conflicts. Nigeria has to solve this problem of nation-State building as other nations have solved it or at least succeed in reasonably holding the inevitable friction to the minimum. In the final analysis, the solution to the present conflict will have to be based on a restoration of confidence in the future of one national Nigerian body politic, in which the peoples that constitute that nation must learn to minimize the inevitable friction that nation-State building involves. The problem will not be solved if one of the constituent parts chooses to renounce a common destiny, because in the African context that could be an endless process.

51. Finally, as the United Nations is approaching the threshold of the quarter-century mark we have to look forward. If the forthcoming commemorative session of the General Assembly is to fulfil a valuable function for the international community, it should offer all of us an opportunity for a painstaking assessment of the events and developments of the past quarter of a century and of the

² Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

role of the United Nations in a world which, as I said earlier, has become, for the first time in history, inextricably interdependent. The time between now and the next session should, therefore, be used in our capitals for such a critical assessment. The planned commemoration should also provide an opportunity for Heads of State and Government of Member States of the United Nations to meet here in order to rededicate themselves to the fulfilment of the principles of the Charter. Above all, the commemorative session of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should inspire Member Governments to come forward with new and bold ideas that could hopefully answer some of the crying needs of the international community for security and justice and for economic and social development.

52. Already a group of Member States of the United Nations that are not members of any military alliances have, last week, held a conference, of which I was privileged to be Chairman, to address themselves to the question of how Members of the United Nations could effectively co-operate in solving some of the outstanding problems that have for long bedevilled the international community. The participants in that conference have also agreed to hold meetings in the future at various levels, including a conference of Heads of State and Government, with a view to enhancing their contributions in the fulfilment of the principles of the United Nations Charter; they have also created a committee which would enable them to contribute useful ideas towards making the forthcoming commemorative session a worth-while exercise in stocktaking and in mapping out new approaches.

53. Speaking of commemoration, I feel it to be quite appropriate that at a time when we are planning to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we should also take cognizance of the centennial of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, and stop to ponder over the significance of his life and the examples that he has set. It is particularly befitting, because in all respects the life of Mahatma Gandhi was one long struggle for the fulfilment of the principles which inspire the Charter of the United Nations. It should also be of particular significance to the United Nations that Mahatma Gandhi started his fight for human rights in South Africa where the future effectiveness of the United Nations still hangs in the balance.

54. Finally, before I end my statement, I should like to refer to a declaration known as the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa³ to which all African Governments have subscribed and which, in accordance with the recent decision of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth session⁴ will soon be introduced in the General Assembly by the President of Cameroon, His Excellency Ahmadou Ahidjo, who is the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity Assembly. That Manifesto sets out in poetic majesty the aspirations and the hopes of the peoples of Africa for freedom, justice and progress. While aware that those ideals have not found fulfilment in their respective countries, the African States have let it be known that they are entirely

committed to their full realization. They have demanded of the world that there should be such a commitment, especially with respect to the granting of the right of self-determination to the peoples of southern Africa. I believe this is not asking too much.

55. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Madam President, our congratulations upon your election to preside over the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, necessarily evoke in our mind the rise of the great continent of Africa to independence and dignity, and the renaissance of its role and culture. You symbolize this great emancipation, and you symbolize our hope that the remaining part of Africa still under colonial domination shall be free and sovereign.

56. You succeed a distinguished son of another great continent that is marking our era with its renaissance; Latin America. Mr. Arenales succumbed prematurely, after a strenuous session, to the eventual fate of all human beings. We address to his country, Guatemala, to his Government and to the Latin American continent our deepest and heartfelt condolences.

57. Madam President, a recurrent theme in the general debate so far has been, as it was in past years, self-examination and self-criticism and your own opening address [1753rd meeting] eloquently set the tone. Any sensitive observer, viewing the discrepancies between the elevated ideals of the Charter and the tragic state of the world, must welcome this spirit of introspection. For, as the Secretary-General, with understatement, put it in the introduction to his annual report, "the deterioration of the international situation, which I noted . . . last year, has continued" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 1].

58. We are indeed worlds away from the high hopes for a new world of law and international comity as envisaged by the founders and drafters of the Charter. Two possible explanations for the failure come to mind. One is that man is incorrigible. He refuses to learn and persists in the blind pursuits of the law of the jungle. However, the nobility of the Charter, drafted by men, repudiates this pessimism. The second explanation for the disparity is that, in our preoccupation here with the legalisms, the cynicisms and evasions of diplomacy, we have shut our hearts and minds to the world of men we say we represent.

59. There are 104 items on the agenda of this session. All of us, in moments of genuine honesty, confess to our inadequacy in coping with all of them in any satisfactory manner. But despite this feeling of inadequacy, I mention this agenda because, if examined closely, it reads like an inventory of the hopes and fears, of the progress and failures of those we are mandated to serve, "the peoples of the United Nations". From economic development to human environment, from the outer reaches of space to the beds of the ocean, from *apartheid* to the education of youth in respect for human rights; these offer some examples of the dimensions of the problems we are expected to define, analyse and resolve. We shall fail this constituency of ours—"the peoples" of the world—if we persist in attempting to filter out and reduce these issues to the old and worn, the narrow and stringent formalism and procedural amenities. Time has little patience, and the substance of these agenda items is somewhere in the hearts and minds of men all over the world.

³ Adopted by the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 14 to 16 April 1969.

⁴ Held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 9 September 1969.

60. There is no more dramatically visible evidence of this impatience of "the peoples" than in the youth of the world today. Their yearning to be free of wars, poverty, racism and depersonalized lives transcends systems of economics and social structures. Their revulsion challenges presidents and kings, and the challenge is eloquent. I shall have more to say about one Middle East manifestation of this phenomenon later. But for now it may be merely noted that the expanding resistance and liberation forces, whether it be in the Middle East or over the world, are a revolt against the lack of understanding of man. This revolt is in essence one and the same as the revolt, let us say of the American youth, and indeed of the world at large, against the immorality, barbarism and inhuman war in Viet-Nam against a heroic people that has decided to live in independence and dignity.

61. This phenomenon, then, in the Middle East is symptomatic of the youth movement everywhere. In our maturity we would do well to read the world-wide phenomenon carefully and correctly, unflattering as it may be to our pre-occupation with form. In fact, our obligation to heed what youth is saying is dictated by more than any wisdom we may have acquired with years. That obligation comes from the Charter itself. Its first words say that all we do here must be designed "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . ." Therefore, I submit that if we are to meet this highest obligation, this session of the General Assembly had better turn from power-plays to humanity, from wasteful and endless formalities to determining the moral equities at the heart of each of the great problems we are asked to confront. "Peoples" and "generations" are two generic, dynamic terms inscribed in the first lines of the Charter that have initiated throughout the history of mankind the greatest movements of history.

62. Let me now turn to some specific items on this agenda.

63. On the subject of colonialism, the process of decolonization has reached stagnation. The Secretary-General has adequately described how the flagrant and massive violation of human rights and fundamental liberties in such regions as southern Africa continues unabated. The problems of Southern Rhodesia, the colonies under Portuguese domination and Namibia, and indeed the continuing discrimination against the masses of innocent people in South Africa and the suppression of the rights of the people of Oman under the pretence of the Sultan's sovereignty, are all only manifestations of reaction against sweeping historical progress. Far from extinguishing the liberation movements, suppression only stimulates this noble struggle.

64. Sovereign States, particularly those adjacent to the territories under colonial rule, rightly feel it their duty to extend support to this struggle. Indeed, the resolutions of the General Assembly call for such support. But the colonial forces think it then appropriate to proceed to aggressive encroachments on the territories of sovereign States. The Security Council has been seized of numerous complaints by the United Republic of Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia against those flagrant encroachments.

65. The urgency of sober reflection on ways and means to arrest this deterioration is only increased by two nefarious

symptoms. On the one hand, the colonial forces are uniting their energies to better defend their bastions of reaction. On the other hand, they continue to receive huge military and economic assistance from their allies, in complete disregard of United Nations resolutions, quite apart from the support of monopolies mercilessly exploiting the economic and human resources of the African and Asian continents.

66. The strengthening of the United Nations organs to deal with the remaining problems of colonialism cannot serve, therefore, but to make possible the achievement of the solidarity so much to be desired among the freedom-loving and justice-loving States. Otherwise, the defiance on the part of the colonial forces to the collective will of the nations will continue and will drag the world into the abyss of war and darkness.

67. It is with these dangers in mind that we find great merit in the proposals of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union for strengthening international peace and security. Equally important is his call for a convention banning chemical and bacteriological weapons.

68. In the context of world order, we continue consistently to maintain that preventing China from regaining its legitimate seat in the United Nations negates the basic principle of the universality of the Charter. To persist obstinately in this course is an exercise in futility, with dire consequences to the world at large. We also support the call to invite the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the debate on this question. The goals of unifying and rehabilitating Korea are the tasks of the Koreans themselves, who must be able to exercise their self-determination without interference from outside powers.

69. In this context, we support the admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations. That country is the eighth industrial State of the world, and my country, Syria, has so far enjoyed very fruitful co-operation with the German Democratic Republic on the basis of mutual respect and understanding.

70. In examining the state of world economy, we find it equally alarming. Thus far, international efforts to accelerate the growth of the developing countries have been inadequate. The Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade is progressing very slowly, and, as the Secretary-General appropriately stated in the introduction of his annual report, "there is evidence . . . of the difficulty of reaching agreements on priorities within a relatively limited number of sectors of the United Nations family of organizations" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 84]. We feel that efforts should be intensified in order to agree on the targets in various economic sectors of the international development strategy.

71. Unfortunately, the record concerning agreement on, and implementation of, international measures to help the developing countries is not encouraging. Progress in the field of granting the developing countries freer access to the markets of the developed market-economy countries has, thus far, been very inadequate. When we examine the record concerning the provision of development assistance,

we find that, in general and with the exception of two countries, there is no progress towards the achievement of the one per cent gross national product net aid target.

72. Allow me now to take up the explosive and tragic crisis of the Arab homeland, otherwise referred to among the agenda items of this session as the Middle East crisis. It is quite understandable that my delegation should devote the largest part of its attention to this matter. Let me plunge into the heart of the problem and begin with an intriguing phrase from the address of the Foreign Minister of Israel. Referring to the past year in the Middle East, he said: "Nothing has gone as rational men expected" [1757th meeting, para. 163]. Now this is a particularly presumptuous statement, for what the Foreign Minister really means is that nothing has gone as Israel's militarists expected.

73. Unfortunately for the Foreign Minister, the memories of other parties to the conflict are as operative as those of the Israelis, and those memories are even longer than the Foreign Minister tries to suggest. His country's present complaint is that there is no respect for what he calls "the cease-fire lines". The Israeli Foreign Minister then seeks to justify the continuing Israeli occupation of territory by saying: "... representatives of diverse traditions and cultures have raised their voices ... against the illusion that there could be changes in the cease-fire lines except in the context of peace." [Ibid., para. 168.]

74. Now, I must say candidly that I do not know what this language means, or, at least, what the Foreign Minister of Israel thinks it ought to mean to this world body. Who are "representatives of diverse traditions and cultures" and what is their competence here? And what is their status in the context of the enactments of this Assembly or those of the Security Council?

75. The meaning of the Charter is clear. It is inadmissible to acquire territory by conquest and war. We have here a classic example, in the history of Palestine, of the kind of duplicity, the effort to cover substance with form, which is at the root of the rebellion of "the peoples" of the world. This body has yet to hear from the Foreign Minister of Israel the solemn pledge of that State to yield the territories acquired by war. On the contrary, we and the peoples of the world, are advised that because of the Israeli memory, Israel can "never ... return to the political anarchy and the physical and territorial vulnerability ..." [ibid., para. 165] which, so he says, obtained until June 1967. I profoundly regret to say that the President of the United States gave aid and comfort to this Zionist Israeli expansionism. "We are convinced", President Nixon said, "that peace cannot be achieved on the basis of substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East" [1755th meeting, para. 65]. How substantial and altered by what methods, if at all? Is the virtual annexation of Arab Jerusalem "substantial"? Is the planting of new settlements on the Golan heights and the west bank of the Jordan "substantial"? Is the published plan for installing military bases in Sinai "substantial"? Is the eviction of half a million people by force, after the Israeli aggression, "substantial"?

76. I do not wish here to indulge in mere polemics with either the President of the United States or Israel's Foreign Minister, but I would be performing less than my duty if I

passed over these expositions of policy in silence. Furthermore, this body would discharge less than its moral obligation if it were persuaded that either or both of those interpretations were consistent with the spirit and letter of the Charter or with the many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In the plain language of the peoples of the world, the Israeli Foreign Minister is saying that peace must be assured before Israel agrees to terminate the Zionist practices which brought conflict into the area half a century ago. That is surely putting the cart before the horse, and this body, and the world, should see which is the cart and which is the horse. If the way to peace is, as Mr. Eban says, through negotiations, then it should also be said that negotiations cannot include how much of the inadmissibly acquired territories Israel will restore to their rightful sovereignties. It is as simple as that.

77. It is a source more of hurt than anger and of disillusion more than indignation, that now the President of the United States has qualified the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by war by saying that such acquisition is acceptable if only it is not "substantial". President Nixon, the President of the great Power which was party to the Tripartite Agreement in 1950,⁵ has now watered down that commitment to read only "substantial integrity". I am sadly reminded that some three decades ago the sovereign of the speaker who preceded me, the Emperor of Ethiopia, stood as a lone and tragic figure before the League of Nations pleading for the protection of the integrity of his realm. The acceptance of aggression then, it is now realized, destroyed the efficacy and the credibility of the League of Nations.

