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**CONTENTS**

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 80:	
Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	1
Agenda item 9:	
General debate	
Speech by Mr. Gibson Barboza (Brazil) . . . . .	1
Speech by Mr. Swaran Singh (India) . . . . .	4
Speech by Mr. Khalatbari (Iran) . . . . .	12

*President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).*

**AGENDA ITEM 80**

**Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)\***

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to call the attention of the General Assembly to document A/8397/Add.1. This document contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General containing the information that Yemen has now made a contribution to the United Nations regular budget which has reduced its arrears well below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter. It will be recalled that, in anticipation of the receipt of this payment, the General Assembly agreed, on the proposal of the Temporary President at the 1934th plenary meeting, to exercise the option vested in it by the second sentence of Article 19. With the receipt of the payment from Yemen, this matter is now closed.

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate**

2. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to remind members of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 1937th plenary meeting, on 24 September, regarding the procedure concerning the general debate, particularly in connexion with the list of speakers and the exercise of the right of reply. To facilitate the planning of work, the Assembly also decided to close the list of speakers in the general debate on Friday, 1 October.

3. Mr. GIBSON BARBOZA (Brazil): Mr. President, let my first words be of congratulation to you on behalf of the Brazilian Government and in my own name, on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your personal and professional

qualifications, fully recognized by all of us who are acquainted with you, assure us that the guidance of our debates will be in the hands of a skilful and internationally respected diplomat. May I also express the appreciation of the Brazilian Government for the efficiency, tact and assurance with which your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, carried out these functions.

4. We are saddened by U Thant's irrevocable decision to leave his post as Secretary-General at the end of his second term. The Brazilian Government had previously expressed its hope that U Thant would still be in a position to reconsider his decision and would agree to place his valuable services at the disposal of the international community for another period. Now that he has reaffirmed that his wish is irreversible, I should like to reiterate the gratitude of my Government to the Secretary-General for the dedication with which he has worked to serve the United Nations. The need to replace him leads us more than ever to ponder the delicate nature and the importance of that position as well as the political responsibility the Secretary-General holds within the system of our Organization. U Thant has given us ample evidence of this kind of understanding in the course of the 10 years during which we have become accustomed to seeing him work for the cause of international peace and harmony.

5. In the course of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, we unanimously asserted the belief that the United Nations continued to provide the most valid alternative for the theories of power and balance of power which nourish hegemonic ambitions. Despite the unanimity with which this belief was expressed, we concurrently pointed out the limitations which were reducing our Organization's capacity for action because of the resurgence of political concepts and diplomatic practices that run counter to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

6. The purposes and principles which the 51 founding Members of the United Nations incorporated into the institutional Charter of the Organization have made it possible for 79 nations, in the course of the quarter century of the existence of the United Nations, to accede to membership with the same sovereign status. When in July of 1945 we faced the misery, suffering and destruction brought about by the Second World War, we also assumed collective responsibility for eliminating the unjustifiable poverty plaguing two thirds of mankind. We were not aware then that a few weeks later the destructive force of the atom would appear on the scene as the major threat to peace and international security. It is indisputable that that event has conditioned the evolution of international relations since San Francisco, and its negative impact will persist as long as the knowledge that breeds power is not

\* Resumed from the 1934th meeting.

placed definitely and unconditionally at the service of the international community.

7. The contemporary crisis and the danger that the United Nations will be left to play but a marginal role in it will grow more and more acute so long as wealth and power continue to be concentrated in a few States, so long as scientific and technological knowledge remain "oligopolized", so long as, in the last analysis, the practice of power politics downgrades the United Nations and progressively lessens the importance of its position as an organizing, valid and active forum for international relations. Therefore, the alternative to the United Nations, both for the poor States and for the rich ones, for the powerless and the powerful, is chaos, which is the inevitable consequence of theories that set up force, the naked force of economic, scientific and military power as a pattern for international behaviour.

8. The Brazilian Government thus maintains, and will continue to stress, that peace and collective security, as well as the social and economic progress of developing countries, are the crucial problems of our time and that on their solution depend harmonious relationships among States.

9. For the same reasons, during the General Assembly's twenty-fifth anniversary session Brazil strove for the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], through which we reiterated the purposes and principles of our Organization and its competence to examine, debate and settle major world issues.

10. That reiteration doubtless implies a rebuttal of the so-called political realism used as a means of imposing and justifying new modes of the freezing of power, as well as the implicit or explicit establishment of spheres of influence.

11. At the present session of the General Assembly we are invited to consider, in the light of this pseudo-realism, the accession of another great Power to our Organization. This realistic spirit seems to be a modern version of *Realpolitik*, a term which brings to mind less than happy memories. As a matter of fact, I would prefer to have that so-called realistic spirit applied to the recognition by the United Nations of a process that can no longer be delayed: the translation into concrete deeds of the moral duty and political obligation of wealthy nations to make an effective contribution to the progress of the less-developed countries, or, at the very least, not to raise obstacles to their development. There is no lack of studies on the subject. Quite reasonable proposals have been put forth and even adopted. Yet when we take stock of the outcome of their implementation we are made aware that all we have succeeded in achieving is the splitting up of our deliberations into comfortable time-packages. That is how we came to the Second Development Decade.

12. Now, unfortunately this is not *Realpolitik* we are dealing with—not the *Realpolitik* that would lead us to lasting and fruitful peace. Quite the contrary, the *Realpolitik* we are invited to apply on this occasion is the admission of the fact that a nation counting its population in the hundreds of millions and possessing its own nuclear

weapons—even though, incidentally, the proliferation of these weapons is supposed to be proscribed—could not fail to be given a position among us compatible with its strength. What we are facing here is another instance of power politics, which can hardly set proper criteria for organizing an international society based on peace, justice and the equality of States.

13. In relation to this issue, which is being given top-priority attention in all the chancelleries of the world, I should also like to remark that the new fact before us is not the discovery of a new star in the constellation of the great Powers. This star has long been shining. It has been there ever since it mastered the technology and means to jeopardize the survival of mankind—in other words, ever since it proved it possessed atomic weapons. The very novelty of the situation now in the offing that fundamentally changes the prospects of the membership of the United Nations is that a super-Power has decided the time has come to acknowledge the existence of another great Power. This fact seems to be irrefutable. Consequently the candidate for membership comes into existence from the moment the directorate of the club of power so decides.

14. The participation of this new partner is taken for granted, whether it be today or tomorrow. Timing appears to be irrelevant. The important point, the relevant innovation, would be for this display of *Realpolitik* to result in the United Nations henceforth discussing and deciding upon major issues of international peace and security which, strangely enough, have not been discussed in the General Assembly.

15. Certainly, while I am attempting to picture the freezing of power as a trend that has become a major obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of peace, security and development, I do not postulate, either directly or indirectly, a symmetrical evaluation of the super-Powers, their world interests or political behaviour.

16. Even if, hypothetically, the international community were willing to accept a "nuclear peace" and therefore the resulting principle that absolute power engenders absolute rights, historical experience disavows any permanent differentiation of States into a small group endowed with, on the one hand, unparalleled power and, on the other, a second category of countries condemned to the role of spectators or protégés of power.

17. On the contrary, the political philosophy of our Organization rests on quite a different basis: the equality of rights, duties and opportunities of all Member States, respect for the sovereignty and independence of States, the non-use of force in the settlement of international disputes, and the fulfilment in good faith of the obligations contracted under the Charter. It therefore becomes obvious that the doctrines of power threaten the existence of the United Nations as the normative organ of international society, downgrading it politically as the international forum competent to impose discipline on the fact of power itself—discipline that should benefit the international community as a whole rather than the oligopoly of force that acts to the community's detriment.

