

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



**1853rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 29 September 1970,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JÓNSSON (Iceland): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the Icelandic delegation as well as personally, to offer you our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the high office of the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election stands as a well-earned tribute to your great personal and professional qualifications. With your extensive knowledge and your long experience in the affairs of the United Nations, I am confident that you will lead this anniversary session of "peace, justice and progress" to fruitful accomplishments.

2. I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to your predecessor in the presidential chair, Her Excellency Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, who presided over the last session with gracious dignity and great skill. I pay tribute to the fine leadership she showed in directing the deliberations of the last session of this Assembly.

3. Allow me, furthermore, to use this opportunity to extend thanks to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for outstanding service during his term in office. His performance in the high position of Secretary-General and his devotion to the maintenance of world peace is recognized by all member nations. It is to be regretted if U Thant is not to remain in his position for another term. I very much hope that he will continue to work actively for the cause of world peace.

4. When the United Nations was established 25 years ago, the idea was to have the Organization contribute to the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and to take collective measures to prevent and

remove threats to the peace—to ensure in particular that armed force should not be used. Allow me to congratulate the Organization on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary and to give expression to our sincere thanks for the extensive activities of the Organization. Furthermore, I should like to express the wish that the Organization will in the future be true to its aims and that it will prove successful in carrying out the tasks originally given to it in the Charter. Sometimes it is said that the United Nations has failed to solve world problems. Admittedly, it is true that the Organization has not succeeded in solving all problems. That is certainly not strange and the reason is first and foremost that the Organization does not have executive power, as has often been pointed out. However, I would say that the Organization has succeeded, in spite of difficult circumstances, to solve many problems.

5. In Iceland we have an old Nordic proverb saying: "You settle a land with laws and you lay it waste with lawlessness." The meaning of this proverb is that the subjects of a society should establish laws and regulations on their behaviour, and that these laws and regulations should be followed. In particular, one should ensure that force shall not be used, and one should always abide by the laws. In the community of nations, of course, the same rule or law should be observed, and I would consider it only natural that the United Nations should be powerful enough to enforce international law. But it has to be admitted that there are many hindrances and real difficulties, which have to be overcome if the United Nations is to succeed fully in accomplishing its aims. One could mention many examples of this.

6. The most recent example, and the one that has caused great anxiety on the international scene, is that relatively small but violent groups of fanatics have taken as hostages altogether innocent people, both as passengers on civil aircraft and even representatives of foreign States on legal assignments. These victims of violence have been kept in captivity for the purpose of blackmail—to force acceptance of outrageous demands of a more or less illegal nature. And the criminal commandos have threatened the hostages with injury and even death if their demands are not satisfied. I consider that all relations with nations that tolerate such kidnapping will be imperilled. Some measures will have to be found to prevent this violence. On the other hand, one cannot overlook the fact that many of those who have taken these violent actions live in great difficulties and suffer even injustice, so that it is not by any means unnatural that they resort to desperate actions. But one cannot under any circumstances

tolerate this. Their problems will have to be solved by other means. Violence serves no useful purposes but will have grave consequences for those who resort to it. Something will have to be done. These hijackers have world public opinion against them, and therefore the matter should be more manageable.

7. In my opinion, even if there are many things that can stand improvement, and many problems that still remain unsolved, the United Nations can look back upon its activities during the first quarter of a century with considerable satisfaction, and it can look to the next quarter of a century with optimism and confidence that many problems, which have not yet been solved, will gradually be solved.

8. This past year, since the last General Assembly, events have taken place that give good hope for the future. First, I should like to mention the situation in Europe. Europe has long been the biggest and bloodiest battleground in the world, and the peace of the world depends to a large extent on the success of co-operation between European States. So far there has been great tension between East and West and the German problem has caused many difficulties. Recently the Soviet Union and Germany concluded a non-aggression treaty¹ and talks have begun between the two German States. Whatever the concrete results of those talks, those are steps in the right direction, and we hope that those talks that have now commenced will lead to positive results.

9. East Germany has expressed its wish to gain admittance to the United Nations, either as a full Member or as an observer. However, I think that it is the opinion of many governments in Europe that the time has not arrived to start considering this question, now that direct talks have begun between the two German States. For the time being it will be better and more conducive to the lessening of tension to wait and see what will possibly be the results of these talks, if they continue, as we hope they will do.

10. In another part of the world the situation seemed to have also advanced to the talking stage, whatever the results of these talks will be, and I am referring to the Arab-Israeli conflict. But in these very last few days intra-Arab fighting has broken out in Jordan and the world has watched the violent actions of the Palestinian guerillas. In the Middle East the situation for the past few years has been such that one is correct in calling it a war situation, even if the war has not raged fully all the time and even if the war has been primarily directed against military objects and ordinary citizens have, for the most part, been left in peace. One will have to consider it a great accomplishment that the Arab-Israeli war has ceased for the time being and that conversations to solve the basic conflict of the Middle East are hopefully about to begin through the good offices of Ambassador Jarring, the United Nations mediator. However, what I said about the German talks is also true of these talks. Today it is not possible to say what the results will be, but as long

as talks continue, one is allowed to hope that some results will be attained. But it was not my intention to commence discussion here in the General Assembly about the Middle East conflict because such a discussion will not contribute to the possibilities of positive results, at this stage anyhow. The so-called "Rogers peace plan" is considered by many to hold the possibilities of an agreement and it seems to be quite obvious for all to try, to the utmost, to find out whether this is so or not.

11. The third area of conflict, which has caused anxiety during past sessions of the General Assembly, is the war in Viet-Nam. Also in this matter, events have taken place since the last Assembly that one has to consider to be steps in the right direction. One of these is the United States decision to withdraw a great number of troops from South-East Asia. Hopefully this could result in diminishing the conflict. Such a de-escalation will be welcomed but the same thing applies here as with the two other matters I mentioned. One cannot say definitely what the future development will be. In all three cases one can, however, say that developments during the last year seem to hold possibilities which could become real opportunities.

12. One cannot say the same thing about the fourth and last tension area that I should like to mention in general terms. Apparently there has been no change in the situation in South Africa and Namibia, which has been discussed extensively during past sessions of the General Assembly. South Africa sticks to the policy of *apartheid* and South Africa continues to control Namibia notwithstanding, in both those cases, repeated resolutions of the United Nations to the contrary. This reminds us of the most obvious weakness of the United Nations, that is, that resolutions by the United Nations are totally disregarded by the parties who are dissatisfied with those resolutions and consider themselves powerful enough to disregard them with impunity.

13. The executive power is lacking, as I have repeatedly pointed out from this rostrum. This state of affairs will have to change if the United Nations is to accomplish its aims.

14. The primary role of the United Nations is and will be the prevention of armed conflicts and the maintenance of international peace and security. But our Organization has other aims as well. On earlier occasions in my interventions in the general debate of the General Assembly I have had the honour to discuss also the second main objective of the United Nations—the promotion of social progress and economic advancement of all peoples in larger freedom. In particular, I have drawn attention to certain aspects of this major objective of the United Nations which are of vital concern to the Icelandic nation, especially those aspects of our social and economic tasks which have to do with the sea.

15. Being an island nation in the middle of the North Atlantic, the Icelandic people base their livelihood primarily on the fisheries around Iceland. This depen-

¹ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

dence on the living resources of the sea is best demonstrated by citing two figures. Over 35 per cent of our gross national product is exported and of these exports about 90 per cent are fish or fishery products of one kind or another. From these figures one will realize how important the fishing industry is to the national economy of Iceland. Economic activity centres around the fisheries. Almost all necessities of life have to be imported into Iceland, and these imports are financed by exporting fishery products.

16. Therefore, conservation and rational management of the fish stocks in the North Atlantic Ocean are truly of vital interest to the Icelandic people. And in the sea around Iceland, above the country's clearly distinguishable continental shelf, there are invaluable fishing banks and nursery grounds upon whose preservation depends the livelihood and continued economic development of the Icelandic nation.

17. The Government of Iceland has for many years actively followed a policy of conservation of the living resources of the sea. And because of Iceland's special situation, the Government has claimed its right to extend its fisheries jurisdiction beyond the territorial waters to reserve the fisheries in the contiguous zone for the exclusive utilization of the coastal population.

18. Such special situations relating to coastal fisheries of exceptional nature have been recognized in general terms by the international community. The first Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1958 adopted a resolution on the subject. And the particular case of Iceland was recognized in 1961 by two of the biggest deep-sea fishing nations which have a special interest in the North Atlantic, when the United Kingdom and Germany accepted the last extension by Iceland of its fisheries jurisdiction out to twelve miles from straight base lines, especially agreed upon by the parties concerned. The recognition of Iceland's unilateral extension of the exclusive fisheries jurisdiction in the contiguous zone was made in view of the exceptional dependence of the Icelandic nation upon coastal fisheries for its livelihood and economic development.

19. On 5 May 1959 the Icelandic Parliament passed an often-quoted resolution on the extension of the fisheries jurisdiction to cover the whole of the continental shelf. Since then that resolution has constituted for the Government of Iceland its working instructions in these matters. As far as Iceland is concerned, it is the Government's firm conviction that conservation and utilization, not only of the mineral resources in the sea-bed and the subsoil of its continental shelf but also the living resources in the waters above the continental shelf, shall be recognized internationally as subject to the exclusive jurisdiction and control of Iceland.

20. The conservation measures taken in the North Atlantic have undeniably been of great value in many cases, but they have proven to be insufficient. Increased fishing efforts in the North Atlantic have resulted in over-exploitation of certain fish stocks, some of which stand in danger of depletion. In my statements in general debates at past sessions of the

General Assembly I have repeatedly pointed out this danger and called for urgent measures to prevent the disastrous consequences of over-fishing. The reduction in catches—both in total catches and particularly in catches per unit of effort—of some species in the North Atlantic is indeed so severe that plans are being made to limit the fisheries by strict quota systems. But the experience with these quota systems has been rather unsatisfactory so that more effective measures will have to be taken. And due regard will have to be given to the special requirements of countries or territories whose people are overwhelmingly dependent on coastal fisheries for their livelihood and economic development. People who base practically their whole economic existence on the living resources of the sea will have to be granted preferential rights to the fisheries located outside their present national jurisdiction.

21. We have already had a debate in the General Assembly on the complex set of problems in relation to the sea, all of which are now gathered under agenda item 25. Much work will have to be done by the First Committee. In the spirit of the ideals embodied in the Charter, I am confident that the Committee's discussion will result in practical proposals taking into consideration the interests of all the nations of the world, large and small. The views of the Icelandic Government on specific issues will be explained in detail in the Committee as they come up during its deliberations. Let me briefly touch upon only the main headings.

22. First of all, the Icelandic Government considers that much useful work has already been done by the United Nations on the progressive development of international law regarding many aspects of the sea. However, many problems remain unsolved. Although constituting different aspects, these are all integral parts of the vast field of international maritime law. Progress in that vast field will have to be gradually arrived at by considering the different aspects of the law of the sea, not in isolation but all together since they are all in all interrelated and linked one to another. Much co-ordination will need to be done, and, therefore, my Government welcomes the initiative taken by the delegation of Malta in this respect in the Economic and Social Council last July.²

23. With regard to the question whether a third United Nations conference on the law of the sea should be convened and what should be the scope of its mandate, I should like to sum up the views of the Government of Iceland as follows.

24. We are in favour of convening a conference on the law of the sea whose mandate should be sufficiently broad to cover all aspects of the rights of the coastal State in areas adjacent to its coasts. We maintain that coastal States are entitled to establish the limits of their coastal jurisdiction within a reasonable distance, having regard to geographical, geological, economic and other relevant considerations. We realize that

² *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 13, document E/4907.*

many States consider that a limit of twelve miles is sufficient for their purposes, although, in point of fact, coastal jurisdiction varies now from three to 200 miles. In the special situation where a nation is overwhelmingly dependent upon its coastal resources a limit of 12 miles is not sufficient. In the case of Iceland, jurisdiction and control over the continental shelf and the waters above the shelf are reasonable and just and should be recognized by the international community.

25. It is our earnest hope that the forthcoming conference will be able to serve the really progressive development of international law.

26. Useful work has been done—although progress has been rather slow—by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. The Government of Iceland notes with satisfaction that agreement seems to have been reached on a most important and fundamental component of an eventual declaration of principles with regard to the sea-bed and the ocean floor, that the exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources shall be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective of the geographic location of States—whether landlocked or coastal—taking into particular consideration the needs and interests of the developing countries. Of course the hard reality remains that an agreement has not been reached on the question of the definition of the area of the sea-bed and the ocean floor; or, if one wishes to approach the problem from another direction, the question of delimitation of the continental shelf remains open. That question will have to be solved with due regard to the rights of coastal States to intervene in sea areas adjacent to the areas of national jurisdiction in cases where the coastline or related interests are in grave and imminent danger because of activities on the sea-bed or the ocean floor.

27. Cognizant of the hard realities of the situation, the First Committee should attempt to explore all possibilities for advancement of the work of the sea-bed Committee in step with the development of other aspects of the law of the sea.

28. The same is also true as regards the banning of military uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has worked out proposals on a treaty barring the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed.³ That proposal is to be welcomed and, with the approval of the General Assembly, that treaty should be opened for signature as soon as possible.

29. Yet another aspect of the law of the sea is the prevention and control of pollution of the marine environment. The Government of Iceland feels that it is now imperative upon the United Nations to draw up and open for signature an international convention on the prevention of sea pollution from whatever sources. To be effective such a convention should

establish the obligations and liabilities of States as regards all pollution adversely affecting the living resources of the sea. It would be highly appropriate, in the opinion of the Government of Iceland, to work out an international convention on the prevention of sea pollution in time for it to be opened for signature at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm in 1972, if possible.

30. Finally, there is one more activity of the United Nations in questions regarding the sea that I should like to mention. The Secretary-General has now completed the report he was called upon to give in resolution 2413 (XXIII) on the exploitation and conservation of living marine resources.⁴ The Secretariat is to be highly commended for the excellence of this report, and now it is incumbent on the General Assembly to decide upon further action on the basis of the report. As I have already explained, this is a matter in which my country is vitally interested and the Government of Iceland will, at the appropriate time, have proposals to make regarding further actions on this problem in the United Nations framework. Conservation and rational exploitation of the living resources of the sea are of vital interest not only to Iceland, but to all the Members of the United Nations and, indeed, the world community as a whole, if the war against hunger is to be waged successfully.

31. We appreciate the fact that many nations have already at this stage the same or similar views on these questions as we do. After considering the matter they have adopted the same attitude as we now have. I mention the nations of South America and, indeed, also North America, and many of the nations of Africa and Asia. It would be desirable for all these nations to come to an agreement on a common position so that their views will be accepted at the eventual third conference on the law of the sea.

