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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. LESKINEN (Finland): It is a pleasure for me to extend to you the warmest congratulations of the Finnish Government on your election to your high office. We know you as an Asian statesman of great experience and devotion to the cause of peace and co-operation among nations. We are confident that under your leadership the General Assembly will function effectively and harmoniously.

2. I also wish to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the outgoing President, Edvard Hambro of Norway, whose performance during his term of office was a source of pride for all of us in the Nordic community of nations.

3. At the same time, let me pay a tribute on behalf of the Finnish Government to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant. For ten years he has served this Organization with selfless devotion. His untiring work in the cause of peace and justice and his moral courage have earned him the undivided respect and gratitude of all Member States.

4. We are meeting today in the midst of exceptionally profound and rapid change in international relations. The very structure of the world scene is being transformed before our eyes. In such a period of transition doubts and uncertainties often prevail. But this time the dominant feeling is one of encouragement and hope.

5. In Europe, in particular, there is hope today that the process of reconciliation set in motion by the treaties signed last year between the Soviet Union and Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany will bring about stable and peaceful conditions in which the use of force between States can be ruled out, and in which friendly co-operation could continuously increase. This European development,

while not formally before this General Assembly, cannot fail to have a world-wide impact. Twice in our lifetime Europe has been the source of a war that has engulfed the entire world, and still today, 25 years after the end of the Second World War, Europe remains the scene of the deadliest concentration of modern weapons in history. The unsettled state of affairs in Europe has been one of the central causes of international tension. Stability in Europe therefore will remove a major threat to world peace.

6. Finland has worked actively for the cause of European reconciliation. It will be recalled that the Finnish Government has offered to act as host for a conference on European security and co-operation in which all European Governments as well as the Governments of the United States and Canada would participate. We have also suggested that multilateral consultations in preparation for such a conference could take place in Helsinki. The favourable trend in European developments exemplified by the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin<sup>1</sup> encourages us to believe that our suggestion can soon be accepted by all concerned.

7. This trend has also encouraged us to take a new initiative on the German question, the central issue that has divided Europe for the past quarter century. It has been Finnish policy to refrain from recognizing either the German Democratic Republic or the Federal Republic of Germany, while in practice maintaining equal relations with both. This policy has been dictated by our desire to avoid taking sides in the dispute between the great Powers on the German question. As the confrontation between the great Powers on Germany is losing its sharp edges, and in anticipation of an understanding between them, the Finnish Government has approached both German Governments with a proposal for a comprehensive arrangement of relations between Finland and the two German States, with a view to establishing diplomatic relations with both, based on a mutual renunciation of the use of force and recognition on the part of the two German States of Finland's neutrality. We believe that this initiative will contribute to the emerging new peaceful order in Europe.

8. Our activity on behalf of European security and co-operation is firmly rooted in Finland's policy of neutrality. We have sought—and I believe we have succeeded—to safeguard our security and the prosperity of our people by keeping aloof from the conflicts and controversies between the great Powers. But in today's world, national security cannot be divorced from the maintenance of international security. Accordingly, neutrality can no longer remain a negative concept. It must also mean active participation in efforts to keep the peace and to promote

<sup>1</sup> Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

co-operation between nations. It enables us to maintain friendly relations with all nations across the dividing lines of military alliances or ideological blocs, and thus to render useful services to the cause of international conciliation.

9. The recognition and confidence which our policy of neutrality has received from all sides has encouraged the Finnish Government to put forward, with the support of the other Nordic States, the candidature of our representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Max Jakobson, for the post of Secretary-General of this Organization. The Finnish Government has full confidence in his personal integrity and professional competence, and we have been gratified by the wide support his candidature has received in all parts of the world.

10. As a small, neutral country, Finland looks upon the United Nations primarily as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, and we welcomed the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly last year of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] as an expression of the collective will of Member States to make this Organization more effective for this purpose. Finland for its part is prepared to continue to do its full share in efforts to improve the capabilities of the United Nations to make peace and to keep the peace.

11. A first essential step in that direction, in our view, is to make this a truly universal organization. We hope and believe that it will be possible during this session of the General Assembly to achieve important progress in that direction.

12. We are confident that the Assembly will now at last decide to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, which Finland has consistently supported, and we shall oppose any move that might obstruct or delay the entry of the People's Republic.

13. We are also confident that the process of European reconciliation now in progress will soon enable the two German States to enter into the United Nations as new Members. Such an outcome would significantly strengthen the Organization.

14. Further, the time has come, in our view, to put an end, after more than 20 years, to the fruitless debate about the rights and wrongs of the Korean conflict and to make every effort to enable both North Korea and South Korea to take part in international co-operation as Members of the United Nations.

15. As for the question of Viet-Nam, I wish to state once again the firm conviction of the Finnish Government that lasting peace in that area can only be achieved through a political solution ensuring the right of the Viet-Nameese people freely to determine their own future and to be represented in the United Nations. We in Finland welcome the continued withdrawal of American troops from the area and fervently hope that the war in Indo-China will be brought to a speedy end. With the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, it may become possible for this Organization to play a constructive role in the restoration of peaceful conditions and the reconstruction

tion of the region after the devastations of the prolonged war.

16. I realize, of course, that universality by itself solves nothing. On the contrary, the entry into this Organization of several important nations will require a period of adjustment; but this will be adjustment to reality, and the sooner it is done the better for the United Nations. At least it will then be possible to use the Organization effectively for the purpose for which it was created: as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the purposes of the Charter and, above all, for dealing with all the urgent problems affecting international security.

17. In the case of the Middle East, the framework for the establishment of a just and lasting peace has already been created through the use of the United Nations. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) provides for a comprehensive political solution of the conflict between Israel and the Arab States, a solution adopted by virtually the entire international community as its guide to the problem. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Middle East, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, is ready to assist in carrying out that solution. Other United Nations services, such as peace-keeping forces, can surely be made available whenever needed.

18. Nevertheless, the peace-making process has come to a standstill. While we welcome the fact that no major fighting has occurred between Israel and the Arab States for more than a year, we cannot fail to express grave concern about the lack of progress towards a peaceful settlement. This session of the General Assembly provides an opportunity for the reactivation of the Jarring mission, and we hope that it will be used constructively before it is too late.

19. The vast human tragedy caused by the events in East Pakistan has deeply moved the people in my country, as everywhere else in the world. Finland has already contributed and will continue to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations and other international organizations to bring humanitarian aid to those in need, to the refugees in India as well as to the distressed population in East Pakistan. We hope that conditions in East Pakistan could soon be improved so as to put an end to the flow of refugees and enable those who have fled to return home.

20. The urgent demands of acute conflicts and crises in different parts of the world should not lead us to overlook the grave potential dangers arising from the continued repression of the black people in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, as well as the denial of the right to self-determination of the peoples living in the Portuguese Territories in Africa. United Nations efforts to bring about a change in southern Africa have so far had little effect. It must be admitted that we have reached a dead end in dealing with these issues. This must not deter us from making a new, determined effort to find constructive and effective means by which the international community could influence the course of events in southern Africa. It is essential, in our view, that the interest and energies of the great Powers be more fully engaged in this effort.

21. In this connexion I wish to emphasize the importance of the advisory opinion recently given by the International

Court of Justice on the legal consequences of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia.<sup>2</sup> The illegality of that presence has now been clearly established by the highest judicial authority of the international community. The advisory opinion, which was requested on the initiative of the Finnish Government, should provide the Security Council and the General Assembly with a fresh incentive to consider a new approach to the question of Namibia.

22. The strengthening of international security cannot be limited to efforts to contain and extinguish existing conflicts. It is essential to take preventive action by strengthening the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes and peace-keeping. The United Nations is the principal instrument available to nations for this purpose. It is, therefore, an urgent necessity that the financial difficulties of the Organization be speedily overcome. It is equally important to reach agreement without delay on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations.

23. Disarmament and arms control measures are also essential parts of international efforts to keep the peace. It is often said that real disarmament is not possible before greater mutual trust has been established between the leading Powers. In practice, however, we have seen that disarmament and arms control measures tend to contribute to the creation of such mutual trust. In this regard, the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on strategic arms limitations, held alternately in Helsinki and Vienna, are of crucial importance. It is one of the encouraging features of the present international situation that there now seems to be real hope of agreement between the two Powers on a first treaty on strategic arms limitation. Even an initial treaty of limited scope would have great significance, both in itself and in promoting confidence between the two most powerful nations in the world. It would also give a fresh impetus for continued negotiations with a view to agreeing on more comprehensive limitations with regard to strategic weapons.

24. At the same time it must be recognized that the continued arms race poses grave danger to all nations, large and small, whatever their military capabilities. The consequences of nuclear war, once unleashed, would respect no national boundaries. Disarmament requires a truly universal effort. We believe therefore that the proposal of the Soviet Government for a world disarmament conference [A/8491] deserves the serious attention of the General Assembly.

25. The Finnish Government also welcomes the progress made in the disarmament negotiations at Geneva concerning biological and chemical weapons. The ban on production and possession of biological and toxic weapons, which is now the subject of a draft convention [A/8457-DC/234, annex A] should in our view be followed up as soon as possible by a ban on chemical weapons.

26. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has performed a valuable service to the United Nations by preparing a number of important arms control agreements.

It is in our view of ever greater importance, however, that a way be found by which all the nuclear Powers could be brought into a continuous negotiating process on disarmament. They do after all bear a special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace.

27. Last year, as the General Assembly approved the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], an important step was taken towards a higher degree of integration in the international efforts towards progress and prosperity. The implementation of that programme is a challenging task and my Government, for its part, has already taken several steps in order to fulfil its obligations, in the field of both trade and development co-operation.

28. In this context we feel that, in order to be able to discharge successfully its responsibility, the United Nations must be prepared to make certain adjustments in its organizational structure. A larger number of countries must be engaged in this effort that encompasses so many different facets of development with important differences in accent in various parts of the globe. Science and technology cannot be fully harnessed to speed up the development process unless a suitable institutional framework for intergovernmental co-operation is created.

29. The international community cannot do more than assist the developing nations in their own efforts. The solution to their problems is in their own hands. They themselves have to establish their priorities and choose their own patterns of progress and development. But there are issues of importance vital to the entire world community. Two among the most important ones are the population question and the acceleration of food production. Although these issues are highly interdependent, they should not be treated in isolation from others. They are in many ways intertwined with such economic and social issues as health, urbanization, industrialization and international trade, just to mention a few.

30. Unplanned development, a single-minded sectoral approach to economic growth without full sense of responsibility for the indirect consequences, has led in many countries to a situation where the qualitative aspects of life are jeopardized. The awakening that has taken place during the very last few years in this matter has not yet manifested itself in full-scale international co-operation. But the urgency of the matter has already been fully realized by this Organization and, we consequently, expect much of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm in 1972.

31. Mr. AICHI (Japan): On behalf of the Japanese delegation, I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that this session of the General Assembly will be led to fruitful accomplishments under your effective guidance, an outstanding statesman of Asia who is making continuous efforts day and night to bring about peace and the relaxation of tension in that area. I have had the pleasure of maintaining the closest of relationships with you for a number of years and I hold you in the highest esteem. I cannot forget the great skill

<sup>2</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.*

displayed by you at the Djakarta Conference on Cambodia in May last year.

32. I wish to take this opportunity to express my deepest respect to Edvard Hambro, the former President of the General Assembly. We all came to recognize his outstanding leadership last year during our twenty-fifth anniversary session.

33. I wish to pay my sincere respects to our esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, and to express my profound appreciation for his dedication to the noble efforts of the United Nations for world peace.

34. I now take pleasure in extending my heartfelt congratulations to the delegations of Bahrain, Bhutan, and Qatar which have become Members of the United Nations at this session of the General Assembly. Our warm, cordial and friendly relations with Bahrain and Qatar, these two emerging States of the Persian Gulf, have been maintained and nurtured through diplomatic channels or visits of economic missions. I also recall with particular delight that H.R.H. Prince Wangchuk, the chairman of the delegation of the Kingdom of Bhutan, has long been a close friend of my own country.

35. The struggle for the peace of mankind, which has continued since the end of the Second World War, is today approaching an important turning-point.

36. In Europe, where efforts to lay the groundwork for easing tension have continued for the past several years through dialogue between East and West, the four Powers, namely, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, have recently entered into basic agreements on the Berlin issue. This we heartily welcome as an opportunity to accelerate the relaxation of tensions not only in Central Europe, but also in the whole world.

37. Likewise, we are beginning to see a ray of hope for easing tension also in Asia, many parts of which have suffered the ravages of war and which has been the arena of fierce confrontations between East and West for a quarter of a century after the end of the last war.

38. One year after the appeal made by President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea on 15 August last year, a first step was taken to open a dialogue between the Republic of Korea and North Korea. The fact that arrangements have been made to begin, in the near future, a dialogue between the leaders of the United States and the People's Republic of China seems to open a new prospect of co-operation and the relaxation of tensions in the Far East, and in turn, the whole of Asia and throughout the world.

39. It is noteworthy that efforts for peace are being continued in the Middle East and Viet-Nam by the parties concerned, in spite of a series of disappointing twists and turns. We sincerely hope that just and peaceful solutions will be achieved as soon as possible by the parties concerned with true courage and the spirit of conciliation.