18. The most evident, and in the long run most dangerous, attempt to sanction immobility is the systematic refusal

even to entertain the possibility of reviewing the Charter. The Brazilian Government does not think the political philosophy of the United Nations, as expressed in its purposes and principles, is in need of revision. That was the sense of the appeal I made during the twenty-fifth anniversary session: "let us use our Organization and let us apply the Charter" [1841st meeting, para. 35].

19. But since times change, the machinery established for the implementation of these purposes and principles must now be submitted to review and revision. The scenarios that have evolved and disappeared in the changeable international reality, the experiences we have accumulated during our 25 years of work to put a stop to or contain crises and causes of conflict, and, even more basically, the entrance into these scenarios of so many new, sovereign States, have rendered many of the mechanisms created a quarter of a century ago archaic, inadequate and insufficient. Revision is a prerequisite for making available to the United Nations instruments which will make them more active, more normative and more agile.

20. As an illustration of the need for revision, I could point to the limited representativeness of such organs as the Economic and Social Council, the current membership of which renders it incapable of reflecting and interpreting the whole and complex gamut of the economic and social interests of Member States of the United Nations.

21. Along this line of thought I wish to reiterate that the Brazilian Government cannot agree that the principle of sovereign equality of Member States should be questioned in any way or restricted in its consequences. This principle is not subject to any qualification other than those prerogatives explicitly set forth in Article 27 of the Charter. An exceptional rule is involved here. Its effects cannot be extended to any other forum or activity of the Organization, thus endowing the permanent members of the Security Council with special prerogatives. Nor should this privilege, which is restricted to the forum of that same Council, serve to assure its permanent members any advantage or priority of membership in the subsidiary organs of the Assembly, to the detriment of the principle of equitable geographic representation.

22. It seems necessary here to stress the obvious since the obvious frequently becomes distorted under the impact of powerful conflicting interests. The establishment of peace is the fundamental task of the United Nations: a peace which is not to be confused with the balance of power or its nuclear counterpart, the balance of terror; a peace which should not be the mere perpetuation of an unjust international situation, or the mere absence of conflict with a whole range of sinister nuclear overtones; a peace, in short, which should not be reduced to sheer hope for the survival of mankind on the morrow and a hope, consistently renewed on a short-term basis, that the nuclear arsenals will not be used. On the contrary it should be a peace resting on the stable structure of collective security and providing conditions for progress, a peace which is identified with the eradication of under-development and which guarantees to all Member States territorial integrity, national identity, the right to develop their human potentialities, their political and social capabilities and the unimpeded possession and disposition of their factors of progress.

23. The basic requirement for the permanent establishment of peace and political and economic security lies essentially in general and complete disarmament, which cannot be reduced to the inadequate dimension of partial measures of arms control or non-armament. Although necessary and praiseworthy, these measures have not gone beyond the maintenance of the present distribution of nuclear power under the deceptive cloak of the co-chairmanship. The existence of nuclear arsenals and the sums expended annually to strengthen them quantitatively and improve them qualitatively are the result of antagonisms which the practice of the balance of power does not allow to be resolved. No one disputes any longer the irrationality of "over-kill", or that unrestrained spending on nuclear arms constitutes the greatest impediment to any integrated plan for global economic development.

24. We meet here once again entrusted with the responsibility of seeking a solution which, viewed rationally, seems about to materialize. Yet this solution stubbornly eludes us, prodded beyond our grasp by a diabolical illusion that power, which only apparently renders a few immune, will through its own dynamics guarantee the survival of all.

25. Hence our eyes and ears are fixed on the doors behind which, in Helsinki and in Vienna, the secret talks on the limitation of strategic arms are proceeding with the slowness to which we have, unhappily, become accustomed. Around those tables, where we have no seats, the negotiators of the super-Powers play with the destiny of us all.

26. In a few months the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] will be convened, the third opportunity afforded the developed world in less than 10 years to co-operate concretely with the developing countries to improve their living standards, and to close within the shortest possible time the economic, scientific and technological gap separating the nations of the world.

27. Disappointed at the poor results of the first and second sessions of UNCTAD, and aware of the reluctance of developed countries, of the intransigence of some and the even less excusable indifference of others, Brazil believes that the fate of the third session of UNCTAD will depend on the growing acceptance by the international community of the concept of collective economic security through the adoption of decisions of broad range and significance at the institutional level, and through the creation of new and more ambitious mechanisms.

28. The concept of collective economic security will complement the system of collective political security. In practice, this concept, which Brazil has consistently defended since 1953, upholds in the first place the right of all nations to economic and social development. It also postulates the duty of the more developed countries to contribute to the elimination of the external barriers which they have created and which hinder the acceleration of the growth of developing countries. This should be achieved in accordance with the negotiated time-tables and, in any event, before the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

29. To the extent of its capabilities, Brazil is prepared to take up its responsibilities towards the least developed

among developing countries, bilaterally as well as multilaterally. And we are naturally moved to do so by reason of the solidarity that links us to these countries, and also because we consider it to be an ethical imperative. We want to see this issue frontally tackled in Lima, at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, so that the third session of UNCTAD may bring about concrete and global solutions to this problem. We are convinced that other countries in stages of development similar to Brazil's will join us in seeking such solutions; concurrently, it is essential, in accordance with the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, that developed countries be prepared to contribute additional resources to eliminate more rapidly the disparities in growth among those in process of development. In the Latin American context, we are already acting increasingly in accordance with this political decision.

30. Collective economic security further presupposes the protection of all Member States against economic aggression, threats or pressures, especially in relation to international trade and financing; it also presupposes respect for the sovereignty of all States over their natural resources and the political and economic consequences thereof, namely, the right freely to protect those resources and exploit them for the benefit of their own peoples and in accordance with their own priorities.

31. Brazil reiterates the right and duty of riparian States to avail themselves of the resources of the seas, the sea-bed and the subsoil thereof adjacent to their coastlines in order to ensure the economic and social well-being of their peoples. To this effect we maintain that such States are entitled to exercise the right to determine the extent of their sovereignty or jurisdiction over those areas, in accordance with their geographical, geological and biological peculiarities, and their requirements in the fields of security, scientific investigation and with respect to the preservation of the marine environment. The Brazilian Government wishes to express its gratification at the wide-spread understanding and support these principles are increasingly receiving from States of all continents and levels of economic development in the context of the preparatory work on a comprehensive conference on the law of the sea.

32. I have no intention of bringing into this debate matters that are already being discussed in other international forums in a more adequate technical manner. But I cannot refrain from pointing out that Brazil is following with deep concern the new trends and developments that now characterize the international monetary and trade scene as a consequence of the decisions taken by the Government of the United States of America to offset the deficit in its balance of payments. It is undeniable that the fundamental interests of developing countries have in this case once again been neglected. It should be stressed that developing countries have in no way contributed to bringing about this abnormal situation on the international financial and trade scene. Therefore, it is imperative that their interests be duly safeguarded in the search for corrective solutions in order to avoid any further set-backs to their economic and social development process. However, I very much fear that if Governments and specialized organs adopt measures to reshape the international mone-

tary system without previously consulting the developing countries in the appropriate international organs—I very much fear, I repeat—that the action programme for development embodied in the International Development Strategy adopted last year by this Assembly [resolution 2626 (XXV)] will be gravely impaired in the very first year of its existence.

33. The Latin American countries have already taken a common political stand on those problems. We firmly trust that the United States of America, as well as the developed countries currently engaged in mutual consultations for the purpose of maintaining their stability, will not abandon their prior commitments towards the developing world.

34. Brazil, with an already accelerated rate of economic growth and social progress which heralds the breaking of the barriers of under-development; will continue to the best of its ability to strive for the strengthening of an international order based on the concepts I have just outlined.