78. There is a more technical aspect to the language used by Israel's Foreign Minister and I will examine it now, after having studied the morals involved. The Israeli Foreign Minister referred to the "cease-fire line" and, in fact, the incessant stream of Israeli propaganda constantly employs the term. However, the Israeli Foreign Minister, who is so scrupulous in his selection of words, must know that by the findings of the Security Council there is no such thing as "a cease-fire line".

79. On 11 June 1967, the representative of Nigeria stated in the Security Council:

"In the course of the debate ... a new phrase has gradually come into circulation, that is the phrase 'cease-fire line'. Lest it be accepted merely by default, let me say ... that we do not understand that there is a cease-fire line. There are the armistice lines. There is the cease-fire order which means that troops should stay where they are and that any movement, north, south, east or west, except such movement as to return from the scene of battle to one's own home ground, is a violation of the cease-fire."⁶

80. That definition of the technical situation existing still today was emphasized at that same meeting by the

⁵ Declaration by the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France and the United States of America, regarding security in the Near East, signed on 25 May 1950.

⁶ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-Second Year, 1357th meeting, para. 177.

representative of the United Kingdom. There was no dissent in the Security Council, which means that the Security Council unanimously accepted that legal definition.

81. The question as to whether or not there was a cease-fire line was more than difficult in those turbulent days of 1967. This point was clarified in the context of a debate over which party to the conflict persisted in violating the cease-fire, until it reached a certain strategic point where it had wished all the time to establish a line. That is what is important, for it really reveals which party in 1967 welcomed the war and was motivated by territorial ambitions, and which party was really fighting in defence.

82. We have been lectured by Israel's Foreign Minister on the elementary role of negotiations in any transition from war to peace. Israel's insistence upon direct negotiations as the only way to any settlement must be judged as another of those diversions which try to substitute form for substance. It may sound plausible, but it is not constructive. It may sound like generosity, but it is really arbitrary and authoritarian.

83. Once again I revert to the Charter. Article 33 expresses the earnest will of this Organization to pursue every means in realizing the hopes of the peoples to be free from the scourge of war. It lists eight recognized and accepted methods of seeking solutions to international problems. The authors of the Charter must have had reasons for adding the other seven. Certainly they were aware of the fact that they were not putting together a book of synonyms.

84. This Assembly and the peoples of the world need to know that in rejecting direct negotiations the Arabs have neither elected war over peace or asked for anything that is not within the letter of the Charter. Again, form must not be confused with substance, and rigidity regarding form should be examined carefully so as to be sure it is not a pretext for more fait accompli diplomacy. Is Israel to be allowed to dictate what the Charter means, and does this body believe that Israel is subject to that Charter, or, by some mystique which some of us do not understand, is Israel entitled to play the role of judge and jury at the same time?

85. Then there is the ultimate question of "in whose interest" and for what peoples of the world are we to make peace in the Middle East? That crucial question raises for examination the important element of a vital interest in peace, making it a condition that both sides will wish to maintain. President Nixon paid deference to this indisputable element in any meaningful peace in his statement of 18 September 1969 [1755th meeting]. He did not, of course, explain how the "minimal conditions" of the cease-fire resolution represented a vital interest for the Arab, although he said that those conditions must prevail if any settlement is to be reached [ibid., para. 64]. Nor did he explain how an invasion of the territorial integrity of three Arab States, Members of the United Nations, is a vested Arab interest if only the invasion is something less than "substantial".

86. Mr. Eban is always somewhat clearer about the "vested interests" the Arabs will realize if they would only

make peace on the basis of whatever happens to be Israel's latest bargaining position. He is always intoning a song about the enormous benefits to be reaped by these poor, backward Arabs from Israel's progress and enlightenment. "New stories of co-operation and progress never heard or told before", were his own words a fortnight ago. And we Arabs are supposed to be intoxicated with our own rhetoric and led to persuade ourselves to dream the impossible dream!

87. That is what Israel's Foreign Minister says here for public consumption. A less informed world will not cease to wonder how those backward and ungrateful Arabs can refuse this generous, open and uplifting embrace. But this is not what Mr. Eban says at home, in the privacy of the family. In *Maariv* of 19 December 1968, the "do-good" Mr. Eban is quoted as saying: "The United States of America should acknowledge the fact that Israel is an acquisition for it and not a burden." A less authoritative spokesman echoed that sentiment, plus some embellishments, in *Haaretz*, another of Israel's major newspapers: "We must tell the United States of America, if you stop supporting us unconditionally . . . you will be the one to suffer; you will be squeezed out of the Middle East."

88. It is indeed too strong a temptation to resist plagiarizing the name of a popular American TV programme and to ask: "Will the real Mr. Eban please stand up?"

89. I can allow for inaccuracies in the Press, even in the Press of Israel, but the evidence is rather impressive that something more than any objective inventory of America's present national interests in the Middle East motivates its unconditional support for Israel. Whatever happened to Mr. Nixon's "new initiatives" we were told about in his electoral campaign and where has Governor Scranton been exiled, following his simple appeal for a more "even-handed" policy in the Arab world? Under what definition of even defensive armaments does the United States supply Israel with offensive Phantoms except to help Israel consolidate its latest conquests and continue to terrorize the Arab homeland? I shall not dwell at length on this United States-Israeli collusion. The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Sudan, in his brilliant statement in this Assembly, has given an inventory of that unconditional United States assistance to militaristic Zionism and Israel. But one ominous fact must be added now. Mrs. Meir in her visit has already "shopped", we are told, 150 Sikorsky helicopters, the same as those used by the United States in Viet-Nam, for only \$350 million. What for? Is it to transform Israel, that "bastion of democracy" into some other "bastion"—when the Viet-Nam war is finished—known only to President Nixon, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency and the super spies of the United States, whose horrid crimes from the little that has become known in Viet-Nam and elsewhere, are now every day filling the front pages of the Press all over the world? Do those things agree with the moral exhortations and preachings of international ethics that have been hypocritically spoken from this rostrum? Or is it, I ask—and wait for an answer—for any horrible eventuality still in store for the Arabs and for the world at large from the loving United States and Israel?

90. Certainly, one question which both the United States and Israel need to answer is whether any given settlement is

really in the vested interests of "the peoples" of the Middle East, including those Jews who have legitimate claims to life in Palestine; or whether a settlement is to be with an Israel which is "an acquisition" of the United States as the Foreign Minister of Israel said. If it is the latter, then we authentic Middle Easterners ask, what are the vested interests of the United States for which Israel serves as an "acquisition"? The effort for peace is not a game of poker in which we Arabs will gamble on a blind hole card. We state our objectives clearly; the recognition and establishment of the already legislated rights of the Arab Palestinians. Those are "the peoples" to whom the Israeli Foreign Minister, in his passion for peace, makes a vague proposal for "some regional and international responsibility" to resolve the refugee problem in some "five-year plan". For this core of the Palestine problem, the basic one, the Israeli Foreign Minister is a hearty advocate of international involvement. However, for the formulation of over-all peace proposals, the same Foreign Minister says that to look for help outside the region is "anachronistic". That again is the kind of semantic gymnastics which casts suspicions upon the moral intent of the one who resorts to them. Any acceptance of such a proposal by this body will not elevate, but will diminish its moral prestige in a restive, explosive world.

91. I am reminded here of the eloquent words of the great French writer, Albert Camus, who once said: "There is no compromise with breach of faith. One has to reject it and fight it." Again, on another occasion he wrote words which apply pointedly to so much that the representatives of Israel have said: "Some people progress without transition from speeches about the principles of honour or fraternity to adoring the fait accompli or the cruelest party."

92. That is where the Palestine problem stands today, fifty years after its cruel, insensitive inception and something more than two years after Israel's latest, most cruel and inhumane aggression.

93. Certainly, if there is any responsibility at all in the so-eloquently heralded "democratic" policies of Israel, then we Arabs are faced with being asked to accept another fait accompli which is in clear and arrogant defiance of the legislation of this international community. The world Press has indeed been so full of the proclamations of this fait accompli that it is perhaps unnecessary to recite them here. Repetition of them is more than mere rhetoric until the world, aroused by these events, takes them at face value and, in moral indignation and judicial impartiality, imposes upon this robber-baron State the just punishment which is within the lawful power of the community to impose.

94. For example, the colleague of Mr. Eban, Defence Minister Dayan, who is said to be inspired by the Bible, is reported in *Le Monde* on 9 July 1969 to have said:

"The Israeli Government should reject outright the Security Council resolution [1242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967, which demands, whatever they may say, the restoration of the occupied Territories, including the former Jordanian sector of Jerusalem."

95. That is at least a more candid and honest stand than that of Israel's representatives to this body of world

opinion, where they come and throw dust in the eyes of the world about their acceptance of the Security Council's and General Assembly's decisions while each day they further entrench themselves in the newest effort at a fait accompli, in violation of all those decisions.

96. We Arabs wait for the world's answer to this frankness. Meanwhile, history justifies our tempering and such resistance to the fait accompli as we can muster at present.

97. To submit another declaration which can hardly be called irresponsible, on 4 August 1969, *The New York Times* reported on its front page that Israel's dominant political party, meeting in convention, had determined "to hold" the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and a "considerable part of Sinai". Israel has also, apparently, coined a new language and a new concept of law. With respect to Jordan's West Bank territory, it has decided that the Jordan river will be its "security border". So, at least in that sector, we are to be treated to not one but two borders if the Israeli concept is accepted.

98. Here is another example of Israel's concept of equality under the law. All are to be equal, except Israel, which, as George Orwell put it, is to be "more equal than others". It is to have two borders on a frontier while the rest are to be satisfied with less than one. That is the programme of the political party to which the silver-voiced Foreign Minister of Israel owes his political career and distinction. If the Press reports are to be believed, that self-confessed lineal descendant of the Old Testament prophets offered no substantive objection to his political patron's platform.

99. Listen to Israel's Prime Minister, speaking for the record in the *Sunday Times* of London of 15 June 1969. Asked if Israel admits "a measure of responsibility" for "the Palestinians", that grandmotherly Prime Minister said categorically: "No, no responsibility whatsoever. . . . I do not know why the Arab refugees are a particular problem in the world".

100. Memories of the 1940s when the Zionists, including Israel's present Prime Minister, insisted not only that the abominable treatment of Europe's Jews by a madman called Hitler made them a special problem, but, with a logic never yet explained, insisted also that it was the particular responsibility of the Arabs of Palestine to provide them and all "the Jewish people" with a State, and lands, in violation of rights which those Arab Palestinians had possessed for centuries. Small wonder that now, from a position of conquest and power, the once entreating Zionist, now Prime Minister, says, in effect: "Who are the Palestinians, and what are their rights to me?"

101. Finally, I cannot withhold one more recorded declaration of Israel's hero, the Minister of Defence. In the same edition of *Le Monde*, of 9 July 1969, he said:

"People abroad ought to realize that quite apart from their strategic importance to Israel, Sinai, the Golan Heights, the Tiran Straits and the hills west of the Jordan lie at the heart of Jewish history. Nor has the restoration of historical Israel ended yet. Since the return to Zion a hundred years ago a double process of colonization and expansion of frontiers has been going on. We have not yet

reached the end of that road: It is the people of Israel who will determine the frontiers of their own State."

102. That again is refreshing candour. It is not, I think, out of order to ask the representative of Israel either to affirm or to deny that declaration by his fellow Minister. If he denies it, will he also say clearly so that the world and we can understand, that his Government, including Mr. Dayan and his Prime Minister, accept all General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, with their requirements of withdrawal from the occupied territories and their insistence that any party to it has responsibility for the refugees? If he cannot reject or deny his associate's clear declarations, then I submit to this body searching for peace in the Middle East that nothing compels Israel to stay within that association. No other Member of this body has been found guilty of aggression as often as Israel, and those aggressions have all been committed by Israel's determination to surmount the laws of this body and to compel the world to accept its series of faits accomplis. Israel's Defence Minister has said, and I have quoted him as saying, that "...it is the people of Israel who will determine the frontiers" of that State.

103. Here I publicly confess my inability to make further comments on the Arab tragedy. I leave the last word to the Russian-born former American citizen, now Prime Minister of Israel, Mrs. Meir. Only last Sunday, 28 September 1969, she stated:

"Withdrawal is not the issue. The Arabs don't think it's the issue. I think people do them an injustice when they say that's the issue. We're not so fortunate that the quarrel between us and the Arab countries is a question of territory—it's not true. The Arab countries are in lack of a little more sand. That's the problem."

104. Rarely in the history of civilized peoples has man witnessed such degradation of human values that millions of people do not count; that their plight is not equal even to sand, and that all this suffering is tolerable, as long as it satisfies the "new civilizing mission" of Israel to the Arabs. Thus the whole Middle East crisis and the whole Arab Palestine tragedy is reduced to "a little more sand" in Mrs. Meir's scale of values, and to "no substantial change" in President Nixon's dictum. The world must ponder over this United States-Israeli-Zionist axis.