40. The peoples of Asia, who for long years lived under gunfire, grieved at the division of their motherlands, or

feared involvement in war, are anxiously waiting for a relaxation of tensions.

41. Japan, as a nation of Asia, and as a nation dedicated to peace, is determined to extend a helping hand in the struggle for peace.

42. The Japanese people, who suffered the ravages of the Second World War, are firmly determined that such a catastrophe should never be repeated. The Constitution of Japan, which is based on pacifism, embodies that determination. The Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Sato, enunciated anew last autumn from this rostrum [*1877th meeting*] the fundamental policy of Japan's foreign relations, which is to defend freedom, steadfastly pursue peace and promote the peace and prosperity of the world. Above all, Japan intends to co-operate to the fullest possible extent with the developing countries in their efforts towards development and to safeguard its own peace and security by promoting the harmony and prosperity of all the peoples of the world. This point was also clearly stated by Prime Minister Sato last year in this Assembly hall. The Japanese people strongly hope that the big military Powers of the world, those which possess nuclear weapons, will be mindful of their grave responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and will make extraordinary efforts for the furtherance of disarmament and mutual understanding among nations.

43. The foreign policy of Japan based on peace is in full accord with the objectives pursued by the United Nations and, therefore, this world Organization commands the whole-hearted support of the Japanese people. There are some who allege the revival of Japanese militarism. It will be clear from the foregoing statement of mine that nothing is farther from the truth than such a misunderstanding.

44. Believing that the struggle for peace is now entering a new phase, I should like to emphasize that the time has come further to strengthen the organization and functions of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. Japan will endeavour to strengthen the United Nations in co-operation with all Member States and will expand the scope of its contributions to various activities of the United Nations.

45. The United Nations celebrated last year the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding, and we witnessed on that occasion the upsurge of a mood for the strengthening of this Organization. It may be recalled that, in the general debate [*1842nd meeting*], I made on behalf of my Government a number of concrete suggestions concerning the strengthening of the organization and functions of the United Nations. I believe that this year, the first year of the 1970s, we should see to it that this mood is translated into practice. In this connexion, I should like to make a strong appeal, especially to the permanent members of the Security Council, on account of their grave responsibility for the pursuit of the objectives of the United Nations, not to take a backward-looking attitude to the question of strengthening and reforming the organization and functions of the United Nations.

46. First of all, I believe that, in strengthening our Organization, the possibility of reviewing the Charter itself



should not be ruled out. Since I have made the Japanese position on the question of the Charter review very clear in the general debate last year [*ibid.*, paras. 61-81], I will refrain from going into details at this moment. I should like to reaffirm, however, that such a review should be centred on the following four points: namely, first, the organization and functions of the Security Council; secondly, the United Nations peace-keeping operations; thirdly, the organization and functions of the United Nations relating to economic and social development; fourthly, revisions or deletions of anachronistic provisions in the Charter.

47. The question of Charter review is to be taken up, as it was agreed upon, at the next session of the General Assembly, but I think it is always necessary that we should go back to the Charter itself in conducting discussions and studies to explore the measures for strengthening the United Nations.

48. It is in the field of peace-keeping operations that the United Nations has made its utmost contribution for the maintenance of international peace and security. We should therefore first set to work to strengthen the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations for the strengthening of our Organization. It will be recalled that the strengthening of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations was proclaimed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], as one of its major pillars. I believe that it is an important future task of ours to conduct effective deliberations on the various problems relating to United Nations peace-keeping operations in some appropriate forum of the General Assembly.

49. The recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the question of Namibia<sup>3</sup> clearly demonstrated the importance of the role to be played by the world tribunal for the establishment of law and justice in international relations. The problem of the review of the role of the International Court of Justice will be taken up again by the present session of the General Assembly [*item 90*], and I believe that we should tackle the problem positively with a view to strengthening the Court.

50. I should now like to take up some of the pending issues in current international relations and to explain our position on these issues.

51. The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations has been under discussion in the General Assembly since 1950. In view of the recent development of the international situation, this question is regarded as one of the most important subjects of discussion at the current session of the General Assembly.

52. At the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the votes in favour of the so-called Albanian draft resolution exceeded those against it [*1913th meeting*]. A number of countries have since recognized, and established diplomatic relations with, the Government of the People's Republic of China. It was announced in July last that the President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, would visit that country. The international situation involving China is

moving rapidly and the People's Republic of China is about to emerge from its long isolation and to join the international community as an important member.

53. It is highly desirable that the Government of the People's Republic of China co-operate with all countries of the world for the establishment of a lasting world peace. In this sense, we consider its participation in the United Nations meaningful and we welcome it.

54. However, it is also a fact that there exists in Taiwan the Government of the Republic of China ruling a population of over 13 million. Should this fact be ignored, it would upset the international balance prevailing in the Far East and intensify tensions, rather than bring about a relaxation of tensions, in that part of the world.

55. With these considerations, the Government of Japan has decided to co-sponsor the draft resolution requesting the General Assembly to decide that any proposal in the Assembly which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter [*A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2*] and also the draft resolution seeking to affirm the right of representation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, to recommend that it should be seated in the Security Council as a permanent member, and at the same time to affirm the continued right of representation of the Government of the Republic of China [*A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2*].

56. The Japanese Government holds the position that China is one, and we sincerely wish that the problem should be solved through peaceful dialogue between the two parties concerned. I am convinced that our proposed draft resolutions are not prejudicial to either of the two conflicting claims involved, and that they are appropriate as a transitional step reflecting the reality of the international situation relating to China. I earnestly hope that our draft resolutions will be adopted with the support of a majority of Member States.

57. In order to restore peace in Indo-China, there still exists a number of difficult problems to be resolved. But we note with interest that the international relations surrounding Indo-China and the Paris peace talks suggest an increasing tendency towards peace. I appeal from the bottom of my heart to the parties and countries concerned to nurture and foster this movement for peace with great care. It is, needless to say, what is most required today in Indo-China and South-East Asia at large: not destruction through warfare, but peace-building and the maintenance of peace. Japan, being located in Asia and having deep concern with the changing situation of Asia, is determined to co-operate as much as possible with other Asian countries for the earliest possible restoration of peace in Indo-China. Moreover, we will undertake positive co-operation for the maintenance of peace in that region once peace is restored. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate that my country is prepared to extend maximum co-operation for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the regions of Indo-China, regardless of the difference of political or social system and to make a due contribution for promoting such objectives.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

58. In this connexion I take note with appreciation that Secretary-General U Thant indicated in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that the United Nations should contribute to the restoration and reconstruction of this area [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 40*].

59. As for the Middle East conflict, a long time has elapsed since the ray of hope for its settlement appeared on the horizon, and we regret that the pace of progress towards peace is all too slow. We must realize that delay in the settlement of the question will lead only to the further deterioration of all aspects of this extremely complex problem and the breeding of new problems with benefit to none. I should like to urge all the States concerned as well as the four great Powers to give full consideration to these conditions and redouble their courage to reach a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). As an Asian nation and a member of the Security Council, Japan is prepared to make due contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problem.

60. In Palestine and Indo-China, and in connexion with the question of East Pakistan, millions of innocent people have been deprived of their houses and lands and are living in hardship and destitution away from their homes. Their plight is beyond description.

61. Obviously, the disputes or the situations which have brought into existence such numerous refugees should be settled expeditiously, but the foremost responsibility of the United Nations and the international community at large is to exert the greatest possible efforts to give whatever relief is needed to alleviate the miseries and pains of these innocent sufferers. Moreover, in my view, such an effort for the relief of refugees will, as one of its effects, expedite the political solution of various complex problems brought about by intensified international disputes. The tragedy of the Palestine refugees with a history of more than 20 years should not be repeated anywhere else in the world.

62. It may be pointed out, in this connexion, that Japan's recent contributions for refugee relief and disaster rehabilitation amount in total to \$12 million. We shall continue our utmost endeavour to increase the amount of such humanitarian relief aid as well as to effect its prompt disbursement. Moreover, we shall reinforce our co-operation in extending our aid in such fields as vocational training and education for refugees, carried out under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international organizations in the belief that these aid efforts will lead to the fundamental solution of the refugee problem itself. Japan wishes to make its due contribution to the settlement of various problems related to international peace and security through its aid efforts in such fields.

63. When we consider the problems related to international peace and security, we should never forget the continued existence of racial discrimination, the illegal minority régime and colonial domination in southern Africa, in defiance of repeated appeals and condemnation

by the international community. Japan deeply deplores the situation prevailing in that region and strongly urges the States concerned to liberate colonial territories, dissolve the illegal minority régime and eliminate racial discrimination without delay, in compliance with the appeals of the international community.

64. Japan will not spare itself in co-operating to the best of its ability with the international community, in particular with African States, in their efforts to achieve a lasting settlement of the problem by peaceful means.

65. Arms control and reduction are indispensable conditions for the maintenance and promotion of world peace. Especially, the early realization of nuclear disarmament would be imperative, when we come to think about the catastrophe which the use of nuclear weapons is likely to cause to humanity.

66. I should like to emphasize the important responsibility of the nuclear Powers for the realization of concrete measures for nuclear disarmament, such as the promotion of bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitation and the prohibition of underground nuclear testing. My country, for its part, hopes that the Governments of the Republic of France and the People's Republic of China will participate actively in the forums of disarmament talks, and that they will accede to the treaties already existing relative to disarmament.

67. The recent announcement of new economic policies by the Government of the United States and the subsequent developments can be considered as a clear reflection of the fact that the trade and monetary system which has supported the development of the world economy for 25 years after the end of the Second World War is now facing a crucial turning-point. How the United States and other countries of the world cope with this new and extremely fluid situation and what new order and rules they may establish will, I believe, have a significant influence on the welfare and peace of mankind. If the countries of the world should merely mind their self-interests and fail to face the present trial with a global perspective, I am afraid that it may bring about the unfortunate division of the world economy into blocs and world-wide economic stagnation.

68. With such considerations, my country intends to continue to exert, in close consultation with other nations, the greatest possible efforts for the creation of a new order of the world economy.

69. The Second United Nations Development Decade started on 1 January this year, and we are now entering the stage where we should act for the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. We must bear in mind, however, that, in the light of the present international economic situation, the road to the attainment of the goals and objectives of the Development Strategy is not necessarily an easy one. The basic ideal for the Strategy for the Second Development Decade is to promote co-operative efforts between the developed and the developing countries, while maintaining a system for the free and expanding trade and economy of the world. Therefore, I consider it particularly important, at this juncture, that the international community

should reaffirm the above ideal and further strengthen the system of international co-operation for the realization of this ideal.

70. As for Japan, my Government last year established as its policy to endeavour to attain the 1 per cent aid target by the year 1975. I wish to point out that the aid flow from Japan to the developing countries in 1970 exceeded \$1.8 thousand million, which represented 0.93 per cent of Japan's gross national product of that year. My country will continue to make positive efforts to increase the volume as well as to improve the quality of its aid for development, including the expansion of official development assistance and the softening of the terms and conditions of its aid. We have implemented the generalized scheme of preferences in favour of developing countries since August of this year. I wish to reaffirm our determination that no efforts shall be spared for Japan's positive contribution in the field of international trade in accordance with the goals and objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

71. Let me now touch briefly on the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], which will be held in Santiago, Chile, in April next year. I believe that the third session of UNCTAD will be a most significant occasion where the possibility and effectiveness of the concerted efforts of the international community to create an affluent world will be tested. For the success of the Second Development Decade, it is essential that self-help efforts on the part of the developing countries to cast off the yoke of poverty and underdevelopment, and the earnest co-operation on the part of the developed countries to meet such efforts should be mutually co-ordinated and reinforced.

72. I believe that it is indeed necessary for all the countries participating in the third session of UNCTAD to study concrete measures in advance, with a serious and creative attitude, on how they can contribute to achieving meaningful results and thus attain the objectives of the Second Development Decade. My country, for one, will explore all possible measures of contribution in a positive manner.

73. The importance of the United Nations and other international organizations in the field of economic and social development has continuously increased. As we pointed out in the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly, it is vital for us to enable the Economic and Social Council to act as a pivotal organ for realizing better co-ordination in the work of economic and social development and for providing over-all guidelines for the activities of the United Nations family of organizations, so that the United Nations may effectively carry out its responsibility in promoting international co-operation in the field of economic and social development [1842nd meeting, paras. 78 and 79]. We welcome, therefore, resolution 1621 A (LI) adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its fifty-first session in July this year to strengthen and expand the membership of the Council. It is our earnest hope that the expansion of the Economic and Social Council will come into effect as soon as possible.

74. Lastly, I wish to touch on the problem of the human environment.

75. In creating the United Nations we affirmed it as our duty to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Today we are facing a new responsibility to save succeeding generations from the scourge of the destruction of the human environment, which was not foreseen by past generations. Since our earth is a closed ecosystem, pollution and other forms of destruction of the environment, if they exceed a certain tolerable limit, will entail the gravest of risks for mankind. Efforts to eradicate hunger and poverty and to bring about the well-being of our society through industrialization, modernization of agriculture and reformation of nature should go side by side with international efforts to preserve a wholesome human environment. Every possible form of international co-operation to protect the human environment must earnestly and urgently be pursued. From this viewpoint, we have great expectations for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which is scheduled to be held in 1972.