35. Since historical events are rendering obsolete the bipolarization which dominated international relations, its alternative cannot be a new power system also to be based on a small number of nations claiming a *de facto* hegemony over the rest of the world; rather it must be an international community organized in conformity with the broader and more equitable provisions of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

36. The consistent tenor of our foreign policy is summed up in the following words of President Emílio Garrastazú Médici:

“Brazil is opposed to the division of the world into spheres of influence; it believes that peace is essential to the achievement of progress, and it adheres faithfully to the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes as its guide-line in the conduct of its diplomacy.”

37. That is the understanding of the contemporary reality that Brazil wishes to share with other Member States at the opening of this general debate. Nothing can undermine our determination to go on working toward our common ideals and aspirations, which will draw us ever closer in progress and in peace. Nothing shall alter our certainty that, despite so many set-backs, we still retain in our hands, in the hands of the peoples of the United Nations, the power to repudiate, once and for all, the tragic legacy of violence and folly which drenched in blood and tears the road we had to travel in order finally to create this Organization. Nothing shall weaken our efforts to improve the United Nations by expanding its responsibilities and increasing its effectiveness in disciplining international relations among States for the benefit of world peace and security.

38. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, on behalf of the people of India, we offer you our warmest congratulations on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. This is a fitting tribute to your achievements as the Foreign Minister of Indonesia and to your interest in the political and economic problems of the world. As a fellow Asian, I take particular pride in your elevation to this high office. Indonesia and India have worked together in so many fields since we both achieved

our independence, and we have so much in common through history and geography, that I need hardly assure you of our fullest co-operation in the discharge of your responsibilities.

39. We should also like to compliment our outgoing President, Mr. Edvard Hambro of Norway, for the skill, independence and patience with which he guided our deliberations and for his stewardship of the commemorative session last year. The world may not care for nor long remember the millions of words we utter here, but the important documents which we adopted last year will certainly guide and inspire us in our work for years to come. For this achievement much of the credit must go to Mr. Hambro.

40. During the year that has just passed, our Secretary-General, U Thant, has once again manifested his devotion to the cause of world peace by his scrupulous regard for the purposes and principles of the Charter and by his indefatigable efforts to improve our Organization in all possible ways. We can still hope that his decision to relinquish this rewarding, though onerous, office is not final. The Secretary-General of this Organization has always to be a person of the highest calibre, sensitive to the changing needs of the world situation and fully prepared to meet the administrative requirements of an ever-growing institution. He should also be able to contribute to the creation of conditions in which all nations, big or small, can live in peace and friendship and work in their own ways for their national progress and prosperity.

41. We extend our special welcome to the three new Members that joined us a few days ago: Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. We look forward to working in the closest co-operation with these new Members, with which we have had long and friendly association in several spheres. Their entry into the United Nations should increase the value of our debates and the strength of our decisions.

42. One of the most important issues that we hope will be settled during this session is the question of the rightful representation of China in this Organization. There is only one China; there is only one Chinese seat, and only the Government of the People's Republic of China is entitled to occupy it in the United Nations. We have always been convinced that the presence of the People's Republic of China will make this Organization more effective. Too long have we postponed a realistic decision on this issue; let us not procrastinate any further.

43. We have also repeatedly pleaded for universality of representation in the United Nations and we believe that the entry of the divided nations into our Organization would help in the reduction and removal of tensions. They could also contribute effectively to our work in many other fields.

44. For India, the year 1971 opened with many promises. The economy was poised for a high rate of growth. In March we had our general elections. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was returned to power with an overwhelming majority. Her success reflected the solid support of our people for a concerted programme for socio-economic progress. Externally we had tried to establish warmer

relations with all countries, particularly with our neighbours. The fact that Pakistan had a little earlier, in December 1970, held the first general elections it had ever held was welcomed in India. The introduction of a democratic process in Pakistan would, we had hoped, bring about improved relations with this important neighbour of ours. Yet the entire picture was changed overnight when the events in the eastern wing of Pakistan took a catastrophic course. An international problem of utmost gravity and concern was created. Several Governments and international authorities have recognized the true character of this problem. The Secretary-General, U Thant, not only has brought the situation to the attention of the members of the Security Council but has included his views in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1]. The Assembly has already heard the concern which the outgoing President, Mr. Hambro, expressed in his speech on 21 September [1934th meeting].

45. By the middle of April it had become clear that Pakistan had no intention of abandoning its military methods and that we would be faced with an unprecedented flow of Pakistani refugees into our country. Refugee camps had to be speedily organized, and the systematic and detailed registration of the large number of foreigners had to be undertaken. Ration cards and temporary permits for stay in India had to be issued, transport and food supplies had to be organized and medical attention had to be provided. These relief measures could, however, meet only a fraction of the needs of the refugees. We asked the international community for help, and although the response to the Secretary-General's appeal has been warm, it is but a very small part of what is actually needed. By far the largest contribution towards the upkeep of the refugees has had to be made by India from its badly needed resources. We are sheltering and looking after the refugees on behalf of the international community. We simply do not have the capacity and the resources to bear this burden. While we gave them—on purely humanitarian grounds—shelter and refuge when they were fleeing for their lives, we have made it repeatedly clear that they are with us only temporarily and must return home. This has been accepted and endorsed by the world community. It has been impossible to make any firm estimates of what it would cost us in the coming months, but on the basis of the present figure the total cost may well be more than \$800 million by the end of next March.

46. The consequences of this massive influx—some have called it a civilian invasion—of refugees into India cannot be determined in terms of money alone. We are facing grave social, economic and political consequences. In the areas where the refugees are now living in difficult conditions in camps, all of our schools have had to be closed to find shelter for them. All of our hospitals in these areas have had to tend to the urgent need of the refugees rather than to the normal needs of the local inhabitants. Prices are rising as a result of a higher demand for essential commodities. Wages are falling. Crimes of various kinds are on the increase. Local friction and tensions are not unknown. Our local administration has had to be diverted to the work of looking after the refugees, and that in turn has further affected adversely all of our development projects. The fear of epidemics is ever present, even though the outbreak of cholera has been controlled.

47. The refugees must go back. The question simply is: How? Can anyone reasonably expect them to go back when thousands and thousands are daily fleeing from the same area? Pointless declarations and exhortations will not make them go back. On 21 May the President of Pakistan, Mr. Yahya Khan, called upon the refugees to go back; yet, since then, more than 5 million more have come into India. They will go back only when they are sure themselves that they can live in their own homeland in safety and freedom, when they are allowed to work as they wish, and when they are assured that their properties will be returned, their jobs restored and their daily lives not interfered with.

48. To appreciate and understand the background to this unprecedented influx, it is necessary to recall the conditions prevailing in East Pakistan throughout Pakistan's existence. Pakistan is a unique country, in the sense that two parts of it are separated by a distance of 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The majority of the people—75 million—live in the East, and the West has a total population of less than 60 million. None the less, political, military and economic power was concentrated in the West, while the East continued to produce basic raw materials, such as jute and tea, and provided the largest source of foreign exchange for Pakistan. Even the Government of Pakistan has acknowledged that persistent discrimination and exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan has taken place ever since the country became independent.

49. Just to give one example, in the entire civil service and in the armed forces of Pakistan the Bengalis did not have a share exceeding 10 per cent. The East Pakistanis continued to protest and agitate against that discrimination and exploitation, and, for want of any effective remedy, their grievances accumulated.

50. However, after the fall of President Ayub Khan in the middle of 1969 a new situation arose. Another General-President Yahya Khan—took over, and declared that he would hold general elections for the first time, on adult franchise with representation to both wings, proportionate to their population. For the first time the people of Pakistan saw in that democratic process a possible rectification of the injustices from which East Pakistan had suffered all those years.