32. Mr. SEIN WIN (Burma): The delegation of Burma would like first to associate itself with the profound sentiments of sorrow and sympathy that were expressed here this morning at the tragic and irreparable loss which befell the Government and people of the United Arab Republic and the Arab world as a whole, with the sudden and untimely demise of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. We wish to express to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and, through it, to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic and to the bereaved family of President Nasser our sincere and heartfelt condolences on their great loss.

33. Mr. President, I should like to express on behalf of the delegation of Burma our deep sense of satisfaction on your election as President of the twenty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The delegation of Burma is confident that your wide experience in the affairs of the international community will stand you in good stead in the discharge of the particularly heavy responsibilities which lie

³ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

⁴ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 13, document E/4842.*

before you as President of this Assembly, and that your wise counsel will be instrumental in guiding the Assembly along constructive lines so that the process of review and reappraisal of the Organization's work, and rededication to its ideals in this quarter century year of its existence will be furthered in the true interests of international harmony and international co-operation.

34. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey my delegation's warm and sincere appreciation to Her Excellency Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph who, as President of the twenty-fourth regular session, gave her distinguished services in the interests of the General Assembly and provided much of the inspiration for this commemorative year of the Organization.

35. Though part of the work of the present session of the General Assembly will be of a commemorative nature, the General Assembly will as usual focus its attention on the substantive matters that have a bearing on the very viability and the future of the world Organization.

Mr. Jimenez (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

36. The United Nations, founded during the concluding stages of a war of world-wide proportions, was, indeed, dedicated to the preservation of the peace and security of nations in the post-war era. However, the post-war international relations have developed in a pattern vastly different from what the founders of the Organization had envisaged in 1945. The sad fact is, therefore, that the United Nations today is far from being a very effective Organization, particularly in respect of the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security; and a quarter of a century after its establishment its principal purposes have remained largely unfulfilled. The United Nations represents the corporate expression of mankind's concern for its continued existence, from out of a past largely characterized by the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation and the unbridled threat or use of force in international relations. It would not have fallen so short of the expectations of mankind if Member States had endeavoured in good faith to make the United Nations security system more effective in accordance with the Charter, instead of seeking security outside the United Nations, thereby bypassing and weakening it.

37. Since the Charter of the United Nations was adopted, many fundamental changes have taken place in the world, and the Charter cannot be expected to remain unchanged. While the fundamental purposes and principles of the Organization need to be developed and clearly formulated to meet the needs of the present-day international life, attention should be given to strengthening the Charter as appropriate. In this respect, the focus should be on the peace-keeping roles of the appropriate organs of the United Nations and the nature of, and problems attendant on, their functions.

38. I should like to add that my delegation appreciates that, while appropriate review of the United Nations Charter will help to optimize its functional possibilities, the Charter itself merely provides a frame and a reference for co-ordinated action, and that it is the will of the collective membership, which must provide the impulse with which to make it work.

39. At the present time, however, so much of the action or inaction of the United Nations depends on the attitude of the major Powers that, to a large extent, the prestige and authority of the United Nations itself as a corporate body has diminished, and the concept of the sovereign equality of States has remained largely illusory. Problems which confront the international community these days are problems which, by and large, concern all Members of the United Nations, and therefore the legitimate interests and points of view of all Member States should be reflected in determining the nature of actions taken in the name of the United Nations.

40. The delegation of Burma considers that the Charter of the United Nations provides a generally acceptable structure or pattern for friendly relations and co-operation among States for the common good of the international community as a whole. It is true that many Members of the Organization have membership also in groups and organizations, both formal and informal, *ad hoc* and permanent, outside the United Nations itself; and Burma, for one, does not dispute their sovereign right to do so. But we for our part consider our interests to be best safeguarded, and our respect for the interests of other nations most effectively manifested, by and through our membership in the United Nations and by our participation in United Nations and United Nations sponsored conferences and activities.

41. I turn now to events which are further afield but of the utmost importance to us here. Since the mood of the General Assembly reflects in such ample measure the atmosphere attendant on specific developments in the relations between nations, it is perhaps a good augury for the work of the Assembly that we are meeting at a time when the atmosphere is perceptibly clearer over certain areas of the world. The delegation of Burma takes this opportunity to welcome the continued spirit of *détente* between the two super-Powers and their will and concerted effort to avoid a confrontation. We note with satisfaction the talks on the limitation of strategic arms and are hopeful that these talks will yield concrete results in the not too distant future.

42. The agreement recently concluded in Moscow between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany is yet another welcome factor. The agreement is important, in the thinking of the delegation of Burma, in more than a purely European context, since it will remove past suspicions and help promote mutual confidence, thus creating a good framework for international peace and security.

43. I should also like to take note of the developments in the Middle East which have brought about the standstill cease-fire agreement. The acceptance of the standstill cease-fire agreement would appear to reinforce the will for a political settlement on the basis of resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which was adopted unanimously by the Security Council. We wish here to express our confidence that a just and equitable solution can still be formulated under the terms of that resolution. In so doing we are not unaware of the grave new threat now imperilling the peace not only of the region, but of areas far beyond it. We do not underestimate the difficulties inherent in the situation. However, we believe that a realistic approach to the problem, based on justice, will make it obvious to all concerned that there can be no real positions of strength and no alternative to a negotiated political settlement, which alone can ensure a stable and lasting peace in the region. The problem, indeed, calls for the most unremitting effort if a solution is ever to be sighted on the part of the parties to the conflict and of those other parties whose interests have involved their direct participation in seeking a settlement. The delegation of Burma is hopeful that the unmitigated violence and hostility, widespread in the region, will be replaced by, at least, mutual tolerance and that ultimately substantive discussions will be possible on the issues central to the conflict.

44. Bright as the picture may be in other areas of the world, it is regrettable that, nevertheless, in another part of Asia developments have been so progressively retrograde that this year we have witnessed the spread of the armed conflict to envelop the whole of the Indo-China area. The danger that the conflagration which started in Viet-Nam would engulf its neighbours, and even countries beyond, has always been present, and nations in the region will ponder the implications of this situation and the latest developments flowing from it. If the region is, indeed, to comprise independent nations with their resources and energies directed towards the welfare of their people, then it is essential that the external influences and manipulations, bordering on outright domination in some instances, be removed speedily, and each nation be permitted to pursue its destiny along lines chosen by its own people.

45. The delegation of Burma, indeed, attaches utmost importance to the principle that no State or group of States has the right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Today, many a local conflict we see is in a sense a "border conflict" because behind it lie, all the while, the deeper and ultimately decisive conflicts between more powerful outside Powers. It is, therefore, imperative to respect the inalienable right of every State to pursue its political, economic, social and cultural development, without interference in any form by another State or group of States. The use of economic, political or any other form of pressure, not uncommon today, against a State to prevent or impair the exercise of this right is a source of tension and conflict in present-day international life. Experience would, however, indicate that the exercise of such forms of pressure against a State is hardly productive of good, lasting results.

46. It would be appropriate to mention at this point that in the field of the progressive development and codification of international law pursuant to Article 13 of the Charter, the United Nations has made considerable progress. This function of the United Nations is of great importance at the present time when so many new States have recently become Members of the international community. The participation of these new States in this important and urgent work would place international law upon wider and more secure foundations. We hope that, in particular, the formulations of the seven principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States would make it easier for these fundamental principles to be observed and applied effectively in international life, thereby contributing to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

47. I turn now to the subject of disarmament which has become, with its many-sided implications, a matter of major concern to all nations, big and small. Since 1970 marks the beginning of the Disarmament Decade, the subject of disarmament may well pre-empt the attention of the General Assembly this year, and it is hoped that the Assembly will, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary, provide an added impetus to the disarmament deliberations being conducted in Geneva and elsewhere.

48. As to specific disarmament measures, the 1960s have some reasonable accomplishments to show in the way of collateral measures, although the vital issue of actual armaments reduction remains untouched. While placing the highest priority on nuclear disarmament, Burma welcomes collateral measures as generating mutual confidence between States and as paving the way towards the ultimate objective of bringing about international disarmament. The latest prospect for agreement in this area is the draft treaty for denuclearization of the sea-bed, submitted jointly by the Soviet Union and the United States.⁵ Burma attaches importance to this joint effort signifying a nuclear-Power manifestation to place limitations on their nuclear military capabilities.

49. Disarmament is, of course, a problem whose progress or lack of progress is subject to political factors in the international situation. From this perspective, the current strategic arms limitation talks between the major nuclear Powers are of crucial political significance. Burma welcomes the development as a sign that the major nuclear Powers are more interested now in a possible constructive course than they have thus far exhibited. The achievement and stabilization of a strategic balance between them can mean a reversal of the present armaments trend and the setting of the stage for more long-range solutions. Burma looks upon a comprehensive test-ban as part of the first essential major step in nuclear disarmament and any concern on the part of the nuclear Powers should be welcomed if they help to put the world on the road to a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Burma's viewpoint with regard

⁵ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

to nuclear tests remains the same; it hopes that all great Powers in possession of nuclear weapons can come to an early agreement for the complete cessation of nuclear-weapons tests.

50. While bilateral agreements between the major nuclear Powers on strategic arms limitation provide an essential prerequisite for an advance in arms reduction, other measures require the expanded co-operation of the world community of nations since significant progress towards general and complete disarmament necessitates universal application of the arms control system. This is particularly true in the area of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, which is open to the reach of all nations. Burma is of the view that the prohibition of these weapons will not be effective unless concerted efforts are made by all States to stop their development, production and stockpiling of these weapons in accordance with the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report on *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of their Possible Use*.⁶

51. Regarding a comprehensive programme for the Disarmament Decade, the experience and information gained in the 1960s on problems of arms control could unquestionably be of value in furthering the objectives set out for the Decade. Such a programme must have universal appeal and hold promise of success and, of necessity, develop within the framework of existing world political conditions. The preliminary stage of the programme must therefore aim at relaxing international tensions and providing an international environment of confidence and stability, conducive to the formulation of meaningful arms control agreements.

52. At the beginning of the 1960s, the major nuclear Powers came close together on the goal of general and complete disarmament and the main components of a disarmament plan. At the start of the 1970s we find them close together again on the goal of limited stabilized balance, which hopefully could be the beginning of the end of the nuclear arms race and the harbinger of a more positive phase in disarmament negotiations. Burma offers no reproach to the past decade. It looks hopefully forward to the future and welcomes the Disarmament Decade.

53. I should like to touch very briefly on the twin anachronisms of our times, colonialism and racial discrimination. Though they are present in other parts of the world the fact that they appear in their most aggravated form in Southern Africa is not by chance. The Republic of South Africa's history in racial discrimination is to be deplored; its most recent action in colonizing Namibia only demonstrates afresh how removed it is from the world of today. Recent developments, and the support it has received from some Powers, have, however, only tended to strengthen its hand. The delegation of Burma appeals to all these Powers to desist from their aid to and support of the Republic of South Africa since they increase its capacity to pursue its *apartheid* and colonial policies.

54. In Southern Rhodesia the régime in power continues to act against world public opinion, heedless of the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, and this year has witnessed further consolidation in the adamant pursuit of its racist policy.

55. As regards the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Government of Portugal has shown no sign even of relaxing its colonial oppression.

56. The delegation of Burma considers it significant that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations coincides with the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Unlike the first Development Decade, the Second Decade will be launched with a comprehensive strategy for international development, reflecting better co-operation and co-ordination among United Nations bodies in the economic field. However, it must also be admitted that this international development strategy will necessarily be a delicately balanced compromise. Contributions made to the fashioning of the strategy and, what is even more important, to its implementation, will be a test not only of the goodwill and understanding of the developed countries, but also of maturity and self-discipline in economic affairs on the part of the developing countries.

57. I cannot help referring to a great injustice being done to a large section of the world's population by denying it representation in this Organization. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from China's seat in the United Nations is also against the interests of the Organization itself, since discussion of problems that confront the international community would be more realistic if the People's Republic of China were a party to them as a Member of the United Nations.

58. As the General Assembly commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we must acknowledge that the United Nations has achieved a large measure of success in various fields, and that nations today are more anxious than ever before to seek to concert their efforts so as to erase the causes of conflict, to coordinate their actions so that their respective interests may be harmonized, to co-operate with each other to the end that the commonweal of mankind will be served and not imperilled.

59. What is clear to us today is that the United Nations has not departed from the ideals set out at San Francisco. As we face the future, therefore, nations may wish to rededicate themselves with renewed determination to the ideals set out at San Francisco by practising with more consistency the principles enshrined in the Charter.

60. Mr. RASHID (Pakistan): Recognizing Ambassador Hambro's long and very close association with the United Nations, in the tradition of service to the international community set by his distinguished father, and his own unrivalled qualifications, this Assembly has, indeed, done itself good service by electing him to his present high office. While offering

⁶ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.69.I.24.

our felicitations to him on this occasion, I must say that it is a matter of real satisfaction to my country's delegation that, in this crucial year of the history of the United Nations, the choice should have fallen on a person of his eminence and calibre for the conduct of the affairs of the General Assembly.

61. I should not fail here to pay a tribute to his illustrious predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia, who has become such a source of pride for the people of Africa and for womanhood in general.

62. The United Nations having come of age by now, it is only natural that people of understanding all over the world should give serious thought to the effectiveness of this large and growing but not yet complete family of nations, and that the participants in this Assembly on the historic occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization should, in particular, pause for a while to evaluate its achievements and to take stock of its shortcomings. While a measure of self-congratulation on its achievements would be permissible—and in all fairness this should not be grudged—it would not be an idle exercise to reflect on the reasons why the United Nations has fallen short of the expectations entertained about it when its Charter was first conceived.

63. The theme of this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is "Peace, justice and progress". No words could better sum up the purposes for which the Organization was founded than those three words, chosen by the General Assembly in "the desire that 1970 will mark the beginning of an era of peace".

64. In the 25 years that have gone by, mankind has been spared the catastrophe of a nuclear war—though at times the world has teetered on the brink of such a war—or a global conflict. But they have been marked by East-West tensions and confrontations. Wars and conflicts have ravaged Asia and Africa and have taken their toll of human life. Suffering and destruction have been inflicted on millions of people in the two continents. Many disputes and situations that threaten peace remain unresolved and unadjusted; insecurity haunts nations large and small; the use, or threat, of force in international relations remains ever present; the race in armaments threatens to become uncontrollable; what has aptly been called the "sophisticated insanity" of super-Power competition in the development and deployment of strategic offensive and defensive weapons systems poses a threat to the very survival of the human race.

65. Today, as in the past, anxious thought is being given by Members to the state of the United Nations, to finding out why its affairs are so much out of joint and how to remedy its ills. The weaknesses of the United Nations are ascribed sometimes to its machinery—the organization, procedures and methods of its main organs—and sometimes to the tendency of Member States to bring to the United Nations matters which, from a realistic point of view, it cannot resolve.