76. Problems of the human environment have become particularly acute in Japan, which has a vast population in a small area and is highly industrialized. These problems call urgently for solution, and my Government, for some time now, has been taking various measures to cope with them. With the enactment in December 1970 of an epoch-making body of legislation, incorporating the most developed legal provisions for preserving the environment, the Government is now in a stronger position to deal with the substance of these problems. Moreover, in order to co-ordinate more effectively environmental pollution-control measures, we considerably strengthened our administrative machinery for the purpose. A Headquarters of Counter-measures for Environmental Pollution, which had been established under the Cabinet in July 1970, was strengthened and expanded, and developed into the new Environment Agency which came into being this past July.

77. At the same time, as Prime Minister Sato made clear in his address at the General Assembly in October last year [1877th meeting], we are determined to make a positive contribution to the promotion of international co-operation in this field in the United Nations and in other international organizations. We were for example one of the first countries to ratify the latest amendment to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil which was adopted by the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization in 1969.

78. The United Nations has already established itself as the forum for world-wide co-operation and collaboration in every field of international relations. In particular, it is gratifying that the United Nations is now actively engaging in such problems as those of the human environment, outer space, the ocean and the sea-bed, which have lately emerged on the international horizon as a result of scientific and technological progress. We expect that the United Nations will continue to produce many tangible and effective results in dealing with these problems.

79. It is my firm belief that the right approach to attain world peace is the reaffirmation by the whole world of the importance of this world Organization and of the need for further efforts to strengthen the Organization by invoking the original spirit which inspired the United Nations at the time of its foundation.

80. Mr. MORA OTERO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour of setting forth the position of the Government of Uruguay as the work of this session begins, a session of such crucial importance for the future of the Organization.

81. The idea has emerged that this Assembly will be known as the Assembly of universality. The movement to achieve universality in the United Nations has of late gained considerable momentum. We are eager to give it our support in an effort to ensure lasting peace and active coexistence among all peoples of the world.

82. The resistance born of rigidly antagonistic positions is giving way to understanding and willingness to engage in dialogue.

83. Plans involving disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, that a year ago appeared impossible are today emerging as positive solutions assuring peace and guaranteeing the future of civilization. Progress in world solidarity and advances made in scientific discovery have turned the entire earth into a single territory for development.

84. May I, at the beginning of my statement, offer my greetings to the President of the General Assembly, who was chosen by a consensus of the States Members of our Organization. He thus guarantees that there will be fairness and justice, in view of his career as a statesman and his many activities as representative of the Government of Indonesia in the international arena in recent years.

85. May I also add our greetings to the outgoing President, Mr. Hambro, who conducted the work of the Assembly during its twenty-fifth session with such great ability, giving further proof of his devotion to the cause of the United Nations.

86. This historic Assembly coincides with the tenth anniversary of the distinguished Secretary-Generalship of U Thant. We should not spare any effort to dissuade this citizen of the world from his intention to renounce his lofty post in the United Nations; but in any case, the time has come to pay a great tribute to so devout a servant of the international community. His name has already found its place among those of the great figures who have fashioned the new image of the world in which we live, thanks to his tireless efforts for peace and his ideas that have always served as an inspiration to those seeking to bring about a world in which friendship and international co-operation reign supreme.

87. The report of the Secretary-General to this Assembly on the work of the Organization [A/8401 and Add.1] contains a comprehensive treatment of the problems before us. It is an expression of his calm and selfless determination to serve the cause of the United Nations. Perhaps the best tribute which, on this occasion, we could pay to our Secretary-General would be to recommend that the Assembly study the text of his message, which summarizes with lucidity and courage the difficulties at present being encountered by our Organization, and which states the courses of action which may be adopted to save our Organization from its own ruin.

88. It is our desire that these proposals and considerations by the Secretary-General should be considered by a group of experts appointed for the purpose, with a view to producing recommendations or draft resolutions for the General Assembly.

89. Every year we assess the achievements which we have to our credit and lay down new goals for the international community in a dynamic process which can never come to an end, since to come to an end would mean to stand still. As we achieve the goals and objectives which have inspired us, new prospects loom on our horizon obliging us to redouble our efforts towards still more fruitful and positive achievements in the history of mankind.

90. We cannot fail to recognize some of the major contributions which our Organization has made and which have led to permanent and concrete benefits for our countries in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and practically all other areas.

91. At the present time, as nations develop at an accelerating rate, the United Nations has been the dominant force in promoting decolonization. I would make so bold as to say that decolonization is one of its greatest achievements, making it possible for States representing many cultures to attain independence and to participate collectively in our work for peace and the well being of mankind.

92. The task of decolonization cannot now come to an end; a second stage must begin. All peoples now fully share in the benefits of progress which have been brought about by new political, ideological and technological values and by full access to world markets, and we are now all working for the greater well being of all mankind. Nevertheless, we must continue to work harder to eliminate the deficiencies which beset us. Our faith in the international community is not diminished because of the magnitude of the deficiencies which still remain. Our faith should serve to encourage us to abolish the shortcomings which we have noted.

93. We have always said that the best approach is to act in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, whose objectives have to a large extent remained unattained.

94. On many occasions we have declared that even some achievements which seem to be desirable will not have a decisive effect if they are not attained in accordance with the principles of the Charter. We believe that the fate of the Organization depends on our acting in accordance with these principles. Our Organization has at times been reduced to the position of a mere observer of the great problems of our time, and this may have been due to lack of determination or of faith on the part of some of its Members when they have refused to submit the conflicts and problems which have arisen to the procedures provided for peaceful settlement.

95. The spectacle of the International Court of Justice, which we have endowed with prestigious machinery for solving international problems, remaining immobile is a sorry demonstration of this lack of faith which I have denounced. When we signed the Charter of the Organization in 1945 we said that effective universal order was



impossible without a permanent and binding system of justice. We continue to emphasize this point, which this year is particularly relevant because we have an item on our agenda instructing us to consider the possible expansion of the tasks of the International Court of Justice.

96. From the very outset Uruguay unreservedly accepted the binding jurisdiction of the Court, and we shall continue to promote the idea of submitting the largest possible number of international disputes and questions to our highest tribunal of justice for settlement. Peace is the fruit of justice, as the Scriptures say. There is a link between justice and peace, on which the destiny of mankind possibly depends. There can be no justice without peace; there can be no peace without justice. This idea has been the basis of the thinking of the Holy See in its preparations for the world Day of Peace in 1972. If we desire peace we must work for justice in order to bring about a better distribution of property, and we must adopt an open-minded attitude to social justice and eliminate unfair or artificial differences which have been created to divide and subjugate men and communities who suffer from hunger and poverty. If this is not done, if we do not resolve this terrible problem, we shall continue to live in a false peace and also with a false justice.

97. We are concerned about the difficulties being encountered by the Security Council as it endeavours to discharge its responsibilities. The report of the Secretary-General states that, as we endeavour to establish a system of collective security, we find instead collective impotence.

98. In the efforts to strengthen the action of the Security Council, a few initiatives meet with our complete approval and could be considered. In order to eliminate the inertia of the Council, changes in its procedures have been proposed which would strengthen the capacity of the United Nations in the area of international peace and security. On 3 April 1970 the Government of Brazil submitted a proposal for the creation of *ad hoc* committees dependent on the Security Council, for the peaceful settlement of the disputes brought before that body [see A/7922]. Although the proposal of Brazil was coolly received by some Powers, nevertheless it did receive the support of others which are in favour of the Security Council's appointing fact-finding groups or groups of inquiry with regard to disputes submitted to the Security Council.

99. The conflicts which continue in the Middle East and in the Far East, the problems which beset millions of displaced persons in the eastern area of Pakistan and also the distressing events which have occurred in certain parts of the African continent cannot fail to be a source of concern to us, and we would appeal for a solution to these problems within the only propitious framework that exists—the United Nations.

100. Our land has been in the past and continues to be a refuge for millions of emigrants who now form a vital part of our society. Together in our country, men from various races have managed to reconcile their differences and overcome them and have been able to bring about a nation with ideological and spiritual unity.

101. Arab, Jewish, Armenian and other racial communities have all come together to raise their collective voice in

this international body. We have repeatedly reflected their concern in the abiding conviction that we are discharging a moral responsibility which cannot be overlooked, in the confidence that we shall receive a calm and balanced response from the Members of this Organization.

102. The most important item before the present session of the Assembly in our efforts to achieve universality is unquestionably that concerning the plans to facilitate the admission of the People's Republic of China. Due consideration would thereby be given to a large sector of the population of the world. We trust that political and juridical interests will be reconciled and that there will then be a realistic consideration of the situation, for a concerted solution is required which will bring about the coexistence which only very recently seemed impossible.

103. As regards the various proposals which have arisen, we would add that we are opposed to the exclusion of the Republic of China, for it is a country which has not violated any of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations—a requirement of Article 6 of the Charter for justifying expulsion.

104. We should like to make special reference to the question of human rights, the affirmation of which remains incomplete. Our world is a sorry spectacle of millions of human beings deprived of the most fundamental economic, social and political rights. Just as every nation has the inalienable right to independence and to the choice of its own destiny without any foreign interference, so every individual has the right to dignity and to the fruits of his own labour. In this Organization there has emerged the idea of international protection of human rights. We have created a whole range of instruments of lofty inspiration based on the principles of our Charter and in particular on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These principles have been reaffirmed in various international conventions for the protection of these rights.

105. Mere formulation of these principles is not enough to ensure their proper implementation. It is not enough only to have a Declaration and a few conventions establishing norms. It would be preferable to have fewer norms but greater respect for the principles.

106. We have tried to identify the causes of this crisis. We should like to suggest some remedy. We continue to defend the idea of establishing the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, who would be able to work actively with Governments for the implementation of commitments. The High Commissioner would be able to give swift attention to the needs of our time whenever human rights are violated without undue interference or hesitation. If we have problems in respect of refugees in Pakistan, perhaps we should have a High Commissioner for Human Rights who could consider the matter and report to the United Nations.

107. We should also help young people to participate in social and economic development, in the promotion of peace and international co-operation and in the protection of human rights. They must be given the proper ways and means to carry out their obligations in the national and international arenas. These are rights they have demanded. I

think we should promote active participation on the part of young people in all matters and in all bodies where the United Nations lays down development plans. They should be assigned a role in the execution of those plans, especially those which have implications for the social, economic, scientific and technological future of our world.

108. I should like, briefly, to acquaint this Assembly with the great interest that my country has long had in the efforts of the United Nations and its competent bodies to bring about solutions with regard to environmental factors which sustain life, in view of the deterioration that has been brought about in the environment by scientific and technological progress which poses a threat to the future of mankind.

109. It is my firm conviction that our civilization will successfully pass this crossroad. The distressing picture which is before us is the product of development. It is very possible, in accordance with recent scientific findings, that development itself is, through its unforeseeable advances, quite capable of correcting its effects which are adverse to the welfare of mankind.

110. The subject of the international régime for the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor certainly, among the various items before this General Assembly, deserves special consideration. On a number of occasions there have been appeals that our work in this area be expedited in view of the scientific and technological progress which has been made in the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and in view of the fact that it is quite definite that even greater progress will be made in the future. It is therefore especially urgent that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction discharge its mission and prepare for the creation of institutions and legal norms to govern the new realities which have arisen from such progress, and that it regulate international relations in keeping with these realities and in accordance with the principles of reason and justice.

111. The world production of underwater minerals—in particular petroleum, gas, coal, sulphur, iron ore and manganese nodules—has already reached considerable proportions. Geological data prompt one to believe also that underwater petroleum resources will prove to exist in greater quantity than continental resources, and that the value of world production of petroleum from the sea-bed will exceed that from other resources of the sea.

112. It should be encouraging and comforting, in looking after the interests of present and future generations, to know that underwater resources will be available in far greater quantity and that the groundwork has already been laid for a régime to govern and control them in keeping with a new revolutionary spirit in international relations.

113. The new law which has come into being from these realities and the economic importance for our people of the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed has also led certain Latin American States, like Uruguay, to take a very firm position in favour of the authority of the coastal States to establish the extension of their jurisdiction, although it

should be limited to a reasonable distance, taking geographical and biological factors into account.

114. The principles underlying this doctrine and its progressive development are quite in accordance with the principles of modern international law. The objectives are economic and social, for the peoples of these countries would stand to benefit from preserving and developing the resources of the sea. The so-called 200-mile doctrine is already finding universal expression and it may well be recognized in the work of the sea-bed Committee of this Assembly, which is preparing for the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea. We are confident that the restrained attitude of our countries, which wish to demonstrate their interest harmonizing the legitimate defence of significant factors which seriously affect their economies with the traditional freedoms of the seas, will be appreciated by other countries which still at times hold to rigid positions which are not in keeping with the dynamic spirit of our times.