51. The elections were held in December 1970, after being postponed twice. The results of the elections were greeted in Pakistan as a success of democracy, as indeed they were. The broad results of the elections are worth noting. Out of a total of 313 seats, 169 had been allotted to East Pakistan. Of those 169 seats, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won as many as 167. Winning 98 per cent of the seats in East Pakistan, Mujibur Rahman gained an absolute majority in the National Assembly and would, in normal circumstances, have been in a position to form the Government and become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. For the elections, the Awami League had adopted a six-point programme to obtain specifically a greater degree of autonomy for East Pakistan with a view to putting an end to discrimination and exploitation—

52. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan, who has asked to speak on a point of order.

53. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Foreign Minister of India has for the last 10 minutes been delving into the internal affairs of Pakistan. He has talked of the characteristics of our country. Everyone knows that the two parts of Pakistan are divided by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. He has talked about elections in Pakistan. He has talked about the distribution of resources between parts of Pakistan.

54. Is it permissible to delve into the internal affairs of States and look into the disparities that exist in every single country—every single Member State—represented here? I want a ruling from you, Mr. President, whether the Foreign Minister of India is in order in going at length in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

55. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): I do not think the comment made by the representative of Pakistan calls for serious notice. What he says is that the Indian Foreign Minister is describing what is known to others. Then, certainly, there can be no grounds for a point of order if one is describing something which is known to others.

56. What I am trying to give this august Assembly is an account of the circumstances that led to that unprecedented influx of 9 million refugees into Indian territory. Members must have noticed that the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the activities of the United Nations, has devoted as many as 15 paragraphs, covering several pages, to highlighting, in a very lucid manner the various aspects—humanitarian and political—of the problem of the influx of the refugees [*A/8401/Add.1, paras. 177-179*].

57. It is noteworthy also that the representative of Pakistan did not care to point out, as is customary in such cases, the particular provision, either in the Charter or in the rules of procedure, under which he was raising his point of order. I am not asking this august United Nations General Assembly to intervene—if he had Article 2, paragraph 7, in mind. I am saying that this is a problem, unprecedented in history, in which 9 million refugees have crossed over into Indian territory, and I am asking: Is the international community interested in knowing what the root-cause of that is, and what should be the direction in which the efforts of the international community should be directed to find a satisfactory solution of this tragic problem? If I may say so, to treat this matter by a point of order in a light-hearted manner is inconsistent with the international community's responsibilities: responsibilities first to find out and analyse what are the root-causes of these most tragic happenings in that part of the world and then to direct its attention to finding a satisfactory solution. I thought that, while dealing with a problem of such magnitude, this Assembly would be interested in knowing the relevant facts of the situation, so that it might be properly appreciated, and attention might be directed to finding a satisfactory solution.

58. I am the last person, I would assure the Assembly, to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, but to give a description of the circumstances which led to the uprooting of 9 million people is certainly neither an interference in any other country's internal affairs nor any comment on what is happening in the country itself. One has to understand properly the circumstances of the

situation in order to come to the right conclusion. Therefore, while appreciating the anxiety of the representative of Pakistan, I have carefully avoided referring in any manner to matters which might be barred either by any provisions of the Charter or by any rules of procedure. If anything, we should concentrate on the basic problems, rather than become involved in a procedural debate which is pointless.

59. Coming to the facts of the situation, I was referring to the elections that took place in Pakistan, giving Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League a majority of 167 out of 169 seats and thus giving him an absolute majority in the National Assembly of Pakistan. For the elections, the Awami League adopted a six-point programme to obtain specifically a greater degree of autonomy for East Pakistan with a view to putting an end to discrimination and exploitation. Apparently, the results of the election so startled the rulers of Pakistan that they saw in them a risk to their economic, military and political domination over the eastern wing; this explains their swift action and their desire to continue military rule. So, on the fateful night of 25/26 March, the armed forces set out to crush the verdict of the 75 million Bengalis—

60. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan on a point of order.

61. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Foreign Minister of India wanted to know under what rule of procedure I had raised a point of order. Let me say quite simply that the rules of procedure are subordinate to the rules of the Charter of the United Nations, and nothing within the domestic jurisdiction of a State can be discussed in this Assembly. The point of order that I raised was that the Foreign Minister of India was delving into the internal affairs of Pakistan.

62. It is not the concern of the international community whether one Member State has one kind of social system or another, whether the régime is democratic or autocratic, parliamentary or presidential, whether there is a lack of balance in development between one wing and the other, whether the demands of the six points amounted to secession or regional autonomy. Those are all matters within the internal jurisdiction of Pakistan. Therefore I again appeal to you, Mr. President, in the interest of a serene and orderly debate, to advise the Foreign Minister of India to confine himself to the international aspects of the situation. He would be in order if he referred to the observations of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report; they concern the international aspects of the situation; they do not concern the matters the Foreign Minister is raising, which are internal affairs exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan.

63. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): I am sorry that the representative of Pakistan in his wisdom has chosen this path of raising objections after every sentence or after every paragraph of my speech before this Assembly. I am not discussing the internal affairs of Pakistan and I am not interested in the internal affairs of Pakistan; but it would be a truism to say that the conduct of internal affairs by any country, if it results in the uprooting of 9 million people who cross over to the adjoining territory, should be a matter of concern to the international community, which

should be concerned about the circumstances that created a situation in which the conduct of internal affairs in that country compelled 9 million people over a period of a little more than six months to cross into the territory of India. Now, if a strict interpretation were accepted under which conditions in Pakistan could not be mentioned, then we would virtually come to the ridiculous position that a refugee who left his village in East Pakistan should not be described and the conditions prevailing in that part should not be taken note of and only when he crossed into Indian territory should we start mentioning him. I am sure that that would be neither the correct spirit nor the correct manner in which we should deal with such serious matters. I am fully conscious of and have regard for the principle of coexistence. We are not interested in whether there is a presidential system or a military system or a military rule in Pakistan. That is entirely its concern. We have learned to live in a spirit of coexistence with whatever may be the social or economic system prevailing in any part of the world, and this applies particularly to our neighbours. But when, while dealing with their own affairs, within what they describe as domestic matters, they create a situation where 9 million people are shoved on to us, then surely the international community would like to know the circumstances in which these people have left their country. They have not left their country of Pakistan as tourists to do sightseeing in India. This is a very serious matter. Therefore we should view this problem in the proper perspective. The international community will never be able to understand unless it knows the circumstances that prevail in that unfortunate country, where 9 million people, its own citizens, had to cross and come over to Indian territory. I am not interested in its internal set-up, but I am interested in putting across to the international community the circumstances which led to the creation of conditions that compelled these unfortunate men, women and children to leave their homes and hearths.

64. On the fateful night of 25/26 March, the armed forces set out to crush the verdict of the 75 million Bengalis. However, before the army was given the signal to let loose a reign of terror, protracted negotiations started; in the meantime the strength of the armed forces in East Bengal was considerably increased.

65. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

66. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): This is a solemn Assembly and should not give rise to laughter. I thank the representative of Pakistan, who ceded his turn to me.

67. If I have asked for the floor it is because, if what has been happening continues, we shall have a lot of disorder, and then there will be more friction and more tension, which is undesirable at this stage of the general debate. Of course, freedom of speech is granted to all of us; however, since this question of East Pakistan, in so far as it affects India, is still under review by the Secretary-General and by others such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, I think that a formula should be found forthwith for not engaging in any further points of order which will exacerbate the tense relations that unfortunately prevail between two sister States, Pakistan and India.

68. I thank you, Sir, for not having ruled on this subject, but I would appeal to the Foreign Minister of India to consider a suggestion that may get us out of this impasse. I glanced at the prepared text of his speech, which has been distributed, and found that there are still four more pages on this question, and I am sure that these pages will elicit more points of order. What is written cannot be unwritten; it has already been distributed. But would the Foreign Minister of India consent to skip reading those four pages from the rostrum and proceed with the rest of his speech, taking into account that what he has already said has been recorded and that what he still has to say in those four pages has been distributed? Otherwise, I believe that we shall get nowhere and, as I said, we should proceed calmly with our deliberations, and in particular with the general debate which precedes our deliberations. So I hope that the Foreign Minister of India will accept this solution and that the representative of Pakistan will overlook the fact that the speech of the representative of India has already been distributed, and, as a compromise, perhaps will overlook immediately what is written in those four pages and will perhaps satisfy himself with this solution. Otherwise, I think that we shall have pandemonium here, which is not desirable at this stage of the general debate.

69. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his suggestion and would ask the Foreign Minister of India whether he would accept it.

70. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): The suggestion made by the representative of Saudi Arabia—who perhaps has a longer association with the United Nations than almost any one of us—has been listened to by me with great care. I was thinking that perhaps he had some point of order which came in the way of my proceeding with my speech, but instead of that, I find that he has appealed to me and placed me in the embarrassing position of being called upon to make my comment upon his appeal. I would appeal to him, and also to other representatives, to judge for themselves who is responsible for creating an atmosphere of tension. We have the accepted procedure that any points which might be mentioned by any leader of a delegation can be replied to substantively and also that another viewpoint can be presented before this august Assembly. But instead of adopting that usual procedure, efforts have been made to obstruct me when I am actually delivering my speech before the Assembly.

71. The situation is such that I would be failing in my duty if I were to respond—much as I would like to—to the appeal made by the representative of Saudi Arabia. I owe it not only to my country, I owe it not only to the 9 million refugees, but, I believe, I owe it to the international community to tell them these things in the frankest possible manner, while trying always to remain within the procedure and the provisions of the Charter in making my presentation.

72. I believe I have used my words carefully; I have not indulged in rhetoric. But I am sorry that I shall have to crave the indulgence of this august Assembly, and of you, Mr. President, to permit me to place before you in a dispassionate manner the facts which have led to this unprecedented tragedy. It is not pleasant for me to mention these facts, but the situation is so grave and the conse-

quences that might flow from it so serious that I would be failing in my duty, as I said, not only to my country and to the refugees, but to the international community, if, simply for the sake of preventing objections from being raised, I were not to proceed with giving the facts to the international community. If the facts are wrong, the representative of Pakistan has the right to make his statement and to say that the particular facts I mention are incorrect. Therefore, I would request him, and also the representative of Saudi Arabia, to permit me to present these facts, which are of the utmost importance in an issue that, I think, has resulted in the most tragic events in recent memory.

73. What the army did, and is continuing to do, in its massive assault on the civilian population is now well known and I do not wish to take up the time of the assembly in describing the innumerable instances of killings and atrocities. A reign of terror prevailed and still prevails. The leader of the Awami League, Mujibur Rahman, was arrested and is still in prison. He is now being secretly tried in a military court on a charge which carries the death penalty. The freedom of the press and civil liberties were totally suppressed, and the foreign journalists were expelled. The International Red Cross was not allowed to visit the area and all attempts were made, not always successfully, to conceal what was happening in that part of the world. Killing, raping, burning and looting became widespread. The inevitable consequences followed: the people fled from terror and violence to India, leaving behind all that they had. Their number rose from less than a million, at the end of April, to nearly 4 million at the end of May, crossed the 6-million mark before June was over, and has been rising steadily ever since. Their number now exceeds 9 million, and the exodus still continues. This is an exodus of refugees unprecedented in history, across any international frontier.

74. Pakistan's military action and the snuffing-out of all human rights, and the reign of terror, which still continues, have shocked the conscience of mankind. There is a popular revolt against these actions. Some have fled from the terror, while others are resisting it as best they can. The hard core of this resistance was provided by thousands of men who had defected from the army and the police and various paramilitary organizations at the time of the military crackdown. They have been joined in ever-increasing numbers by people of all ages.

75. The Pakistani authorities have torn up solemn declarations and conventions to which Pakistan had subscribed. Pakistan has desperately tried to divert attention from its outrageous actions. Its actions have made so many serious inroads into much that our Charter stands for that it would indeed be a travesty of international law and a mockery of international justice to suggest that what is involved is an internal issue. It is even less an internal issue when one keeps in mind that other nations are having to support the enormous cost of the massive exodus of Pakistani citizens into India.

76. Apart from accusing others of their own most unwise and deadly activities, the rulers of Pakistan have taken a number of measures which are no more than eyewash. How unrealistic these measures are can be judged from the impact they have had on the flow of refugees. The

President of Pakistan has from time to time called upon the refugees to go back; yet, the flow continues in ever-increasing numbers into India. A so-called civilian government has been formed in East Pakistan consisting of men who have no representative character whatever and who are mere figureheads, obliged to take orders from their military commanders. An amnesty is proclaimed, but Mujibur Rahman and other elected representatives are at the same time treated and tried as traitors. We witness the strange spectacle in which the party which would have been, by right, the Government of Pakistan, has been banned and disqualified from political activities. Half the elected representatives have been disqualified from sitting in the National Assembly. In our view, the flow of refugees will not stop, nor will the refugees already in India begin to go back, until a political solution acceptable to the elected representatives of the people has been found. Secretary-General U Thant and many other distinguished statesmen, politicians and leaders of public opinion have consistently maintained that the problem is essentially political. As a first step towards a political solution, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, should be set at liberty without delay, and negotiations should be started with him. It has been proved beyond doubt that he alone can speak on behalf of the people of East Bengal. He, and he alone, symbolizes and represents the aspirations and will of the people of East Pakistan. Apart from these actions, which the Pakistanis themselves can take, what can the international community do in these circumstances? The first and foremost action which this Assembly, and all other international organs within or without the United Nations system, can take is to impress on the military régime of Islamabad the fact that force will not succeed and that, therefore, a political settlement between the military régime and the already-elected leaders is essential. We consider it wholly short-sighted to wait until worse crises have arisen. Bilaterally, all Governments can do their utmost to ensure, by whatever means are available to them, that the military régime stops its repression, enters into negotiations with the elected leaders to achieve a political settlement with their consent, and sends the army back to the barracks. Only by these measures will the flow of refugees be stopped and the refugees already in India be able to return home. Our only fault has been that we gave temporary shelter to millions of refugees—homeless, foodless, without clothing; sick and aged, men and women, helpless children and dying infants—who were fleeing from terror, many of whom bore marks of recent army brutality. Only by the measures I have suggested can the threat of famine be alleviated and normal conditions restored. If these measures are not taken, and if attempts are made to divert attention by false analysis or wrong accusations, then the prospect is indeed gloomy. We here in this Assembly may argue in a sophisticated manner as long as we like, but those who have been the victims of aggression and who are fleeing from terror and massacre will not have such a tolerant outlook. They will not forgive us or those who did not stand by them in their hour of trial.

77. It is only natural that I should have devoted some time to an important matter which is uppermost in the minds of most Indians, but we are not insensitive to other important issues that the world has faced during the last year. We believe that the world scene is changing and rearranging itself in a manner which is often difficult to comprehend

and even more difficult to analyse. Whether it is in Europe or Asia, in Africa or in the Americas, several trends are noticeable which can affect our traditional values and even some of the concepts on which the Charter is based.

78. During the last 12 months there have been many welcome signs of reduction of tensions among the great Powers. The progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT], though slow, is an important step forward. The treaty between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>1</sup> and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin<sup>2</sup> are important landmarks and should lead to a better understanding of the German problem. The greater degree of accommodation now evident will contribute to European peace, progress and prosperity. We congratulate all those whose untiring efforts have resulted in an accord over some of the most difficult issues facing the international community.

