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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. RIAD (Egypt):<sup>1</sup> Mr. President, Egypt, which has with your country and your friendly people the closest ties of history and culture and of a common struggle, is truly happy to see you assume your high post as President of the General Assembly. It is also a great pleasure for me to congratulate you on the assumption of your high office. With the outstanding qualities that you possess you will indeed guide this session to important achievements.

2. You succeed in this high office Edvard Hambro of Norway, whose name will remain linked with the historic declarations adopted last year under his able leadership. These declarations will continue to be of great value to the United Nations order and to co-operation among States.

3. Ten years ago the United Nations lost Dag Hammarskjöld. Today, after 10 eventful years through which U Thant has guided the United Nations with unique ability and integrity, all who know the Secretary-General should rejoice in the success he has achieved and the values with which he has enriched the traditions of his office. The courageous stands which he has adopted in defence of world peace and in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter have added to the importance of the high office of Secretary-General. The United Nations has had grave experiences during this period, and U Thant has steadfastly remained the voice of peace and reason and the defender of the Charter. We hope that these words which I speak now are not a farewell and that he will agree once more to carry the burdens and responsibilities of his post in the cause of the United Nations to which he is dedicated.

4. On 2 September 1971 the peoples of Syria, Libya and Egypt took a historic step for unity. After a national referendum in the three States, the Federation of Arab Republics was born. This Union will no doubt increase the

chances of success of the three States in their struggle to attain their aspirations and to achieve peace based on justice.

5. Since the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, the People's Republic of China and Egypt have maintained diplomatic and friendly relations. Today, we are happy to see the People's Republic of China on its way to occupying its seat in the United Nations. We shall support the invitation to the People's Republic of China to assume its rightful place in the world Organization as the sole representative of China. We shall oppose any attempt to cast any doubt on this fact or to derogate from the full and legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in accordance with the Charter.

6. The admission of Bahrain, Bhutan, and Qatar and the imminent admission of Oman to the United Nations constitute another important victory for the principles of universality and the sovereign equality of States. The independence of Bahrain, Oman and Qatar is an important step which will undoubtedly contribute to the progress of the Arab peoples. We look forward to co-operating with the new States. We are confident that they will contribute positively to the work of the United Nations.

7. We welcome the recent important developments in European relations, particularly their positive impact on strengthening European security and in fostering co-operation between Eastern and Western Europe. However, we note with regret that the fundamental problems of the peoples of the third world remain unresolved. These problems tend to multiply with the passage of time in both the economic and political fields. This is due particularly to the insistence on the part of certain Powers on continuing a policy of force and domination.

8. In Africa, the colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa are still pursuing their policies of oppression, exploitation and intimidation against the indigenous African populations. The racist Government in South Africa, the illegal régime in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists in Africa have constituted among themselves a colonialist and racist alliance parallel to the racist Zionist aggression against the north of Africa. These policies brazenly defy all human values, the great turns of history, and the destiny of our civilization. Resistance to these policies should not be confined to their victims in Africa; it is rather a collective responsibility. The international community should be asked not only to withhold aid to such régimes but also to take effective action to bring them into the fold of civilization.

9. In Asia, it is indeed a source of deep regret to see the war in Viet-Nam being pursued despite the opposition of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Riad spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

world public opinion to the continuation of aggressive actions against the Viet-Nameese people.

10. We support the heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people, which will be inscribed on glorious pages in the annals of history. We firmly support the Viet-Nameese people's legitimate demands for unity, for the exercise of their right to self-determination and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet-Nam. We believe that the programme submitted recently by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam constitutes a reasonable basis on which to end the war in Viet-Nam and to enable the Viet-Nameese people to realize their national aspirations.

11. Egypt has followed with its heart and soul the painful events that took place in Pakistan last spring. We are confident that Pakistan will overcome this crisis in a manner that will safeguard its national unity. We appreciate the immediate efforts exerted by the Government of India to meet the situation arising from the inflow of a large number of Pakistani refugees into Indian territory. We believe it is imperative that wider international efforts be made to help the people and the Government of India cope with the enormous human burden they are now shouldering and to assist the Pakistani refugees to return to their homes.