115. In the area of economic relations, once again we have seen profound changes in world politics. With some delay, unfortunately, we have for the first time seen recognition being given to the fact that the principle of the most-favoured-nation clause, applied unequally, leads only to a consolidation of the international *status quo*, where the less developed countries are dependent on those who have achieved a higher degree of economic, scientific and technological development.

116. The international community, aware of the new realities in this area, began in 1964, at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to study formulas designed to bring about a fairer international distribution of labour. Finally, last year, after long years of negotiation, approval was given to a generalized scheme of non-reciprocal preferences for the developing countries<sup>4</sup> and this constituted the first positive step taken by the international community towards the objectives laid down for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Let us not forget that the overwhelming majority of the world lives in the developing countries. We must not take any backward steps now if we wish to act in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

117. The international economic situation has been affected by policies which seriously jeopardize commitments recently entered into. The action taken by the Government of the United States to bring about some balance in its economic position with other industrialized countries is only another application of the principle of non-discrimination among unequals, and we have found that this is an improper means of regulating economic relations among countries of different degrees of development.

118. The countries of Latin America at Panama recently declared that it is unfair to have to bear the consequences of action to correct the deficit in the balance of payments of the United States, in view of the fact that the developing countries are not responsible for this deficit.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 15*, part three, annex I.

119. We do not wish to level any criticism or recriminations against sister nations whose undisputed international role we recognize and very much admire. They have made an immense effort to help the world develop, as we have recently seen. But we do wish to say that the logical arguments, accepted by the international community, in favour of putting into effect the generalized scheme of preferences in favour of the developing countries, clearly a departure from the most-favoured-nation principle, are equally valid when restrictive measures are being applied to their possibilities of economic development.

120. Although we understand the difficulties encountered by the Government of the United States at this crucial moment, we are confident that systematic and constant dialogue and consultations through multilateral negotiation machinery will make it possible for us to achieve a satisfactory settlement in this situation which, in the present circumstances, so seriously affects the developing countries.

121. We place our trust in these consultations; we place our trust in this dialogue, in consultations and in understanding among men.

122. The 10 per cent surcharge by the United States on exports from developing countries affects these countries much more than it does the highly-developed industrialized countries and it is, indeed, a real blow to them and has obstructed their economic development and the economic development of certain regions of the world, such as Latin America.

123. In the monetary area, we are also going through a period of acute crisis. We have noted the upsets and friction produced by a monetary system which is out of step with present-day realities. We can affirm that the decade of the 60s was characterized by a constant search for temporary solutions to problems and shortcomings in an international monetary system which was laid down in Bretton Woods to meet the needs of the post-war period. But this system has for some time not been fully relevant.

124. At the present time we do not wish to delve into the technical aspects of a possible solution to the problem; but we would like to stress the fact that any measure for meeting the present inadequacies of the system should be adopted after consultations and the approval of all the members of the International Monetary Fund. In view of the present weaknesses of the developing countries, they should unite their efforts at the regional level and so attempt to strengthen their negotiating power and to have a positive effect on the decision which will eventually be adopted.

125. Another matter about which something must be done at this time of distressing social problems is the prevention and repression of certain forms of international crime. In a note presented to the Commission for Social Development at its twenty-second session in March 1971, the Secretary-General stated:

“Crime problems facing the world today indicate clearly the need to intensify national and international action to obtain a more adequate understanding of the

forces involved and a more effective set of solutions than are now at hand. In this endeavour, the leadership role of the United Nations is well established and extends back to the earliest days of the Organization.

“... ”

“It is quite apparent that, internationally, too little energy and too few resources are as yet being devoted to the elucidation of a problem which is now recognized as being of major importance to the future of society and to the humanitarian ideals which inspire the United Nations.”<sup>5</sup>

126. The Fourth United Nations Conference on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, which was held in Japan in August 1970, adopted a declaration<sup>6</sup> calling on all Governments to adopt effective action for the co-ordination and intensification of their efforts to prevent crime and urged the United Nations and other international organizations to give priority to the strengthening of international co-operation in the prevention of crime.

127. Within these guidelines, the General Assembly, in resolution 2645 (XXV) considered that the hijacking of planes and civil aircraft was a form of international crime. In accordance with this resolution, a conference was held at The Hague in December of last year and adopted a Convention on the subject,<sup>7</sup> which may constitute an effective instrument for international co-operation in the prevention and repression of this form of crime.

128. In respect of other forms of crime, action has not been as effective. I am referring to acts of terrorism and crimes committed against diplomatic and consular agents and other international civil servants; there has been a certain reluctance to give full recognition to this problem and to take the necessary action at the international level. The Organization of American States, at the third special session of its General Assembly, adopted, on 2 February of this year, a convention calling for international co-operation to prevent and punish acts of terrorism, but unfortunately, we have not detected the same interest or concern in the United Nations. For these reasons, and in view of the particularly reprehensible nature of these forms of international crime, which have in fact occurred with increasing frequency in recent times, our delegation will, later on in this session, submit a report and a draft convention on the subject.

129. In addition to the many different forms of social disturbance which have occurred in various countries and have affected a large number of members of the international community, there has been a widespread increase in violence, crime, thefts and hijackings. My country is now experiencing a unique period in its history in this respect.

130. Uruguay has responded to this challenge by using its free democratic institutions, complying with its constitutional norms, electing its leaders at regular intervals

<sup>5</sup> See document E/CN.5/461, paras. 11 and 15.

<sup>6</sup> Document E/CN.5/469, annex.

<sup>7</sup> Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

established by the Constitution itself in accordance with free electoral principles, exercising its parliamentary procedures and by giving absolute authority to its high tribunals of justice, which are ready to hear any case regarding violation of the law. The principles we apply are deeply entrenched in our people and we strive to defend and protect the rights of all human beings whom we wish to see free from pain or suffering.

131. We do not accept the idea of a revolution against democracy. The present world revolution must be, as the United Nations would have it be, a scientific revolution leading to greater moral and material conquests in the service of mankind against violence.

132. As Pacheco Areco, the President of our country, recently stated, there are men who destroy and men who build. There are revolutions leading to death and revolutions which give life.

133. In combating crime and terrorism, my country has defended life and has fought to improve its standards of living.

134. This is the tradition of Uruguay, which is sustained by the life force of its sons.

135. Mr. CISSOKO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first of all extend the warmest congratulations of the delegation of the Republic of Mali on your brilliant election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In so doing, I would not wish to forget Mr. Hambro whose task it was last year to conduct the difficult proceedings which marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

136. The ideal of peace, which for almost 30 years has sufficed to maintain mankind in a state of relative security, today deserves our devoting to it all the resources of our intelligence and all the determination that we as political leaders can muster.

137. In this regard, the birthday wishes extended last year to the United Nations in the form of the slogan "Peace, Justice and Progress" should henceforth pass from words to deeds.

138. There is no doubt that since the end of the last session, human intelligence and courage have achieved surprising things. The artificial frontiers born of ideological antagonisms which we pointed out have been somewhat blurred. The political will of States or groups of States to open their doors to one another for the sake of better understanding has unquestionably led to a better grasp of the forces at issue, thanks to a more realistic analysis of the international facts which govern our existence. This realism, illustrated by the progressive lifting of the absurd quarantine which until now had confined one of the biggest States of the world, is one of the most encouraging signs of our times. The motives behind these political phenomena would not deserve attention if they did not also concern the welfare of men. To be sure, science has opened to our hopes vast horizons whose extent and depth no longer turn our head, but outer space linkups, walks on the moon, and other scientific exploits can have no real meaning unless,

thanks to the concerted efforts of all, sickness, ignorance and malnutrition give way to a better economic future for mankind.

139. How fine this hymn to victory would have been if the courage which enabled man to conquer nature had been directed more towards the search for a new economic order and if, above all, it had been put at the service of justice, equality and freedom!

140. The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations are complementary. Peace, which it is our duty to seek with patience and intelligence, concerns mankind as a whole. If its approaches differ according to the interests at stake, the objective is always the same. Peace must be just and honourable. The image of troubled peace reflects that of our own incapacity to rise to the political responsibilities which, by delegation, are entrusted to us by the community of peoples. Our efforts should be to adorn that image and at last to give the nations once again that strength of faith which they tried to place in our Organization at the time of its creation.

141. To restore harmony wherever stubbornness or the lust for power create explosive situations, to refuse to condone policies of humiliation or of abdication, to combat racial hatred and the strictures of dogma, to offer occasions of balanced development are all objectives for which acceptable solutions would be possible if we put our heads together.

142. Here, the exercise to which we must immediately devote ourselves undoubtedly concerns the Middle East where misleading ashes cover a vast arsenal of war which can lead us at any time into a third world catastrophe.

143. My Government, of course with certain reservations, greeted the various moves which led to the cease-fire in the Middle East. It had hoped that the cessation of hostilities would speed the search for a solution—if not global, at least partial—of the crisis. However, this hope was to fade before the utter stubbornness of the Israeli Government, which has disdainfully rejected all attempts to settle the crisis, particularly the Jarring proposals and the Rogers plan.

144. This negative attitude does great harm to the prestige and authority of our Organization. It should therefore use the Charter to induce this Member State to respect the principles to which it freely acceded.

145. For its part, my Government is ready to co-operate in the quest for any solution based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967). But before all else, the international community must require Israel unconditionally to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied by force.

146. There is a real chance of peace in the Middle East. But if it should unhappily go unheeded in the flush of transient military victories or the refusal to bow to the legitimate national demands of all the communities in the area, then a situation would arise for whose dramatic consequences we would bear full responsibility.

147. Our Organization would do useful work in that part of the world if its present efforts should result in the



restoration to the peoples of the Middle East of their inalienable rights. Here, we are thinking above all of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians reduced by the political blindness of Israel to the status of stateless persons. However, these involuntary exiles, dependent on the uncertain generosity of States to satisfy their most elementary needs, have not given up. They are the vanguard of a fight which is our fight. And we would be failing in our duty if we refused them what they have never ceased to demand of us—that they be permitted to return to their homeland and live there in peace.

148. My Government is following with the same deep concern the developments which, for nearly 30 years, have brought grief to the peaceful populations of the Far East. The heroic struggle of the People's Army of Viet-Nam, supported by the whole of its people, led to the Geneva Agreements of 1954 whose proper implementation would have permitted the peaceful reunification of that artificially divided country. The provisions of those Agreements are binding on all States and no attempt to thwart their implementation can be justified in terms of international obligations.

149. In 1969—and this was said last year—we had the hope that specific acts in favour of peace would follow the statement made in this Assembly by President Nixon [1755th meeting]. The tragic reality with which we find ourselves faced today is that after more than a year, the war, going beyond the frontiers of Viet-Nam, has spread into Cambodia and been stepped up in Laos. Thinly-veiled interference in the domestic affairs of States has engulfed the Indo-Chinese peninsula in flames, where guns and napalm are the only elements on which it is believed possible to build the greatness of a civilization.

150. Faith in democracy and in the sovereign exercise of rights—which imply freedom—cannot be destroyed by force of arms. That faith and that sovereignty of rights are not subject to negotiation. I hope that this fundamental reality will be understood by the Government of the United States of America and its allies, and that they will accede to the impatience of their own peoples and of the whole world by unconditionally withdrawing their troops from the Far East.

151. The latest seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam constitutes, we believe, a reasonable basis for negotiation. To allow the Indo-Chinese the freedom to work out their own political, economic and social order seems to us to be the only way of ensuring a just peace in the region.

152. This consideration, valid for Indo-China, is equally so for Korea. The contacts recently instituted by the Korean Red Cross services are the latest signs in the process of peaceful unification. My delegation believes that the international Organization can attain this objective only by correcting its errors of 1955. It is our hope that the postponement of the Korean question to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly does not mark the beginning of a new strategy on the part of those whose interests are opposed to its consideration.

153. The United Nations must, in the interests of objectivity, dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for

the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and withdraw the troops which, under the cover of the United Nations, are occupying the southern part of the country, where their presence is contrary to the ideals of peace of the Charter.

154. There are so many problems before us for reflection, the time is so short and the demand of the peoples so urgent that only if we tackle them with courage have we any chance of at last attaining one of the fundamental objectives of the Charter—to save future generations from the scourge of war and from destruction.

155. It has already been stated that political courage consists in seeking the truth and telling it. Is it not to belie the truth to believe that the United Nations can advance towards its objective of universality while denying one of the greatest States in the world the rights which it enjoys as a founder-Member of our Organization? Similarly, how can we be expected to believe political fictions at a time when their authors themselves are proceeding to correct mistakes made, at a time when tensions born of ideological confrontation stood in the way of a proper appreciation of political reality?

156. It would be inexcusable to make good one mistake by another and it would be even more inexcusable to deny the oneness of the Chinese State.

157. I need not emphasize the legitimacy of the representation of the People's Republic of China in terms of the size of its population or by making references to its domestic and foreign policy. It is paradoxical indeed that those who refer to such policies are the very same who support with their full material and financial weight régimes whose avowed objective is to destroy the moral and human principles that govern our Organization. The question that concerns us is to measure the gravity of the wrongs done to that country which, despite hostility from all sides, is undertaking, in conditions of order and peace, one of the greatest revolutions in human history.