105. There was one other observation in Mr. Eban's statement which deserves careful analysis and which is highly relevant to his stated relationship of Israel to the United States. It is, therefore, relevant also to the relationship of the United States to the Arab States. Mr. Eban referred to the "odious picture of Israel's spiritual heritage and Jewish solidarities". It is now time that that language, also, be examined. In almost every place where the subject of Palestine is debated, any critical evaluation of Israel's and Zionism's policies is greeted by the slander of "anti-Semitism" or "anti-Jewish". It is time, too, that that hypocrisy be ended.

106. This is not a religious question. Let me quote you a few eloquent words of a young Jew, one of Mr. Eban's own constituents, who sees, and publicly proclaims, the differences between the genuine spiritual heritage of people who

are Jews and the much more recently fabricated Zionism-Israeli nationality policies, which are exclusory, discriminating, and therefore in direct contradiction to any spiritual heritage worth the name. In August of this year at an international conference in Jerusalem that young Israeli, a philosopher and a student at the Hebrew University, spoke these magnificently eloquent and accurate words:

"The Zionist ideologists in the nineteenth century believed that Palestine was vacant. When they came to realize that the promised land... was already occupied, they were faced with the most difficult dilemma that can face a human being... The Palestinian struggle against Israel today is not motivated by the mere historical fact that Israel was initiated in sin, but because Israel has done nothing to expiate and atone for her sin. Not only did Israel refuse to admit her sinful birth and atone for it in concrete practice, but this refusal has, as so often happens, led her to repeat it twice. Both after the 1956 war and after the 1967 war Israel annexed territory. It is this, and not Israel's original sin, that has brought the Middle East conflict to such monstrous escalation."

107. What of Mr. Eban's other phrase, "Jewish solidarities"? I need not go into detail. The Status Law of 1952, establishing the relationship between the State of Israel and the World Zionism Organization and all the other Jewish agencies is clear enough. What of the United States and why does it tolerate those operations? Why does it allow tax-deductible funds to be disbursed to the World Zionist Organization, which, by law, is charged with serving the national interests of Israel?

108. Surely, those who are victimized by Zionist money and political pressures are entitled to make their judgement. The fact is that the United States Government permits United States citizens to support acts of belligerency against the Arab States. Until better answers are given by the United States, we who are the victims of this permissiveness may be excused for accepting the explanation of Israel's Foreign Minister that "Israel is an acquisition of the United States" in the heart of the Middle East.

109. I conclude by returning to the theme with which I began and which you yourself stressed, Madam President, in the address with which you opened this twenty-fourth session [1753rd meeting]. Let us not yield to the delusion that we are doing our best and that the world persists in misjudging us. You wish us Arabs peacefully to settle the Palestine problem. Then let us here and now come to grips with the core-problems of that situation.

110. I have not wearied this Assembly with reminders of Israel's flouting of the collective will on Jerusalem. I have not dignified by rebuttal Israel's rationalization of that defiance by claiming a new "white man's burden". I have not supplied statistics of houses bulldozed, of villages demolished, of holy places defiled, of the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque and of one-half million displaced persons. I have not brought here the detailed indictment of Israeli occupation now to be found in the testimony taken by the Commission on Human Rights.

111. The list is long and the spectacle of the world standing paralysed before this act of lawlessness, of

arrogant defiance and of reliance upon sheer power is, to us Arabs, both electrifying and tragic. There is today in all of our lands, the inevitable response to the Zionist stultification of world morality and law. By the tens of thousands our youth are disillusioned and have resorted to the only course open to them—in the absence of any apparent will or determination to enforce the law—the legitimate use of force. Palestine has come full circle. The Zionist movement in the 30s and the 40s introduced organized terrorism into Palestine in an effort to thwart every attempt to install a political system which would safeguard Arab rights. Now the descendants of that Zionism have compelled the descendants of those victims to the legitimate reaction of self-defence against annihilation. Let it not be forgotten that it is Israel which is in occupation of our territories. It is Israel which says, unilaterally, that it has no intention of withdrawing from them. It is Israel which says it wishes to negotiate directly for peace, but which has withdrawn from the agenda every Arab right and declared them non-negotiable.

112. You ask us to make peace, and I reply, unequivocally, that we want peace. What we do not want, and will never accept, is surrender. Let me remind this Assembly that what is involved here and what has always been involved in Palestine, is not some geopolitical advantage which can be facilely manoeuvred. While we do not release a news report or a blueprint on the occasion of every tomato we grow, every dunam of land we reclaim, every factory we build, we, too, are building our place under the sun of human progress. We have our goals, as a people and as a nation, and we are determined to achieve them. We cherish our lands and we husband our resources and we have our national self-interest. But the Palestine problem is, above all, a matter of uncompromising and inalienable human rights. The Zionist-Israeli answer to this core of the Palestine problem has always been one of condescension, given with a patronizing air.

113. When all the United Nations resolutions have been carried out, then the way to peace can be paved, and this body can bring the international law-breaker to the bar of justice. It can give the victim the right, given in every civilized court, of confronting his assailant. Let the Arab Palestinians be heard here for they were, are and will remain, the first party to this tragic conflict. Establish the climate of justice, for only in justice will peace be established.

114. This is the way of peace. It is a way back, to bind the wounds and to straighten the devious path which has curved and twisted through thirty years of civil war and three international wars in twenty years. When that part of the road to peace is repaired, the design for its extension into tomorrow will become increasingly clear. In language which every liberal soul should be able to understand, without subtlety, deception or sophistry, the Arab resistance and liberation movements have suggested the broad character of the highway to peace; a Palestine nation like other nations, in which human rights are politically sanctified in a law which respects all, regardless of faith or race, as equals.

115. That is their prescription for peace. We pray that those in Israel who believe much the same will be heard by

that most “democratic” of all Governments. We pray that all of you will heed their cry, for it is also our cry, as, indeed, it must be the cry of all civilized people everywhere. The road to peace can at least be charted by this body if, for whatever racist or obscure reasons, Israel will not see the road itself. Or, failing all of these, I can say only that the Arab knows how to wait. Our patience has sometimes been construed as resignation, but that is a misreading of our character.

116. Let me close, using my voice to speak the words, the aspirations, the spirit of one of those who should be here because he and his colleagues are one of the two principals in the tragedy of Arab Palestine. Not many of you may know that there is a literature of exile written by suffering Arab Palestinians. The fact in itself is important. It demonstrates the fallacy of those who think that the Palestinians can be dismissed by superficial formulations of diplomacy. There is among this people a deep, impassioned, abiding spirit, capable of poetry and songs of tragedy and bereavement. To them belongs the conclusion to this statement, for the cry for justice and recognition which these people send up from the depths of their hearts and beings is part of the legal evidence you must weigh if you are to legislate for peace. I quote:

“If I have to forfeit my bread,
 “If I have to hawk my spirit and bed,
 “If I have to work as stone cutter,
 “Or porter,
 “Or sweeper,
 “If I have to clean your warehouses,
 “Rummage in dung for food
 “Or starve,
 “and subside—
 “Enemy of man,
 “I shall not compromise!
 “And to the end
 “I shall fight.
 “Go and filch the final strip of my land,
 “Ditch my youth in prison holes,
 “Plunder my legacy,
 “Burn my books,
 “Feed your dogs from my dishes,
 “Go and spread your net of terror
 “Upon the roofs of my village —
 “Enemy of man,
 “I shall not compromise,
 “And to the end
 “I shall fight! ”

117. Twenty-five hundred years ago, another poet stood in the land that so many call Holy and cried aloud to the world:

“Let justice well up as waters
 “And righteousness as a mighty stream.”

118. I call upon those who now stand astride that Holy Land by virtue of force and conquest, and who claim spiritual descent from that ancient poet, to heed his words. The two poets state the inescapable choice. Forces are already in motion which assume, with the justification of history, that the older poet will be ignored.

119. We are all mature enough to know that such forces feed on themselves as long as the basic conditions which brought them to life exist. In the wake of those forces will follow only more devastation, more violence, more human misery. We must believe man is master of his destiny and maker of his history, else we would not be here.

120. Let us seize the moment. Let us speak the truth. Let us separate the substance of diplomacy from its form. Let us add up the rights and the wrongs. Let us, without ambiguity or equivocation, identify the international brigand and as clearly identify the victim. Let us, each of us, sincerely ask himself and the nation he represents here how he, or it, would act in similar circumstances. Then let us leave no stone unturned, no law we have legislated to be dissipated in casuistry, no tool at our disposal to remain unused to bring the fundamentally guilty party to justice.

121. That is the programme for peace that we Arabs offer, and with the offer, our prayers that the spirit of the ancient poet of justice and righteousness shall prevail. The transference of the poetry of the despairing Arab freedom fighter into still more violent action would then be rendered unnecessary. To that task we pledge our support and we invite men of genuine goodwill and moral integrity to join in the fulfilment, by peaceful means, of the work of peace.

122. Mr. ZAHEDI (Iran): Allow me, Madam President, to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office represents a source of particular pleasure and satisfaction to my delegation, not only because it is most fitting that a person of your standing, a distinguished representative of Liberia, one of the African founding Members of the United Nations, should lead the affairs of the Assembly, but also because your election will further enhance the status of women and the recognition of the contributions which they can make to the world community and the resolution of its problems.

123. In your election, we thus celebrate the victory of a cause signifying freedom from past burdens, as well as hope for the future. Let us draw strength from this auspicious beginning to face the issues before us in a spirit of solidarity, determination and hope.

124. The untimely death of your predecessor, the late Mr. Arenales, has caused us deep sorrow. We admired the courage, candour and devotion which he showed during the last session of the Assembly, and his memory will live with us for a long time.

125. This year marks the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind. A great dream, long cherished by man, has been realized. For centuries, the moon has inspired philosophical thoughts, lyrics and faith. It has been portrayed by man as a mystery beyond his reach. Today, it inspires human solidarity and peace because the brave men who first set foot upon it did so in the name of all mankind.

126. This fantastic feat represents not only the rapidity of change in the world today but, more important, the fact

that man is capable of realizing his most ambitious dreams. We owe the United States a particular vote of thanks for this historic and tremendous achievement. We express once again our congratulations to the American Government and people and, in particular, to those men and women whose contributions turned the Apollo 11 project into a living reality. Similarly, our congratulations must also go to the Soviet Union for its outstanding contributions in the same field.

127. As man plans to move to Mars and throughout the solar system, more than half of the world's people continue to suffer under conditions of poverty, injustice and oppression in a world torn with strife and armed conflict. Our efforts to tackle these problems have made little or no headway.

128. While man's flight to the moon demonstrates his genius in overcoming physical problems of great magnitude and complexity, the sad state of affairs prevailing in the world today is a vivid but tragic reminder that man is still afflicted with shortcomings in the social and political fields, which hamper him from coping with the age-old problems of peace and security with justice.

129. *Détente* is beginning to take shape despite passing setbacks. Many of the concepts and policies that had shackled progress towards understanding and co-operation between the great Powers are diminishing in importance. Yet, seeking to limit the areas of friction, the great Powers face the same dilemmas on the road to peace as in the past. The war in Viet-Nam keeps harvesting young lives in both camps. The search for peace in the Middle East remains blocked. War in Nigeria goes on.

130. This year we have also witnessed the development of a new situation. Tension over the Sino-Soviet border poses a new menace to the peace and stability of the world.

131. I should like, therefore, to turn my attention briefly to some of these areas and to begin, specifically, with a conflict that has torn down the foundation of peace in our own region.

132. The situation in the Middle East has gone from bad to worse and represents a grave threat to peace and security. At the turn of the year, some hopes were raised by the prospect of talks among the four permanent members of the Security Council. It was hoped that the assistance which the four Powers were to render would break the deadlock and lead to a settlement of the present precarious and explosive situation. However, these hopes were soon to be dashed, while Ambassador Jarring has all but abandoned his search for settlement. As a result, Arab territories are still under occupation. In its attempt to keep its hold on Jerusalem and parts of other occupied Arab territories, Israel is missing a central point: that lasting peace cannot be built on a victor-vanquished basis.

133. I have on a number of occasions, from this rostrum as well as in other forums, urged the need for withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories, as it is essential to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. I have also stressed that we reject resorting to force as a means of settling disputes, and we have reaffirmed our conviction

that titles obtained by force could not be recognized as valid. No State must be allowed to extend its frontiers as a result of war.

134. We were filled with a sense of deep shock and repulsion at the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque, one of the holiest shrines in the Moslem world. This criminal act has also destroyed irreplaceable relics dating back to the beginning of Islam. The anger and sense of indignation of people throughout the Moslem world were profound. In voicing the deep sense of grief of the Iranian people, caused by the calamity which has befallen the Moslem world, my august Sovereign offered Iran's assistance to meet the situation, particularly for the rebuilding and repair of the mosque. At the same time, together with other Moslem countries, we took the necessary steps in the Security Council for the safeguarding of the holy shrines.

135. This act of arson, through deplorable, was the spark that led to the first Islamic Summit Conference, held at Rabat from 22 to 25 September 1969. The Conference ended with positive results and laid the foundations for future co-operation among the various Islamic nations. It also fostered solidarity among the Moslems of the world. My Government supports the Declaration of the Rabat Islamic Conference, which is in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations to which we have already subscribed.

136. Now a word about Jerusalem. While restoration efforts must continue, we must also address ourselves to the root cause of the problem, which is the occupation of the old section of Jerusalem by Israeli forces. Efforts to change the status of Jerusalem have met with the strong opposition of the overwhelming majority of Members of the General Assembly and the unified stand of the Security Council. Israel has been instructed by those two organs to rescind all measures taken to change the status of Jerusalem.