12. On 5 June 1967, Israel launched its aggression and occupied Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories. Ever since, it has followed a policy aimed at imposing its expansionist ambitions on the Arab countries. This is in pursuance of its ultimate objective of establishing a "Greater Israel" between the Nile in Egypt and the Euphrates in Iraq. Israel's insistence on territorial expansion emerged as the sole obstacle frustrating efforts to carry out resolution 242 (1967), adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967. It is that policy of expansion which is at present the most dangerous factor threatening peace in the Middle East. The Arab peoples are conscious of the history of Israel's expansion. The road between the first Zionist claim in 1917 to permit Jewish immigration into Palestine and Israel's insistence today on annexing Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories is vividly remembered by every Arab citizen.

13. The people of Palestine were the first victims of the Zionist movement. They were evicted by force from Palestinian cities and villages. When Zionism benefited from international circumstances to which the Palestinians were not a party, a United Nations resolution partitioning Palestine [resolution 181 (II)] was adopted. Israel, however, expanded beyond the boundaries established by the partition resolution. It committed unforgettable massacres against the Palestinian people and pursued its policy of expulsion by force against them. It was then that some Arab States responded to the call to help the Palestinian people defend themselves. But the Israeli forces had already under their control a large part of the Palestinian territory beyond the boundaries established by the partition resolution. From those areas, Israel committed one aggression after another against the peoples of Palestine and the neighbouring Arab States.

14. In 1956 Israel attacked Egypt and occupied the Sinai peninsula, and its then Prime Minister declared that the

Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement was "dead and buried", and that the Sinai had been annexed to Israel. This aggression did not bear fruit, because of Egypt's resistance and the firm opposition of the international community.

15. The 1967 aggression was along the same lines and in the same pattern: aggression, occupation, expulsion of the inhabitants, and an attempt to impose a fait accompli.

16. The 1967 war will not be Israel's last aggression if Israel succeeds in holding the spoils of this one. Success will undoubtedly tempt Israel to pursue further its expansionist schemes to create that "Greater Israel", as long as it believes that it can rely on outside support in its aggressive policies against the peoples of the area.

17. The other side of the Zionist policy of expansion manifests itself in Israel's practices of massive expulsion of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and systematic demolition and destruction of houses, civic centres and entire villages. These are amongst the gravest of crimes and are prohibited by the Geneva Conventions. They are also in contravention of a whole series of United Nations resolutions.

18. Resolution 298 (1971) just recently adopted by the Security Council, on 25 September 1971, which urgently called upon Israel to rescind all previous actions aimed at annexing occupied Jerusalem, was the third on that subject adopted by the Security Council. Israel has once again rejected the resolution, and did so on the very day it was adopted.

19. In addition to those resolutions, the General Assembly has adopted 24 resolutions on the rights of the Palestinians. The Security Council, as well as the General Assembly, has adopted several other resolutions calling on Israel to allow displaced persons to return to their homes in the occupied territories. There were 13 more resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, calling upon Israel to respect the rights of the civilian inhabitants in the occupied territories in conformity with the fourth Geneva Convention.<sup>2</sup>

20. Israel has adamantly, by word and deed, rejected all these resolutions. It has continued to establish settlements in the occupied Arab territories on the debris of the Arab homes it destroyed. Last summer it launched a major aggression against the Palestinian refugees in the Gaza sector and transferred thousands of families by force from destroyed refugee camps to the Sinai peninsula in occupied Egyptian territory.

21. The crimes which Israel is committing against the Palestinian people and other inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories belong to the same category of crimes as those which the Nazis perpetrated against the Jews and many others in occupied Europe, crimes which were considered repugnant to the human conscience and whose perpetrators were tried as war criminals. These crimes led the civilized nations to conclude the 1949 Geneva Conventions, to which Israel is a party, and which it refuses to

<sup>2</sup> Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

honour. Indeed, Israel denies its obligations under the law of war as it denies its obligations under the law of peace.

22. The Arab peoples who have lived the tragedy of the Palestinian people will continue to defend and support the inalienable right of every Palestinian to return to his home and to cultivate his land. The responsibility of the United Nations towards the Palestinian people, which is a legal, moral and historical responsibility, will be unfulfilled until all the resolutions adopted on the sacred rights of the Palestinians have been faithfully and effectively implemented. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the realization of these rights.