79. At the same time, I must utter a note of caution. The concerns of the nations assembled in this hall are far wider than the preoccupations of the great Powers. One of the basic concepts underlying the setting-up of the United Nations was that in the solution of world problems and in the achievement of the political, social and economic objectives of the human race all sovereign States should have a voice. While talks among the great Powers can on suitable occasions be helpful, the viewpoints of other States, and particularly of the developing countries, must not be ignored. The concept of non-alignment, of which Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the principal exponents, was meant to modify the bipolar view of the world. The relevance and validity of non-alignment are not diminished by the lessening of East-West tensions in some fields.

80. Indeed, with the lessening of cold-war tensions the importance of non-alignment has become even greater. The issues are no longer so clear-cut and, therefore, the non-aligned countries will have to examine the ever-changing situations in a much more detailed and comprehensive manner. Decisions can then be based on principles, taking into account all the factors. It is for those reasons that the Lusaka Declaration<sup>3</sup> was widely welcomed by many speakers in this Assembly last year. It is also for those reasons that we have found it necessary to continue discussions among the non-aligned countries on all important problems. Such a regular and systematic exchange of views will enable us to come to some agreed conclusions, even at short notice. As this Assembly is aware, in two days the non-aligned group of countries will meet at the Foreign Minister level.

81. In Asia a new political equation is discernible, with rapid industrialization and economic development in several countries. Not only is a new relationship emerging among the Asian countries themselves, but several outside Powers are working for the establishment of new contacts and relations with Asian countries, including China. India is

<sup>1</sup> Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

<sup>3</sup> Adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

conscious of those developments and is adjusting its own attitude in the context of those important changes.

82. The agony of the people of Viet-Nam has not yet ceased. Their freedom is still to be achieved, although large-scale warfare and massive slaughter are not so much in evidence. Raids, local fighting and a daily toll in lives continue throughout Viet-Nam. We regret particularly that there has been a recent resumption of bombing in parts of North Viet-Nam. Policies, especially in South Viet-Nam, have not shown any signs of moving towards the goal for which many lives have been sacrificed and for which the people of Viet-Nam have suffered so much. We welcome the United States and other foreign troop withdrawals that have already taken place. We hope that, through negotiations in Paris and elsewhere, the agony of Viet-Nam will be brought to an end without further delay; that United States and other foreign troops will be withdrawn completely by a definite date; and that the people of Viet-Nam will be allowed to decide their own future in accordance with their own wishes, without any outside interference. In that context the seven-point proposals made in Paris appear to us to provide a reasonable basis for a negotiated settlement.

83. In the Middle East, the lack of progress in the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is creating new tensions. The cease-fire, accepted as a temporary measure to help the parties negotiate a settlement through Ambassador Jarring, has unfortunately tended to freeze the situation in favour of the aggressor, despite the willingness shown by the Arab countries to go to the farthest limit in meeting their obligations under the above-mentioned resolution. Our own conviction that no country should be allowed to retain foreign territories taken by force of arms remains unshaken, and we would reiterate that this problem will not be solved unless Israel withdraws from the Arab territories which it has occupied since 5 June 1967 and restores the legitimate rights of the Palestinian refugees.

84. In Latin America, too, new economic and political forces are emerging. Various developments in various States in that continent have proved beyond doubt that the conflict between traditional politics and a growing awareness of national interest is adding new dynamism to the situation. That will no doubt have an impact on international issues.

85. The result of all those trends and tendencies has been to bestir people to new lines of thinking and to a new realization that problems of great concern to the world cannot be solved by force. It is in this context that our discussions this year on the question of international peace and security will assume added significance. Such a discussion, by enabling all Member States to express their considered views, will substantially increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

86. India pointed out at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [1932nd meeting] that post-war developments had amply shown that disputes in the traditional sense are not the only situations which become a threat to international peace and security, the structure of which today is more often than not imperilled by actions which

amount to systematic violations of many other important objectives and principles of the Charter. This Organization must acquire and develop the skill and the strength necessary for dealing effectively with complex problems which have far-reaching consequences.

87. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted last year by the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)], recognizes the integral link between peace, on the one hand, and disarmament, decolonization and development, on the other. General and complete disarmament under effective international control remains the imperative and most urgent need of our time. We are concerned with the threat to mankind posed by the ever-increasing arms race, by the existing large stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction and by the impending new qualitative advance towards even more devastating nuclear armaments.

88. We are pleased at the emergence of an agreement on bacteriological weapons as a result of the discussions in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and we look forward to early steps towards an effective agreement on chemical weapons. We are pleased of course that the United States of America and the Soviet Union continue their discussions in the field of disarmament and that those contacts are helping to lessen suspicion and are creating and improving the atmosphere for negotiations in many other fields. However, the proceedings of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament have not been marked by any significant progress this year and we should consider how to strengthen further the mechanism of the Committee on Disarmament. We could perhaps do so by adopting the suggestion made in that regard by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1, para. 52]. It is imperative that China and France participate in the deliberations. India also believes that it would be useful to convene a world disarmament conference, after due preparation, with the participation of all the countries of the world.

89. The Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has demonstrated the need to make nuclear energy and technology available to a greater extent to the developing countries of the world. We are convinced of the important contribution that the technology for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy can make to the economy and the progress of the developing world.

90. If the lack of progress towards total disarmament continues to be a threat to peace and security, there are other factors which also contribute to that threat. Colonialism and racialism have taken many forms in recent years, and all the efforts of the United Nations have been unavailing in bringing about the independence of such large and important colonial Territories as Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia.

91. We are gratified at the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia<sup>4</sup> and our efforts should be concentrated on concrete steps to be taken in

<sup>4</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

asserting the United Nations authority in Namibia. The liberation movements in other colonial Territories need to be encouraged. We are disappointed that the progress in these fields has not been significant and we shall, at an appropriate stage, propose steps which can be taken to bring all colonial Territories to independence.

92. Security and political stability cannot be achieved if the international community does not organize economic co-operation for speedy development in a rational and dynamic way. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] was a major step forward, but the developments which have taken place since the Strategy was adopted are causing us some uneasiness. The commitments made in the Strategy are still to be fulfilled, and yet attempts are being made to take advantage of the differences of interests, which undoubtedly exist in the developing countries, to modify this commitment. We hope that these attempts will not succeed, and that, on the one hand, the developing countries will present a united front on their basic needs and, on the other hand, that the developed countries will fulfil to the utmost the obligations they have accepted.

93. The world today is facing a major economic crisis comparable to the one that arose when sterling went off the gold standard and new trade barriers began to disrupt world trade. Something similar is threatening the system of international trade and payments which had been built up after the Second World War. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have not between them been able to provide the kind of orderly and balanced growth in world economy which was hoped for. The developing countries, which had very little say at the time of their establishment, have long cherished the feeling that a new look at the articles of these three bodies is called for, if the widening gap between the rich nations and the poor nations is not to grow wider each year, as it has unfortunately done in the last two decades. In the crisis that now confronts them, some of the most developed nations have also begun to feel that the charters of these institutions do not provide adequate answers to the emerging problems. What we are unhappy about is the attempt to ignore and bypass these institutions and to try to seek solutions to the world's economic problems in a small group of the 10 richest countries. We believe that, while we must reform these institutions, we must not wreck them. Concerted thinking on the ways in which a new dynamism can be imparted to them has to be given in a forum which is truly representative of developed and developing countries alike.

94. Already some of the measures that have been taken to solve the problems of prosperous nations have created serious problems for the less developed countries. Their trade is confronted with new obstacles. The inflow of capital so essential to their growth and development, which is well below the target of 1 per cent of the gross national product adopted by the United Nations is in danger of being reduced. Poor countries of the world are victims of measures taken in the name of alleviating the payments crisis of the richest nations in the world, even though they themselves had not contributed to the crisis in any

conceivable manner. Without a concerted and co-operative approach, such progress as was made in the first United Nations Development Decade can easily be wiped out in the Second.