137. We believe that Israel should be made to implement those decisions. We also continue to believe that only through the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, in particular the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967, is it possible to reach a peaceful settlement. We further maintain that the four-Power negotiations could make valuable contributions to arriving at a settlement.

138. The tragic war in Viet-Nam continues to exact a heavy toll of human life and property. The diplomatic initiatives taken by the parties involved to break the deadlock in the Paris talks are significant. We certainly hope that the present trend, in particular the partial evacuation of United States troops, will lead to meaningful discussions and a final settlement. Nevertheless, our concern for international peace and security has not diminished. I wish to express once again our earnest hope for a speedy settlement of the armed conflict.

139. Our preoccupation with problems of war and peace should not distract our attention from a score of important issues before our Organization; neither should we fail to note its achievements.

140. This year marked the successful conclusion of work begun some years back in the International Law Commission. The Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties,⁷ which has already received the signatures of more than thirty States, is the fruit of years of co-operative efforts by a body of distinguished international jurists. In codifying recognized principles of international law the Conference did not fail to devote time and attention to the progressive development of international law in the spirit of Article 13 of the Charter. Principles such as freedom of consent and that of prohibition of force, coercion and threat, in the conclusion of treaties, were provided with an international legal context for the first time. The Convention no doubt will strengthen the friendly relations among States and promote international understanding and co-operation.

141. Let me turn now to the question of peace-keeping operations. Iran follows developments in this field with the same interest as that which prompted us, some years ago, to offer to place a detachment of our armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations. It is in this spirit that we welcome the progress made on some minor aspects of this important issue. The slow pace of progress should, in our view, be judged tolerantly in the light of the nature of the issues involved and the differences on major aspects of this matter. Looked at from this angle, the question of United Nations military observers presents itself as the end to a beginning.

142. There is, of course, a long way to go. We should continue with patience and vigour to try to overcome divergences through detailed and businesslike discussions of the issues. In doing so, we must continue to be guided by fidelity to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and respect for past experience in this field.

143. In the course of the past year, progress in the field of arms control and disarmament dropped to a disquieting low. More aptly this period might be described as one whose potential productivity remained untapped. It will be noted less for its achievements than for its failures. The continued postponements of the strategic arms talks tend to increase the difficulty inherent in the issues that form the substance of those talks. The reasons behind that delay still remain unknown.

144. The super-Powers, which have managed to become both the champions and the arbiters in the disarmament game, remain reluctant to discuss, and even more so to resolve, the issues which have been accorded the highest priority by this Assembly. Instead they discuss their own priorities within their self-designed negotiating forum. In a constructive spirit of self-discipline, we are willing to ignore this as long as the outcome serves, though in varying degrees, the interest of all. It is in this spirit that we hope and expect that out of the present negotiations in Geneva an agreement will emerge to bar the extension of the arms race to the sea-bed and the ocean floor. It is also our hope that a consensus will be reached on the issue of prohibition of chemical and biological weapons and methods of warfare.

145. I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to our Secretary-General for the constructive proposal,

⁷ Adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties on 22 May 1969.

made in the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly, to designate the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade [A/7601/Add.1, para. 42]. We see in that proposal the customary merit of his timely warnings on the issues facing the world community. Iran is glad to associate itself with that proposal.

146. The drive by the United Nations to promote respect for human rights has continued to meet massive resistance. Our rhetoric does nothing to reduce the misery of men living under the scourge of *apartheid*. Despite efforts to bring colonialism to an end, millions of people still suffer under its yoke in one form or another. Blended with racism and the denial of human rights, colonial domination in southern Africa has created a situation that poses not only a challenge to the authority and prestige of our Organization, but also a threat to world peace and stability.

147. We continue to condemn the policies of *apartheid*, suppression and exploitation of colonial Territories and peoples. We continue to endorse their legitimate struggle to restore their fundamental rights, freedom and independence in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

148. It is the hope of my delegation that as we approach the tenth anniversary of the historic Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the world community will intensify its efforts, not only to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism but also to restore the legitimate rights of those nations who, in the course of colonial domination, were victimized by arrangements contrary to international laws and justice.

149. I wish now to turn to certain questions of particular concern to my country. In line with our national independent policy in international relations, Iran enjoys cordial and friendly relations with all countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, and in particular with its neighbours. There is one unhappy exception; the recent developments in our relations with Iraq.

150. The Government of Iraq persists in interfering with the free navigation of vessels bound for Iranian ports on the Shatt-al-Arab, the river that flows between the two countries to the Persian Gulf. On 15 April 1969 Iraq went so far as to threaten to board vessels sailing to Iranian ports and flying the Iranian flag. It further threatened to use force should the Iranian merchant vessels not comply with its demands. I should add that this threat has not been carried out due to the fact that Iran stands alert in defence of its inalienable and legitimate rights. Nevertheless, there have been increasing acts of interference, resulting in serious discouragement to shipping to Iranian ports on the Shatt-al-Arab.

151. Iraq bases its claim of absolute sovereignty over the Shatt-al-Arab on a treaty imposed by colonial interests and which Iraq itself has for thirty-two years refused to carry out. It is inconceivable that in the second half of the twentieth century a country should rest its case on the doctrine of exclusive domain on a river of this size, which runs some eighty miles along the shores of our two countries.

152. A river with such characteristics cannot, on the basis of established rules and principles of international law, come under the jurisdiction and absolute sovereignty of any one country. More than half the waters of the Shatt-al-Arab originated from Iranian sources. Moreover, from the general tone of the 1937 Treaty,⁸ and the real significance of the Protocol attached to it, it is clearly and fully understood that the Shatt-al-Arab is not and cannot be under the absolute sovereignty of Iraq.

153. Iraq, by its refusal to carry out its commitments under the 1937 Treaty, has forfeited any rights it acquired under that Treaty, which, moreover, due to its colonialistic aspect is null and void. Consequently, the boundary set in the Shatt-al-Arab reverted to mid-channel or the thalweg. The issue between the two Governments is whether the Shatt-al-Arab should be a barrier or a bridge. Iran has offered to work out with Iraq a treaty for co-operative administration of the Shatt-al-Arab with free navigation throughout the entire river.

154. We have informed the President of the Security Council of our position, and have proposed a number of constructive alternatives for the peaceful settlement of this dispute in accordance with Article 33 of the United Nations Charter. It is our earnest hope that Iraq will respond positively and in the same spirit of co-operation and understanding for a satisfactory solution of this problem.

155. Another matter of concern to my country is the situation in the Persian Gulf. We are bound to this area by history and geography. The Persian Gulf is part of our past, and its entire northern shore constitutes Iranian territory. Under these circumstances we attach the greatest importance to the developments in this area, and are destined to share with other Persian Gulf States and Territories the fortunes of the region.

Mr. El-Farra (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

156. Ever since the announcement by the British that they would withdraw from the Persian Gulf, we have made it clear that it is not enough only to advocate that an old era is dying out and a new one is setting in. We maintain that this withdrawal should be real and genuine. The people of the Persian Gulf should be left free to determine their own future and to evolve the necessary co-operative arrangements suited to the new evolving pattern.

157. We believe now, and we continue to believe, that conditions of security and stability in the Persian Gulf area can be maintained only if the historical rights and interests of all the littoral States are preserved.

158. I now wish to turn to a matter of equal importance to peace and security in the world; the question of economic development. As to the need for concerted action and co-operative efforts to deal with problems of underdevelopment increases, there appears to be less willingness on the part of the developed countries to take the resolute steps required to translate lofty objectives into living realities. At a time when affluence is rapidly becoming the prevailing condition of whole countries or regions of the

⁸ Boundary Treaty between Iran and Iraq, with Protocol, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937.

world, the large majority of humanity continues to live in conditions of poverty, disease and hunger. Surely, the time has come, through global partnership, to deal effectively with this paradoxical and intolerable situation.

159. It is tragic to note that when development aids are beginning to yield results, the political will in the developed countries for international aid seems to be faltering. Perhaps this may be partially due to the realization that the fight against poverty and want in the domestic field has been neglected. Nevertheless, no matter how much progress towards establishing conditions of affluence is made in the domestic realm, the war against injustice and want will not be won if it is neglected in the international field.

160. In this regard, we were gratified to learn this morning that a distinguished world personality, Mr. Lester Pearson, a former President of this Assembly, and other distinguished experts have so ably reflected the needs of the developing countries in their report to the World Bank.⁹ It is our sincere hope that their recommendations will receive active and positive consideration.

161. Closely linked with the problem of securing the necessary resources for development programmes is the question of manpower shortage, which is acute in most of the developing countries. In this area, however, conditions are rather favourable. Here, the enthusiasm of youth provides an enormous source of energy which is still largely untapped. Should we not then try to channel the idealism of youth into the fight against poverty, disease, and illiteracy on a global scale?

162. It was in view of these considerations that the Shahanshah Aryamehr took the initiative in suggesting the creation of an international corps of volunteers. The response of the General Assembly at its last session and its unanimous vote is encouraging in this regard. It is equally gratifying to note that at its last summer session, the Economic and Social Council adopted, without a dissenting vote, a resolution [1444 (XLVII)] based on that proposal.

163. It gives me a great pleasure to express the thanks of my delegation for the cordial words of support expressed by many of those at the Economic and Social Council meeting for the initiative of my august Sovereign.

164. The approval by the Economic and Social Council is ample proof that there is a recognized need to afford young people an opportunity to participate in the global quest for peace as well as for development within an international framework. Here, I should like to stress that we attach the greatest importance to a volunteer corps which has a genuine international character, operating under the United Nations supervision and administration. It goes without saying that national schemes may also make their contributions to the international volunteer corps, but that once they are made, they fall within the jurisdiction and under the authority of the United Nations.

165. For our part, we have oriented our social programmes towards economic prosperity. The focus of our fourth development programme is on the industrial sector,

⁹ *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

an institution of far-reaching social reforms which provides necessary impetus for rapid growth. Last year, our economy enjoyed another twelve per cent expansion. This was achieved with relative price stability.

166. In other areas, the use of army conscripts in literacy, health and development programmes continues to yield important results.

167. We shall soon be marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our Organization. As we approach it, we cannot expect to recapture the first hopes that went with the signing of the Charter. We must draw the lesson of twenty-five years' experience of success and failure. If, from that mixed history, one bit of wisdom is to be gained, it is that the principles of the Charter remain the bedrock on which to build a peaceful and prosperous world. If we have not made greater progress toward building it, the fault lies in ourselves.

168. What is required from each of us is a sober resolve, when dealing with our common problems, to see them in a wide, indeed a global, perspective. This would mean abandoning excessive preoccupation with the achievement of narrow national interests. It would mean seeking to conduct our international relations so that everyone gains, not so that some profit at the expense of others.

169. It is my hope that, already at this session of the Assembly, we shall see a new birth of such a co-operative spirit in the approach to our trying problems.

170. Mr. BANGOURA (Guinea) (*translated from French*): May I, first of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, pay a tribute to the memory of our late President, Mr. Emilio Arenales, of Guatemala, whose great personality made its mark on the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. We wish to express our sincere condolences to his country, his family and his friends.

171. And to you, Madam President, over and above the traditional congratulations offered by all delegations in such circumstances to a newly elected President, I should like to say how happy my delegation and my country, the Republic of Guinea, are at her distinguished election to preside over the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

172. The election for the second time of a worthy child of Africa to the presidency of this Assembly is a great new source of hope for all who have struggled and continue to struggle for the ideals of freedom, peace and social progress. It is also a definite encouragement to those who have unceasingly sacrificed themselves for the total emancipation and full development of peoples so that they may assume full responsibility for their own destinies and thus be able to participate satisfactorily and effectively in bringing about a better world.

173. Above all, the election of our President for this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly is something more than a tribute justly paid to the Republic of Liberia and its worthy President and great African leader, Mr. William V. S. Tubman, who is loved and respected in the

Republic of Guinea; it is a personal tribute to our President and a recognition of her country's praiseworthy efforts, in this Organization and elsewhere, to further human rights, the emancipation of women and all measures to promote a better social world and a world of universal peace. Her election is a firm proof of Africa's involvement and of its contribution to the task of safeguarding international peace and security.

174. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea is firmly convinced that the personal qualities of our President, which have been evidenced on numerous occasions in the United Nations and elsewhere, will set the tone for our discussions and impart a character to this Assembly which will be in accord with the noble principles of the Charter to which we have all subscribed, resulting in satisfactory solutions to the serious problems which we are called upon to consider during this session.

175. We should also like to take advantage of this opportunity to offer our encouragement and acknowledgement to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for the praiseworthy work he does in the service of peace.

176. The delegations which have spoken before me have all raised the important problems of peace, disarmament, security, development and international co-operation.

177. In my delegation's opinion, the events which trouble our continent and the persistence of foreign domination will cause the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, even more than the sixteenth (known as "Africa Year"), to be marked again by the "African problem", i.e. the problem of the effective exercise of national sovereignty by Africans for the benefit of their peoples and to the exclusion of all foreign interference.

178. The General Assembly has devoted its most important discussions at its last ten sessions to the problems arising in different contexts and in varied forms in connexion with the political, economic, social and cultural decolonization of Africa. The problem of decolonization has been discussed eloquently in United Nations bodies for ten years, unhappily without a practical solution having yet been found. On the contrary, the hopes born of declarations we have all made together and of resolutions we have all adopted together have gradually given way to frustration and tension which are a permanent threat to international peace and security.