158. For over 20 years an injustice has been perpetuated against the People's Republic of China, and yet this has not prevented it from making its effective contribution to the welfare of millions of people in new countries facing the harsh exigencies of economic and social development. The People's Republic of China has responded to this injustice with the dynamism and cordiality of its relations with all peace-loving and freedom-loving States.

159. We were extremely gratified at the beginnings of a rapprochement between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. We were also gratified by the argument developed by the Nixon administration to the effect that it was for the Chinese and the Chinese alone to settle their domestic problems. It is, indeed, neither for our respective States nor for our Organization to do these things. But it is our responsibility and our duty, since we are speaking of peace, not to create other factors of tension which might make peace impossible.

160. The most important question that can face us is whether, in the logic which should guide us, it is not time to put an end to myths and empty intellectual exercises, and to recognize that the rights of the People's Republic of

China should not be impaired by voting procedures. We hope that the General Assembly will take this view since it is for the Peking Government to find solutions to its problems commensurate with the greatness of its genius.

161. In not disappointing this hope, we shall be doing the work of peace, just as we shall be doing by reconsidering our positions on questions which directly concern the freedom and dignity of millions arbitrarily subjected to the rigours of régimes whose arrogance, more than a challenge, is an insult to our Organization.

162. For some time now international relations have benefited from the informed analysis of reciprocal positions and have been enriched by the opportunity for better mutual knowledge and appreciation. This irreversible current is, nevertheless, beset by serious obstacles condoned if not abetted by passivity and indifference.

163. The despicable colonial system practised by the Portuguese Government, which is unique in the annals of history, is aimed not only at stripping the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola of their identity, but also at perpetuating foreign domination in Africa.

164. Portugal claims to be defending Western and Christian civilization in Africa. No graver insult could be offered to the proponents of that civilization, for after more than four centuries in our continent, all Portugal does is brazenly exploit the resources and barbarously administer the population. Incapable by itself of achieving the level of economic and social development enjoyed by the rest of post-war Europe, incapable by itself of stemming the revolt of the African populations under its administration, Portugal appeals for assistance to South Africa, Rhodesia and all the Governments and associations for which a pound of copper or cobalt is worth more than the life of an African.

165. The world is now in an era of *détente*. Portugal, for its part, has learned nothing from the past quarter of a century but violence, to which the populations of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique have found a fitting response.

166. In support of this truth I shall merely quote the following statement by an African freedom fighter reproduced in *The Observer*:

"We are not violent for the sake of violence. But Portugal has been ruled by violence for more than fifty years and so a certain amount of force seems the only effective rejoinder."

167. Is there any truth more contrary to the pertinent provisions of the Charter, and should our efforts not be directed towards making this political philosophy inapplicable because it is prejudicial to peace? Colonialism in its death throes always tends to kill more, to destroy more. Portugal gives us an example of this by the war it is imposing on the populations of the African Territories under its occupation and by its repeated acts of aggression—repeated because they always go unpunished—against the independent States of Senegal, Guinea, Zambia and the People's Republic of the Congo, all Members of our Organization.

168. You cannot claim to be for peace and defend or support Portuguese action in Africa. The support and complicity enjoyed by Portugal, particularly on the part of its NATO allies, help to strengthen the colonialist and neo-colonialist camp in its desperate resistance to the political emancipation of the Territories still under domination, and illustrate without the least possible ambiguity the attempts of international imperialism to confiscate, for the benefit of foreign capital, the immense economic resources of colonized countries and those that have just become independent.

169. The international Organization, as I said, has the right and the duty to come to the aid of peace at any time and in any place. The provisions of the Charter make any such action by the United Nations legitimate. The provisions of Chapter VII of that same Charter, in my Government's view, should be the sole source of inspiration for decisive action against Portugal, forced to ally itself with the racist and retrograde régimes in southern Africa.

170. There can be no further doubt that Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa are combining their military efforts.

171. This fact prompts certain reflections the most characteristic of which is that we cannot respond to this outrage to our Organization with ineffective measures. The economic sanctions ordered against Rhodesia have turned out to be ineffective if not absurd. We must be logically consistent and we must place the responsibility where it belongs. The British Government continues to claim sovereignty over Rhodesia. We know the nature and scope of the measures it is capable of taking when it feels that its interests are at stake. It has no right, by reason of its specific undertakings under the Charter, to abandon the people of Zimbabwe to repression and poverty. The just struggle of the Zimbabwe people, the victims of an out-and-out conspiracy, involves the responsibility of the international community. To stand aside from it would be to capitulate to the forces of evil and hatred.

172. The enormous resources used by certain Powers to create tensions under cover of the quest for so-called peace should rather be made available to the international community to serve in the restoration of peace wherever the principles of the Charter are imperilled. Namibia offers the best example in this regard. The Security Council, in its resolution 284 (1970) requested the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the legality of South Africa's presence in the Territory. That opinion has been given and it is magnificently clear. Paragraph 118 of the opinion states:

"118. South Africa, being responsible for having created and maintained a situation which the Court has found to have been validly declared illegal, has the obligation to put an end to it. It is therefore under obligation to withdraw its administration from the Territory of Namibia."

In paragraph 119 the Court continues:

"119. The member States of the United Nations are, for the reasons given in paragraph 115 above, under

obligation to recognize the illegality and invalidity of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia . . .”<sup>8</sup>

173. Despite the voting reservations of certain members of the Security Council—reservations which, as a matter of fact, contradict their public statements against the colonial Administration of South Africa—the United Nations is now quite clear as to its responsibilities towards the people of Namibia.

174. Suffice it to recall in this regard paragraph 116 of the Court's opinion, which states:

“Thus when the Security Council adopts a decision under Article 25 in accordance with the Charter, it is for member States to comply with that decision, including those members of the Security Council which voted against it. . . . To hold otherwise would be to deprive this principal organ of its essential functions and powers under the Charter.”<sup>8</sup>

175. The present session should therefore go beyond formal resolutions and Byzantine legal quibbling to seek, in accordance with the logic of the facts, practical means of enabling the United Nations Council on Namibia fully to assume its responsibilities with regard to the peoples whom, legally and morally, it is our duty to lead to independence. We must save Namibia from the cancer of *apartheid* with all haste.

176. Statements on the immorality of *apartheid* become exercises in empty oratory when they lead to no concrete action to isolate and bring down the régimes that practise it.

177. The provision of arms to the racist minority of South Africa can be justified neither from the standpoint of defending an alleged civilization nor from the standpoint of any search for peace. Does not human civilization rest on a complex of values, one of the most important of which is respect for human dignity?

178. South Africa is one of the few States that regard injustice and the use of force as the only rules that should govern the administration of a State and its international relations. The Pretoria régime, in open rebellion against the United Nations, is arming itself not only against the black peoples of South Africa, but against the other African States as well. If the United Nations wishes to survive, it must act out of a sense of high conscience to frustrate all such attempts. The permanent members of the Security Council which, through their various initiatives, encourage and promote them, are all the more culpable in that they bear special responsibilities within that principal organ of the United Nations.

179. The policy of dialogue with the racist régime of Pretoria that has been proposed to us is, in fact, part of the diversionary strategy to which the supporters of *apartheid* and their henchmen are having recourse in order to start an argument that will give them a certain respite. Before proposing any dialogue with the outside world, the racist

régime of Pretoria is in duty bound to start such a dialogue first with the citizens of South Africa, who are its primary interlocutors. This, at any rate, is the view of the Government of the Republic of Mali on this problem of dialogue.

180. The Government of the Republic of Mali, profoundly devoted to peace, will support any initiative aimed at restoring and safeguarding peace and security in the world. Thus, we have followed with lively interest the negotiations resulting in the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, and the progress achieved in the talks on the limitation of strategic, conventional, biological and chemical weapons.

181. Disarmament following upon a reduction of international tensions can, without doubt, free enormous resources that could be placed at the service of development. But unconcerted action that would scatter our efforts would but create unbalanced situations that would themselves give rise to tensions. The monetary crisis which is now shaking the world and which affects us all is one of the best illustrations of this.

182. The problem of the revaluation of the resources of developing countries, that of the transformation and expansion of their units of production, and that of their increased participation in trade, make necessary, for the stability of international economies, solutions at once bold and appropriate.

183. The World Bank has launched a medium-term programme of assistance on behalf of the developing countries satisfactorily embracing the most important sectors of their economies. We hope that other credit agencies will follow this example.

184. The proposals made by the Economic and Social Council in the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade will be valid to the extent that they are studied with a willingness to apply them in a sort of planned economy of the third world.

185. Mr. President, in the statement which you made on 21 September [1934th meeting], you expressed the wish that our Organization might achieve greater universality. It will attain universality by avoiding dangerous compromises and refusing to shirk its responsibilities. You will assist us in doing this by the way in which you guide our discussions and by your knowledge of international problems.

186. Mr. KEUTCHA (Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Cameroon, I wish to join the representatives who have preceded me in addressing to you our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your remarkable talent and long experience in international affairs certainly augur well for the outcome of our labours. Your unanimous election is at the same time a tribute by the United Nations to the exceptional role your great country plays on the international scene.

187. May I also be permitted to extend once again my congratulations to Mr. Edvard Hambro, who, with real flair and competence, successfully guided the historic session marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization.

<sup>8</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.*

188. It is only fair also to pay tribute to U Thant, our Secretary-General, whose devotion to the world Organization has stood up under every test. He has succeeded in bringing his dynamism to the United Nations and has given it the self-confidence that has made it possible for it to deal successfully in many critical moments with so many disturbances of such a stormy nature. It was under his guidance, both bold and wise, that our Organization came of age without losing anything of its youthful vigour.

189. We are not going to go so far as to hold a naively high opinion of the accomplishments of the United Nations and to feel an unmixed satisfaction in their regard. At this very time, as a matter of fact, too many horrors and injustices darken the face of our world for us to be able to say that we can glimpse, even at a distance, any end to this tunnel of suffering and anguish through which mankind is passing. South Africa, Viet-Nam, the Middle East, Northern Ireland and many other names evoke, for each of us, an appalling picture of man feverishly hunting his fellow man, driven on by the hateful demons whose names are colonialism, racial and religious discrimination, and the relentless pursuit of selfish interests.

190. If to all this we add the natural disasters and epidemics which during this year have afflicted a large number of countries in the third world, with the United Nations powerlessly standing by, it is very difficult to claim any unqualified success for international solidarity.

191. However, we cannot fail to welcome and to be thankful for both the bright spots that have marked the history of the last few months and certain things that have encouraged the inventive spirit of mankind and rekindled our hopes.

192. It is with those thoughts in mind that we point to the ever more numerous scientific achievements that have been scored by teams of researchers in all countries. We might in particular mention the lunar explorations which we all recently witnessed, thanks to radio and television, and which have now become almost familiar realities even though not long ago they seemed only adventures out of science-fiction.

193. Together with these hopeful signs there are a few major problems which, for many years, have been a source of concern to this Organization, anxious to preserve peace. First of all, the fact that there has been no new armed clash in the Middle East is in itself an encouraging result of the numerous efforts on the part of the United Nations.

194. Cameroon continues to offer its active support to the indefatigable action of the Secretary-General and his representatives in the search for a just peace, negotiated on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

195. The Head of State of Cameroon is participating with high hopes in the Special Committee created at the eighth session of the summit meetings of the Organization of African Unity,<sup>9</sup> with a view to finding a solution to this

conflict involving an African country, a founding member of the Pan-African organization.

196. It seems that the war in Indo-China will evolve favourably towards peace in the coming months. As we have always said, we hope that in that part of the world the major Powers will act with reason and a sense of morality and will set aside their ideological egotism which has resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of brothers. It should be possible to settle the Viet-Nam conflict peaceably, especially since there is more and more international co-operation in Asia. That is why we warmly welcome any policy to restore the legitimate rights of the ancient Power that is China in the United Nations.

197. For its part, Cameroon decided on 3 April 1971 to open diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the sacred principles of non-alignment. We are pleased that since that date many countries—and not the smallest ones—have boldly embarked on this wise course. It is indeed time to put an end to an absurd situation which seemed closer to fiction than reality.

198. Furthermore, our love of peace prompts us to rejoice at the progressive disappearance of tension in Europe. Last year Cameroon joined with those who welcomed the German-Soviet Treaty as a prelude to a salutary relaxation of tension. This year we welcomed the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. In addition, we hope that in signing the Agreement on Berlin, the allies of the last world war have finally decided to bring an end to the cold war.

199. Unfortunately, we are aware of the fragile nature of these few positive results, which appear more like indications of better and more substantial achievements to come. Everyone realizes that there must be a greater balance in the world, a balance no longer based on terror and the power of armed blocs, but a new order based on justice, on respect for mankind, on the right of every people to self-determination, on non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

200. People may say that we are mere dreamers. That may well be, but we can hold our heads high with all of you; for these principles that we have just enunciated are those of our policy of non-alignment and they coincide fully with the principles of the Charter of our Organization.