66. The machinery of the United Nations is undoubtedly susceptible to improvement. Pakistan supports Canada's timely and well-considered initiative for rationalizing the procedures and organization of the General Assembly.

67. The Security Council has taken an important step towards its greater effectiveness by adopting, a few months ago [*see 1544th meeting*], Finland's proposal for holding periodic meetings, at the level of Ministers, for a general exchange of views on the international situation.

68. Pakistan believes that the Security Council could also, with advantage, consider other steps, such as: meeting from time to time to review the status of implementation of its own resolutions; reviving the practice of establishing subsidiary organs under Article 29 of the Charter for the purpose of investigation or fact-finding in the case of situations which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute; establishing subsidiary organs for the purposes of enquiry, good offices, conciliation and mediation in the case of disputes, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Should such methods and procedures not bring about the easing of a dispute and the parties do not agree on a method of pacific settlement, the Security Council itself should embark on conciliation or mediation, and, if these fail to bring about a solution, call upon the parties to submit their disputes to arbitration or judicial settlement.

69. The decline of the Economic and Social Council is manifest in the diffusion of its fundamental policy-making role, in its inability to rationalize its coordinating functions and in its ineffectiveness to ensure the provision of adequate resources for the approved programmes. This Council needs to be so organized as to meet the challenge of international development. Its prime function should be to draw up, with the assistance of the United Nations family of organizations, and supervise the execution of, a strategy of growth and development designed to assist in the achievement of development goals. A more effective coordination of the activities of the United Nations system should be another of its principal tasks.

70. Thus, serious and continuing consideration is being given to improving the working of the principal organs of the United Nations. However, it cannot be gainsaid that causes more fundamental than mere defects in organization and methods are responsible for the failure of the United Nations to perform its foremost political tasks: namely, the prevention of the use, or threat, of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

71. How many nations, more particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, are willing to subordinate what they conceive to be their national interests to the purposes and principles of the United Nations? To what extent are they prepared to give effect to the decisions of the Security Council and to act in accordance with the resolutions of the other

principal organs? Does the exclusion from the Organization of the People's Republic of China, comprising a quarter of mankind, enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in serving the cause of peace and justice? Can progress be made towards realizing the Charter goal of promoting "better standards of life in larger freedom" when resources placed at its disposal are inadequate for promoting the economic and social development of the third world?

72. The answers to these questions have little to do with the machinery of the United Nations. They turn on the will of Member States to provide the machinery with the motive power. Such will needs to be sustained and continuous. Until now, it has been only sporadic.

73. The second charge against the United Nations is that many Member States betray a lack of realism by bringing to the Organization matters on which it is not able to take meaningful action. But if Member States—the overwhelming majority of them insecure and aggrieved—approach this Organization for protection or redress when threatened or denied their lawful rights, are they being unrealistic? If so, does it now follow that the purposes of the United Nations—peace and justice and progress—are, realistically speaking, unattainable?

74. If we accept such a proposition, we may as well abandon hope for the future of mankind. We may as well succumb to counsels of despair. But the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, in his address on 24 September, said:

"If there does begin to emerge at last, out of all the negotiations now in progress, a common interest in peace and stability, it will transform our work.. both in the Security Council and in the Assembly of this Organization..."[1848th meeting, para. 126].

75. Two of these negotiations strike us as specially significant: the strategic arms limitation talks in Helsinki and Vienna, and those relating to the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. They seem to us to bear the promise of *détente* and strengthening of international security that may well be of historic significance. At the same time, it is our profound conviction that an accommodation between the People's Republic of China and the other major Powers is indispensable for forging a common interest in world peace based on justice. It is only when such a consummation is achieved that the possibilities inherent in the United Nations of inaugurating the decade of the seventies as an era of peace, justice and progress can be realized.

76. The necessity of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is now increasingly recognized. As Foreign Minister Schumann of France said here on 18 September, it is "an illusion...to believe that the Organization can perform its task while remaining incomplete"[1842nd meeting, para. 90]. Unfortunately, some of the suggestions heard in this regard are bound to create another major problem rather than resolve the existing one.

77. The "two-Chinas" or a "China and Formosa" proposal is untenable on any political or legal grounds. Politically, it would create new tensions by perpetuating the deepest grievance of the People's Republic of China. It would set a dangerous precedent for undermining the territorial integrity of validly constituted States. In regard to its legal aspects, both the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945 pledged restoration of Formosa to China. The only solution, therefore, is to seat the representative of the People's Republic of China in all the organs of the United Nations and to exclude those who now occupy China's seat.

78. This historic occasion is a challenge to Member States to renew efforts to strengthen international security by bringing about just and lasting solutions to those situations where armed conflicts are taking place or dangerous tensions still exist. An end to the hostilities in Indo-China, to the torment of the Middle East, to the agony of Kashmir, and to the festering disputes in other parts of the world which might erupt into armed conflict, must be brought about without delay on the basis of the principles of the Charter, international agreements or resolutions of the United Nations. Foreign troops must be removed from territories occupied through force or on false legal grounds. Independence must be granted to peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke. The right of self-determination of a people, recognized by the United Nations to be entitled to it, must be upheld. Movements of national liberation must be conceded their due rights.

79. These objectives can be realized only if the United Nations is enabled to discharge its conciliatory, preventive, corrective and, where necessary, punitive functions in conformity with the Charter without being paralysed by power politics. This demands a change of attitude towards the United Nations on the part of Member States, especially the permanent members of the Security Council. It is only such a change that will bring about the implementation of the Security Council resolutions and the fulfilment of international agreements reached under its auspices.

80. It is our firm conviction that in situations of conflict, lasting solutions cannot be found unless justice is rendered to the aggrieved. The best service to the cause of the United Nations would be to recognize the distinction between the concept of security through peace with justice and the notion of security through peace without justice, and to base our policies on that recognition.

81. The inextricable relationship—in fact, the interdependence—between the state of international security and disarmament is so generally recognized to be axiomatic that it is not necessary to labour this point. Tensions fuel the arms race and the arms race feeds tensions. For almost a quarter of a century the United Nations has concerned itself with disarmament as one of the main subjects on its agenda. While the outcome has certainly not been negligible, neither has it been impressive. While a series of non-armament measures have been agreed upon, disarmament as such has defied all our untiring efforts.

82. Among measures of non-armament, the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons last March is a matter for general satisfaction. Pakistan voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution commending the Treaty [2373 (XXII)], as we fully subscribe to its objectives. But it remains our view that the effectiveness of the Treaty will depend on the extent of the adherence of the threshold nuclear-weapon Powers which it can command.

83. The Treaty prohibits, besides the manufacture or acquisition otherwise of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear-weapon States, all nuclear explosive devices. It does not recognize any difference, since there is no difference, between nuclear weapons and the so-called peaceful nuclear explosive devices. Indeed, the provisions of articles I, II and V of the non-proliferation Treaty, as also the statements made by the nuclear Powers, leave no doubt that any State that manufactures a so-called peaceful nuclear explosive device does, in fact, acquire a nuclear weapon. Consequently, the preparations being made in some non-nuclear-weapon States to manufacture and explode nuclear devices cannot but be tantamount to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Such a contingency, should it arise, would undoubtedly constitute a qualitatively new situation, endangering not only regional security but also, ultimately, the security of the world. The Pakistan delegation considers it necessary that the General Assembly take cognizance of this impending threat and act to meet it to safeguard the non-proliferation régime which it aims to establish.

84. My delegation welcomes the final draft of the Treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof.⁷ We hope that the conclusion of this Treaty will be followed as quickly as possible by negotiations under its article V for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof.⁷ We hope that the conclusion of this Treaty in good time and that international machinery will be established to oversee its implementation. My delegation fully endorses the Treaty in its present form and is gratified that it will be adopted at this session.

85. The continuance of the strategic arms limitation talk shows that awareness exists on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union of the urgent need for agreement between them on limiting the strategic nuclear arms race before it becomes uncontrollable or imposes crushing economic burdens which either super-Power is unable to bear. Last year the General Assembly appealed to them both to agree, as an urgent preliminary measure, on a moratorium on further testing and deployment of new offensive and defensive strategic nuclear-weapons systems. No such agreement has so far come out of the Helsinki and Vienna talks, though they are reported to have been business-like and pursued in depth.

86. We earnestly hope that a strategic arms limitation agreement of comprehensive scope, embracing all strategic weapons systems, offensive as well as defensive, will emerge before long through the third round of negotiations in Helsinki. The world cannot but be disappointed if it has to rest content with an agreement confined to mere ceilings on the number of strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems while leaving the deployment of the new systems untouched. Nor are we convinced that either of the super-Powers should make agreement dependent on its own subjective assessment of the intentions of the other in relation to tensions and conflicts in one part of the world or another. While such intentions are no doubt relevant to the generation of mutual confidence or otherwise, it appears to us that, so long as limitation of strategic armaments gives no military advantage to one side over the other, it could be put into effect without prejudice to any side's vital interests or security. One must perforce proceed from the assumption that, whatever the disparity in quantitative terms between the super-Powers, there will always obtain a qualitative parity. Given this fact and verification of any limitations that might be agreed upon, a common or even parallel approach to political problems need not be made a condition for arriving at an agreement.

87. In regard to a comprehensive test ban treaty, its link to the strategic arms limitation talks has been put forward as a reason why its conclusion should await the outcome of SALT. But there is an impressive array of experts who hold that underground nuclear weapons tests should be banned even though identification without on-site inspection of explosions under the 4.75 threshold may not be possible. In their opinion, all the technology of nuclear weaponry has already been extracted by the super-Powers, and further underground nuclear weapons tests, even of a magnitude above 4.75, are likely to yield only marginal results, in terms of product improvement, which can hardly make a significant difference to the nuclear weaponry of one side vis-à-vis the other.

88. It is a sombre fact that since the Moscow partial test ban treaty⁸ more weapons tests have taken place than before it was concluded, and underground tests have spawned weapons more monstrous than tests in the prohibited environments. It is a tragedy for the world that the three nuclear Powers were unable to compromise their differences on the number of on-site inspections of underground tests when the Moscow Treaty was concluded, thus letting a unique opportunity escape their grasp. They have not had that opportunity again. As a result, both super-Powers have condemned themselves and the world to greater insecurity than before though the nuclear arsenal of each has increased manifold.

89. Pakistan considers it imperative to secure universal adherence to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. There is no doubt in our minds that the Protocol pro-

⁷ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

⁸ *Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.*

hibits all chemical and biological weapons which may now exist or may be developed in the future. Such weapons are no less a menace to the world than nuclear ones. Indeed, in some respects chemical and bacteriological weapons pose a greater danger as the technology for their production and use is within the reach of most nations of the world.

90. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has examined in considerable depth the question of the conclusion of a convention prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons and also providing for the destruction of such weapons. It is a matter of disappointment that its painstaking efforts have not resulted in a generally agreed text. In our view, the ban should apply to both types of weapons in the same instrument. Obviously, the system of verification and control should be as comprehensive as possible, but no convention could be expected to provide procedures that would guarantee a one hundred percent reliability. All that could be expected is a system which would be reasonably reliable and credible. I would hope that the General Assembly would provide the necessary guidance to the Committee on Disarmament. Time, in this matter, is of the essence.

91. A serious threat to the independence of the developing countries, and consequently to international peace, is the widening gap between them and the rich nations of the world. It is one of the principal aims of the United Nations to remove this threat by helping to accelerate the economic and social development of the poorer nations. To this end, the Organization is engaged in formulating an international development strategy which is to be implemented in the coming decade. While the formulation of the ten-year perspective programme represents a major effort to tackle the pressing priorities of the decade of the 1970s, the strategy in itself is not the panacea of all ills. What is involved is not merely agreement on the specification of objectives, qualitative or quantitative, or on a certain degree of action with regard to policy measures, or the injection of a measure of continuity through an appraisal machinery. These in themselves do not constitute solutions. What is required is, in the words of the Lusaka Declaration,⁹

“to employ international machinery to bring about a rapid transformation of the world economic system, particularly in the field of trade, finance and technology so that . . . economic strength is used for the benefit of the world community”.

Basic to this requirement is the need to implement these measures by concrete and specific political commitments within the first two years of the decade.

92. While it has been repeatedly stressed by developing countries that the major responsibility for development is their own, it cannot be doubted that the key

to the failure or success of the development strategy lies directly in the hands of the major industrialized nations; for it is they who have the resources to accelerate the economic development of the developing world with the least possible human cost.

93. Though man may bend his efforts to improve his material condition, yet natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods strike without warning and leave in their wake widespread and sometimes irreparable damage. Foreign Minister Çağlayangil of Turkey has referred to this matter, which is also of current and growing concern to Pakistan. We are conscious of the important and timely steps that have been taken by the United Nations to try to provide much needed assistance to the countries sorely afflicted by such calamities. In recent years, these have befallen Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Romania, Turkey, Iran, Peru and other countries. Pakistan, too, has again been visited by the havoc of floods in its eastern wing in August of this year, causing immense human suffering and destruction. It is imperative, in our opinion, to explore further avenues of effectively mobilizing international assistance—material, medical and technical—for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of such disasters. It is also necessary to devise preventive and protective measures against floods and other calamities whenever possible. We welcome and support the Turkish initiative in proposing a new item on this subject for the agenda of this session.

94. While talking of plans and proposals motivated by a humane vision, I must say that we commend the Iranian proposal [*see 1695th meeting, para. 75*] to channel the idealism and energy of youth into constructive efforts by the creation of a United Nations peace corps. As the Government of Iran has made clear, it envisions the corps to be composed of the youth of Member nations who would serve in the projects undertaken by the United Nations or started under its auspices. Evidently, it would promote better understanding amongst the members of what the Secretary-General calls “the take-over generation” [*A/8001/Add. 1 and Corr.1, para. 169*].

95. A little earlier, in the context of strengthening international security, I talked of the right of self-determination of peoples and movements of national liberation. Our satisfaction at the progress achieved since the historic resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted must be tempered by the consideration that we are still a long way from the realization of the goals set by the Declaration on decolonization. In southern Africa, particularly, the Declaration has been treated as a dead letter.

96. Portugal continues to impose its oppressive rule over its colonial territories. The illegal racist minority régime remains entrenched in Rhodesia. In regard to Namibia, the Government of South Africa has defied the authority of the United Nations and has refused to abide by its decisions. Moreover, that Government is not only practising the odious policies of *apartheid* in its own country; it has also extended its application to Namibia to maintain white supremacy.

⁹ Adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

97. Clearly, this state of affairs is intolerable. For, if the twin evils of colonialism and racialism are not eradicated from southern Africa in time, it is a foregone conclusion that this explosive situation will ignite sooner or later. There is no guarantee that a race war will not spread beyond the confines of Africa and endanger world peace and security.