179. We loudly proclaim that the perpetuation of colonialism in Africa at the close of this decade is but another aspect of the political supremacy pursued by the imperialist Powers at the expense of the valiant peoples of Africa and in contempt of the fundamental principles on which our Organization is based. Decolonization is therefore the key problem above all others for the maintenance of international peace and security and thus for the achievement of the main objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

180. Progressive forces throughout the world know that imperialism seeks at any price to keep the whole of southern Africa under its domination, in order to exploit its riches for its own purposes and to use it as a centre from which to crush national liberation movements and interfere

in the internal affairs of the independent States of Africa through provocation and threats, corruption and blackmail.

181. Could the infamous Ian Smith, alone and unaided, after unilaterally and with impunity proclaiming independence in November 1965, have gone on to submit the so-called draft constitution to a bogus referendum with a view to making a new proclamation, the proclamation of a Republic? It is a universally recognized fact that the Rhodesia of Ian Smith, like the Portugal of the infamous Salazar or the Republic of South Africa of the criminal Balthazar Vorster, is unconditionally supported by the United Kingdom and its NATO allies. The shilly-shallying of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power with full responsibility, its systematic refusal to use force and its pious recommendation of sanctions are all part of the Western policy of making southern Africa a bastion of fascist minorities and white supremacy in Africa. That alone explains the rapprochement encouraged between the régimes of Vorster and Ian Smith. Has not the United Kingdom recently proved its sacred colonial principles and its colonial mission are still in full force by its dramatic intervention to repress a so-called rebellion in the tiny island of Anguilla and to safeguard what it calls the rule of law?

182. It is most regrettable that the United Kingdom, confronted by the new situation in Rhodesia, is content to reiterate its verbal condemnation of the Salisbury régime and to profess its unshakable faith in the effectiveness of harmless economic sanctions. Experience has shown that only the use of force can bring the Ian Smith clique to reason. Therefore, if the United Kingdom wishes to shoulder its responsibilities, it can repeat its Anguilla exploit and bring about a return to legality and the rule of law in Rhodesia.

183. Southern Africa remains today the key area in the struggle for the freedom of our still subjugated peoples. In Namibia, the Portuguese colonies, South Africa and rebel Rhodesia, guerrilla movements are engaged against the Vorster-Smith-Caetano axis, whose offensives, despite the support of NATO and their *de facto* allies, can never overcome the immeasurable and invincible force of the masses of the people. We know from experience—the case of Viet-Nam is now irrefutable proof—that the principle of self-determination of peoples has been an irresistible force throughout history.

184. Therefore, if the Pretoria régime continues to turn a deaf ear to the decisions of this Organization, which in resolution 2145 (XXI) revoked that régime's Mandate over Namibia, we should no longer continue this dialogue with the deaf in which it seeks to hold us so as to distract us from our main objective, the independence of Namibia. We should no longer bother with the arguments of Mr. Vorster, who must be made to see that an imperative injunction is addressed to him in paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 269 (1969). On 4 October 1969, South Africa should actually be in an illegal position with respect to international law and the United Nations. This situation, which my delegation would call the point of no return, must logically lead us to transfer the sovereignty of Namibia to its people and to them alone. The responsibility for Namibian affairs should then be entrusted to a

government-in-exile recognized by the Organization of African Unity and by the United Nations, a government that should receive all the moral and material assistance of the States members of those two organizations and of all progressive peoples of the world.

185. We would thus be striking South Africa at its most vulnerable point, the "Achilles heel" of Namibia. My country, which has complete faith in the action of peoples as the driving force of history, is in no doubt that it is only in this way that the *de facto* authorities of Pretoria would be made to realize their weakness and that of their unholy allies in the face of an entire people in arms.

186. With these suggestions, my delegation invites the General Assembly to redefine its entire strategy vis-à-vis the *apartheid* system, that scourge which must be resolutely eradicated from the African continent—a continent which aspires to become free and responsible and fully master of its own destiny.

187. In the Guinean delegation's view, Portuguese colonialism and the existence of the fascist axis of Salisbury and Pretoria form a single problem, namely, that of the anti-imperialist struggle for the true and effective independence of the peoples of southern Africa.

188. It is unanimously recognized that Portugal, economically under-developed and politically decadent, could not wage a fight on several fronts or commit a long series of markedly criminal acts incompatible with the obligations of a State Member of the United Nations without the full support of the Western Powers. The seriousness of the problem lies precisely in the fact that colonialism has survived in Africa because of the imposition of armed force by Western Powers grouped together in the militarist North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on peoples whose only crime has been the desire to regain their usurped independence and their dignity.

189. That is why, strengthened by the military, political and economic aid of those Powers and protected by their abuse of the veto in the Security Council, Portugal refuses to hold any dialogue with the nationalist forces with a view to reaching a negotiated solution for the liberation of those territories. Moreover, Portugal regularly engages in acts of provocation against independent African States which it claims to be its neighbours.

190. Thus, on 27 August 1969, the Republic of Guinea was again the victim of foul, ignominious and criminal aggression by Portuguese colonialism. A Guinean transport vessel carrying 33 passengers was surrounded in national territorial waters by six Portuguese military launches armed with heavy machine guns and other automatic weapons. The aggressors opened fire on the boat, killing one man outright and seriously injuring three other persons. Only eight passengers managed to escape and swim to the coast under a hail of bullets and grenades. After committing this crime, the Portuguese aggressors seized the Guinean launch and the twenty-one surviving passengers, whom they took with them to an unknown destination. The lives of the prisoners are in danger because the Portuguese have a mindless hatred for the people of the progressive countries of Africa.

191. The Government of the Republic of Guinea wishes to protest most emphatically at this foul crime of international imperialism and appeals to the United Nations and to the conscience of the world for all possible measures to be taken to end the criminal activities of the detested Lisbon régime.

192. You will also recall that two years ago one of our AN14 aircraft, having strayed slightly from its course on the way to Boké, a town in the administrative district of the same name in the Republic of Guinea and close to the frontier with so-called Portuguese Guinea, landed in that territory. Far from receiving the assistance due to aircraft in such circumstances, it was simply held with all its crew, who have remained prisoners to this day.

193. All our protests have been in vain and Portugal continues to pursue its criminal activities with impunity throughout black Africa, clearly with NATO's blessing.

194. Portugal, more than any other State, is aware of the doom to which it is heading, because it knows better than any other State that it is bogged down in a war that will inevitably consign it to the scrap-heap of history. That is why, with the madness of a cornered beast, it has adopted the ultimate tactics used as a last resort by those who are doomed to failure and desperate scorched earth tactics in the combat areas and the physical elimination of those who are fighting for independence and the freedom of the oppressed peoples.

195. The assassination of Mr. Eduardo Mondlane in January 1969 and all the other attempted assassinations of African leaders are among the ignominious acts that will loom large in the list of colonialist crimes. In condemning this shameful act, the Republic of Guinea wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to this valiant African hero fallen on the field of battle for the honour of the African homeland.

196. People die, peoples and their sacred causes live for ever. We have an unshakable faith in the irreversible and indestructible nature of the liberation movement and in the inevitable victory of progressive forces over colonialism.

197. The peoples who love peace and liberty have understood only too well the odious manoeuvres carried out by the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces against the effective independence of the peoples of Africa, flouting the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations. They have learnt that under the cover of sanctimonious declarations of intent and appeals to so-called reason, these forces of evil are engaging in acts which the conscience of mankind cannot tolerate.

198. That is why the armed struggle, legitimately sanctioned by the United Nations, is being intensified in the territories still under foreign domination and why the African nationalists are daily winning greater and greater victories in Zimbabwe, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. From this rostrum, we call on all the liberation movements to unite in a common front and to set themselves the single objective of the prompt liberation of their territories that are still under foreign domination.

199. To the independent African States we also say that it is high time to make an effective contribution to the

struggle of the national liberation movements, and in so doing, to strengthen the national independence of all African States. Comrade Ahmed Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, a great fighter for the cause of African independence, has said on this matter:

“So long as colonialism and its unspeakable crimes have not disappeared from African life once and for all and so long as one geographical part of our continent or a fraction of its population languishes beneath the boots of imperialism, can any African State or any African people believe itself to be entirely worthy and rehabilitated on the international scene?”

200. What is required of the independent African States is to respect the solemn commitments undertaken at the time of the establishment of the Organization of African Unity in May 1963 to form a united front against the imperialist and colonialist coalition and drive the foreign usurper from our continent. On the way that commitment is respected and on the kind of assistance offered to the liberation movements by all peoples who cherish peace and freedom will depend the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the territories that are still under Portuguese domination, in Rhodesia, in Namibia, in Azania as well as in the other African States that are still dependent.

201. Wherever colonialism and imperialism cannot act openly, they adopt the policy of division, of tribalism, and employ stateless and ambitious men to create instability in certain spheres and encourage secession so that they may be better able to divide the African peoples who only want their freedom and thus hold them in subjection for a longer time.

202. A problem has been raised here which is essentially an African one, namely, the secession of eastern Nigeria, to which the most fantastic interpretations have been given. Some have even said that the Nigerian problem, in its present stage, represents a shirking by the United Nations of its fundamental responsibilities. This ill-orchestrated imperialist propaganda cannot prevent international public opinion from realizing the real cause of the Nigerian problem. For it must be said that the secession in Nigeria can be explained essentially by the existence of strategic raw materials such as petroleum in that part of the federation which the imperialist Powers are seeking to remove from the control of the Federal Government. In the opinion of the Republic of Guinea, the Nigerian problem is and remains an essentially African political problem. We appeal to all peace-loving people who cherish justice and who wish to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to abide by the resolution adopted at the fifth session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Algiers from 13 to 16 September 1968, and confirmed at Addis Ababa in September 1969. Only in this way could the situation in Nigeria be regularized and other civil wars in Africa avoided.

203. To the continued international tension brought about by colonialism has been added the political instability created and maintained in Africa by the Powers seeking spheres of political, economic, military and cultural influence. Thus the hopes aroused by the achievement of

independence by the majority of African States at the beginning of this decade, and in particular the hope that the countries still dependent would achieve national sovereignty within a short time, have been severely disappointed by the grave events which have characterized the African political scene during this period.

204. Everywhere else in the world, the effect of the great Powers' supremacy policy is to create a climate of growing insecurity in the small countries. The third world has more than ever become the scene of coups d'état and direct or indirect aggression. In other words, another and more brutal and cynical form of domination of peoples is added to the existing colonialism—the violation of the sovereignty of the independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America in contempt of all international rules and practice. Unscrupulous self-interest has won out over the sovereign rights of peoples, those principles which it is the sacred function of the Charter of the United Nations to safeguard.

205. The United States peace offensive to end the war of aggression in Viet-Nam is likely to remain illusory until Washington resolves to accept the perfectly reasonable conditions of the National Liberation Front. In this connexion, my delegation cannot repeat too often what it has always said in this Assembly: nothing could do the United States Government more honour than to find a speedy and favourable solution through the Paris talks. The world which loves peace and social justice believes in these negotiations and cherishes the hope that the Nixon Government will take advantage of this opportunity. We sincerely encourage the United States Government to pursue its efforts, not by adopting half measures but by tackling dynamically the basic problem, which is to enable the Viet-Nameese people to solve the problems of their own future in complete freedom, without any foreign presence or interference.

206. The constitution of the provisional government of the National Liberation Front, which was greeted by a most encouraging message from the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea, should be an additional valid reason why Washington should restore a lasting peace in this part of the world, which has been in turmoil for nearly a quarter of a century.

207. It should be remembered that, in addition to Viet-Nam, the Middle East is also suffering at the hands of an imperialism which, in order to perpetuate its domination over the Arab world, has been guilty of the greatest and most shameless injustice ever done to a people—the brutal expropriation of its native land. This expropriation, which was aggravated by the aggression of 5 June 1967 against the Arab peoples, illustrates the expansionist doctrine. But we should not forget the lessons of history. It was the inordinate greed of Hitler's Nazis that was their doom, raising the conscience of mankind in revolt against them.

208. Even if the four great Powers were suddenly to realize their prime responsibility in the Israel-Arab conflict, it goes without saying that any solution to this burning problem which did not first require the unconditional withdrawal of Israel's troops from the occupied Arab territories would be an “imposed solution”, imposed both on the Palestinian people and on the Arab States. There is

no need to stress that any new compromise can only create new conflicts which must inevitably be a threat to world peace.

209. It is hard to see how these hotbeds of war can be extinguished if the States which have taken upon themselves the role of laying down the rules of international conduct do not give up the arms race and the use of the military bases which they maintain throughout the world. Neither the signature of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water nor that of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] is any guarantee that the Western nuclear Powers are about to renounce the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. The devastating development of antiballistic missiles and other ultimate weapons is at any rate far from proving otherwise.

210. It is for this reason essential that the international community should realize the need to rid itself of the permanent danger created by military bases established in the middle of the small Powers. Those bases, need it be said, serve as a means of political and economic pressure from which the small Powers cannot free themselves in that the subsidies paid in compensation contribute neither directly nor indirectly to their development but only serve the interests of a feudal and neo-colonialist oligarchy. Only revolutionary régimes, jealous of the freedom and dignity of their peoples, are able to defend them against the greed of the colonialist Powers. If, therefore, as we affirm, the world sincerely aspires to peace, it is vital to extinguish the hotbeds of war and aggression in Viet-Nam, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

211. It has, moreover, been established—the experience of military coups d'état has proved it—that the political instability created and maintained in Africa, Asia and Latin America to block the revolutionary forces damages even the interests of the imperialists themselves because of the divided and competing allegiances in those countries.