201. However, our world continues to drift and these noble ideals are flouted daily, and international co-operation has become seriously bogged down. Of course, since the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly we have had an instrument which, in the opinion of our delegation, represents at the present time the most complete statement of the problems of co-operation and of the possible solutions. We are referring to the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. This document, when it was adopted, was, of course, accompanied by the serious reservations by certain Powers whose unconditional support would have ensured its effectiveness. These reservations have undoubtedly produced in the poorer countries a feeling of disappointment and frustration. But we should welcome the fact that in spite of this bitterness—perhaps because of it—the dynamic nature of our Strategy was

<sup>9</sup> Eighth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 June 1971.



safeguarded. That is why we would appeal to one and all to remove their reservations, and we trust that all the partners will demonstrate their political determination and collective will, without which the goals and objectives of our Strategy will remain mere pious hopes.

202. It is especially urgent that the thinking of people should be changed since the inequalities between the developed and developing countries have become more accentuated, thus giving rise to a duality harmful to peace.

203. How can we fail to express once again our gratitude to the Secretary-General, who has always endeavoured to sound the alarm about this dangerous division between the "haves" and the "have-nots"?

204. Thus far, alas, his seems to have been a voice in the wilderness. Concern for the well-being of all men seems to have receded into the background in the conscience of the Governments of most countries, and especially the well-to-do countries, while the virus of the arms race has extended its destruction even to areas where hunger and ignorance continue to exist.

205. It is indeed high time that the recommendations which we adopted in this Organization became programmes of action. These recommendations primarily concern international trade, basic commodities, the transfer of resources, the relation between official and private aid and the transfer of science and technology.

206. Cameroon, for its part, is prepared to participate in any negotiations towards this end in a realistic spirit. We shall do so with great conviction; for, in our opinion, the deterioration in the terms of trade—as has been so correctly stated—is unquestionably but a new form of colonialism. You are already aware that my country has always fought and will continue to fight against all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. It was in accordance with the fundamental tenet of our policy and in close co-operation with the United Nations that the city of Yaoundé, in June of this year, provided accommodation for the symposium on the evils of racial discrimination,<sup>10</sup> of which you are aware. We are pleased to say that although little was made of the results of this meeting, which brought together distinguished personalities from many countries, they were nonetheless outstanding, and the report which the competent services of our Organization will give you on this subject will surely convince you of that more than I could.

207. We believe that more initiatives of this kind should be taken in order to promote continually the thinking of all those who, throughout the world, are fighting against the unholy alliance of the forces of racial or colonialist oppression.

208. I should like to take this opportunity to state once more our concern about the situation which prevails in Africa. Even in areas of extreme tension rays of hope seem to be appearing which point to favourable developments in

the future; only our continent seems to see its horizon darkening every day.

209. Certainly, during the first decade of their political independence, which is just now coming to an end, many African countries have wrought actual miracles in the field of economic and cultural development. This has been a surprise to many, to those who, at the dawn of our emancipation, held a rather dim view of the future of our continent, but now they are obliged to acknowledge that the economy of many countries is beginning to get off the ground.

210. We owe this extraordinary result partly to foreign assistance but mostly to the lucidity and courage of our leaders and people. It has been said that faith can move mountains. In Africa we have the unshakable faith of the builders of society, and that is why we are embarking on the next development decade with confidence.

211. Yet we would say that the situation in our continent continues to be a source of concern. Considering matters closely, we see that Africa is, to a very great extent, suffering from the typical evils and shortcomings of developing countries.

212. But, above all, this continent seems to have been chosen as the place for the lowest forms of dehumanizing systems. I refer to a primitive state of colonialism and avowed policies of racial discrimination.

213. We will not dwell on the methods and pseudo-Christian doctrines of the Governments in Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. Others on other occasions have done so with an eloquence which we could certainly not match. Furthermore, we should have very little pleasure in repeating the long list of misfortunes being experienced by our brothers in southern Africa. However, we cannot fail to cry out in indignation against the insolent attitude of those who trample underfoot the recommendations of this Organization and the fundamental principles of the Charter. There is indeed a long list of resolutions and solemn declarations adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

214. However, not only do South Africa and Portugal care little for these, but in their countries they have casually developed these odious policies and the result is that for tens of millions of Africans a kind of concentration camp has been produced, and a more aggressive attitude towards free and independent countries has been brought about.

215. Following their example, the illegal régime in Salisbury has for a number of years been consolidating its usurped power, with the complicity of those who have proclaimed that they have long been the champions of freedom and equality among men.

216. The treacherous voices of racists have arisen, offering economic and military co-operation, but the sole purpose is to destroy our brothers who are fighting for the dignity of men, all men, and for the honour of Africa. If we were to go along with them, we should be abandoning the just struggle that our people have undertaken throughout the entire continent, only because we are poor and because capital is being offered to us.

<sup>10</sup> Seminar on measures to be taken on the national level for the implementation of United Nations instruments aimed at combating and eliminating racial discrimination and for the promotion of harmonious race relations: symposium on the evils of racial discrimination, held at Yaoundé from 16 to 29 June 1971.

217. As far as Cameroon is concerned, its President, its Government and its people have already given a categorical refusal to these offers. We are convinced that Africa, which has already suffered so much but which for the past ten years has been determined to do away with colonialism once and for all, will not capitulate. We will not go to Canossa.

218. That is why we would once again appeal to all peace-loving and justice-loving men to give unreserved support to our action within the Organization of African Unity. We remember—and it is a source of great solace to us—that this Assembly almost unanimously adopted and endorsed the principles behind this action. My delegation is proud to say that it was on a proposal of its Chief of State, H.E. El Hadj Ahmadou Ahijo, speaking here [1780th meeting], on behalf of all his peers in the pan-African organization, that the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session adopted the Manifesto on Southern Africa.<sup>11</sup>

219. We do not believe that that document has become irrelevant for any of the States that gave us their support. We have great difficulty in understanding the military and legal quibblings of certain Powers which know that without their moral and material support South Africa and Portugal could not wage the genocidal war which they have been pursuing in Africa.

220. Of course, the maintenance of peace should continue to be the permanent concern of all States; but it cannot be said often enough that the structure and functioning of this Organization are such as to give certain Powers a special responsibility, towards history.

221. It was in full awareness of this that two years ago the Organization of African Unity tried to inform world public opinion about the real nature of the sacrifices of the freedom fighters and endeavoured to awaken the conscience of the world.

222. From this rostrum we would point to the tremendous quantities of capital invested by colonialist and segregationist enterprises in southern Africa and the great instruments of death that are furnished in growing quantities to the Governments in Lisbon and Pretoria, which are both aiming to strengthen colonialism and racial oppression.

223. The subtle distinction between defensive and offensive weapons means at the very most that some weapons are to be used against the African liberation movements and others against independent States. The Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal have already had some sorry experiences in this connexion, and other States are now being threatened.

224. Can we really hope that soon all countries will agree that this crucial problem is related to those of world balance and to the problem of development—in short, to the problem of universal peace? The peoples of most of the countries which are now considered the wealthiest have

long fought against oppression, social injustice and racial discrimination and have endured the worst kind of suffering in order to bring about a really humanitarian society.

225. These countries can no longer be complacent about the tragedy of under-development and colonialism which is taking place before our eyes, for man's struggle must be a total struggle. No one man can be truly free as long as any man is denied his right to achieve happiness.

226. This is the conviction of the people and Government of Cameroon and was also the conviction of those who created the United Nations. The fact that we are all gathered together here certainly proves that they were not merely Utopians and that man may yet bring about his own salvation.

227. Mr. OULD MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to express the satisfaction of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania at the mark of confidence and admiration displayed by the whole membership of the United Nations in entrusting to you the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Such an honour is, above all, a deserved tribute to your outstanding qualities, which are well known to all those who have had the privilege to appreciate your talents and qualities as a statesman. Your election to this high office also testifies to the deep respect that the international community feels for your country, for the people of Indonesia, and for its distinguished leaders. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity of extending to you its warmest congratulations and assuring you of its full and unstinting co-operation.

228. My delegation also wishes to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Edvard Hambro for the dedication and exceptional ability with which he conducted the proceedings of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session.

229. We should also like to take this opportunity of extending a warm welcome and hearty congratulations to the States of Bahrain, Qatar and Bhutan which have just been admitted to membership in our Organization. We are sure that these countries will make a positive contribution to the strengthening of peace and to understanding among peoples.

230. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when grave conflicts continue to threaten international peace and security. Senseless colonial wars are still being waged in various parts of Africa and Asia—continents chosen by international imperialism as sites for conducting power struggle and for creating hotbeds of war.

231. Southern Africa is, for the most part, bowed under the threat imposed by a coalition of selfish and contemptible interests which join the proponents of *apartheid* in Pretoria and Salisbury with the decadent colonialists of Portugal.

232. The Zionist troops, which enjoy unconcealed benevolence in certain quarters, continue to occupy with impunity vast territories belonging to countries that are the victims of cowardly aggression, indignantly condemned by all those who, in the interest of peace and harmony among peoples, wish to see the United Nations survive.

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

233. An unjust war continues to rage in Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos, imposing great suffering and considerable material loss on the peoples of Indo-China whose crime is a wish to enjoy their legitimate right freely to choose their own destiny.

234. The restoration of the lawful rights of one of the greatest Powers of our times and a founder Member of the United Nations is becoming an absolute necessity if we wish to arrive at real international *détente* and to put an end to the inhuman sufferings endured by the peoples of Indo-China for over 20 years.

235. At the socio-economic level, the dangerous imbalance created by the widening gap which divides the world into wealthy countries and under-developed countries continues to grow.

236. These are all matters of grave concern to the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, and to all peace- and justice-loving peoples and Governments genuinely interested in the strengthening of international security.

237. As a small country belonging to the under-developed world, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has every reason to feel deeply the necessity to maintain peace, stability and harmony among peoples. This profound reality is the reason why we chose, as the basis for our foreign policy, non-alignment as defined by the Mauritanian People's Party and applied by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

238. That is why our activities, which reflect the profound aspirations of our people, are always guided by a concern to establish, strengthen and expand friendly and co-operative relations with everyone, while refusing to engage in the politics of hegemony.

239. We believe that this policy of non-alignment that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania applies both on the continent of Africa and elsewhere by no means excludes the possibility of concerted action and fruitful co-operation between our country and any other State, whether a neighbour of the Islamic Republic or not. In a climate of confidence, such consultations and co-operation can lead to agreements that respect the interests of each of the parties, or to a common position flowing from a common destiny or any other valid and legitimate reason. Such undertakings, which our country, true to itself and to the sense of dignity and honour characteristic of the Mauritanian people, will faithfully observe, undoubtedly constitute an important and concrete contribution to the quest for and the maintenance of peace in the struggle against under-development.

240. The party and the Government of Mauritania will never lose sight of the role imposed on them by the geographical position of Mauritania and by the ethnic composition of its population. This fundamental idea was once again recalled in the National Assembly by the Mauritanian Head of State who, in November 1970, said:

"History and geography give Mauritania a privileged place, that of a meeting-ground *par excellence*, of fertile

human and cultural currents which have fused in a crucible of exemplary complementarities, predisposing us to play a special role in elaborating the guidelines of the African renaissance.

"It is in this context that, profoundly convinced that the development of our continent requires the consolidation of its unity, we are working tirelessly to erect structures which will promote the best inter-African co-operation."

241. This clearly shows that it has always been our ambition, in the past as well as today, to represent an element of stability and concord in our geographical area, thereby contributing to the maintenance of peace and understanding among peoples. The attainment of these objectives, consistently and resolutely pursued by the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, will, we are convinced, be in the best interests of the African continent.

242. My country, a militant member of the Organization of African Unity, makes common cause with all brother countries of Africa in facing the difficulties they may encounter while working to strengthen their independence and unity.

243. With regard to decolonization, it is sad to see that after 26 years of effort, the United Nations has still not succeeded in putting an end to colonialism. However, we should not overlook certain positive results achieved in this field as a result of United Nations action. We should like to hope that all those who have had to live in a colonial situation will make the necessary effort to understand the irreversible nature of decolonization.

244. In this spirit, and taking into account the tripartite conference of Nouadhibou, which in September 1970 brought together the heads of State of Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania, the problem of the decolonization of so-called "Spanish Sahara" will now be approached jointly by the three countries neighbouring the Sahara on the one hand, and Spain on the other. We are convinced that a constructive attitude on the part of the Spanish Government would still further strengthen the friendship and the many traditional bonds that unite Spain with the north-west African sub-region as a whole.

245. The people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, being profoundly anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist, view with concern the powerlessness to which the racist minorities in southern Africa, proponents of the deplorable doctrine of *apartheid* like the Zionist authorities in Tel Aviv, have reduced our Organization.

246. The party and Government of Mauritania wish forcefully to reaffirm their support for their brothers fighting with determination in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, to recover their independence, and to exact respect for their dignity and their fundamental rights as free men.

247. Without the assistance of certain countries, it would be more difficult for the Portuguese oppressors to carry on a criminal colonial war in a distant land, which is a burden

on the slender resources of a country ranking among the poorest in the world.

248. I should like to take this opportunity to say how very concerned the Mauritanian people, its party and its Government are at the persistent cowardly and criminal attempts at aggression made by Portuguese imperialism at bay against our sister republic of Guinea. We strongly condemn this desire for neo-colonialist reconquest of an independent African country, whose inhabitants, united in its vanguard party, the Parti démocratique de Guinée, an off-shoot of the Rassemblement démocratique africain, have always defended the independence and dignity of Africans with courage and determination. We reaffirm our common destiny with our brothers in Guinea and with the Guinean party and Government; more than ever, our solidarity is absolute.