98. In this year, which is also the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization, nothing would be more befitting than reassertion of the collective will of the United Nations to make the Government of South Africa desist from its reckless and inhuman course. This needs, more than anything else, the active support of the major trading partners of South Africa because among them are three permanent members of the Security Council.

99. Unfortunately, we have witnessed of late a weakening of resolve on the part of some of these permanent members. South Africa is thus enabled not only to expand its economic base, but also to continue augmenting its military strength to become the most powerful State in that region. Since the arms embargo is the principal measure chosen by the United Nations to bring about a reversal of *apartheid* in South Africa, I hope that the United Kingdom and France will also enforce it scrupulously. We appeal to all Member States to show a willingness to go beyond the half-hearted arms embargo, and to take other measures such as economic sanctions and denial of financial and technical assistance to the Pretoria régime. We appeal to the permanent members of the Security Council to co-operate more actively with other Member States to oust the illegal racist minority régime in Salisbury, to bring an end to Portuguese control of its colonial possessions and to assist the peoples of these Territories to attain their independence. Would it not be tragic if the legitimate strivings of these peoples, suffering under the yoke of colonialism and racialism, are frustrated by the dereliction of some of the permanent members of the Security Council upon whom devolves the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security? I hope they will realize the grave consequences that will flow from their policy of putting their national economic interests above those of the international community.

100. I would not conclude this brief survey, from Pakistan's viewpoint of the major problems confronting the world today, without a reference to the Lusaka Declaration issued by the Heads of State or Government of fifty-three non-aligned countries at the conclusion of their conference held earlier this month. We shall not let our non-participation in that conference—for reasons which have now lost their validity or relevance—prevent us from commending the Declaration. The views to which it gives forthright expression are similar to those which, out of its own experience, in its own geo-political setting, and without animosity against any Power or groups of Powers, Pakistan has independently evolved and laboured to uphold. I, therefore, consider the present occasion appropriate to convey our felicitations to the Governments of those countries, among which we count many as our close friends.

101. While at the United Nations much of our attention is focused on the more general causes of instability, there are particular situations of devastation and human misery caused by political conflicts which the United Nations has been unable to alleviate. The continuance of the tragedy of Viet-Nam is a rebuke to the conscience of mankind. The destruction wrought in Viet-Nam over two decades has been colossal and the area of conflict has been widened in the last few months. Certainly, the use of force can be no answer to the problem of Viet-Nam. A whole generation in Indo-China has suffered the agony of a continuing war. Surely, this must end—and now. How much more blood needs to be shed before the principle is recognized that this conflict can be settled only in accordance with the wishes of the peoples of Indo-China without outside interference? If at present there is a slim ray of hope, it emanates from the peace talks continuing in Paris. The widely prevalent impression that these talks are stagnant should not obscure the fact that some proposals promising a solution have been advanced in these talks. If such proposals are allowed to wither for lack of receptivity, the world will lose whatever chance still exists for a negotiated solution of this cruel conflict.

102. Pakistan's views on the Middle East situation have been amply expressed both at the meetings of the Security Council and in the past three sessions of the General Assembly. Based as these views are, not only on our bonds of culture and sentiment with the Arab people, but also on our best objective judgement, they are liable to no change or dilution. The horrifying events in Jordan during the last two weeks have brought us immeasurable grief. How ironical that while the Middle East shook, the United Nations remained immobile. Only the heads of the Arab States concerned worked without respite in Cairo, with the late President Nasser as the untiring host and inspiring guide, to stop the fratricidal slaughter. While one is overwhelmed by the thought of the carnage, while one's heart goes out to the bereaved—chief among them, the people of Palestine—it is one's duty to draw from the recent train of events the one lesson that it incontestably conveys, and that is most pertinent for the establishment of a durable peace in the Middle East.

103. The lesson is this, the heart of the grave Middle East problem, is the problem of Palestine, the problem of a people that was ruthlessly and most unjustly displaced from its homeland, and no settlement of the problem will be lasting if it does not carry the willing consent and acceptance of that people.

104. To an objective observer, that is all too obvious; yet it is astonishing how easily the diplomacy engaged in finding a settlement loses sight of it. The conflict between the Arab States and Israel, in all its seriousness, is but the effect of a cause. How can the effect be removed unless the cause is eliminated?

105. While, therefore, we commend the efforts of the four Powers to achieve a settlement, we would be less than honest if we did not warn them that any structure of peace that they erect will rest on quicksand if they

try to ignore the hunger for justice which drives the people of Palestine, indeed the entire Arab nation. To expect that any Arab leader, or Government, will acquiesce in a settlement which does not promise restitution of the rights of the people of Palestine is simply to close one's eyes to the realities of the situation. The thousands dead in Amman—and here we make no distinction between one Arab and another—bear witness to the agony inflicted on the Arab nation by a late product of colonialism, the establishment of Israel and the expansionist policies it has pursued. How can such agony be allowed to endure, and yet hopes be entertained of a stable peace?

106. I must make it clear that by those observations I do not mean to belittle the diplomatic initiatives which were taken recently towards a peaceful settlement. Two facts, however, remain. First, the constructive plan for a temporary cease-fire and for the reactivation of the Jarring mission was obstructed only by Israel's obduracy. Secondly, the potential it held for peace could not be realized unless it envisaged the enlistment of the people of Palestine in efforts towards a settlement. Such enlistment cannot be obtained unless the objectives defined go beyond the mere removal of the consequences of Israel's aggression in 1967, however difficult even that objective might be.

107. Actually, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories is something that follows directly from the principle that acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. Though this principle is but a corollary of the Charter, we must acknowledge that it was the Latin American States which pointedly drew attention to it, in the draft resolution sponsored by them at the emergency special session in 1967,¹⁰ as a basis for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The principle was emphasized in the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. No conflict of interpretation regarding that resolution, no selective stress on one part of it as against another, can detract from this principle. Much is being made of the phrase "secure... boundaries", but surely it is applicable as much to the Arab States as to Israel, indeed more, because the Arab States do not possess Israel's military capacity and its trained disposition towards taking the offensive. If the principle is unreservedly upheld, a beginning will be made towards peace. Because such a beginning has not yet been made, the situation in the Middle East is fraught with tension and seethes with frustration. Such a climate gives rise to desperate acts, like the hijacking of planes, which, of course, are regrettable and about which the Security Council's resolution of 9 September 1970 [286 (1970)] was quite appropriate.

108. I must also emphasize that one of the questions included in the Middle East problem is the question of Jerusalem which in its seriousness yields to none. It is a question which, transcending the claims and counter-claims of the parties, concerns the entire Muslim world, as was evidenced by the Islamic summit

conference held in Rabat last year and by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic States held in Jeddah in March last. No solution of this question will facilitate peace and remove the sense of outrage from the Islamic world if it tolerates the placing of the Holy City under Israeli sovereignty or even quasi-sovereignty. Any such arrangement would be contrary to the resolutions on Jerusalem which both the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted since 1967. Again, it would negate the principle of inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by war which the resolutions of the Council emphasize with specific reference to the Holy City.

109. We urge the great Powers not to be oblivious to the universal religious interest in Jerusalem and the most cherished sensibilities engaged by it.

110. Though the Middle East and Indo-China are the areas of immediate danger and tension at present, it cannot be said that the subcontinent of India and Pakistan enjoys a dependable peace. Pakistan has urged time and again the imperative of establishing peace based on justice between our country and India, our neighbour. The peace that we visualize is not make-believe. We cannot secure peace by evading problems and ignoring the causes of tension. The peace we visualize is not merely a cease-fire. The peace we visualize is one based on the firm foundation of a full recognition of each other's rights, the honouring of mutual agreements, the rejection of expansionist policies and the elimination of the outstanding causes of tension and insecurity.

111. India and Pakistan are neighbours, which have shared a great deal of historical experience. Differences can, and do, arise between neighbours, but such differences need not generate perpetual hostility. Since our independence, many problems between us, some of which were of a grave character, were resolved but only when we used the time-honoured methods of peaceful settlement and faithfully carried out our mutual agreements. The settlement of disputes about the Indus waters and the Rann of Kutch are pertinent examples.

112. Of all the remaining disputes, it is the one concerning the state of Jammu and Kashmir which has been the outstanding cause of the failure of India and Pakistan to develop a rational relationship that could lead them to harmonious coexistence. And it is with regard to this dispute that India not only is spurning our offers of peace, but is barring every recourse to the methods of peaceful settlement. Could there be a greater example of obduracy than this, that even after nearly a quarter century, the Government of India should fail to realize how essential it is that this dispute be resolved on an equitable basis? When I say "an equitable basis", I mean the basis that was laid down in the international agreement between India and Pakistan. That agreement resulted from voluntary acceptance, after exhaustive negotiations, by both parties of the recommendations of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan that the future of Jammu and Kashmir be decided by a plebiscite under

¹⁰ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 5, document A/L.523/Rev.1.

the auspices of the United Nations. The cease-fire in Kashmir and the stationing of United Nations observers were provided for in the same resolutions which envisaged a plebiscite. Time and again we have made it clear that our insistence on the principle of reference to the people is not a matter of taking an inflexible position. How can any solution of this problem be regarded as genuine if it does not carry with it the consent of the people who are the most directly involved—I mean, the people of Jammu and Kashmir? These people have made it clear, by their suffering and their continuing resistance, that they are not, and will not be, reconciled to Indian occupation. Their voice may be muffled from the outside world, but it is not inaudible to the people of Pakistan, who are their kith and kin. They and the people of Pakistan both demand that Kashmir be released from its prolonged agony and be enabled to exercise the right of self-determination. In this context, it should not be forgotten that it is to the right of self-determination that both Pakistan and India owe their independent existence today.

113. Both Pakistan and India have had a grievous experience of alien rule. Both have actively supported the cause of colonial peoples seeking an end to foreign domination. What could be a greater anomaly, a more startling self-contradiction than that while we seek the release of other peoples from alien rule, India should try to impose it on Jammu and Kashmir? Such a course of action is as contrary to India's own proclaimed philosophy as it runs counter to the historical forces of our time. What is more, it cuts at the basis of Asian-African solidarity, the essential basis of this solidarity being a common urge of the peoples of the former colonial Territories to determine their own future, and not to permit the emergence of colonialism in newer forms. Belief in racial superiority may have been one of the driving forces of colonialism, but it is not its only cause. A colonial rule can be imposed on a people belonging to the same race. It is such a rule, ruthless and in breach of international commitments, that is being forced by India on the people of Jammu and Kashmir. When India brought the dispute to the United Nations it did not claim that Kashmir was an integral part of its territory. It does so now. What difference, then, is there between its position and that taken by Portugal in relation to Angola and Mozambique? What difference, I ask, is there between the integration measures adopted by India in Kashmir and those taken by South Africa in Namibia?

114. The Kashmir dispute has led twice to armed conflict. After the war in 1965, Pakistan has repeatedly urged on India the necessity of entering into meaningful negotiations to resolve this dispute on an equitable basis. India says, on the one hand, that it is prepared to have talks with Pakistan on this issue, and, on the other, that there is nothing to talk about. On the one side, friendly Powers are being told that India is ready for negotiations and, on the other, it is being publicly said that the status of Jammu and Kashmir is not negotiable. I put the question to this Assembly: is it fair and is this a helpful attitude for India to take? And while India strikes this self-contradictory posture,

it aggravates the situation by taking one measure after another to tighten its vice on Kashmir.

115. India-Pakistan relations have been seriously affected by another matter of grave concern to Pakistan's economy, namely, the construction of the Farakka barrage by India on the international river Ganges, which flows through India and Pakistan. That project is designed to divert the waters of the mainstream of the river Ganges through a feeder canal to another river flowing entirely through India. As a consequence, in the long dry season which that region experiences, the barrage will leave little or no water below Farakka for use in East Pakistan, thereby causing grave and permanent damage to the province. International, and our own experts, have assessed the extent and cumulative nature of the damage that will be caused. It is estimated that the project will adversely affect the ecology and agriculture of seven districts in East Pakistan, involving a total area of 3.6 million acres of land. It will seriously affect navigation in the Ganges and its many spill channels and distributaries, result in the inflow of sea water thereby affecting agriculture, municipal supplies and industrial uses of the water, depleting fisheries and forest resources especially in the Sundarbans. Moreover, reduced flows in the Ganges downstream from Farakka will silt up the river bed and increase the hazards of flood in the rainy season. These major changes in the environmental and ecological factors of the deltaic region of East Pakistan will have far-reaching and incalculable effects on the livelihood of one third of the population of East Pakistan which is fast approaching 70 million people in an area of only 55,000 square miles.

116. After encountering many difficulties over a period of years, created by Indian demands to furnish data of one kind or another, with which Pakistan regularly complied, and after many meetings at expert and official level, the two Governments agreed in July this year to hold another meeting in three to six months' time to consider the quantum of water to be supplied to Pakistan at Farakka, and the other unresolved issues relating thereto. That meeting is also scheduled to consider matters relating to the eastern rivers which have also been the subject of discussion between the two countries. In pursuance of this positive step, we hope that India will fully co-operate in reaching an equitable solution of this very serious problem. We urge that this problem be approached by India in accordance with a spirit of equity, and recognition of the rights of Pakistan, under international law, to arrive at a solution satisfactory to all concerned.

117. Over and above the grave political problems in our region, there is one other problem of a purely human character which is extremely poignant. It is the problem of the Muslim minority in India which, though nearly 60 million in number, is scattered all over the country and is the victim of periodic mass killings. The problem has two tragic peculiarities. First, while war, overt or undeclared, in other areas brings barbarities in its train, the killings in India, no less gruesome, take place in a situation where there is no rebellion, no attempt by a minority to establish its own

government, no civil war. The Muslims of India have given proof of their loyalty to their country and Government. Yet they are periodically visited by death and destruction. Second, unlike racial groups suppressed in certain countries through the policies of the Governments concerned, the Muslims of India are killed in large numbers in spite of the efforts of the Government of India to stop these eruptions of insensate religious frenzy. I cannot but emphasize this aspect of the problem, because it is not my intention to draw up an indictment against the Government of India. We do not wish to deny that, when thousands of Muslims are killed in a few days as they were at Ahmedabad in September 1969 and in Bhiwandi Jalgaon in May 1970—to cite the more recent instances—the Government of India, and responsible Indian leaders, expressed great concern. Let not the representative of India, therefore, treat my remarks on this tragic situation as a subject for polemics. If he intends to say that the Government of India is making efforts to prevent these savage *pogroms*, I am prepared to concede that point. But the fact remains that these efforts do not match the gravity of the problem. Indeed, they are seldom preventive and never punitive enough. Some time ago, the President of India said that the problem had to be grappled with on a war footing. If his words were translated into action, it is not imaginable that organized hate groups would persist in killing innocent and defenceless Indian citizens who are Muslim. The problem, I repeat, is not an Indo-Pakistan question in the usual political sense. It is a problem for the universal human conscience. Pakistan, being geographically close to India, cannot but be deeply perturbed, indeed shaken, when an eruption of religious hate in India takes a staggering human toll. Moreover, there exists an international agreement between Pakistan and India, namely, the Liaquat-Nehru pact,¹¹ which makes the safeguarding of the life, culture, property and personal honour of the religious minorities in the two countries a matter of joint concern for the two Governments. Moved by this concern, and saddened by the plight of Muslims in India, Pakistan cannot remain silent.