212. But imperialism sometimes goes much further. Having been unable to establish a puppet régime or to interfere in the State's internal affairs, this enemy of the freedom of peoples has attempted to deny any international status to the most highly populated State in the world, the People's Republic of China, a victim of blind ostracism on the part of international imperialism. But all these delaying tactics cannot isolate the People's Republic of China, whose influence continues to grow throughout the world. The Republic of Guinea for its part, true to its staunchly anti-colonialist policy and always in favour of greater justice, will continue to strive for the restoration in the United Nations of the lawful and natural rights of the People's Republic of China, that great and peace-loving State whose honest and effective fraternal co-operation with all States which cherish peace and social justice is beyond question. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea will once more urge the General Assembly to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China which have for so long been treated with contempt.

213. It is in the same spirit that the Republic of Guinea will associate itself with those countries which traditionally call for the reunification of Korea. There can be no doubt

that the champions of division among peoples—a basic principle of colonialism and imperialism—are trying to preserve their interests in South Korea for ever. In this connexion, the United Nations forces in Korea, far from fulfilling the mission entrusted to them, have served for more than twenty years to encourage, or at least to perpetuate, this division of a people who have everything in common and who, but for the pernicious activities of the forces of division, would have regained their national unity. The People's Democratic Republic of Korea, in its noble task of restoring the values of the Korean people as a whole, will bring its heroic struggle for national reconstruction to a successful conclusion. In Viet-Nam and Korea, as elsewhere, we know that imperialism will never be strong or powerful enough to resist the invincible will of peoples on the march.

214. In the Guinean delegation's view, those are the essential political factors which are responsible for the international climate of insecurity, oppression and constant threat to world peace. As long as those forces continue to act against the freedom, the independence and the interests of the peoples of the third world, it will be impossible to remove another source of conflict which is closely linked to the first, namely, the ever widening gap between rich and poor nations.

215. Is it therefore possible to talk of peace and international security without speaking of development, a harmonious development, a just and equitable distribution of wealth or, in a word, a balance between wealth and the poverty which remains the lot of some—and always the same—people, while others continue daily to become richer? There has been manifest disappointment on this score in connexion with the recent United Nations Development Decade.

216. In accordance with the Final Act of the Geneva Conference¹⁰ the necessary co-operation between the industrialized and developing countries has a prominent place, under the heading of international economic co-operation, on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session. You will remember that the fundamental problem of reform of the outworn and shameful structures of the entire world economy in favour of an honest and beneficial co-operation between “have” and “have-not” countries was raised at Geneva in 1964.

217. Five years after signature of the Final Act of the Geneva Conference and four years after the start of activities of UNCTAD's executive machinery—the Trade and Development Board—the gap between industrialized and developing countries continues to widen; the stabilization and improvement of prices, the removal of barriers to world trade expansion, the adoption of a generalized system of non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory preferences for all developing countries, the promotion of industrialization and the determination of freight rates, the establishment of a multilateral payments system and effective assistance to the developing countries remain as always the basic and legitimate concern of the countries of the third world.

¹⁰ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, vol. I, *Final Act and Report* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

218. But from a factual and absolute standpoint, it can be said that nothing positive has yet been accomplished by the developed countries. Remember that history is not made by intentions. What we want is to see these intentions translated into concrete acts which will lead to the disappearance of hunger and poverty.

219. The Republic of Guinea, true to its principles of international co-operation founded on the sovereign interests of States, believes that an under-developed economy cannot develop if integrated with a developed economy, since such integration robs it of its strength and is the very cause of its under-development.

220. My delegation hereby reaffirms its agreement with the Charter of Algiers¹¹ concerning the economic rights of the third world, and maintains that traditional formulae, limited concessions and isolated measures are no longer sufficient to enable countries to enjoy economic and social well-being or to obtain the means to develop their resources and lead their peoples to a life free from want and fear.

221. The seriousness of the problem requires the urgent adoption of a global development strategy involving simultaneous action by both the developed and the developing countries.

222. The representatives of the developing countries, united by their common aspirations and by the identity of their economic interests and determined to pursue together their efforts towards economic and social development, peace and prosperity, have reaffirmed in the Charter of Algiers that their economic development depends essentially upon themselves. It is therefore regrettable that they should show so little inclination to progress beyond the idea of national micro-economies and be so utterly lacking in any clear understanding of the kind of national economy without which there can be no change and no real economic development.

223. There are still a great many countries which, consciously or unconsciously, continue as mere extensions of the metropolitan country which suggests to them economic development plans based on the needs of its own markets and not on the interests of the peoples of the countries.

224. Economic development is imperative. Its final objective is the well-being of the working masses and not the protection of the interests of a group of individuals.

225. We in Guinea have created this understanding, this economic development mentality. We have carried out radical changes in the social and economic structures inherited from the colonial system. We have worked out a philosophy of economic development based essentially on the realities of our situation and applicable broadly to the natural region to which we belong. We have struck a national coinage which is in circulation in an independent monetary area. In only eight years of independence we have brought all sectors of the national economy under State control. That, of course, was not achieved without difficulty. The interests of the working masses required that

bourgeois, bureaucratic and national capitalist reactionary elements should be removed from all positions of direction, decision and control.

226. On the basis of its own experience, the Republic of Guinea feels that inter-African co-operation and the reorganization of African trade are the essential conditions for the rapid progress and economic independence of the African continent. Extension of economic areas, exchange of goods, services and technology and harmonization of African development plans are alone capable of creating at the continental level dynamic flows of reciprocal trade spreading beyond the strictly economic framework.

227. Be that as it may, the countries of the southern hemisphere, which have always known the division of their peoples and the exploitation of their wealth, will not shrink from the fight against under-development. This characteristic: inequalities of living standards are also the work of those who regard them merely as storehouses of raw materials and not as countries capable one day of equipping themselves with the necessary structures for achieving their economic independence.

228. The great Powers still have a heavy responsibility in this respect. They should realize that international solidarity and co-operation are not vain words but determining factors for universal peace.

229. These are the general considerations which determine the world political, economic and social climate.

230. For our part, the choice between the opposing camps—that of progress, respect for sovereignty and the right to independence of all peoples, and that of the forces of reaction—is simple and inescapable. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea accepts its full responsibilities and stands resolutely at the side of those who work for peace and the survival of mankind. Those are the inspiring prospects which will decide the position and the votes of our delegation at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

231. Mr. ASSEMEKANG (Congo, Brazzaville) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I first wish to address myself through you to Madam President. After so many distinguished speakers, I am pleased and proud to greet her and offer her my warmest and most fraternal congratulations on her election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Her election to this high office is a great honour not only to her country, but also to Africa and to the United Nations, which is the common hope of us all. It is a well-deserved tribute to her great and noble personal qualities which she has for so many years generously devoted to the service of the Organization.

232. I would not wish to embark on the substance of my speech without also paying a sincere tribute to her illustrious predecessor, our late lamented colleague, Mr. Arenales, who guided the work of the last session with such skill and energy.

233. It is with profound foreboding that we find the opening of the Assembly once again marked with pessimism and bitter disillusionment, amid distress and turmoil,

¹¹ Charter of Algiers, adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 developing countries, held at Algiers from 13-16 September 1968.

beneath threatening skies, torn by cries of suffering and weeping from many troubled regions on our unhappy planet, grappling with the forces of systematic destruction and injustice. And to impart an even darker hue to this sombre picture of stark, harsh reality, let us add that, confronted with this painful situation which impedes the forward march of mankind, the United Nations, the cynosure of so many hopes, is still at the stage of groping for solutions.

234. This melancholy situation, which is the characteristic feature of the international community, is the more overwhelming now that baleful and basely selfish interests, often steeped in the most ignoble hypocrisy and betrayal, the most abject criminality and cynicism, seem to be the determining factors in the complex problems of our era.

235. The forces of evil, the vampires of reaction, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are bent on maintaining their yoke and their cowardly opposition to the forces of revolution, stalwarts of liberty and justice. It is no longer a secret for anyone that the conflicts which arise, grow and spread over our globe, have their roots in the existence of a mighty hidden force whose primary aim is to undermine, sabotage and wreck the just causes, the efforts and the strivings for freedom of the masses of the people of all countries.

236. Since the revolution of 13, 14 and 15 August 1963, modified by the movement of 31 July 1968 under the authentic and exclusive revolutionary leadership of the National Council of the Revolution, its directorate and its great leader, Comrade Major Marien Ngouabi, President of the National Council of the Revolution and Head of State, my country, Congo (Brazzaville) has set out freely, resolutely and inexorably on the road to socialism, along with the rest of the revolutionary world, convinced that the wheel of human history is turning ever more swiftly towards the liberation of all enslaved peoples, in spite of obstacles, in spite of the redoubled efforts of the forces of opposition, and against world reaction, against the tottering monster of imperialism, against moribund colonialism, and against neo-colonialism now thrown into confusion by the rising wave of the forces of the vanguard of world revolution.

237. Congo (Brazzaville) has done its utmost in the past, and will do its utmost in the future, to give substantial help to the defence of oppressed peoples. It will do everything in its power to hamper the efforts of the forces of domination and enslavement, and to serve the interests of proletarian internationalism and universal peace. In pursuance of this policy, Congo (Brazzaville) has always whole-heartedly condemned all attempts to despoil or persecute any of the world's peoples.

238. Thus, in the tragic Middle Eastern conflict between the State of Israel and the Arab States, our position has never been in doubt. My country demands the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab territories, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. This resolution, which alas was not respected by Israel, was followed by other resolutions which have also remained dead letters, namely, resolution 248 (1968) of 24 March 1968, resolution 256 (1968) of 16 August 1968, and resolution 265 (1969) of 1 April 1969.

239. Such conspicuous failure justifies us in asking whether the United Nations has not become a mere factory for the production of resolutions. That was not the goal that we set ourselves on joining this Organization, and Congo (Brazzaville) feels compelled to draw the attention of world opinion to the danger to which we are exposing the whole of mankind by our passivity.

240. The position of Congo (Brazzaville) is clear beyond all doubt. We hope that peace may speedily be restored in that part of the world, but we condemn Israel's annexationist ambitions, believing that this unjust conflict is a grave threat to world peace. The United Nations is in duty bound to apply the obvious solution, which is, and it cannot be repeated too often, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab territories.

241. No solution can be deemed adequate and lasting if it disregards the legitimate aspirations and rights of the people of Palestine; one cannot cure a disease unless one attacks it at the root. In order to be able to do this, the search for a solution to this conflict, whose bloody episodes have caused consternation the world over, must be undertaken in a climate free from intrigue. Certain Powers, which have already sufficiently distinguished themselves by their interference in the affairs of other countries, must cease their encouragement and support of the expansionist views of one of the parties to the conflict. My country is accordingly following with interest the discussions between the four great Powers for the purpose of finding a solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

242. Not far from that danger point, another tragedy of human and material losses is the incredibly bitter struggle between Nigeria and secessionist Biafra. This gangrene in the heart of Africa, which is causing untold suffering to innocent peoples, could have been quickly healed without harm to Nigeria's interests, had it not been for foreign interference. But, sad to say, the fire which is devastating that rich and beautiful country was lit and is being fanned by foreign hands, groping for "black gold", for it is quite certain that if Nigeria's subsoil did not conceal oil deposits, the conflict ravaging that country today would never have reached its present proportions. The great Powers must therefore cease their interference in this part of the African continent, whose peoples have suffered severely in the civil war and wish for nothing but a return to normal life.

243. The problem of Nigeria is an African problem to which an African solution must be found, a solution within the framework of the Organization of African Unity and in accordance with the resolution adopted by that body at the recent "summit" conference in Addis Ababa. Congo (Brazzaville) is against balkanization and the continuation of the war in Nigeria.

244. The list of scourges ravaging the African continent, a large part of which emerged exhausted from the era of colonialism, is unfortunately not yet ended.

245. Many African peoples remain cowed beneath the colonialist yoke of Portugal, a small, under-developed, half-primitive country, with one of the highest illiteracy rates in the world, a country which, without the barbarous imperialist forces of NATO, would not have lasted a single

day against the upsurge of the revolutionary masses of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands.

246. Thus, by the unconditional support which they lend to Portugal's outdated policies and colonial military expeditions, which they strengthen and equip in defiance of every moral law and of the sacred right of peoples to decide their own destiny, the forces of NATO are guilty of abominable crimes which will remain for ever graven in the memory of mankind.

247. The African populations under the Portuguese colonial yoke have been basely oppressed and dishonoured. The policy and conduct of the Portuguese administration in the occupied African territories is the most reprehensible and revolting imaginable. It is the brutal application of a policy of systematic suppression of all rights. In these African territories, under the oppressive rule of Portuguese colonialists, the best land belongs to the Portuguese masters. Trade and all other activities enabling man to take part in the life of the community in which he lives are beyond the reach of the indigenous population. The petty officials in the interior are veritable executioners, both for the Lisbon Government and on their own account; they assassinate African citizens and every day set out to spread terror and anguish with the assistance of a political police force modelled on the Gestapo.