249. Portugal does not limit itself to the permanent tension it has created in Guinea but is extending its activities to the territory of Senegal as well. In its determination to maintain a decadent hegemony, which is rejected by the continent of Africa, Portugal is extending its attempts at intimidation to the courageous Senegalese on the borders of Guinea (Bissau). Peaceful villages are now accustomed to the stench of napalm; whole families are forced to leave their destroyed homes. Such is the picture of the flight of our innocent Senegalese brothers. This forced exodus of these people is tragically reminiscent of that endured by the Palestinian people since 1948.

250. It is inadmissible that the international community should accept such a situation. More specifically, the permanent members of the Security Council have the urgent duty to take the necessary steps to ensure that Lisbon's troops leave this African territory, thus putting an end to the colonization of Senegal and to a permanent threat to its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

251. My country protests with indignation this policy of the outrageous Lisbon régime and assures the people and Government of Senegal of its total and active solidarity.

252. In other parts of Africa, oppression and racial discrimination elevated to a system of government are practised in Namibia. Pretoria's troops continue to occupy that territory with impunity, in defiance of the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and of the recent opinion of the International Court of Justice. It is now up to the Security Council to devise practical arrangements whereby the people of that Territory may choose freely the national political institutions they desire.

253. In the Middle East, the Zionist authorities of Tel Aviv continue to trample the fundamental principles of the Charter and the decisions of this Organization; their troops continue to enjoy the fruit of their aggression. The vast territories of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Arab Republic of Syria and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan continue to be subjected to barbarous military occupation. The burning of the Al-Aqsa Mosque a year ago roused the indignation of almost the whole world. This fire, for which the Zionist occupation authorities are entirely responsible, reminded the world of the grave threat to the holy places of Islam, Christianity and Judaism represented by the illegal

and invalid decision taken by the Zionist authorities as regards the annexation of the Arab part of the city of Jerusalem.

254. This situation constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of justice, equality and territorial integrity of States and of absolute respect for their sovereignty, principles which are the very crux of our Organization.

255. The people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania pay admiring tribute to the heroic resistance of the peoples of these territories in the face of their Zionist oppressors. The legitimate liberation struggle carried on by the Palestinian people to recover their usurped homeland is actively supported by Mauritania and by all freedom- and justice-loving peoples.

256. It is vitally important to understand that if the pertinent decisions of the Security Council are not implemented without delay and if the slightest change is made in the frontiers as they existed before 7 June 1967, our Organization will lose not only any chance of controlling the explosive situation in the Middle East, but also the confidence of mankind, the source of its authority.

257. However, we venture to hope that the efforts of the great Powers, working with the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Jarring, will be of help in finding a solution to this painful problem in conformity with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We also hope that the "mission of wise men" of the Organization of African Unity will produce positive results with a view to a just and lasting solution of the conflict.

258. The dangerous situation in the Middle East should not make us forget the heroic struggle resolutely carried on by the Indo-Chinese peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos to ensure respect for their sacred right to choose their own destiny freely.

259. A dramatic and dangerous situation exists in Cambodia where foreign forces are opposing the legitimate aspirations of the valiant Khmer people, who are struggling to win their freedom and dignity.

260. The Government and people of Mauritania assure the Government of the National Union of Cambodia of their unfailing solidarity and support.

261. All justice-loving peoples must continue their struggle for the restoration of peace in Indo-China. Such peace will be effective only after the total withdrawal of United States troops and those of other foreign countries and when the interested parties have accepted the recent seven-point Government of South Viet-Nam. In any event, it is certain that the Viet-Nameese people, strong because their cause is just, will in the end inevitably triumph over all the obstacles on their road to independence and freedom.

262. The people and Government of Mauritania unreservedly support the people and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in their heroic struggle for the dignity and liberty of the Viet-Nameese. Nevertheless it is still our hope that the Paris conference on Viet-Nam, despite the extreme leisureliness of the proceedings, will in



the not too distant future offer a peaceful solution in that part of Asia.

263. Elsewhere, the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of Korea represents an important factor for the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

264. The people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania consider that it is the urgent duty of our Organization not to allow the United Nations flag to continue to be used to camouflage the presence of foreign occupation troops in Korea. To restore peace in that troubled region, it is necessary for the Korean people, free from all foreign interference, to be able freely to choose their destiny.

265. My delegation's concern is not limited to the grave problems I have mentioned. Quite the contrary.

266. We believe that the problem of disarmament is of an urgency which escapes no Member of our Organization.

267. The accumulation and continuous improvement of weapons of mass destruction is a great danger to the development and even the survival of mankind. The considerable sums spent on armaments dangerously reduce the investment possibilities necessary for the economic and social progress of developing countries. Moreover, the kind of balance of terror in which the world lives should give way to a genuine international *détente* conducive to better co-operation and comprehension among peoples. In other words, my delegation, so far as it is concerned, supports any international effort to bring about true general and complete disarmament.

268. But the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wonder how we can seriously expect real progress in this area in the absence of the greatest human power, which has now become a nuclear Power. What real impact can the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] have on nuclear disarmament so long as the People's Republic of China is not a party to it?

269. Here again the absence of the People's Republic of China from this Organization represents a major obstacle to all attempts to achieve real disarmament.

270. This illustrates, if any illustration were needed, the dangerous irrationality of continuing to keep that great Power outside this Organization.

271. That is why my delegation wishes to reaffirm its conviction of the need to proceed without delay to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We categorically reject the two Chinas theory, or the theory of one Taiwan and one China, that certain Powers are attempting to circulate in our Organization; since this could only perpetuate the division of the people and territory of China.

272. My delegation would here like to salute the dynamism and vitality of Chinese diplomacy, which has brought that great country a flood of recognition on the part of

many States, including many that had held back until recently. From this standpoint we welcome the dialogue which has begun between the Governments of the United States and China, and we hope that President Nixon's forthcoming journey to Peking will contribute to a *détente* in that part of the world and to world peace. We are convinced that, thanks to the profound wisdom of the peoples of the United States and China, thanks also to the courage and political realism of their leaders, substantial progress will be made towards better co-operation and towards harmony between the two peoples.

273. It would be unthinkable for my delegation to address this distinguished Assembly without mentioning the concern we feel at the grave economic and social problems now tragically confronting the developing countries. It is regrettable that, in this sphere so crucial to the improvement of international relations, co-operation among peoples is cruelly lacking. The disappointing results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade, have revealed the absence of political will to take the necessary steps to establish, in the interests of all Member States, genuine international co-operation. In these circumstances, with the fluctuations in primary commodity prices and the constant increase in the price of manufactured goods, the gulf, already scandalous, continues to grow.

274. Our Organization must redouble its efforts and ensure that great Power rivalry is carried on in the peaceful and inspiring field of scientific research in the service of mankind.

275. While we welcome achievements in the field of space, which open great vistas before mankind—distant, certainly, but exciting indeed—it is necessary first of all to ease the sufferings of a large part of mankind which is bowed beneath the weight of poverty, ignorance and despair. The considerable funds spent on the conquest of space could contribute to the welfare of man on earth and to his harmonious development.

276. For its part, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is convinced that no country can truly triumph over underdevelopment without a lively awareness of the real and, indeed, tremendous efforts and sacrifices that must be made at the national and individual level. That is why we should like to say how keenly aware we are that we have to count on ourselves before we count on others. Mauritania believes that the countries of the third world should not take the easy yet risky course of looking to foreign aid for everything.

277. Industrialized countries of course, in their own long-term interest and that of all mankind, owe it to themselves to organize and develop international economic co-operation. It is at that price and that price alone that international relations can lead to a world in which harmony and mutual understanding will reign.

278. That is why we hope that everything will be done to ensure that the Second United Nations Development Decade results in more effective international co-operation.

279. So far as the African continent is concerned, the people and Government of Mauritania believe that coun-

tries should unite around common objectives as a powerful means of ensuring rapid growth. We therefore see the usefulness of forming groups at the subregional, regional and continental levels. Since they constitute markets and enable the States belonging to them to harmonize their development plans, such groups represent an appropriate and useful framework and their establishment should be encouraged by the United Nations. Such an approach is perfectly consistent with our Organization's efforts for social and economic promotion.

280. This brings me to the end of my statement; however, I would not wish to close without paying a resounding tribute to a man who has compelled the esteem and gratitude of all nations by his dedication and his service to the cause of peace and understanding among men. I refer to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, to whom Mauritania is profoundly grateful and to whom we feel the most sincere affection. For all these reasons, my delegation would have liked to see him continue presiding over our Organization, carrying on the great work he has so well begun. The very positive, discreet and effective role which he has played so admirably has enabled our Organization to contribute to peace in the world.

281. For despite conflicts and the political and economic difficulties that sometimes darken the international horizon, and despite the weakness it shows in solving grave problems, our Organization has, over the past decade, helped certain States to settle their disputes peacefully.

282. We express the sincere hope that each and every Member State will work to promote respect for the principles of the Charter and the application of decisions taken by this Organization. Thus, for the greater good of mankind, the somewhat eroded confidence of the peoples in this Organization will be reborn.

283. The PRESIDENT: There is one speaker who has expressed the wish to exercise his right of reply. Before I give him the floor I should like to refer to the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1937th plenary meeting on 24 September 1971 concerning the exercise of the right of reply. At that time the Assembly confirmed the decision it had taken at the twenty-fourth session that such interventions should be limited to 10 minutes. I give the floor to the representative of Pakistan.

284. Mr. MAHMUD ALI (Pakistan): My delegation was compelled this morning to raise a point of order in the course of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of India [1940th meeting]. The greater portion of his speech was concerned with matters which lie entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of my country. In raising objection to this open intervention in Pakistan's affairs, my delegation was guided by the principle which is stated in categorical terms in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, namely that the international Organization will not intervene in the internal affairs of Member States.

285. This is a principle which is unanimously accepted and is to be found also in the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and of the Organization of American States, as well as other international forums, such as conferences of heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries and

of Asian and African States. We ask that this principle be upheld—not, as was insinuated, because Pakistan has something to conceal—but because the precedent set this morning by the representative of India will make it difficult, if not impossible, to conduct international relations in an orderly and effective manner.

286. India has intervened in the internal affairs of Pakistan, in violation of all norms of international behaviour, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. International law places a clear obligation on all States to respect the territorial jurisdiction of other States. In December 1965 the United Nations General Assembly adopted, with only one dissenting voice, a resolution entitled "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty" [resolution 2131 (XX)]. Paragraph 1 of that text states:

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

Paragraph 2 reads:

"...no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

Finally, paragraph 4 states:

"The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security."

It is noteworthy that India was a member of the Committee which prepared the Declaration.

287. I am sure that all the representatives present here are not unaware of the complexity of the issues to which we are trying to find a solution in Pakistan. The problems of reconciling conflicting economic, political, cultural and regional claims within the borders of a country are not unique to Pakistan. They are present in all multilingual, multicultural and multiracial States. Such problems are endemic in India itself, although the Foreign Minister of India has seen fit to speak of social, political and cultural conditions in my country. I do not propose to speak here of what has been going on in his country, not that there is not much to talk about. We all know, and the world knows, what has been happening to the Mizos and the Nagas in India. We all know the state of turmoil and civil strife in the Indian state of West Bengal, where it has not been possible for a democratic government to function during the last four years. We all know of the demands for recognition of their rights in south India and in the Punjab. But, I have no

intention here to delve into these matters and I certainly do not propose to use the forum of this august Assembly to make propaganda against my neighbour as, unfortunately, the Foreign Minister of India saw fit to do.

288. The basic factors of the prevailing situation in Pakistan are, I am sure, not unknown to the distinguished representatives here. Although these have been clouded by a storm of propaganda and vituperation of which we heard an example this morning.

289. The cardinal fact is that general elections were held throughout Pakistan in December last. These elections were held on the basis of adult franchise. What happened thereafter was that the legitimate aspirations of the people of Pakistan for a democratic and federal type of Constitution which would have given a full measure of autonomy to the units were escalated into a move inspired and organized from outside for breaking up the country. Violence was let loose in East Pakistan. Massacres were perpetrated and the lives and honour not only of those who opposed secession but of ordinary citizens also, were placed in jeopardy.

290. The President of Pakistan pursued his search for a negotiated settlement among the political parties concerned until the very last moment, when the refusal of the leader of the political party which had won the majority of seats in the National Assembly to participate in the work of the Assembly made it clear that the objective was not to frame a Constitution for Pakistan but to engineer secession by violent means.

291. It is in these circumstances that President Yahya Khan, who had held elections in the country, was compelled to order the armed forces to do their duty, namely, to preserve the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. We found that the reaction in India was almost instantaneous. There was at the time no problem of refugees, which the Foreign Minister of India has put forward this morning as an excuse for meddling in Pakistan's internal affairs.