23. The leaders of Israel convinced themselves that, by launching the 5 June 1967 aggression and by occupying Arab territories, they would force the Arab countries to surrender to their expansionist demands. The same self-conviction dominated the leaders of Nazi Germany when they invaded Europe. They, too, felt that they could dictate their conditions to Europe through military conquest. It was the resolve of the invaded countries in Europe to stand up and resist that eventually led to the defeat of the invader and the liberation of the then occupied lands. Egypt has refused and will continue to refuse to surrender to Israel's expansionist ambitions. Egypt's steadfastness is an integral part of its determination to liberate every inch of the territory occupied by Israel as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967.

24. Having failed to impose capitulation on the Arab countries as a result of its aggression in June 1967, Israel today strives for the fragmentation of the settlement by seeking to conclude separate agreements which would enable Israel to continue its occupation and to impose acceptance of the *status quo*. That is, basically, what Israel is seeking through what it has recently called a "Suez Canal agreement". In fact, Israel's objective is territorial expansion—it intends to use this interim agreement as a springboard for further aggression. The experience of over 20 years has inured the Arab world to such things; it cannot again be dragged into such a trap. But it is important that the General Assembly be made aware of this fact.

25. In 1949 the Arab States concluded interim agreements with Israel. These were the General Armistice Agreements. Under these Agreements Israel occupied large areas of the territory of Palestine which were not allotted to it under the 1947 partition resolution. Shortly after the conclusion of these agreements the Arab States and Israel concluded the Lausanne Protocol of 12 May 1949. However, instead of withdrawing to its assigned boundaries according to the partition resolution, Israel moved farther and occupied by force the Palestinian demilitarized zones, expelled the United Nations observers and forcibly evicted the inhabitants of these zones. Subsequently, Israel launched its 1956 aggression against Egypt and unilaterally declared the abrogation of the Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement. Later, it launched the 1967 aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and renounced the Armistice Agreements with those three countries. Israel has used the interim agreements as a means of consolidating a *de facto* situation resulting from its aggression and a stage from which it commits further aggression on the road of territorial expansion.

26. The Foreign Minister of Israel made a statement here on 30 September [1946th meeting] in which he asserted that in a condition of peace Israel would not withdraw from all the occupied Egyptian territory. In the same speech he invited Egypt to enter into an interim agreement. This interim agreement would not provide for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory. The Foreign Minister of Israel also proposed that international arrangements be established to supervise the interim agreement to be signed by Egypt. In short, Israel invites Egypt to sign an interim agreement in which Egypt would accept the continued Israeli occupation of its territory under the protection of the international community. If Israel seeks today an interim agreement, it should fulfil its obligations under the 1949 Armistice Agreement, which was concluded under the auspices of the Security Council and which Israel cannot unilaterally abrogate. If, however, it is permanent peace that Israel seeks, then it should agree to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and respond positively to Ambassador Jarring's aide-mémoire of 8 February 1971 [A/8541, annex I], which defines the first step towards the full implementation of the Security Council resolution.

27. Israel cannot impose on the Arab States a third alternative: new interim agreements which would secure the continued occupation of the territories it seized in June 1967. Peace cannot coexist with occupation. This was very clearly stated in the address made by the President of Egypt to the nation on 16 September last. Any interim steps should lead only to the full implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied by Israel since 5 June 1967.

28. When the General Assembly met in the fifth emergency special session in the aftermath of the June 1967 Israeli aggression, two main trends dominated its deliberations. The first trend emphasized the need for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied territories on the understanding that the Middle East crisis would be subsequently resolved. The second emphasized the necessity of the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied territories as part of a general settlement of the Middle East crisis. Not one single draft resolution was submitted to the General Assembly which did not provide for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the lines existing prior to 5 June 1967.

29. When the question was later considered by the Security Council, the Council opted for the second trend, which called for a comprehensive settlement which would bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This was embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

30. The most cogent expression which reaffirms that the withdrawal is an integral part of permanent peace is found in resolution 242 (1967) itself, which emphasized in one sentence:

"...the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security."

31. That resolution was not adopted in a vacuum. It was adopted unanimously after long and arduous consultations in which the four major Powers and the parties concerned participated. At that time it was the United States more than any other Power which insisted that the settlement should be comprehensive and should embody all the ingredients of the Middle East conflict. The United States firmly opposed the return to interim arrangements on the ground that such arrangements would not terminate the state of war. Any attempt to depict Security Council resolution 242 (1967) as condoning territorial expansion is in flagrant violation of the Charter and the provisions of the resolution itself. In fact it serves only to reveal the colonial intentions of the perpetrator. The theory of territorial expansion which Israel promotes today means the following: any State wishing to expand into the territory of another State need only invade that State, occupy its territory and impose its territorial demands by force of occupation and on the basis of the allegation that every war leads to territorial changes. But there is no acceptable justification whatsoever for territorial expansion.