118. Our appeal to the Government of India is to ensure the safety of the life, honour and property of Indian Muslims. It would help if the Government of India were to allow an international commission to examine and evaluate the causes of the *pogroms*, and make recommendations for their eradication. On our part, we shall have no hesitation against, and entertain no fear of, a similar enquiry regarding the minorities in our country.

119. I cannot close my statement without mentioning the protest of world youth against the present human conditions. Our century has been a stormy one. It has produced tumults, yet generated hopes. Rivers of blood have flowed, but expectations have risen of a better world. Can we of the older generation, who control the sinews of power, claim to have marched a measurable distance towards the goal of improving the lot of man? Have we found answers to the age-old prob-

lems of war and racism and poverty even though we command the means of abolishing them through science and technology?

120. The younger generation finds itself living in a world under the shadow of a nuclear and ecological disaster. It is a world in which man can no longer control the pattern and texture of his life. His moral purpose is being destroyed by a soulless technology. If the United Nations is to be the answer to the insistence of world youth for a better world order, peace, justice and progress must be translated from empty rhetoric into imperative principles of action.

121. Mr. OWUSU (Ghana): I should like to begin by congratulating Mr. Hambro, as previous speakers have done, on his election as President of this historic twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Ghana delegation would like to think that his election is a recognition of the contribution which his country in particular, and Scandinavia in general, has made to the founding and the stabilization of this world Organization, having provided two of its three Secretaries-General, not to mention such distinguished Scandinavians as Count Bernadotte and Ambassador Jarring, who have served and continue to serve this world body with singular distinction. I should also like to pay tribute to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, a woman respected by us all, for the charm, grace and efficiency which she brought to the performance of her functions in this exacting office.

122. At the commencement of the Second United Nations Development Decade which has coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the opportunity has again been offered to the Organization to devise and operate a strategy for waging the greatest and the noblest of all wars to ensure mankind's survival—the war against poverty, disease, ignorance, and underdevelopment. It is an opportunity which we, the peoples of the United Nations, dare not spurn.

123. The second half of the twentieth century has witnessed one of the most fascinating processes in the history of mankind. Ideas of freedom and justice, until then reserved for a privileged section of the world's people, were suddenly let loose over the colonial world. The result of this was the decolonization process, as fascinating as it was inevitable, which our generation has been privileged to witness. Territories formerly serving as appendages to metropolitan countries took over the management of their own affairs as free and independent peoples. The United Nations itself, visibly transformed by this process, played and continues to play a crucial role in this process; its marshalling of world moral opinion against oppression and injustice, its recognition that questions of freedom and justice for oppressed people were inextricably bound up with world peace, inspired and gave momentum to the process.

124. Now the oppressed world is politically free but it must survive, and the United Nations is again being called upon this time to help add economic sovereignty

¹¹ India-Pakistan Agreement on Minorities of 8 April 1950.

to the political independence which the decolonization process conferred on the dependent Territories. We, the peoples of the United Nations, are being urged to take effective steps to ensure that Territories and peoples now free can, through self-reliance and buttressed by international co-operation, develop their own resources for the betterment of their own peoples. It is the moral duty of the peoples of the United Nations to ensure that the independence gained by former colonial peoples is not compromised and rendered a mere mirage by practices and policies by some of its Member States which tend to perpetuate the economic gap between developed and developing countries. It is the moral duty of the peoples of this Organization to demonstrate in moral and material terms that the decolonization process is not a meaningless fraud.

125. In the view of the Ghana delegation, that should be the cardinal objective of the Second Development Decade.

126. This Organization does not have to be reminded of the economic problems facing the developing countries of the world. The various structural imbalances which plague their economies, the imbalances in their transactions with the developed world, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade, as well as the heavy debt-servicing crises, which afflict their single-product economies are familiar to all of us. The people of Ghana, for example, have to live with a debt problem whose harsh and unrealistic repayment terms inhibit our ability to plan on a long-term basis. We live with a debt-servicing arrangement that fails to take into account the ability of our economy to pay and that refuses to extend the aid principle to the debt question, thus frustrating the objective of aid which some of our donors generously extend to us. We in Ghana have to bear a debt burden magnified by inordinately high moratorium interest charges which lead to an indefensible increase in debt repayment obligations.

127. Admittedly, the chief responsibility for the avoidance of debt servicing rests with the developing countries, but the developed creditor countries must also bear some of the responsibility. Their policies towards imports from developing countries, the distribution of their aid as between grants and loans, the policies governing aid they make available, including their almost indiscriminate guarantee of export credits—all have an effect on the debt-servicing capacity of developing countries.

128. One must also mention the hedgings and equivocation and interminable delays that have characterized efforts to reach commodity agreements that would benefit developing countries. Added to that is the resistance to special tariff preferences for the exports of developing countries that seems to be emerging from the discussions on the generalized non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory scheme of tariff preferences.

129. So far the efforts made by the United Nations system of organizations towards helping developing countries solve these problems have been mere pallia-

tives. The United Nations answer to these economic problems has been largely technical assistance and pre-investment surveys which, though useful, seldom lead to direct capital self-sustaining investment. Those scattered efforts have been administered by United Nations experts, some of them dedicated men, to be sure, but others of indifferent calibre who are often more concerned with their status and conditions of work in developing countries than with the effectiveness of application which they should bring to bear on their work in helping solve the problems of developing countries. The United Nations seems to be imbued with a lack of the will to strengthen institutions with enough resources to assure self-sustaining development in the developing countries. The United Nations Development Programme and the International Development Association, for instance, are languishing for lack of support from the very countries that can really make them effective.

130. The Ghana delegation is convinced that what the United Nations needs on the threshold of the Second Development Decade is a bold and imaginative plan to set developing countries on the road to self-sustaining development and to give a new sense of purpose and dynamism to United Nations development efforts. What developing countries need is assistance and a flow of resources on a massive scale and on concessionary terms, a development assistance plan not dissimilar to the Marshall Plan of old, conceived and executed after the Second World War for the reconstruction of the shattered European economy. Current resource flows to developing countries need to be tripled, or even quadrupled, if an impact is to be made on the almost intractable problems that beset them. The type of tariff preferences that are being discussed should be in relation to commodities like cocoa products, plywood and other timber products as well as textiles and textile products, products which are essential and meaningful to the trading activities and the economic survival of developing countries. The consumers of agricultural products like cocoa, coffee, etc., States Members of this Organization, should support any international commodity agreements on those primary products, otherwise, efforts by the United Nations in the Second Development Decade will be nothing more than meaningless sham.

131. It is not being suggested that the effort involved will be easy. It should, however, be a concerted one by the developed countries, the United Nations system of organizations and the developing countries as well. With the developed countries it is, I think, a question of political will and a greater awareness not only of their moral obligations to the developing world, but also of the material and economic benefits they stand to gain from improved standards of living in the underdeveloped world. Each developed country will have to decide for itself. But, for any decisions to be meaningful, such countries need to consider agreeing to specific target dates for the realization of agreed minimum quantitative targets of capital flows. Specific commitments will have to be made with regard to the promotion of imports from developing countries, with regard to the terms and conditions on loans for develop-

ment, and with regard to the alleviation of the heavy debt burdens being borne by developing countries. As to export credits it should be accepted that the borrower, the lender and the insurance agency each bear responsibility for ensuring that contracts are properly concluded and that they are in respect of economically viable projects.

132. Luckily for the international community, there has been much enlightened thinking on the subject in recent times. The Pearson report,¹² commissioned by the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is a historic landmark pointing the way to developed and developing countries and the United Nations system alike, to essential tasks to be undertaken in the immediate decade as well as those ahead. The delegation of Ghana wishes to pay a special tribute to Mr. Lester Pearson and his team of distinguished and dedicated men for the vision, compassion, and sensitivity which they brought to bear on their assignment and for a document which should define targets and set the pace for the Second Development Decade. The Ghana delegation accepts the recommendations of the Pearson Committee, and hopes that the targets and guidelines established by it will gain widespread acceptance and provide a foundation for the new development decade.

133. There is the necessity for devising procedures in the developing countries and in the United Nations Organization itself to ensure that resources flow into the areas that will make a requisite impact. There is also the need for making the activities of United Nations organs, charged with economic development, more responsive to the requirements of the developing countries and to the tasks to be undertaken. These requirements have been recognized in *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System*,¹³ the Jackson report, which comes as a timely supplement to previous studies made with a view to reforming the machinery of the United Nations systems of organization for development tasks. It will doubtless be discussed in detail by representatives in the relevant committee at the appropriate time. I wish, however, to record that questions of national sovereignty and of the relationships between the various United Nations organs charged with development are raised by the report. So also are questions regarding the role which the Regional Economic Commissions, like the Economic Commission for Africa, should play in the United Nations development effort. The Ghana delegation wishes to emphasize that we must ensure that, while trying to solve these organizational problems, we do not create fresh ones.

134. The idea that the United Nations system exists only to further technical assistance and pre-investment studies has now been changed in an attempt to give the United Nations a more effective role in the development of priorities of the developing countries. But so far, assistance from the United Nations system of

organizations to developing countries has been insignificant in relation to the total development resources required by these countries.

135. Furthermore, now that some substantial capital exporting countries are reorganizing their economic assistance priorities to channel a greater portion of assistance resources through international institutions, these institutions need to be so reorganized that the developing countries which they purport to help, develop confidence in their ability and intention to help them, and that they are not regarded merely as channels being used by the developed countries for imposing conditions for assistance which the developed countries cannot otherwise openly impose. My delegation would wish to believe that all controversial issues raised by this report will be fully discussed and resolved. We also like to believe that out of the discussions will emerge a United Nations system organized to tackle with determination and effectiveness the essential job of development in the decades ahead.

136. My delegation does not have to over-emphasize the efforts which we, the developing countries, must ourselves make to help ourselves in this and ensuing decades. We, in the developing countries, need and want massive resource flows to our respective economies, but we are, in the last analysis, responsible for our own salvation. We need to undertake a searching assessment of our needs and requirements. We must have the courage to take the necessary basic policy decisions and actions that will make the external assistance, to be released in the course of the Second Development Decade, to us effective. We need to co-operate among ourselves to widen our markets, to share experiences, and to renew our commitments to goals and ideals. We have in the past been the victims of much economic exploitation. We can in the future be the beneficiaries of the ideas contained in the Pearson report.

137. We, in Ghana, have taken stock of our economic situation, and have set ourselves precise economic and social goals, aimed at providing a basis for self-sustained growth with emphasis on increasing the production of food and industrial raw materials so as to reduce our excessive dependence on imported goods. In doing this, we are taking decisive steps to provide better housing, education, and health services, especially for the low-income groups, and to ensure, within our existing population situation, that the inequalities in the distribution of income and social amenities, especially between the urban and rural areas, are reduced.

Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.

138. I would like to address a special appeal to the socialist States on the question of their participation in evolving the draft strategy of the Second Development Decade. We, in the developing countries and in former colonial territories, are aware of and appreciate the noble efforts which the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, have played in the decolonization process. In the adoption of a strategy for a Second Development Decade, the world is being called upon

¹² *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

¹³ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.10.

to complete this process by enabling the emancipated peoples to live decent lives, free from exploitation, poverty, disease and ignorance. It would be a pity and a source of great disappointment to us if the peoples of the socialist countries, who have done so much for our political independence, were now to enter reservations about helping us to complete our emancipation. The Ghana delegation feels that the reservations raised by them in connexion with the Second Development Decade, given mutual understanding, can be discussed and resolved and thus enable the socialist States fully to participate in this endeavour to which they have so much to offer.

139. The influence and the leadership of the United Nations have been particularly effective in the realm of ideas, bringing the power of what may be called international morality to bear on the problems that beset the world. There was a time when it was thought that any discussion about colonial territories constituted interference in the affairs of the then colonial Powers. United Nations discussions and resolutions have changed all that. There was also a time when the most powerful Members of the United Nations maintained that discussions by the Organization of that inhuman practice of *apartheid* was an interference in the internal affairs of South Africa. World moral opinion has changed all that. It is now widely acknowledged that questions relating to violations of human rights constitute a threat to world peace, and that the solution of problems connected with them must concern the whole world. Similarly, in the economic field today it is being maintained that it is unrealistic to expect developed countries to undertake firm commitments in respect of resource flows to the developing countries of the world, but it is the hope of my delegation, however, that the evolution and implementation of a strategy for the Second Development Decade would give the United Nations another opportunity to demonstrate its resilience, confound its critics and maintain its leadership in moral ideas.

140. We, the peoples of the United Nations, are on the threshold of a new adventure, a challenging one and one whose success will depend to a large extent on the moral and political will we all muster to support and sustain it.

141. This Organization is commemorating twenty-five years of its existence. It is appropriate, therefore, to reappraise the record of the Organization during the period and to draw from it lessons for the future.

142. The authors of the Charter envisioned an international organization which would guarantee the fulfilment of man's innermost yearnings for peace, justice and progress, to quote the theme for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations. It is, therefore, fitting on this occasion to reflect for a while on the achievements of the Organization. Twenty-five years in the life of the world and of this Organization is not a particularly long time, but in that period this Organization has scored successes that have justified the vision of its founding fathers. It has succeeded in containing and indeed removing many threats to international peace

and security. It has made a remarkable contribution towards decolonization, as evidenced by the fact that 51 Members founded the Organization, whereas some 126 Member States are represented here today. In the field of socio-economic co-operation, the achievements of the United Nations have been even more remarkable.

143. In spite of those, however, there are some problems which have caused disillusionment within the Organization; serious problems of peace and security still await their solution by the United Nations. States have not yet renounced recourse to the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of international conflicts. National arsenals continue to be augmented with both conventional and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. A dangerous war still rages in Indo-China; dependent peoples are still being oppressed in Africa and elsewhere; racial discrimination in its most intolerable form still persists in southern Africa; the disparity in development between the advanced and the advancing countries continues to widen. That is why my delegation feels that the United Nations must at this time address itself to basic issues affecting the future of the Organization as a machinery for promoting international peace and security.