95. Last year the Assembly gave much time and attention to formulating a just régime on the utilization of the resources of the sea and on the preservation of the human environment. During this year some progress has been made for the solution of these problems, but much more remains to be done. Similarly, on the problem of outer space we have achieved some success, particularly in formulating a draft Convention on Liability for Damage Caused by Objects Launched into Outer Space. We would like to record our appreciation to the United States of America and to the Soviet Union for reaching agreement regarding expanded co-operation towards developing compatible rendezvous and docking systems for the spacecraft of both the nations. We look forward, as a developing country, to increasing benefits from progress in the field of earth resources, surface remote sensing and other connected matters.

96. I have mentioned all these specific problems in order to take into account the various major factors which are changing the conditions of the world we live in. The United Nations, reflecting all these concerns, has to adjust itself to these changing conditions. Our Charter was drawn up 26 years ago. Our methods of work and the procedure of our debates, as indeed our budget—all subjects of separate studies—have to be adjusted and adapted to new demands and conditions. We must maintain a flexible attitude towards these matters and we hope that the present session of the Assembly would, in coming to decisions on substantive problems, keep in mind the need for this adjustment. No organization in this rapidly changing world of ours can hope to face successfully new trends and new developments unless its basic concepts can be modified speedily and effectively. Last year we had a World Youth Assembly. Although the people who attended this Assembly did not achieve any concrete results, they did demonstrate a need for the world Organization to be more responsive to the changing situation.

97. The Prime Minister of India, while speaking at the last session of the General Assembly [*1881st meeting*], had referred to the unfinished revolution the completion of which is our common purpose. We have endeavoured to fulfil this purpose though we may not have succeeded fully in our efforts; the world still continues to be in turmoil and to be subject to natural and man-made disasters and tensions. In such an atmosphere of strife and ferment, the United Nations remains the only hope for States and peoples all over the world. The ideals of the Charter are not static norms to which we rededicate ourselves for form's sake every year. Each year representatives from Member countries assemble here to reaffirm their faith in the objectives and activities of this august Organization. It is strange, therefore, that in spite of these declared commitments, the conscience of mankind finds itself reticent and cautious in face of crises born of violations of the very principles of the Charter, violations which are at times deliberate and calculated. If this Organization is to survive and contribute constructively toward a new world in which the rights of the individual are safe, and his welfare ensured

in a just and honourable environment, it is essential that the United Nations assume a credible image on the basis of tangible activities. The foundations for this purpose were laid during the last commemorative session. It is for all of us now to see if we have the strength to build on these foundations. It is my earnest hope that representatives assembled in this session would give thought to this imperative necessity and act in concert to make this Organization an instrument of their common endeavour to achieve peace, stability and justice all over the world.

98. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran): Mr. President, allow me to offer you our warmest congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute to you personally, and is a reflection of the esteem in which your country is held. We especially welcome it not only because of the close and friendly ties which bind our two countries, but also because of the high regard we have for you, which was clearly demonstrated during your recent visit to Iran.

99. May I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who presided over the last session with great ability and wisdom. His untiring efforts to promote the objectives of the United Nations were manifested not only within this Organization, but also through his extensive travels to Member countries, including my own.

100. Allow me, furthermore, to express once again to the Secretary-General our admiration and high esteem for his outstanding performance throughout his term of office, and for his devotion to the cause of world peace. I should also like to pay a tribute to him for the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1], which we have read with great interest and attention. In this report the Secretary-General has treated with candour and forthrightness the many basic problems besetting the world Organization. It is our earnest hope that his thoughtful and most valuable remarks will be heeded by the membership. The Secretary-General's decision not to make himself available for another term was, therefore, received by my delegation with deep regret.

101. This year we are celebrating the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great. We are commemorating a great humanitarian figure who, 25 centuries ago, was the first to introduce the values of humanity and justice into the social and political order of an Empire. Throughout succeeding ages, when genocide, religious persecution and cultural eradication have, shamefully, remained recognized traits of empire building, Cyrus' enlightened legacy of religious tolerance and cultural coexistence has remained one of history's brightest achievements. While there are other important milestones in mankind's long search for a charter of human rights, the first step on this road was taken and formalized in the Edict of Cyrus in the fifth century B.C. The respect he showed for cultural and ethnic diversity, and the moral and humanitarian values he espoused, have remained, throughout the millenia, a vital part of Iran's cultural life and have influenced our thought from generation to generation.

102. We, in Iran, have rededicated ourselves to the ideals for which our founding father lived and fought: human

rights, tolerance and justice, peace, freedom and progress for all peoples and all nations, regardless of size, wealth, race and creed. Our "white revolution" under His Imperial Majesty the Shahansha Aryamehr, has embraced these values and breathed new life and meaning into them. Similarly, our independent national policy underlines the importance we attach to coexistence, non-discrimination and friendly co-operation in a world of diverse and independent units.

103. In contrast to the rather bleak picture of the world scene during recent years, we are meeting here this year in an atmosphere of rising hopes. Important developments since our last session point to the attainment of a real *détente*. In Europe, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin is of particular significance. I am sure it will have far-reaching effects in strengthening European security. Also, preparations for a meeting between the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of the Warsaw Pact, for the purpose of troop reduction in Europe, are already under way.

104. In Asia, while Viet-Nam continues to suffer the scourge of war, for the first time the end seems to be in sight. And for the first time the prospects are bright for the participation of the People's Republic of China in world affairs; The importance which such participation will have for world peace, especially for peace and security in Asia, can hardly be over-emphasized. We welcome the decision made by the President of the United States to visit China. We are confident that contacts and talks between the leaders of these two countries will have a salutary effect on international peace and security.

105. In the field of arms control, the most important advance is the signing, early this year, by more than 60 States, 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 [*resolution 2660 (XXV), annex*]. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks also provide a ground for optimism.

106. Despite the easing of tensions and the improvements in the world situations which I have just outlined, armed conflicts as well as explosive situations continue to threaten world peace and security. In the face of these conflicts and crises, the United Nations is still unable to carry out its fundamental duties. With the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, we are confident that one of the main obstacles to the United Nations playing a more effective role will be removed. A world Organization that seeks to resolve man's basic problems cannot exclude the world's most populous State.

107. The growing concern on the part of a number of States, including my own, in establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China is a hopeful sign of the world community's determination to achieve universality.

108. Our views on the question of China are based on the following three conclusions: first, we recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole Government of China; secondly, the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place at the United Nations; thirdly, the People's

Republic of China should take its rightful place among the five permanent members of the Security Council.

109. The situation in the Middle East continues to cause us profound concern and sorrow. Israel continues to occupy Arab territories seized in the 1967 war, and many Arabs continue to be exiled from their homeland.

110. It may be recalled that, in response to Ambassador Jarring's proposals for a peace settlement between Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt, President Anwar El-Sadat declared his country's willingness to sign a peace agreement with Israel provided that Israeli armed forces are withdrawn from occupied Arab territories. The President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in a subsequent move, went even a step further and offered to reopen the Suez Canal as the first step towards a settlement. These overtures, that were received with general international acclaim, met with Israel's negative response. As can be seen, the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt took a more prudent and realistic approach based on legitimate Arab rights as well as on Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

111. Accordingly, Iran declared its full support for the proposals of the Arab Republic of Egypt in an official statement which was subsequently circulated as a Security Council document, as well as in a number of communications to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of other countries. In reaffirming Iran's belief that Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories was an essential condition for peace, we stated:

"Now that as a result of the positive attitude of the Government of the United Arab Republic, favourable conditions for restoration of peace in the Middle East have been realized, the Government of Iran hopes that Israel will reciprocate by taking positive steps in the direction of peace and regional tranquility so that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General may succeed in his efforts to enable the parties concerned to reach a just and honourable agreement."<sup>5</sup>

112. Support for the position of the Arab Republic of Egypt has grown in almost every quarter. One of the most notable expressions of support has come from the six member countries of the European Economic Community.