292. The Indian Parliament adopted a resolution, moved by the Indian Prime Minister herself, declaring support for the so-called Bangladesh. A vast and orchestrated campaign was set in motion radiating falsehoods, half-truths and calumnies fabricated in Calcutta and other places in India. Accounts were published of pitched battles in East Pakistan. Tales were told of arbitrary executions and large-scale killings, and so on. It was said that the University of Dacca was razed to the ground, that intellectuals had been singled out and put to death before the eyes of their families, that the port of Chittagong was in shambles.

293. Let me quote the opinion of an Indian newspaper on the subject. The *Statesman* of New Delhi wrote on 4 April 1971 that many of the claims contained a measure of exaggeration if not outright invention that must have been clear even when they were made. Subsequent reports have shown that there was much wishful thinking, both among those who made those claims and among the listeners in India, who accepted them without reservation.

294. A curfew was completely lifted in the city of Dacca within less than a week after the army initiated action. The University of Dacca, parts of which had been used by the

secessionist elements as an arsenal for storing weapons and explosives received from outside the country, nevertheless stands intact and has been functioning normally. The intellectuals who were reported as killed by Indian publicity media are alive and leading normal lives, as was stated in an advertisement which was published in *The New York Times* some months ago.

295. The objective behind the Indian agitation over the events in Pakistan is transparent and, indeed, self-confessed. The *Washington Post* of 2 April quoted an Indian official as saying that that had not been reporting, it had been psychological warfare.

296. A foreign observer, Mr. Bruno D. Hammel, wrote, in the Letters to The Editor section of *The Times* of London of 17 April that the Indian Press

“... seem to have lost all sense of responsibility. Wanting news, one got instead a mass of hysterical rumours. Statements of fact proved, nine times out of 10, to be unconfirmed and contradictory. Any assertion, so long as it was inflammatory and without evidence, was sure of space.”

297. The Foreign Minister of India spoke of the great burden his country is bearing in having to feed the Pakistani refugees. He mentioned the number as being over 9 million. He stated that they are still continuing to cross the borders in the thousands. He asked for some \$800 million as the cost of their upkeep during the coming six months. This figure is astounding in itself, even if one were not to question the figure of 9 million refugees put forward by India, because, if I am not wrong, the total budget of the Government of India for the current year, for running a country of 500 million people, amounts to \$4,000 million.

298. It has become imperative as a preliminary to arranging for their return to carry out an impartial and accurate count of the number of people who left their homes in Pakistan and are now living in refugee camps in India. My Government has carried out a careful count and has found that, as of 1 September 1971, the number of Pakistanis who had left totalled 2,002,623. We are not asking that our count be taken on trust. On the contrary, we have requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to nominate any impartial agency to verify this figure. We are prepared to give such an agency every facility for carrying out a check on the spot. I should be glad to hear the Foreign Minister of India giving a similar assurance on his Government's behalf. It would also be possible for such an impartial agency to observe for itself whether the movement of displaced persons is continuing at the rate alleged by India, or whether it is continuing at all. In asking for an independent verification of the exact number of refugees, it is by no means my intention to minimize the seriousness of the human problem which a large-scale movement of people involves. It is tragic but unavoidable that people residing in those areas which are or may be the scene of a conflict will leave their homes to escape death or the effects of the strife. The numbers of those who are so displaced in consequence of the conflict are determined by the density of the population and by the degree of fear which is generated in the minds of the people. Such fear can be generated only when they are constantly told that they will be the victims of a planned massacre.

299. Such was the reaction of the Indian Prime Minister to the appeal which President Yahya Khan made to the refugees to return to their homes. She said, "I will not allow the refugees to go back to be butchered".

300. The crux of the situation is this. Pakistan is desirous and determined to see that all those who left the country for one reason or another should return as soon as possible to their homes and occupations. Concrete measures have been taken to facilitate their return. In his appeal of 18 June, President Yahya Khan said:

"My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility. They are equal citizens of Pakistan, and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment. I asked them not to be misled by mischievous propaganda being conducted outside Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan has established 21 reception centres along the border to provide relief, supplies and transport to their homes to returning refugees. As a further instance of Pakistan's armistice, a general amnesty was declared for all classes of people, including military deserters, and those who had been detained in Pakistan for involvement in insurgency have been released."

301. In his address to the nation on 28 June, the President of Pakistan said:

"We shall gladly and gratefully accept any assistance the United Nations can extend in facilitating the move of these displaced persons back to Pakistan."

Consequently, the Government of Pakistan has extended full co-operation to the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in devising measures for resettling the refugees in their homes. A special committee has been set-up in East Pakistan to co-ordinate the Administration's efforts with those of the United Nations and its agencies.

302. The Government of Pakistan accepted within 24 hours the Secretary-General's proposal of 19 July for the stationing of representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border to facilitate the repatriation of refugees. It should be noted that India peremptorily rejected this proposal. The Government of Pakistan has also agreed that a number of United Nations personnel should be posted in East Pakistan to assist the Administration in relief and rehabilitation operations.

303. We have undertaken all these measures for the speedy repatriation of our citizens who are now in India, and it is worth mentioning that to the extent that these measures have become known to the refugees, the refugees are beginning to return to their homes. At the last count, approximately 200,000 had returned. The repatriation of all the refugees would be more speedily accomplished if the necessary co-operation were forthcoming from India.

304. The Government of East Pakistan has invited the competent authorities of the Government of India to a

conference where measures could be devised to fulfil this purpose. The President of Pakistan has expressed his willingness to meet the Indian Prime Minister at any time and at any place to discuss the question. However, India has so far refused to co-operate not only with Pakistan but also with all impartial efforts to bring about the return of the refugees. As I have said, India has refused the Secretary-General's proposal to station representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border. It has not agreed to Pakistan's suggestion that a good-offices committee of the Security Council should be sent to help in reducing tensions between India and Pakistan. It has refused permission to the members of an Islamic Secretariat delegation to tour refugee camps in West Bengal, and has refused to meet at the conference table with the representatives of my Government.

305. It is paradoxical that, while Indian representatives come before this forum to obtain the sympathy of Members for the plight of the refugees, India is unwilling to accept any constructive proposal which would enlist the help of this Organization in ending the suffering of these innocent human beings. Why is it that the Government of India found it impossible to accept the presence of United Nations observers on its side of the border, when Pakistan, which has been freely accused of perpetrating all kinds of horrors against its people, did not hesitate to permit the stationing of United Nations observers on its side of the border?

306. The reason for India's withholding of co-operation is obvious. India wishes to conceal from world opinion the fact that by its actions it has converted that part of the world into an area of armed conflict. Under the pretext of humanitarian assistance, India is providing arms, training and assistance to the secessionist forces who have found sanctuary in India. I shall once again cite an Indian source to explain the paradox. Speaking at a meeting in Delhi on 18 September 1971, that is about a week ago, no less a person than the Defence Minister of India said that the refugees could return to their homeland "only when it became an independent nation". He went on to say that it was not conceivable that Pakistan would grant independence to Bangladesh, but that we would have to work towards a situation in which Pakistan would be left with no alternative.

307. If there was any doubt about what the Foreign Minister of India meant this morning when he called for a political solution of the Pakistan crisis, this statement of his colleague of the Defence Ministry has supplied the answer.

308. Let me say on behalf of my country that we have no intention of allowing anyone to put our independence and integrity into jeopardy. What my country has to face today is not merely the sort of invective we heard this morning, but a well-planned military effort to break it asunder. The borders of East Pakistan with West Bengal and Assam are scenes of daily bombardment. On more than one occasion the Indian regular troops, whose strength in the area was increased even before the crisis broke out and has been augmented to 200,000 since then, the so-called liberation forces have been trained and equipped and paid by the Indian Government.



309. *The New York Times* of 29 April 1971 contained a report which stated:

"The Indian roads leading north from Calcutta to points along the border already look like a supply route. Bengali trucks can be seen heading into Indian towns for fresh supplies—carrying empty fuel drums and ammunition boxes. Bengali independence forces have set up camps near Indian border posts, which probably explains some of the brief shooting incidents recently between Indian and Pakistani troops.

"In Calcutta, capital of the West Bengal State, there are many stories of new instances of Indian military assistance. One report is that Indian ammunition factories are turning out weapons and ammunition without Indian markings. Another is that Indian officers accompanied a large guerilla force on a raid last week on a Pakistani army garrison."

310. I do not know whether the Foreign Minister of India will come back to this rostrum to deny these charges. He himself, speaking in the Indian Parliament on 20 July, declared: "India is doing everything possible to support the Liberation Army"; yet he came here this morning and stated that India does not interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbours and that its actions are inspired only by the most noble and lofty motives. He portrayed India as an innocent, helpless victim of Pakistan's internal difficulties.

311. I daresay that this hall of the United Nations has echoed frequently with such preachings. Allow me to say that the halo of saintliness which India is trying to hold over its head ill becomes its actual role in the present situation. It is not humanitarian concern for refugees which has sent Indian emissaries and propagandists all over the world in the last four months. The real motive is India's long-standing and unfulfilled wish to isolate, weaken and, if possible, to put an end to Pakistan as a nation. Mr. Subramaniam of the Indian Institute of Defence did not mince matters. He said:

"What India must realize is the fact that the break-up of Pakistan is in our own interest, an opportunity the like of which will never come again. If Pakistan breaks up and we ensure friendly relations with Bangladesh, it will solve the problem of security for India."

312. Another Indian political thinker saw in Pakistan's disintegration the road to great-Power status for India in this region.

313. The Foreign Minister of India spoke in a plaintive tone of the setback that his country's economy has received on account of the influx of refugees. As for Pakistan, let me assure him and the other representatives here that Pakistan is ready and willing to take every one of its citizens back. If India wishes to be relieved of the burden and the problem of maintaining them—as it ought to—let it give unstinted co-operation to that end.

314. My Government has said that it is ready to sit down and discuss with India the best manner for bringing the refugees back. My Government has asked the Security Council to assist in the task with a specially designated

good offices committee. If the Government of India is unwilling, for whatever reason, to sit across the table from Pakistan, let it accept the good offices of the Security Council.

315. As I have said before, the Government of Pakistan is doing everything possible to bring about the repatriation of the refugees to their homes in East Pakistan. It is also fully conscious of the need to restore normalcy in the country in order to ensure the well-being of the refugees as well as the rest of the people of Pakistan.

316. The President of Pakistan, in his address to the nation on 28 June, has himself expressed the view that normalcy would not return without the full participation of the people. He has made substantial progress towards ushering in a government representative of the people. As a first step, a civil administration has been installed in East Pakistan which is headed by a prominent East Pakistani and includes permanent members of the former Awami League. By-elections to those seats, whose incumbents were disqualified for involvement in the insurgency and other crimes, have been scheduled for the month of November. A provisional constitution is being framed which will attempt to satisfy two basic imperatives: regional autonomy and preservation of the territorial integrity of Pakistan. The National Assembly will have the power to amend the provisional constitution by a relatively simple procedure. The Foreign Minister of India described all this as "eye-wash" [1940th meeting, para. 76].

317. If conditions in Pakistan were truly as he described, press censorship would not have been removed; foreign observers, United Nations personnel and the International Committee of the Red Cross would not have been allowed into East Pakistan. If violence is continuing, it is the result of India's action in encouraging, abetting and assisting in sabotage within East Pakistan.

318. The borders continue to remain tense and Indian shelling and mortaring are daily occurrences.

319. The preservation of orderly conduct of relations among States is based on the strict observance of the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of States and non-interference in the affairs of each other. India's current actions violate both these principles. Which among the States represented here is willing to condone external interference in its internal affairs? Which State among this Assembly is willing to overlook such interference when its design is the territorial dismemberment of another country? Is India prepared to submit to such interference in its internal affairs? Is it to be said that secession is rebellion at home but self-determination abroad?

320. Let me make it clear on behalf of my Government that Pakistan will take all measures to ensure the return of its displaced citizens to their homes. We are determined to live as a nation, one, whole and free, and in peace with other peaceful neighbours. But Pakistan is also determined not to allow anyone to put in question its territorial and national existence.

321. If a conflict between India and Pakistan is to be avoided, the international community must impress upon

India the serious implication of its policies and call upon it to eschew these policies.

322. Mr. President, in a press conference on 22 September, you stated:

"This refugee problem is a humanitarian problem. We must solve it. The entire world must help to solve it. But if you look at it from a political point of view, if you bring it to a debate, then there will be no end. The question is how to solve it quickly. That is why, in this case, I believe it is much better that we have behind-the-scenes discussions. We must persuade Pakistan and India to get together and see how they can limit the political problems."

323. It should be apparent, from the willingness which my Government has shown to co-operate in finding means to reduce the present tensions between India and Pakistan and

to bring about the repatriation of refugees, that we fully share your view.

324. On behalf of my Government, I wish to express Pakistan's readiness to go along with all such reasonable suggestions to solve the question of refugees.

325. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the representative of India if he would like to exercise his right of reply, but the time is already too late. But tomorrow I shall allow him the same time as the representative of Pakistan has used just now. I must apologize to the Assembly; I had decided to allow the representative of Pakistan only 10 minutes, but he asked for 20 minutes. Therefore, tomorrow I shall, of course, allow the representative of India 20 minutes in which to exercise his right of reply.

*The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.*