144. The Ghana delegation will not indulge in a detailed restatement of our known positions on the many outstanding world problems. My government abhors the mounting expenditures on the production of destructive weapons of war whilst half the world goes hungry, and it would support any moves that would conduce to a lessening of world tensions through peaceful settlement of political disputes. It is for that reason that the Ghana delegation welcomes the non-aggression treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970. We lend our support to the agreement and commend it as a vital step towards a just political settlement in Europe. The Government of Ghana congratulates the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany on their foresight and courage which made this possible.

145. In the Middle East, since our last meeting here in this chamber under the gloom of a complete breakdown of the Jarring mission and the Middle East ceasefire, the Rogers plan has revived our hope that a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis might, after all, be possible. In spite of the accusations and the counter-accusations by the parties to the Middle East conflict, I believe that a final and lasting solution of the Middle East problem, guaranteed by the big Powers and consistent with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, is a hopeful possibility. We urge all concerned to redouble their efforts in the search for peace and understanding based on the just rights of all the States in the area to a secure existence.

146. The problems posed by Southern Rhodesia, *apartheid* and colonialism in southern Africa remain as intractable as ever and, in the words of our esteemed Secretary-General, constitute "the biggest challenge to the authority of this Organization".

147. Since the twenty-fourth session, the situation in Southern Rhodesia has worsened. By a constitutional farce, Ian Smith has declared Southern Rhodesia a republic and has followed this by bringing into force a set of obnoxious policies similar to those in *apartheid* South Africa. That indicates unmistakably the shape of things to come. It also poses a new challenge to the United Nations and makes a re-examination of the instrument we have employed to end the intolerable situation in Southern Rhodesia imperative. My delegation hopes that the British Government, whose primary responsibility it is to suppress the Rhodesian rebellion, will take decisive steps to end the rebellion and resolve the issue in a manner consistent with the principles of the Charter. In this, I believe the British Government can count on the full support and co-operation of this Organization.

148. Closely allied with the Southern Rhodesian issue is the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. On this issue, the Government of Ghana is committed and will always be dedicated to the cause of the national liberation movements all over Africa. We also accept the principles and purposes of the Lusaka Manifesto¹⁴ as offering an alternative basis for a settlement of the southern African issue.

149. As I have already indicated, any assessment of the record of this Organization over the past twenty-five years is relevant only when it leads to meaningful projections into the future. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report for this year [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1], has outlined some of the basic questions which should be uppermost in our minds today. They include the means by which the United Nations can play an increasingly vital role in the world of tomorrow; how the United Nations can make a more effective use of its potentialities for reconciling differences between its Members; the changes that can be evolved in its methods of operation to attain a fuller utilization of its capacity for improving human conditions.

150. It is the belief of my Government that it is only when we have found adequate answers to these questions that we shall have the right to expect the Organization to play a significant role in the next decade. In this connexion, it is worth noting that proposals have been received from Canada, Colombia and Finland, among other countries, on the guidelines for a possible revision of the Charter and improvement of the structure and methods of work of the Organization. Others, including the United States of America, have suggested that as a means of facilitating the peaceful settlement of disputes the Statute of the International Court of Justice should be revised to enable it to work more effectively as a court. Equally, we believe that any suggested review of the Charter should give serious consideration of the principle of universality of membership of the Organization. I may also mention in passing that in the past the use of the veto has come in for considerable criticism and there have been suggestions for its total abolition.

¹⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

151. While the abolition of the veto in the Security Council may be considered unrealistic in the present circumstances, consideration might be given to the possibility of defining more precisely the area of its application. It may be practicable to eliminate the application of the veto from Chapter VI of the Charter as well as from the provisions relating to the admission of new Members, while retaining it for the purposes of Chapter VII. The relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council should also be closely examined. It might, therefore, be most appropriate to suggest establishing a committee to review all the suggestions and proposals relating to the Organization and working methods of the United Nations.

152. In conclusion, my delegation hopes that out of the deliberations of the twenty-fifth session will emerge a new operational strategy for the United Nations commensurate with the 25 years' experience of the United Nations system. We are confident that any review of this Organization that may be necessary, as a result of the changes that have taken place within the international community, will strengthen the machinery of the Organization and enable it to fulfil more adequately and effectively its primary duty of safeguarding international peace and security whilst promoting the progress of all Nations in conditions of justice and universal brotherhood.

153. Mr. CARIAS CASTILLO (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This session of the General Assembly which we are now beginning has, as has already been said, a special and far-reaching importance. For the first time in history an international organization of this kind has reached the celebration of 25 years of its existence.

154. It is a happy augury for the development of our work to have you as the President of the Assembly, sir, not only because of your personal qualifications but also because you represent a country which is a paradigm of the legal, political and social values which should serve as guidelines in the lives of nations in the world of today. We extend to you, Mr. President, the sincere congratulations and the best wishes of my delegation on your well-deserved election.

155. My country has felt deeply sorrowful on hearing of the death of His Excellency President Gamal Abdel Nasser, which occurred yesterday since he was the Head of State of a people with which we have always maintained friendly and cordial relations.

156. We cannot but regret the death of a leader of such world-wide importance as was President Nasser, who always fought indefatigably for the improvement and well-being of his fellow citizens. On this painful occasion I should like to extend to the delegation of the United Arab Republic the sincere feelings of condolences of the Government and people of Honduras.

157. To say that the United Nations has completed 25 years of existence implies something more than merely celebrating its silver anniversary. I believe that now among all the feelings which nest in our hearts

the dominant one, the one which cannot be concealed, is the feeling of astonished and surprised joy. Nor could it have been otherwise. For those of us who saw this Organization being born out of the ruins of a devastated world destroyed by the largest conflagration which man has ever brought about; for those of us who saw its hesitant first steps and the constant crises which have threatened its existence, it cannot but be a cause for amazement, but also of pride, that the Organization has managed to survive.

158. In itself, mere survival would be a source for optimism and faith in the future of mankind. However, the United Nations has not limited itself to mere survival but, through its various organs, it has struggled steadfastly to bring into being a better material and spiritual world.

159. Often, on comparing what was achieved, with the objectives of the San Francisco Charter, we bring to light the short-comings, deliberately ignoring the reasons which brought them about and which are to be imputed to its Members large or small. Such a recognition, although the results may fail to measure up exactly to our expectations, will be more than sufficient to make visible to the eyes of the world the efficiency of this world forum.

160. A proof of the faith which the United Nations principles inspire is the substantial increase in the number of its Members. To the 51 States which signed the San Francisco Charter, 75 have been added, thus raising the membership to 126. Such an increase, as I said, is encouraging.

161. Honduras, consistent with its tradition of legal and peaceful coexistence with all States, has attended the meetings which are intended to bring normalcy to the Central American region, and has been prepared to participate in a constructive dialogue, conscious that peace in Central America is a precious heritage which we must restore for the benefit of our peoples.

162. A year ago, with strong feelings which were then warranted, I denounced before this Assembly the armed conflict which a neighbouring country imposed on mine. Today, although all the wounds have not yet been healed, I have come to give an account of the progress achieved in the process of bringing peace between both States.

163. In December 1969 the Ministers of External Affairs of the Central American countries met in the city of Managua with the intention of bringing about normalcy in the Central American area. Realizing that these lofty objectives require the sincere co-operation of all States, we reaffirmed the decision of our Government to settle the conflicts which might arise between us in accordance with the rules of law. We also expressed the hope that the consequences of the conflict I mentioned would be resolved satisfactorily by means of bilateral negotiations between the parties directly concerned.

164. For that purpose, a bilateral working group was set up composed of representatives of Honduras and

El Salvador, which was to study formulas which would make it possible to reach an over-all solution to the conflict. I am happy to be able to inform this Assembly that this Group, whose moderator was the skilful diplomat and illustrious former Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, Dr. José A. Mora, who was designated by the present Secretary-General of the same organization with the consensus of the member parties, is carrying out its work in a satisfactory manner.

165. After protracted discussions in the regional organization, we were able to establish, by an agreement signed at San José, Costa Rica, a security zone for the purpose of pacification of the Honduran-Salvadorean frontier, which, no doubt, constituted the first step in the lengthy and arduous process of achieving the future re-establishment of peace in the area.

166. To achieve final peace is a lengthy and arduous process. It would be Utopian to expect that overnight things would revert to what they were prior to the conflict. That is why my Government has set for itself as an immediate goal the attainment of peaceful and respectful coexistence with El Salvador. I reaffirm here that even this limited objective cannot be attained until there is a demarcation of the frontier between the two countries. This claim which my country makes is no whim nor caprice; it is nothing more than the adequate means to give effect to the well-known and universal words of Benito Juárez, namely, "Peace is respect for the rights of others". Unless one knows the extent of those rights, it is elementary logic to conclude that peace will always be precarious.

167. On this occasion my Government once again affirms its faith that the law will prevail as a standard for international coexistence and that compliance with it by other countries will bring us to total normalcy in the Central American area.

168. During the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly I reported on the direct negotiations which were then being held between my country and the United States of America, regarding recognition of the sovereign right of Honduras over the islands of San-tanilla or Swan Islands. I can affirm today with genuine satisfaction that the enlightened Government of the United States in a gesture which adds much to its stature, in a note dated 12 November 1969 stated that it is prepared to recognize the sovereignty of Honduras over these islands I mentioned. I cannot fail to express my hope that all countries which still have conflicts of sovereignty over some territories will be able to find a solution similar to the one which we obtained in this case, which is an example of the fact that legal equality among States exists, as well as understanding and friendship among nations.

169. On commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), we regret that its objectives have not been fully attained and that there are still colonial systems whose presence could

not be justified in any era, least of all now. We condemn all forms of discrimination, whether on grounds of race, religion, origin or sex, wherever they exist, no matter by whom or against whom they are committed.

170. Honduras believes that it is of vital importance to select more realistic standards, more in accord with technological advances, in regard to the law of the sea. The proper utilization of natural resources, within the right of every State to dispose of its natural resources, is basic for the immediate future of the developing countries.

171. Our country, under our constitutional mandate, has established at present a twelve-mile limit for its territorial seas; we also reserve our rights over the sea-bed and the subsoil of the submarine shelf, the continental and coastal shelves and other submarine areas adjacent to our territory and beyond the territorial sea to a depth of 200 metres or to a depth-limit at which the exploitation of the natural resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor is possible.

172. Honduras attended a conference at Lima, Peru, in August last, and, being aware of our responsibilities to our people and to mankind, we signed a historic declaration in which States proclaimed, as general rules of the law of the sea, that we shall determine our maritime jurisdiction in accordance with geographical requirements and the need rationally to use the resources and the exploration, exploitation and conservation of the natural resources in the seas adjacent to our coasts and in the soil and subsoil thereof.

173. It is painful to observe that the situation in the Middle East, far from improving, continues to be a focus of violence which might well constitute the origin of a world catastrophe. My delegation, as on past occasions, unreservedly supports the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council of the United Nations, and we trust that wisdom will prevail among the leaders of the various sides, thus avoiding the spread of a conflict which, without any exaggeration, could lead to the destruction of mankind.

174. It would seem that the ability of mankind to devise new forms of violence is inexhaustible. For some time now, two particularly repugnant crimes have become typical: the hijacking of persons and of aircraft. While in both cases ideological reasons are invoked, the standards of freedom and personal security and the principles enshrined by tradition and by international conventions are violated. Despite the fact that both the Security Council [*resolution 286 (1970)*] and the Organization of American States have vehemently condemned those two crimes and have described them as crimes against mankind, we realize and must say without circumlocution that, as long as there are Governments which give sanctuary to air pirates and view those criminals as patriots, any effort to prevent their wrong doing will be totally useless. It is necessary to give up ideological attitudes which are out of place when confronting systematic crimes and to adopt, individually or collectively, the most drastic measures which the law will allow, so as to prevent the continued

mockery of justice with impunity and the sacrifice of innocent lives.

175. It has been recognized that there is a close interdependence between foreign trade and the rate of economic development. In Latin America we have expressed our points of view on the subject in the Viña del Mar Declaration,¹⁵ which was adopted at the last meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.¹⁶ In that document it was resolved at the ministerial level to request His Excellency Mr. Gabriel Valdez, Foreign Minister of Chile, President of the Special Session, together with the Ambassadors of member countries accredited to the Government of the United States of America, to deliver to His Excellency Mr. Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, the document signed at that meeting with a view to establishing the procedure to continue the dialogue and the negotiations between the Latin American countries and the United States, so as to achieve a readjustment of the terms of trade, which at present have fatal consequences for countries which export raw materials. We optimistically hope that in the near future positive solutions will be found to reduce the obstacles now being applied to Latin American exports. In this way we shall once again strengthen the inherent personality of the American continent, enhance the traditional forum of co-operation and friendship which has prevailed among all nations, as a logical consequence of the historical process of this hemisphere and promote the creation of a consciousness moulded on their common interests.

176. In the field of finance in international economic relations, the effects of the deterioration in the prices of raw materials are felt more keenly as time goes on and in contrast, the prices of imported manufactured goods rise continuously. This is reflected in persistent imbalances in the balance of payments of the under-developed countries. The circumstance is a secondary consequence, in so far as Latin America is concerned, of the barriers to trade imposed by the highly industrialized countries, from which it follows that redress of the latter is closely linked to the former; that is to say, that the liberalization of international trade is a *sine qua non* condition to put an end to the financial imbalances with which our countries are afflicted. In this field, the under-developed countries maintain our hope that we shall continue to have the support of the tenacious and indefatigable work of the United Nations and its respective specialized agencies, as well as the efforts of our own continental and regional organizations themselves.

177. In international forums, we are already beginning to hear about items which refer to the constant weakening of the world financial system. In the recent past, the basis for international financial stability was monetary discipline, to which the signatory nations to the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund committed themselves. Nevertheless, while a growing number of nations agreed to this

¹⁵ Latin American consensus adopted by the Special Commission on Latin-American Co-ordination on 17 May 1969.

¹⁶ Held at Caracas, Venezuela, from 3 to 6 February 1970.

rationalization by applying internal measures, others, possibly because of the obligations of national and international multiple commitments, fail to apply what has been called "monetary discipline" and exercise a broad discretion, even though their decisions are detrimental not only to their own economies but also, as a consequence, to the economies of other nations. That is what was recently said by the Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund in Copenhagen, on the twenty-first of this month, at a press conference which he held on the subject.

178. Moreover, in April 1970, in Viña del Mar, Chile, at the seventh meeting of the Governors of Central Banks of the American Continent, it was emphasized that possibly due to political, economic and social reasons which could brook no delay, several nations may find themselves compelled to exercise greater freedom of action in their monetary and financial policies. It may then be seen that it is appropriate to look to a renewal of confidence in the self-discipline of nations, to prevent us from falling once again into the economic stagnation and the financial chaos of 1930, which was the precursor of the Second World War.