248. That, in a few words, is what the so-called humanitarian countries of NATO are supporting and maintaining through their partner, Portugal. That is why my country, in face of Portugal's colonial policy, which is a disgrace to mankind, feels it its duty to assist unconditionally all liberation movements of the peoples under its domination.

249. The implacable struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Angola leads us naturally to another unjust situation which arouses the anger and reproach of the world—that of the Zimbabwe people and the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, in the southern part of the African continent.

250. The segregationist policy of the South African Government and its extremely insolent attitude towards the United Nations are inadmissible, and have already grievously undermined the prestige of the Organization. Congo (Brazzaville) whole-heartedly denounces and condemns this policy, based on racial discrimination, and demands that the United Nations take strong measures to discourage once and for all the racists of South Africa.

251. With regard to Namibia, the position of my country is the same as that of the majority of the great United Nations family. South Africa has no right whatsoever to Namibia, since the United Nations has formally terminated South Africa's Mandate for South West Africa. Namibia both juridically and lawfully belongs to its inhabitants, the Namibians.

252. South Africa's attitude towards this problem reeks of pure villainy and its inveterate love of anachronism. At the same time, were it not for the forces of imperialism, the international monopolies, and the assistance of some Members of this very Organization who practise a hideous

two-faced policy with regard to the segregationist forces of South Africa, the Government of South Africa would already have yielded to the repeated injunctions of the United Nations.

253. And as might have been expected, under the influence of *apartheid*, another focus of racial segregation has been established where a small minority refuses to grant to an overwhelming majority the right to participate in the administration of its own country, thus trampling underfoot the most elementary principles of democracy. Only recently, parody was carried to extremes when the racist rebel régime of Ian Smith organized a ridiculous referendum, the results of which have made it the laughing stock of the world.

254. As we have always said in regard to the situation in Rhodesia, my country holds the Wilson Government responsible, for despite the protests of peoples in all parts of the world, including the British people, against the policy of Ian Smith, the Wilson Government, whether intentionally or unintentionally, showed itself strangely complacent.

255. Thus, as a result of its equivocations, the United Nations is confronted with a fait accompli and to challenge such a fait accompli demands even greater energy and stronger action. We are confronted by a dark conspiracy of base interests whose members are South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia, aided and abetted by another equally shady bunch of sympathizers and honorary presidents, the members of NATO. That is another regrettable fact.

256. From one regrettable fact to another, mankind is moving towards the abyss, and may well be engulfed in it unless strong hands take up the challenge flung down before the human race.

257. So long as no serious attack is launched against the forces of international monopoly and the imperialist interests which sustain the slow, subtle, implacable and many-sided war known as the "cold war", the forces of liberation will never feel secure, and the peoples of the world will never be able to achieve free expression, the management of their own affairs or the guidance of the destinies of their countries in accordance with their own wishes and deepest aspirations. Glaring examples of this abound.

258. We are living through a most deplorable tragedy: the courageous struggle of the brave Viet-Nameese people, standing up on its own soil to one of the greatest Powers of our time.

259. In regard to this painful problem, Congo (Brazzaville) has always adopted an unequivocal position, unequivocal because it is in defence of a just cause, the cause of Viet-Nameese patriots fighting for freedom and for the unity of their country. The victories of the Viet-Nameese forces have always been enthusiastically applauded by our people. My country was one of the first to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, the establishment of which marked a decisive turning-point in the history of the Viet-Nameese people in their struggle against aggression, an aggression characterized by indescribable atrocities and the most demoralizing barbarity.

260. This aggression must cease, and the South Viet-Nameese people left free to decide its own destiny. The Paris Conference, from which the peoples of the world are hoping so much, must stop marking time and move forward to the stage of frank and realistic negotiations.

261. Unfortunately, the United States has refused to give a serious reply to the ten-point package proposal put forward by the National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, notably to the two fundamental points of that proposal, namely unconditional withdrawal of all United States and satellite troops stationed in South Viet-Nam, and formulation of a coalition government.

262. The withdrawal of 60,000 United States troops out of a total of 600,000 in South Viet-Nam appears to the rest of the world as an utterly insignificant gesture and the Agence France Presse was quite right when it said on 16 September last that: "The White House was indulging in arithmetical acrobatics which only added to the general confusion" of the withdrawal. As that great American newspaper, *The New York Times*, observed on 15 September, these 60,000 United States troops, announced with a great fanfare by the President of the United States from this rostrum, will not affect the United States war effort in any way.

263. The people of Congo (Brazzaville), like all peoples who love peace and justice, once again condemns these Machiavellian designs whose object is to prolong the United States military presence in South Viet-Nam, and to gain time to reinforce the army and bolster up the puppet administration in Saigon. This object was clearly revealed in the statement by Mr. Melvin Laird, the United States Secretary of Defense, published in *Time* magazine, that even if there were a partial withdrawal, the United States would still keep 250,000 United States troops in South Viet-Nam for an indefinite period.

264. It is no accident that the United States, while publicizing this withdrawal, continues to keep up military pressure against the South Viet-Nameese population. According to the Agence France Presse of 14 September last, the United States Tactical Air Force alone carried out 369 raids, and during the nights of 14, 15 and 16 September its B-52s made twenty-four raids over South Viet-Nam. Since 12 September, the United States Navy and artillery have attacked the demilitarized zone on numerous occasions, and on 14 September, the United States artillery even shelled the northern part of the zone.

265. How, in these conditions and in the face of such acts of piracy, can anyone dare to talk of a genuine contribution to peace and of a desire to put an end to the war, while at the same time opposing the setting up of a coalition government which alone could achieve national harmony, a broad union of the various sectors of the population and political parties, establish democratic freedom, and organize free general elections in the whole of South Viet-Nam?

266. From this rostrum, the President of the United States urged us, representatives of the 126 States Members of the United Nations, to use our "best diplomatic efforts to persuade Hanoi to move seriously into the negotiations

which could end this war" [1755th meeting, para. 60]. The people of Congo (Brazzaville) are ready to do this, but they would urge the Government of the United States, on the basis of the Monroe Doctrine, to let the Viet-Nameese settle their own affairs without foreign interference. Congo (Brazzaville) believes that the ending of hostilities now lies entirely in the hands of the United States. After the failure of the Democratic Government of President Johnson, we fear that, with the obstinate determination of the Republican Government to continue the war, the American people may take to the streets and demand an end to this ghastly tragedy, for, as *The New York Times* wrote on 29 August 1969, there can be no solution to the problem so long as President Nixon continues to undertake to support the Thieu régime.

267. Not far from Viet-Nam is another region where the forces of evil have taken root—Korea, a true by-product of the cold war. Congo (Brazzaville), true to its socialist philosophy and to the immutable principle that all peoples have certain inalienable rights, supports and will continue whole-heartedly to support the Korean people. The need for the presence of United Nations forces in this part of Asia should be reviewed; we do not believe that it is likely to improve the situation in this arbitrarily divided country; and we fear in fact that it may be no more than a sham. The Korean dispute must be settled in a climate free from foreign interference, and our community, whose aim is to promote and safeguard universal peace, must do its utmost to ensure that this area lives and prospers in renewed tranquillity and brotherhood. The problem of the unification of Korea is a domestic problem for the Korean people. It must be settled by the Koreans themselves in conformity with the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that the United Nations is not authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

268. But to list all the manifestations of the cold war and trace all the outbreaks of violence in the world would take too long. The highly respectable United Nations has more than once fallen into the trap of refusing to admit as a Member the greatest nation on earth, refusing to allow it to play its part in guiding our community. This is an absurd paradox, and this great family of nations, which needs to be strengthened to be effective, ought to remedy such a grievous disregard of its own principles. My country demands that, in the course of this session, the People's Republic of China should be reinstated in its rights as the sole representative of the Chinese people.

269. The presence of a certain so-called nationalist China in this Organization is inadmissible. The United Nations must restore People's China to its lawful rights, and at the same time invite the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek to surrender the rights they have usurped. The Congolese people, like all justice-loving peoples, cannot accept that a quarter of the world's population should not be represented in this Organization.

270. It seems to us inconceivable that, without the People's Republic of China, a solution can be found to any of the major problems confronting the world. For example, disarmament is held up by an obstacle that can only really be surmounted when a delegation from Peking begins to

take an effective part in discussions. Whatever one may think of it, China's power is an established fact, and to keep China out of the settlement of major world problems is both absurd and hypocritical.

271. As for the substance of the problem of disarmament, Congo (Brazzaville) wishes to state emphatically that the great Powers which possess immense stocks of weapons must base their decisions on sincerity and impartiality. Congo (Brazzaville) does not want disarmament policy to be a mere manoeuvre of the great Powers for the purpose of establishing their supremacy. Disarmament must be effective if it is to serve the real interests of peoples everywhere. The astronomical rise in the great Powers' expenditure on armaments is scandalous and outrageous, in view of the poverty, the ghettos and the numerous other problems confronting two thirds of mankind.

272. The startling imbalance in the world economic situation testifies most eloquently to the dominant selfishness to the barrier that divides the rich from the poor. And everyone knows that this barrier, built on the indifference and selfishness of the wealthy countries, grows wider and higher every year.

273. As we enter what some call the Second United Nations Development Decade we find, alas, that for many of our countries the necessary conditions for embarking on the process of rapid economic development are far from having been attained. Not only is the third world economically backward, to an alarming degree, in comparison with the industrialized countries, but statistics all show that this backwardness is increasing dramatically in relation to population growth. And the facts, unfortunately, only serve to confirm our pessimism when we consider what steps have been taken in an endeavour to reverse the trend. The New Delhi Conference¹² dramatically revealed to the whole world the underlying selfishness of the developed countries.

274. The developing countries want to have done with the sophisticated world of useless theorizing and condescension, and to get straight into the stimulating and decisive world of practical realities and genuine international solidarity. It is for this reason that Congo (Brazzaville) believes that economic co-operation and development must be given new forms. This is another regrettable fact.

275. What conclusion can we draw from this brief survey of the state of the game on the international chess-board? Personally I decline to draw any conclusion, because the facts speak for themselves more forcefully and more spontaneously than anything that human intelligence could devise.

276. I must, however, emphasize, for the benefit of the people who have appointed you, honourable representatives, that positive forces must act with redoubled energy and determination if justice and peace are to prevail for us and for future generations and if we are ever to see a more worthy and more active international community.

277. The PRESIDENT: The Minister for External Affairs of India, His Excellency Mr. Dinesh Singh, has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

278. Mr. DINESH SINGH (India): It was not my intention to come to this rostrum a second time today and to take up the time of this august Assembly. However, the representative of Pakistan, in the course of his statement this morning, said some things about which it is necessary to set the record right.

279. He referred to certain bilateral matters that concern his country and mine, and I was hoping that those matters, which are not new to you and have been here for some time, could, as he himself had suggested, be discussed bilaterally between Pakistan and India. However, since he has chosen again to draw the attention of this Assembly to these matters, I should like very briefly to make a few comments.

280. First, he referred to the question of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. He drew our attention to the point of ascertaining the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. I should like to remind the representative of Pakistan that it was India and not Pakistan which brought up the question before this Organization, and that the question was Pakistan's aggression against the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the debate that followed here, no doubts were left about Pakistan's aggression, and Pakistan was asked to withdraw its troops. What has Pakistan done about this? Can the Minister of Information of Pakistan tell us that Pakistan has, in conformity with the United Nations resolution, withdrawn its troops from Jammu and Kashmir?

281. I should also like to remind the representative of Pakistan that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised their option and have confirmed irrevocably the earlier accession of the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir to India. If a small number of people have been forcibly prevented from confirming that option, it is those that Pakistan holds in bondage.

282. The representative of Pakistan spoke of the right of self-determination. My mind went back to my country, where today we celebrate the centenary of the father of our nation. We have today with us one of his most distinguished followers, a devoted leader of his land who has struggled all his life for the freedom of his people. He too has asked for the right of self-determination for his people—and not from India but from Pakistan. For us it is a matter of privilege to have with us such a man, who is himself known as the "Frontier Gandhi". But what did Pakistan do to him, and what did Pakistan do to the right of self-determination that he has been asking for his people?

283. The representative of Pakistan has suggested bilateral discussions to resolve our differences. The Government of India has always been ready to discuss with Pakistan, on a bilateral basis, all matters that could hamper closer relations between the two countries, as well as those which could positively foster closer relations.

284. Secondly, the Minister from Pakistan in his speech also referred to the question of the construction of the

¹² United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, second session, 1 February-29 March 1968.

Farakka Barrage in India. If my memory serves me right, when Pakistan, for the first time, took up this question several years ago we had been informed that their requirement of water from the Ganges would be 3,500 cusecs. In the years that have intervened, Pakistan has been inflating this demand constantly, and we are now presented with a request for 58,000 cusecs of water. In nine years the demand has been multiplied by more than fifteen times. Representatives will therefore appreciate that we are ourselves anxious to solve this problem so that the demand does not go up any more.

285. However, the position is that the Ganges is an Indian river, yet we are willing to discuss this matter with Pakistan to satisfy them that construction of the Farakka Barrage will not do any damage to Pakistan. Technical level talks were suggested by us only to ascertain the possible utilization that Pakistan could make of the waters from the Ganges. The problem of East Pakistan is not a problem of shortage of water, but of excess of water, and therefore it is a matter which had to be examined fully before any meaningful discussions could take place at any other level. One therefore wonders whether this water is really required for the benefit of the farmers in East Pakistan or whether this issue is being raised in respect of East Pakistan only as a political move.