113. Despite the general expectation for a reciprocal move towards peace and stability, Israel has remained adamant. In our view Israel's negative attitude is not an enlightened policy, and the Government of Iran believes that Ambassador Jarring's recent proposals conform with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and provide a good basis for the establishment of an honourable and lasting peace.

114. I must also express our deep concern about the recent developments designed to change the status of Jerusalem. Such efforts will meet with strong opposition from the overwhelming majority of members of the General Assembly and members of the Security Council. It is our view that the General Assembly and Security Council decisions on the status of Jerusalem must be implemented.

115. South-East Asia is another area of the world torn by death and destruction, and the early promise of the peace talks in Paris has failed to materialize. Our position on this issue needs no repetition. We share the sorrow and the anguish of those who have suffered in this conflict and we look forward to a day when these unhappy people, freed from destructive and divisive forces, can devote their extraordinary strength and energies to the more formidable but appealing task of reconstruction.

116. General and complete disarmament, agreed upon in principle by the super-Powers a decade ago, remains an unrealized goal. Marginal agreements in regional or functional areas cannot supplant this ultimate goal.

117. With the easing of tensions and the development of the capacity for mass destruction, the two super-Powers appear increasingly willing to find and develop areas of agreement. Significant progress seems to have been made on reaching agreement on the banning of biological weapons. We hope that efforts to reach an agreement on prohibition of production, development and use of chemical weapons will also soon bear fruit.

118. Progress in techniques of detecting and identifying underground nuclear explosions may have opened the way for serious negotiations on a comprehensive test ban. In the light of the close tie between the nuclear test ban and the subject-matter of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—that is, the freeze and eventual cut-back of strategic nuclear weapons systems—a new accord on the latter will undoubtedly remove the basic impediment to a comprehensive ban on further testing.

119. One prerequisite for attaining the goal of nuclear disarmament is the participation of all important nuclear Powers, including the People's Republic of China and France. Thus we welcome the suggestion made on 5 May 1971 by the Secretary-General in an address to the Council on Foreign Relations in Chicago concerning discussions among nuclear-weapon States, as well as the proposal made recently by the Soviet Union regarding a world conference on disarmament [A/8491].

120. I should like to conclude my remarks on disarmament by proposing once again that the Middle East should be declared a nuclear-free zone. This suggestion was first made by my august Sovereign. Iran would welcome any initiative by any of the countries in the region to reach an agreement to this end.

121. Recent developments in the relations between India and Pakistan are a source of grave concern to us. The separatist movement in East Pakistan and the subsequent flight of refugees to India have strained to a critical point the already tense relations between the two countries.

122. We support every effort made by the international community under the banner of the United Nations to deal with the humanitarian aspects of the problem on both sides of the border. We ourselves have already made our contributions for the refugees in India as well as for relief work in East Pakistan.

123. As to the political aspects of the situation, without wishing in any way to interfere in the internal affairs of

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1971*, document S/10154.

Pakistan, we are confident that the Pakistani Government, as has been announced by the President of Pakistan himself, will do its utmost to eliminate through pacific means the causes of friction and strife which have brought about pain and unhappiness among brothers in East Pakistan. In this highly sensitive area, where the danger of a broader confrontation exists, every effort should be made to normalize the relations between those two great countries, India and Pakistan.

124. With the impending departure of the United Kingdom from the Persian Gulf by the end of this year, that region is about to enter a new era. Colonial rule will be replaced by a community of free nations striving for the welfare and prosperity of the peoples involved. Bahrain and Qatar, closely linked to us by bonds of friendship and fraternity, have already taken their places among the Members of the United Nations. We have already had the occasion to welcome them into the community of nations and we wish to offer them once again our full co-operation within this Organization. Soon Oman will also join the Organization. We believe that the remnants of colonialism in that region, as in all other parts of the world, must be completely wiped out and that the destiny of the peoples of the area should be placed in their own hands. We attach great importance to the security of the Persian Gulf area, which we consider to be exclusively a matter for the littoral States. Therefore, we shall not shirk our responsibility in the defence of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf. We have already taken important steps in collaboration with our neighbours to the south to promote peace and prosperity in the area.

125. The United Nations has made valuable contributions in the field of decolonization. The fundamental right of self-determination has become a reality for most of the peoples formerly under colonial rule. Yet, more than a decade after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there are still millions of people living under colonialism.

126. The advisory opinion delivered recently by the International Court of Justice on the question of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia<sup>6</sup> has determined the issue of legality and provides an element for further consideration by the Security Council.

127. Last year [1857th meeting] we pointed out that the first United Nations Development Decade, taken as a whole, had been a failure. Today we are particularly concerned with an emerging protectionist trend in certain developed countries, a trend which threatens to undo even the little progress achieved in the past few years. Such protectionist attitudes will undermine the very goals for which so many countries have laboured. We, in developing countries, have worked hard to increase production and output by training manpower and providing capital. Just as our new products begin to find new markets, we are confronted by protectionist tariffs. This trend must be stopped and reversed, for its implications are ominous. We

urge the developed countries to make a new commitment to development: to liberalize trade and to remove prohibitive tariffs, in particular, on goods from developing countries.

128. An important forum in which this new commitment might be undertaken is the forthcoming third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] scheduled to meet in the spring of next year in Santiago, Chile.

129. If we fail, however, to ensure the collaboration of the developed countries for the realization of our objectives within the framework of UNCTAD, we must then turn to other methods of persuasion. The results obtained from the recent Tehran negotiations on oil within the framework of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has an important bearing in this context. It demonstrates, once again, the importance of collective bargaining.

130. Speaking on that occasion, my Sovereign pointed out that while the prices of export products of five leading industrial countries of the world increased by 3 per cent during the past three years—according to the United Nations statistics—the royalties obtained from every barrel of oil, in real terms, decreased. Thus the first Development Decade proved to be an empty gesture as far as the developing countries and the oil-producing countries were concerned.

131. Motivated by common objectives and interests, the oil-producing countries of the Middle East proved the effectiveness of a united stand in collective bargaining. I have no doubt that what was done with regard to oil could be done also in the case of other raw materials. I hope, however, that the developed countries would rather show greater flexibility, understanding and co-operation within UNCTAD, rather than confront a united stand on the part of the developing countries.

132. For the first time in history, the question of human survival has been broadened to encompass not only the threats of war and weapons but also the total human environment. The challenge and task confronting mankind today has grown in scope to include every aspect of man's life and his environment. We must learn to manage the earth's resources in a way that will permit economic and social progress.

133. In Iran, the Ministry of Natural Resources, the Society for the Preservation of Natural Resources and the Human Environment and other related organizations have been charged with the task of developing, within the framework of our next five-year plan, a comprehensive programme to meet the problem in all its aspects.

134. We are all conscious of the increasing significance attached to the sea and to ocean space exploitation and control. The declaration of principles adopted by the last session of the General Assembly,<sup>7</sup> in fact, set forth a new legal foundation for future dealings with the issue of the

<sup>6</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

<sup>7</sup> Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1970 in resolution 2749 (XXV).

sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. It is highly important for all of us to make determined efforts to define the régime of the seas and to create an effective international machinery that would protect this "common heritage of mankind".

135. The picture I have just outlined is not altogether bright; but it is still promising and hopeful.

136. The United Nations has not always been successful in dealing with some of our problems—especially armed conflicts—but the value of the United Nations as a centre

for all nations to join forces to cope with man's global problems is beginning to grow. I fully agree with our Secretary-General that the time has come when, in the wake of the present *détente*, a new great alliance of all concerned peoples should be reinstated against these common enemies: human poverty, injustice, moral and physical misery and the rapid deterioration of our planet's beauty and life-sustaining elements. These dangers and challenges have greater priority than the questions which divide nations at present.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*