179. I confess that the present world picture is not conducive to optimism about the future. Nevertheless, as my delegation stated during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly [1304th meeting], not all is gloom and despair. Among the four mythical horses of the Apocalypse, and to the extent that our human condition permits it, we are to a greater or lesser extent overcoming three of them: hunger, pestilence and death. The only one which rides unintimidated is the most nefarious of them all: war. Let us therefore devote all our efforts, use all the means which science and technology place at our disposal, to eliminate the intolerance which leads to war, if not as a moral mandate in regard to our fellow citizens, at least as an expression of a mere instinct for self-preservation. That is my hope. It is also the hope of mankind.

180. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): At the outset, I should like to refer to the dark shadow which the tragic and untimely death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser has cast over this Assembly and the world. In a statement made in Wellington yesterday, my Prime Minister referred to the late President as one of the most significant political figures of the post Second World War era. He was a constant source of inspiration to his people and he helped to mould and fortify a new sense of national identity and dignity.

181. The profound sympathy of the people of New Zealand has already been conveyed to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic. To the delegation of the United Arab Republic, I should like to add my own expression of deep sympathy at the tragic loss suffered by the Egyptian and, indeed, by all the Arab peoples.

182. President Nasser's statesmanlike acceptance of the American proposals had raised hopes that the long-awaited negotiations might at last have begun. We must all hope that his generous spirit will prevail and that peace will soon come to this troubled area of the world.

183. Mr. President, it is always a pleasure to congratulate the incoming President of this Assembly. It is a singular pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, a representative of a country which sat with New Zealand at San Francisco, on the honour of presiding over the session which takes place in this twenty-fifth anniversary year. Your career has been marked by your close association with the advancement of international law and of this Organization. It is a fitting symbol that the direction of this session should have been placed in your hands at a time when the world needs from the United Nations a strong and renewed assertion of the rule of law. I also take this opportunity to pay a well-merited compliment to your distinguished predecessor in office, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia.

184. May I also at this point say how much New Zealand looks forward to welcoming Fiji—a South Pacific country with which New Zealand has many close associations—to membership in the early part of this twenty-fifth session.

185. There are many features of the world situation today which could not have been foreseen at San Francisco, even though the Charter adopted there contained a wealth of insight, and has proved to be an instrument of great flexibility. But one must ask as well whether some of our purposes in banding together in the United Nations have not been neglected to the point where confidence in the Organization is gravely diminished.

186. Who could have foreseen that, as a backdrop to the opening of the twenty-fifth anniversary session, we should have the spectacle of international piracy, the spectacle of nations held to ransom and subjected to blackmail by those whom we treat too respectfully by using the term "hijackers". We must place this in conjunction with another remarkable phenomenon: the lightning rapidity with which the shock waves of events, and particularly of violent events, are felt around the world in this age of instant communication. We cannot allow the epidemic of hijacking to be condoned. It is, I suggest, time to combat the ingenuity and ruthlessness of those who use such methods to serve their own political or personal ends. Hundreds of years ago, international law was equal to the challenge posed by piracy on the high seas.

187. Today all the nations of a technologically advanced world will need to use all their skill and determination to stamp out the scourge of piracy in the air.

188. In a recent address the Secretary-General proposed that all nations should pledge to extradite hijackers, irrespective of their nationality or political affiliation, for trial before an agreed international tribunal. My Government welcomes the boldness of the Secretary-General's approach. It believes that strong measures are required. It urges all Governments to give the most serious consideration to international action which would effectively put a stop to hijacking. Important work to this end is being undertaken in the International Civil Aviation Organization, but there

may well be room for this Assembly to encourage and accelerate this urgent task.

189. The communications revolution to which I have referred is one of the reasons why in recent years vast problems of global dimensions have been perceived so much more rapidly and universally than in the past.

190. The United Nations today is applying itself to these problems. The solutions which are found will determine for us and future generations the quality of life. They will also be a mark of the vigour and adaptability of our Organization.

191. The relationship between population and development is one of these problems. Its solution is essentially dependent on decisions taken at the national level within the framework of the circumstances of each country, including its economic structure and its social and spiritual aspirations. But there exists also a global responsibility. The United Nations, through its Population Commission and its Population Fund, has an important role to play in focusing attention on the world problem and in providing assistance to countries which seek it.

192. The scope for international action to conserve the human environment is even more obvious. New Zealand, as a country in an early stage of industrial development and in an isolated geographical position, does not have the acute problems experienced by more heavily industrialized and populated countries. We have had, none the less, to develop active policies in such fields as land conservation, and are conscious of the growing risks of pollution of various kinds. A national organization in the form of an Environmental Council has been set up, and New Zealand is anxious to contribute to work in this field through participation in the Stockholm conference,¹⁷ in the specialized agencies and, as we hope, in the Economic and Social Council.

193. Of equal importance and of special interest to New Zealand is the question of establishing a just and effective régime for the deep sea-bed. There are fewer than ten countries with a longer coastline than New Zealand. We are isolated and surrounded by a vast area of ocean. By any definition we have an exceptionally large continental shelf. In short, we have as great a stake as any other Member of the United Nations in the work of the sea-bed Committee.¹⁸

194. All these questions of global scope relate to the work of the United Nations on development generally, and all Members stand to benefit from this work.

195. We recognize and respect the fact that for the great majority of delegations the overriding preoccupation is with the mainstream of economic development. The preparations for the Second United Nations

Development Decade, to which priority has been accorded at this session, have come to be regarded as a touchstone, and attitudes to it as a test of good faith. As my Prime Minister said in this debate last year, the first Development Decade taught that sound economic development is a continuous, complex and long-term process in which the willing co-operation of all developed and developing countries is essential. We continue to believe that it is correspondingly important that the goals or targets set should be realistic. The New Zealand Government has stated its readiness to work towards the target of one per cent of gross national product for external aid. Its ability to do so, however, is in strict relation to its ability to maintain and expand the level of its exports, consisting almost exclusively of primary commodities. This is a factor which my Government hopes will be borne in mind during consideration of international commodity arrangements for the forthcoming decade. There is nothing unique in the problems which particular countries face. It is only by approaching them together in a spirit of common aspiration that the highest factor of benefit to all can be achieved.

196. The opportunity to pursue a common approach to international trade problems arises most obviously through regional economic groupings. The potential for development which these can present has been amply demonstrated. Caution is needed, however, to ensure that benefits accrue both within the grouping and in trade with the outside world. The net result must not be to inhibit external trade through the growth of restrictive trade practices and protectionism.

197. For New Zealand the problem is far from theoretical. For a decade it has faced the prospect of seeing its largest market, the United Kingdom, become part of the world's most powerful regional economic grouping, the European Economic Community. In spite of our continuing efforts to find new export markets, the British market still represents the only outlet for nearly half New Zealand's total exports and almost all our exports of certain key agricultural products. Now that negotiations for British entry to the European Economic Community have begun, my Government is confident that New Zealand's position has the full sympathy and understanding of all parties concerned and that adequate safeguards to enable this trade to continue will be adopted. In a very real sense the role of regional groupings in world trade is on trial in this test case. New Zealand appreciates and fully supports the motivations behind the drive for a united Europe which could be so powerful a force for good in the world. However, it would be tragic if, as a result of enlarging the European Economic Community, one of the world's most efficient agricultural producers were driven to the wall. This would be a sad irony in a world facing grave potential shortages of food.

198. I have devoted my remarks thus far to economic and social questions and to some of the new areas in which the United Nations is active. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that in pursuing these important questions the United Nations is achieving the primary objectives of the Charter. As my Prime

¹⁷ United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in June 1972.

¹⁸ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

Minister suggested last year [*1757th meeting*], we are all to some extent guilty of self-delusion for as long as we fail to achieve the essential goal of international peace and stability.

199. The occasion of the commemorative session will, I hope, provide an opportunity for an analysis of some of the reasons for the Organization's inability to control international conflicts and of steps which might lead towards the diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations. This was a theme stressed by the Foreign Minister of Brazil in the traditionally eloquent intervention with which he opened our general debate [*1841st meeting*].

200. In one critical area—the Middle East—we have followed the patient efforts of Ambassador Jarring on behalf of the United Nations. We fervently hope that the cautious expectations engendered by the United States peace initiative, and by the stated willingness of the parties to enter into negotiations, have suffered only a temporary setback. It seems to us that the minimum conditions for further progress towards a settlement are an agreed extension of the cease-fire and the resumption within that time of endeavours to bring the parties to negotiations. In these endeavours the four permanent members of the Security Council will doubtless have to play a continuing, honest and persuasive role in accordance with the principles of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [*242 (1967)*].

201. In relation to the Viet-Nam war, however, the failure of the United Nations to play any real part is notorious and a matter of regret. The last four months have seen the involvement in that war, from no volition of its own, of a small country which has consistently sought to avoid such involvement. My delegation asks this Assembly today whether it will choose to remain indifferent to the situation in Cambodia, which has deeply concerned my Government.

202. From the outset Cambodia refused to take sides in the Viet-Nam conflict and tried to prevent the war from spilling across its borders, but in vain. Over a period of years the armed forces of North Viet-Nam and the Viet-Cong took advantage of Cambodia's neutrality to establish bases and supply-lines within its territory. The then Head of State of Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk, became increasingly alarmed at that situation but was unable to persuade the North Viet-Nameese to withdraw their forces. In March 1970 he was dismissed as Head of State by a unanimous vote of the Cambodian Parliament. The Government of General Lon Nol, which Prince Sihanouk himself had appointed, demanded the withdrawal of the communist forces, while making clear that it was prepared to negotiate on the question. Instead of taking up that offer, the communist forces immediately began to attack the forces and installations of the Government of Cambodia—to make war on the country whose territory they were already making free of.

203. That action of the North Viet-Nameese was a clear case of aggression, of an attack on one State

by the armed forces of another. It has continued right up to the present time. Indeed the communist forces have expanded their activities throughout Cambodia and have virtually annexed a large part of it. They have, it is true, used the name of the deposed Prince Sihanouk as a cover, but the forces involved in the fighting have been almost entirely Viet-Nameese, either North Viet-Nameese or Viet-Cong.

204. Some time after the communist forces had begun to attack the Cambodian Government forces, the forces of South Viet-Nam and the United States launched a series of operations across the South Viet-Nameese border into Cambodia. These were designed to destroy the bases from which the communist forces had so long operated with impunity against Saigon and the surrounding areas. They were welcomed by General Lon Nol and undoubtedly helped him to survive the military pressure that the North Viet-Nameese and their supporters were putting on him. But it should be noted that the Cambodian Government had previously appealed in vain for help to the Geneva Conference co-Chairmen, to the members of the International Control Commission, and to this Organization. The Security Council took no effective action to deal with this clear-cut case of North Viet-Nameese aggression in Cambodia and there is no sign that it will do so.

205. Cambodia's neighbours were more forthcoming. The Foreign Ministers of eleven Asian and Pacific countries, including New Zealand, met in Djakarta on 16 and 17 May and expressed grave concern over the situation in Cambodia. They called for an end to all hostilities there and for the withdrawal of all foreign forces. They also recommended the reactivation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia and supported the idea of an international conference to consider the Cambodian problem. The moderation of the Djakarta Conference was widely recognized and its outcome met with the approval of many countries which were not represented at it. Yet it was condemned out of hand by North Viet-Nam and by Communist China, and it evoked no positive response from the Soviet Union.

206. The Djakarta Conference was a remarkable demonstration of regional solidarity. My Government attaches great importance to the development of regional co-operation in Asia and we welcome the determination of the countries in the area to find an Asian solution for an Asian problem. We are confident that the spirit of the Conference will persist in spite of the hostile reaction from some quarters.

207. But regional co-operation is no substitute for action on a wider basis, and the fact that action is being taken regionally is not a reason for the international community to do nothing. The great Powers—and in particular the Soviet Union and Communist China—bear a heavy responsibility for the continuation and extension of the conflict in Indo-China, and no settlement can be reached without their collaboration. But what is even more relevant in this Assembly is that the fate of Cambodia is a matter of concern to small nations everywhere. All of us have an interest

in ensuring that a small country cannot be invaded and attacked by stronger neighbours under whatever pretext. This Assembly may not be able to do much on its own to end the conflict and restore the integrity and neutrality of Cambodia. But that is no excuse for indifference. At the very least, the Members of this Assembly should take heed of the true nature and the implications of the situation with which the people of Cambodia are confronted.

208. There is one other related matter I would briefly add, on which this Assembly has a humanitarian duty to fulfil. I refer to the fate of those prisoners of war held by the North Viet-Nameese. The appeals of the International Red Cross, meeting at Istanbul in September 1969, and the reiterated efforts made by the International Committee of the Red Cross have elicited no response. Yet all that is sought is that these men be treated in accordance with international humanitarian law and, more specifically, that North Viet-Nam honour the minimum undertakings which it gave in acceding to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. There is an inhumanity in the attitude displayed which must awaken this Assembly's deepest concern. How can it deal sincerely with an item such as that on human rights in armed conflicts without renewing at the solemn level of the General Assembly the appeals already made?

209. Consideration of the ability of the Organization to discharge its responsibilities in the field of peace and security leads on to wider question^a. How adequate is the structure of the United Nations to permit it to perform its functions in this twenty-fifth year of its existence? That is a matter which requires examination on two different levels. We are all conscious of the problems involved in proposals for the Charter review. The best must not, however, be the enemy of the good. If that wider reform should not prove possible, there is still scope for more modest and practical innovations. For that reason my delegation has joined in co-sponsoring the item on the rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly.

210. We do not approach this subject with preconceived ideas. We believe the Assembly could benefit from the recommendations which might come from a small group, rich in direct personal experience. We have in mind, for example, that the functioning of Assembly committees has become more formalized than was originally contemplated. Do they now serve their purpose in meeting as frequently as they do? There are a number of questions on which attitudes have become rigid. This, in turn, suggests that there may be a case for reviewing the agenda with a view to avoiding automatic inscription, or annual discussion, at least of those items where the outcome does not vary from one year to the next. How, on the one hand, can the Assembly's procedures be shaped to recognize the increasing practice of negotiation between, and within, groups which is now an abiding feature of the General Assembly and some other bodies? And how, on the other, can it be ensured that, in the larger forum of the General Assembly committees, countries which are not members of such specialized bodies as those

dealing with outer space, disarmament, the sea-bed and the like, may still participate meaningfully in discussion of matters on which real negotiation tends to be restricted to an initiate circle? These are but some of the issues—perhaps some of the more difficult issues—which we should like to see debated.