286. Finally, the representative of Pakistan chose to refer to certain recent happenings in my country about which we are all deeply grieved. I said in my statement this morning, and I repeat:

“Gandhiji set for us exacting standards. He wanted us to be tolerant, non-violent and generous in our everyday life. We do not claim that we have lived up to his precepts. We have faltered many a time, even recently, but nobody can accuse us of not earnestly trying to follow the path set for us.” [1775th meeting, para. 104.]

287. Representatives are aware that India is a secular State. Fundamental rights are guaranteed to all sections of our society. In the two decades of our independence we have tried firmly to establish secularism in law and in practice. We cannot say that as yet we have always succeeded. But we can say with some satisfaction that we have been able to give equality and security to all sections of our people in a measure of which we can be justly proud. Despite this, we see sometimes man's flight into madness. This is not peculiar to our country alone. Unfortunately, communal riots, racial disturbances and other conflicts have troubled many countries, and we are pained whenever and wherever they take place. So we have to go on strengthening our society, removing doubts and suspicions so that every man, woman and child in our country continues to enjoy the full freedoms and fundamental rights guaranteed under our Constitution. Our task is immensely complicated by the constant incitement of communal hatred, broadcast day in and day out by all the media of mass communication available to the Government of Pakistan. I would beg of the Minister of Information of Pakistan, who is my senior in years, that if he is in any way concerned about the minorities in my country, he should show the wisdom of using the means that he controls to propagate harmony and unity and not conflict.

288. Let us look at Pakistan's record of the treatment of minorities. The year Pakistan came into existence as an independent country there were approximately 18.1 million Hindus in Pakistan. In the decade that followed, Pakistan brutally brought down this figure to about 10 million. It could be asked of the Minister of Information of Pakistan as to what happened to these more than 8 million people, even if we do not take into account the normal increase that one may have expected in the population growth through the years. Have they been killed, converted, or driven out? On my part, I should like to inform him that between the two census periods, say between 1951 and 1961, the Muslim population in our country has recorded an increase from 35.4 million to 46.9 million, and now stands at over 60 million. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that our minorities are playing a leading role in all aspects of our national life.

289. On this day when we are attempting closer co-operation, I should not wish to dwell any more on this subject. As I said in the morning, it will be our effort to work with the international community to establish new bonds of friendship and co-operation and to strengthen the ones that exist. I offer to Pakistan the same hand of friendship. Let us work together, step by step, to resolve our differences, to remove the barriers that prevent the people in the two countries from coming together and to strengthen the age-old ties that have existed. I hope that in this I shall receive the full co-operation of my colleague from Pakistan.

290. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

291. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): The Foreign Minister of Iran referred to the question of the Shatt El-Arab between Iraq and Iran. I am sure that my Foreign Minister would wish to state the position of the Iraqi Government concerning that question, but my delegation did not want to leave unchallenged some remarks which were made by the Foreign Minister of Iran on it. I should like to make a brief comment on those remarks at this stage.

292. The Foreign Minister of Iran stated three considerations as to why Iran unilaterally considered the Treaty of 1937 as null and void. One of them was because, as he stated, Iraq persists in interfering with the free navigation on the Shatt El-Arab. For the last thirty-two years the navigation on the Shatt El-Arab has been very orderly and under the direction and administration of the Iraqi authorities according to the Treaty of 1937 which, by the way, was based upon the Treaty of Erzerum of 1847 and the Protocol of Constantinople of 1913. In those Treaties and in the Treaty of 1937 Iraq's sovereignty over the Shatt El-Arab and its administration had been confirmed.

293. The Foreign Minister of Iran stated that the Treaty of 1937 was imposed on Iran for colonial or by colonial interests. I should like to state here and now that that Treaty was signed and ratified by the Iranian Government, which was at that time presided over by the Shah of Iran, who was the father of the present Shah. Iran, indeed, was an independent State, and as a historical fact it was Iraq which gave some benefits to Iran in that Treaty, and not the other way round.

294. The Foreign Minister of Iran stated that Iraq refused for thirty-two years to carry out the provisions of the Treaty. One wonders why at this stage, and only today, Iran has found it fit to declare that Treaty null and void. For thirty-two years that Treaty has been very much in operation.

295. The Foreign Minister of Iran disputed the right of Iraq to the Shatt El-Arab and our sovereignty over it on the following basis. First, that the Shatt El-Arab is long and runs for eighty miles between the two countries. Secondly, that more than half of its waters originate in Iranian territory. Thirdly, that the general tone—and I stress the words “general tone”—of the Treaty of 1937 does not give Iraq absolute sovereignty.

296. I leave the representatives to ponder upon these three reasons which are being used by the Foreign Minister of Iran as a pretext for the unilateral abrogation of the Treaty. Indeed, if this example were to be followed by other countries, you can imagine what kind of changes will have to be made to the map of today's world. Then, the Foreign Minister of Iran stated: “Iraq by its refusal to carry out its commitment under the Treaty of 1937 forfeited any rights it acquired under the Treaty”. I just mentioned that it was Iran which acquired some privileges and some rights under that Treaty, and not Iraq.

297. Furthermore, for these reasons, and other reasons which were mentioned in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Iran, he declared the Treaty null and void. We know very well that treaties of frontiers are not treaties which can be changed unilaterally at the wish and will of one party, especially when there is no provision in those treaties, as is the case with the 1937 Treaty, for any amendment or change.

298. The Foreign Minister of Iran informed this Assembly that Iran had already informed the President of the Security Council of the position, and proposed a number of alternatives to be agreed upon. We, for our part, have already informed the President of the Security Council of our position and our readiness to negotiate with our Iranian neighbours on the basis of the Treaty and on its implementation. We also expressed our readiness to go to or to recognize the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, if our Iranian neighbours would agree to that. We will then see, through the International Court of Justice, where right rests. If Iran is sincere in its claims, why does it not sit and talk with us on the basis of that Treaty and its implementation, or why does it not go with us to the International Court of Justice? So much, for the time being, on the question of the Shatt El-Arab.

299. The Foreign Minister of Iran referred to the Arab Gulf. In referring to the Arab Gulf he referred to it, or to part of it at least, as part of their past. Iran's connexion with the Gulf was as an occupying Power for a certain time in the region. If a relationship of that kind constitutes a relationship of the past with that Power, then I am sure my friends from Africa and Asia will wonder what will happen if the occupying Powers were to claim some rights in Africa and Asia because Africa and Asia, and indeed other parts of the world, were parts in the past of the colonial Powers. The mere occupation by Iran of certain parts of the Arab

Gulf does not give it any rights to interfere, or any claims whatsoever.

300. The Foreign Minister of Iran referred to the riches and fortunes of the Arab Gulf. He stated that they were ready to share the fortunes of the region with those territories. Those fortunes belong to the Arab people of the region and not to foreigners or to the former occupiers.

301. As to the conditions in the region, when the British will fulfil their announcement to withdraw from the region, the Foreign Minister of Iran stated [*see para. 157 above*]:

“We believe now and we continue to believe that conditions of security and stability in the [Arab] Gulf area can be maintained only if the historical rights and interests of all the littoral States are preserved.”

302. All rights in the area belong to the Arab people of those areas and not to others. It is for the people and population of those areas to decide for themselves their future and what to do with their riches and fortunes.

303. The PRESIDENT: The Minister of Information of National Affairs of Pakistan, His Excellency Sher Ali Khan, has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

304. Mr. SHER ALI KHAN (Pakistan): The representative of India has been offended by what I said about the realities of the India-Pakistan subcontinent. He regrets that I should have cited such facts during the commemoration of the birth centenary of Gandhiji. I put it to him; could there be a better homage to the spirit of Gandhiji and to the cause in which he died than by India rededicating itself to the objective of banishing fanaticism and suppressing violence? It is this dedication that I suggested, and for which I made an appeal to India in my speech.

305. I said that humanity demands that the violence, to which thousands fall victims in India, be checked. Do not these words echo Mr. Gandhi's message? Mr. Gandhi died by the bullet of a Hindu fanatic. His last days were devoted to a brave struggle to save the Muslims of Delhi.

306. In a radio broadcast last night, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, admitted that the Gujarat tribes had “made a mockery of all our celebrations”.

307. Another Gandhi disciple, former Deputy Prime Minister of India, Mr. Desai, said in New Delhi earlier today: “Gandhi was assassinated in Delhi, but he was killed once again in Ahmedabad after twenty-two years”. In mourning the victims of Ahmedabad we mourn the second assassination of Gandhi on this day, one of rejoicing for India on the hundredth anniversary of Gandhiji's birth.

308. The representative of India again repeated the statement that India is prepared to hold talks with Pakistan without any pre-conditions. If that statement is sincerely meant, then it means that India is prepared to enter into negotiations with Pakistan for the settlement of all outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan, including that of Jammu and Kashmir.

309. Let the respected Foreign Minister of India come to this rostrum and confirm that understanding. If he does so

he will not find Pakistan unresponsive. We ask nothing more than what Gandhiji and the late Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru pledged. I quote from a biography of Gandhi written by his private secretary, Mr. Pyarelal. The passage refers to Gandhiji's meeting with a Kashmiri deputation during his visit to Jammu and Kashmir in 1947: "India will be free on the fifteenth of August". What of Kashmir? "That will depend on the people of Kashmir", Gandhi replied. They all wanted to know whether Kashmir would join the Indian Union or Pakistan. "That, again", answered Gandhi, "should be decided by the will of the Kashmiris."

310. I give another quotation from Gandhi. This is dated August 1947:

"... the British having quitted India, the people in the States are their own masters and the Kashmiris must therefore decide, without any coercion or show of it from within or without, to which union—India or Pakistan—they should belong."

311. Those two quotations are from Gandhi. I now give a quotation from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru from a broadcast to the nation over All-India Radio on 3 November 1947:

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not, and cannot, back out of it."

312. The representative of India referred to the treatment of minorities in Pakistan. Let India not forget one thing: that no religious riots against the Hindu minority occur in Pakistan.

313. Now, coming to bilateral matters, if these matters are settled amicably, they remain bilateral; but if one party remains obdurate, then international attention has to be drawn to them. The United Nations has laid down that the future of Kashmir has to be decided by the will of the people. The Foreign Minister of India asked: "Why did Pakistan not withdraw its forces from Kashmir?" The answer is given in the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolution of 13 August 1948. The forces of both India and Pakistan have to be withdrawn from Kashmir in a synchronized sequence.

314. I should like to remind the Foreign Minister of India that India accepted that resolution and pledged to abide by it. If India does not show any willingness to withdraw its forces, how can Pakistan unilaterally withdraw its forces and leave the whole of Jammu and Kashmir to be occupied by India?

315. As regards the remarks of the Indian representative pertaining to the dispute over sharing the waters of the international river Ganges, I have a few self-evident points to make.

316. First, the Ganges is an international river, by virtue of its course passing through the territories of Pakistan and India. Why would we be concerned with the river if it did not cross our territory? It is not an Indian river.

317. Second, the utilization of the waters of that river cannot be static, either in the case of Pakistan or that of India. Both countries would continue to require more water, according to plans for increased cultivation. Hence the need for an agreed formula for sharing those waters.

318. Third, no formula for sharing the waters of the Ganges will be equitable which fixes the rights of one side at a static figure for all time to come, leaving all residual rights to the other side. The very nature of the Ganges dispute is such that its solution has to be based on a mutual understanding that is capable of adjustment with the passage of time. We are ready to enter into negotiations with India at a political level to reach such an understanding. It is for India now to reciprocate.

319. The Foreign Minister of India said this morning that there is an "unfortunate attempt by some interested parties to give religious overtones to a problem which is essentially political". Our reaction to that remark is one of deep regret. The Middle East problem is, no doubt, political, but the burning of the holy Al Aqsa Mosque is not purely or entirely a matter of secular concern. Who can deny its religious overtones? This sacrilege has evoked the deepest feelings of anguish among the followers of Islam throughout the world, in that it involves what they consider most sacred to their faith. It was that anguish which brought the representatives of twenty-five Muslim countries together here to request the Security Council to consider the situation which later culminated in the convening of the Islamic Summit Conference at Rabat held from 22 to 25 September 1969. Pakistan has consistently declared that the issue of Jerusalem is of universal concern.

320. We were the first to welcome the participation of the representatives of non-Muslim countries, including India, in the debate in the Security Council on the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque. We welcome again from this rostrum their continued interest in the crucial issue of Jerusalem and pay them tribute for their stand on the principle of the question.

321. I am thankful to the Foreign Minister of India for offering the hand of friendship. I am ready to grasp it. He only has to tell me that we can sit down and negotiate all our outstanding disputes, including Jammu and Kashmir and Farakka, and devise effective measures of protection for our respective minorities. Let there be no exceptions, no conditions, no qualifications and no reservations. I am prepared to grasp his hand on those conditions.

322. The PRESIDENT: I understand from the representative of Iran that, because of the lateness of the hour, he prefers to exercise his right of reply tomorrow.

323. Before adjourning the meeting I have the pleasant duty to fulfil of taking this opportunity, on behalf of the President, to thank the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, Iran, and Congo (Brazzaville), the Permanent Representative of Syria to the United Nations and the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Guinea for the compliments they paid the Chair.

The meeting rose at 8.5 p.m.