211. Finally, as part of a programme to enable the Organization better to meet its responsibilities it is all too clear that its financial situation—the precarious state of affairs with which the Organization has lived too long—must be remedied. This is a matter to which our Secretary-General has made pointed reference in the introduction to his annual report [*A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1*]. There is something incongruous about a world body which can stem insolvency only by borrowing. It is well to remind ourselves that the Organization is faced with a shortfall of some 190 million dollars in assessed contributions. It is surely not unreasonable to hope that those who perpetuate this situation could make a gesture in this anniversary year to help put the Organization back on a sound financial footing.

212. The growth of the budget is a financial problem of a different order. The question must be asked whether the present rate of growth is not excessive. Growth must be accepted, but it must be carefully managed and apportioned to make the most effective use of our limited resources. In many countries, including my own, serious thought is being given to new forms of budget planning and presentation. We welcome the international studies carried out on this topic. There is much to be said for budgeting by programme rather than by object of expenditure as at the present time.

213. But technical measures of rationalization and consolidation are only part of the answer. What is needed above all is a willingness on the part of the membership as a whole to eliminate the conflict between what it wants and what it is prepared to pay. This is a basic conflict as much political as budgetary. The blame does not lie entirely with the Fifth Committee, which is largely ineffective in the face of the financial implications of substantive decisions. These decisions, often of a political nature, emanate from the legislative organs of the Assembly and the subsidiary bodies. Nor can the Secretariat, as the author of the budget document, be held solely responsible, nor indeed is inflation the sole culprit. It is we, the Member States, who hold apparently irreconcilable views about the desirable rate of growth, the level of over-all expenditures and the use to which funds are put. As a consequence, no really effective budgetary control exists. This is a problem which the Secretary-General himself has singled out in a plea for urgent action in his foreword to the budget estimates for 1971.

214. While we must bear in mind the objectives of the Second Development Decade, a serious effort is needed in this year of stocktaking to reach common ground on these questions. The failure of the Committee on Conferences has illustrated an apparent absence of willingness effectively to empower an organ to exercise determined control. Surely we must deduce from

this that there remains only the spirit of compromise if there is to be a healthy development of the budget, the administration of the Organization, and the programmes which it services.

215. I have dealt with some themes of current concern and with some pervasive questions of United Nations reform. All of us have, I am sure, been struck by the new strains to which international life is now subject, and with the correspondingly urgent need for our Organization both to strengthen its role in world order and to adjust itself to the times. In an address given in London some months ago our Secretary-General said that:

“The news is so full of stories of conflict and violence that not enough attention is paid to the steady undercurrent of decency and commonsense in the affairs of nations, and people increasingly have the impression that in international affairs nothing ever goes right.”

216. For New Zealand's part I urge that we all show in this anniversary year our determination to give effect to the spirit which at San Francisco gave rise to the Charter of the United Nations. Our Prime Minister then spoke of that historic conference as “a moment of time which will not recur in our lives and which may not recur again”. Now, 25 years later, we have the opportunity and the necessity in this anniversary to take stock, and to add to the stature of the Organization. Let us use this chance.

217. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India in exercise of his right of reply.

218. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): I shall have another occasion to compliment you on your election and at the moment I shall briefly deal with the distortions presented by the Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs of Pakistan this afternoon in discussing India-Pakistan relations and answer some of the calumnies he has uttered against my country.

219. Our basic approach to all problems between India and Pakistan is that they must be discussed, negotiated and eventually settled by the representatives of the two countries. There should be no pre-conditions and there should be no insistence that one side must accept in advance the priorities of the other side. It was in this spirit that we signed the Tashkent Declaration¹⁹ and I regret that, in spite of all our efforts to carry out the terms of this Declaration, we have always met with negative response from Pakistan. We did more. We removed unilaterally all restrictions on trade with Pakistan; it continued to ban all trade with India, with the result that these two neighbouring countries have no trade with each other.

220. We suggested negotiations on the properties seized by each side during the 1965 conflict; instead of entering into negotiations Pakistan sold most of the

Indian properties for its benefit and in total violation of the existing agreements and of international law. I should add that the Indian properties in Pakistan were many times more in value than the Pakistan properties in India. We are ready to open up travel facilities and trade routes to and through Pakistan, but Pakistan would have none of it. We proposed, not once or twice but several times, the signing of a no-war declaration between the two countries, but Pakistan rejected our proposal every time. However, we continue to remain patient and hopeful. Perhaps a day will soon come when the rulers of Pakistan will realize that these two countries which have so much in common must live in a spirit of co-operation to the benefit of both. Those rulers may even draw from the lesson of modern trends in Europe and elsewhere.

221. Since I am merely exercising my right of reply, I shall not deal in detail with the merits of the various problems raised by the representative of Pakistan but would confine myself to two or three specific issues.

222. On Kashmir the basic issues are all known to all Member States and our position remains unchanged. However, the Home Minister of Pakistan could not resist the temptation of giving a distorted picture. It is not true that the partition of the subcontinent was done as a result of any application of the principle of self-determination. It was done, as should be known to the Minister of Pakistan, as a result of a political settlement between the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government. Very different might have been the story if all the Indians had voted on this issue before the British left.

223. Secondly, it is untrue to say that we did not in our original complaint to the Security Council, which has still not been disposed of, claim Kashmir as an integral part of India. We said repeatedly that the accession of Kashmir was complete both in law and in form.

224. The third distortion the representative of Pakistan mentioned was that the public opinion in Kashmir has not been consulted. It has been repeatedly consulted. It is, however, true that unfortunately some Kashmiris could not exercise their franchise as they were not allowed to participate from the Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir. All these facts should be known to the representative of Pakistan. He then made the ridiculous comparison between Kashmir and Namibia, Portuguese possessions and so on. These distortions and abusive charges do not deserve any detailed answer. The world can judge our record on colonialism as against any other country. Besides, I do not suppose it is the intention of Pakistan's delegation to suggest that an integral part of a country should be separated by a plebiscite. I should not like to think what will then happen to East Pakistan or other parts, even in West Pakistan.

225. In any event all these considerations were fully known before the Tashkent Declaration was signed both by Pakistan and India and this declaration Pakistan has refused to honour soon after it signed it.

¹⁹ Signed by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan on 10 January 1966.

226. Pakistan occupies by force a large part of this Indian state of Kashmir, illegally barter away part of it and commits aggression on India to take more. This must end. In case there is still any doubt about this aggression in 1965, let me quote from a recent statement by Mr. Bhutto who was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan at that time. I am quoting from the *Dawn*, an important newspaper in Pakistan and like all Pakistani papers, is under the control and guidance of the Pakistani military régime. The *Dawn* of 8 September of this year, reports:

“Mr. Bhutto said he was ready to own the charge that he engineered the 1965 war against India.

“ ‘If Quadi-Azam’ ”—that is Mr. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan and the Father of the nation—“ ‘was wrong in starting the first war against India in Kashmir, then I am equally wrong’, he added.”

227. The representatives would no doubt realize that it is this attitude, these admissions, these wars against India that have brought about a basic change on the Kashmir question. I can only hope that the Home Minister of Pakistan would also realize as much. So while we remain ready to discuss all matters including Kashmir, all that has happened over the last 24 years cannot but be taken into account.

228. Secondly, the representative of Pakistan spoke about the regrettable communal riots in India and the alleged harassments, if not something much worse, of the minorities in India. Now, there are many minorities in India. India is a vast country of over 550 million people and it is our pride and glory that we manage to live together in spite of occasional friction and disturbances. It would be totally wrong to describe all these incidents as communal; nor will it be right to leave the impression that in these riots the victims belong only to one community. We regret and deeply deplore—as indeed has been done by all, I repeat all, the political parties in India both inside and outside Parliament—these riots, which have their origin in complex social, economic and political factors. Foreigners would naturally find it difficult to understand and appreciate these fully, but we in India have to deal with them courageously, patiently and with every means at our disposal. We continue to do so. We regret that Pakistan has launched a systematic campaign in many garbs to exploit these tragic events, which occurred four months ago, for its narrow political ends. If it were really concerned about these incidents, it could mute its radio broadcasts and abate its propaganda which continuously incite violence and communal passions. It could, in addition, follow a more humane policy towards its own minorities, 200,000 of whom have fled to India this year alone. This is ten times the average figure of the five previous years.

229. There is still another aspect. The Indian Muslims number 60 millions, as was mentioned by the Home Minister of Pakistan himself. This is many times the population of many Member States represented here. They form the third largest Muslim community in any

country of the world. This significant and numerous community enjoys all the rights of Indian citizens and occupies respectable and responsible positions in our national life and contributes effectively to it. They do not need Pakistan as their advocate—in fact they find such advocacy a source of confusion and embarrassment.

230. They also do not fail to note that there is only one other State with its status law to which the Ambassador of the United Arab Republic drew our attention yesterday [1851st meeting] which also claims its co-religionists as its nationals. I shall not elaborate on this, any more than I shall elaborate on the plight of the minorities in Pakistan under a military régime.

231. In the circumstances, it appears to us that the offer of Pakistan for an independent investigation of the conditions of minorities in Pakistan is meaningless. Those Hindus who remain in Pakistan are so demoralized and victimized that they cannot be expected to give their views freely and frankly without incurring the wrath of a military régime with all its consequences. Let it not be forgotten that there is no way in Pakistan of voicing the grievances of those unfortunate people. There is no parliament; the press and other media are controlled by the Government and public meetings are not allowed to concern themselves with the conditions of minorities. Those who are interested in the rights of man have merely to look at Pakistan's Constitution which is in itself a travesty of human rights and dignity, and I am sure that they would feel some concern for the unending stream of refugees from Pakistan. It is not without significance that a commission that was set up by President Ayub Khan to report on the conditions of minorities never made its report. At least, it was never made public nor do we know whether it was ever prepared. In this context, representatives may be interested in reading a report entitled “Hindus find life shaky in Pakistan” appearing in the *Washington Post* of 14 July 1970. Such reports could be multiplied.

232. Very different is the situation in India: free press, free travel and free association prevail to a point where there is genuine concern in certain quarters whether this wide and intense freedom does not at times make it possible for some elements to create unnecessary trouble. None the less, we think it is better to run the risk of such abuses of those fundamental freedoms, rather than try to curb them. Foreign correspondents of news media can travel freely in India and do report regularly on happenings in the country. For instance, in a dispatch to the *Christian Science Monitor* of 16 July, there is a very full discussion of the problem of minorities in India. The facts of all the communal incidents are well known and no outside investigation is necessary or desirable. All that I can say is that the international community may be interested in helping the Government of Pakistan to bring about a degree of democracy in that country which might at last relieve the agonies of those unfortunate people and pave the way for better Indo-Pakistan relations.

233. Is it not significant that in spite of Pakistan's concern for Indian Muslims, unlike the religious

minorities in Pakistan who are migrating in large numbers to India, they find the conditions in India such as to enable them to play their part in India and they do not show any desire to leave India and cross over to Pakistan?

234. Thirdly, on our negotiations with Pakistan on the Farakka barrage, the Home Minister of Pakistan gave his view: this problem is a technical and practical one. It is not a juridical problem. The basic practical aspect of the problem is that India needs every drop of water it can find in the Ganges river system, while in East Pakistan there is too much water, periodic floods and widespread water-logging. None the less, if it is established that in certain seasons and in certain limited areas East Pakistan vitally needs some water from this Indian river, then, in a spirit of co-operation, we shall do whatever we can to help. This is what the engineers on both sides are working out and we hope that their efforts will succeed. This is also the spirit of our assurance to Pakistan, a reference to which was made by the Home Minister of Pakistan.

235. In conclusion, I wonder why the representatives of Pakistan bring up these bilateral issues to the United Nations year after year, in season and out of season. Their excuse is that this forum should be used for explaining to the Member States the current situation between two neighbouring countries. To us, these attempts seem very much like an abuse and a waste of time, particularly as India is always ready—indeed, eager—to sit with Pakistan and negotiate all the problems in a sincere desire to solve them. May I, in this context, quote Article 4 of the Tashkent Declaration, a declaration to which both India and Pakistan have subscribed. It reads:

“The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.”²⁰

236. We have not, and the world community has not yet recovered from the tragic shock of President Nasser's death yesterday, and yet attempts are being made to create discord between two neighbouring countries who should, by all logic and in all circumstances, live in peace and co-operation. This is a great pity.

237. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan to exercise his right of reply.

238. Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): In exercise of our right of reply, I wish to say only this much this evening, that the Foreign Minister of India has levelled accusations at the Constitution, the Government and certain essential features of my country which are incorrect, not true, and which aim at creating confusion. He has

departed from the substance of the statement made by the Pakistan delegation and he has tried to confuse the issue by bringing in certain extraneous elements which are not relevant to the statements made by our delegation.

239. We should like to study the statement of the Foreign Minister of India in greater detail and prepare ourselves for a fuller reply to it. In view of the fact this Assembly has sat throughout the day and for the greater part of the evening and has heard speakers for such a long period of time, we would not like to detain the Assembly tonight. In deference to the wishes of the President, I should like to conclude by saying that Pakistan reserves the right to reply on a later occasion to the confusing and irrelevant statement made by the Foreign Minister of India.

240. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of El Salvador to exercise his right of reply.

241. Mr. GALINDO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the statement made this afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras, it was affirmed that El Salvador last year imposed an armed conflict on Honduras. That affirmation cannot be allowed to pass without a reply, because it is indispensable to place events in their true dimension of truthfulness and reality. That was a propaganda statement together which, with many others, is part of an organized and systematic campaign intended unwarrantedly to distort the international image of El Salvador. The truth was otherwise, because the conflict last year between the two neighbouring countries started with the persecution of El Salvadoreans who were residing in the territory of Honduras. That is an undeniable fact which was perfectly demonstrated, and the Government of El Salvador is prepared to give evidence of this in any international forum, if that should be necessary.

242. El Salvador—and when I say El Salvador I am referring to the people and to the Government who are intimately, totally and extraordinarily united in the defence of a just cause—is absolutely and completely certain that this conflict, which it regrets and which it would never have wanted, put to a test its essential rights as a State. Its political objective was, and continues to be, respect for the human rights which all our nationals possess, whether they live on its territory or outside it, and whom it has the obligation to defend in accordance with international law. This generally accepted obligation appears in any treaty—even in a most elemental treaty—of international law, and therefore may be invoked in this Assembly.

243. On behalf of my Government, I declare that affirmations such as the one I mentioned made in a forum such as the United Nations are not precisely such as to make the going smooth for the Bilateral Committee, which has recently made some gains in the process of pacification and which has deserved favourable comment by the Government of Honduras, as we have

²⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1966*, document S/7221, annex.

just heard from its Minister for Foreign Affairs. Also on behalf of my Government, I categorically and emphatically reject the responsibility which the Government of Honduras wishes to attribute to El Sal-

vador by way of statements such as the one which called for this right of reply.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.