32. Israel's allegation that its security could be achieved only through expansion is a negation of common sense. If a State believes that it can achieve its security at the expense of the territory of another neighbouring State, why then should not the neighbouring State attempt to expand in the territory of another State also on the basis of "security" and why then should the same pattern not be repeated by all other States?

33. The greatest guarantee of security is peace based on justice. This could be reinforced by a system of guarantees under the auspices and the supervision of the Security Council. It was ironic to hear the Foreign Minister of Israel strongly advocating the establishment of international arrangements to supervise an interim agreement which would secure Israel's occupation while at the same time vehemently rejecting guarantees to be provided by the Security Council to protect permanent peace in the Middle East.

34. We are almost at the end of the fourth year since the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967). Throughout these last four years, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, has been making patient and consistent efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in accordance with resolution 242 (1967). All these efforts have been frustrated by a single obstacle: Israel's refusal to withdraw from the territories it occupied as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967.

35. When the Jarring mission came to its first deadlock, France proposed early in 1969 that the four permanent members of the Security Council should hold talks with a view to assisting Ambassador Jarring and should work to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).<sup>3</sup> This initiative by France was accepted by us. It was rejected by Israel.

36. In June 1970 the United States advanced what has become known as "the Rogers initiative" which contained

three elements: first, implementation of the Security Council resolution; second, the nomination by the parties of representatives to maintain contact with Ambassador Jarring in order to carry out the resolution, and third, a cease-fire to be observed for 90 days to facilitate the task of Ambassador Jarring.

37. We accepted the United States initiative in July and appointed our Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York to enter into contact with Ambassador Jarring. On 4 August 1970, Israel announced its acceptance but immediately started to procrastinate in its contacts with Ambassador Jarring. On 6 September 1970 it declared its withdrawal from these contacts.

38. On 8 February 1971 Ambassador Jarring took his well-known initiative in accordance with which he concentrated on one zone of the conflict and planned subsequently to move on to other zones. The Jarring initiative of 8 February was a decisive milestone. The response to that initiative determined the willingness and seriousness on the part of Egypt and Israel to carry out their obligations under Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Ambassador Jarring requested Israel to make a specific commitment to withdraw its forces from Egyptian territory to Egypt's international frontiers. He requested Egypt to offer a corresponding commitment to enter into a peace agreement with Israel provided that Israel withdrew its forces to Egypt's international frontier.

39. Upon receiving the clarifications which it requested from Ambassador Jarring, Egypt, on 15 February 1971, communicated its acceptance of his initiative. On 26 February, Israel rejected Ambassador Jarring's initiative and declared that it would not withdraw to Egypt's international frontiers as requested by Ambassador Jarring. It might be appropriate at this juncture to refer to the Secretary-General's report. He stated:

"I wish . . . to note with satisfaction the positive reply given by the United Arab Republic to Ambassador Jarring's initiative. However, the Government of Israel has so far not responded to the request of Ambassador Jarring that it should give a commitment on withdrawal to the international boundary of the United Arab Republic."<sup>4</sup>

40. The representatives of the four permanent members of the Security Council supported Ambassador Jarring's initiative and expressed satisfaction with Egypt's response. They asked that Israel give a similar reply. The representatives of the four permanent members of the Security Council requested the United States representative, Mr. George Bush, to convey this position to the Secretary-General.

41. On 5 March 1971, the Secretary-General issued an appeal to Israel to reconsider its position and respond to Ambassador Jarring's initiative. He said:

"I appeal . . . to the Government of Israel to give further consideration to this question and to respond favourably to Ambassador Jarring's initiative."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year*, 1468th meeting, para. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1971*, document S/10070/Add.2, para. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 15.

42. Israel rejected this appeal. The Foreign Minister of Israel, on 30 September, repeated this rejection when he asserted that Israel would not withdraw from all the occupied territory of Egypt in accordance with the Jarring aide-mémoire. He stated:

“In the framework of a peace settlement with Egypt, Israel would withdraw from the cease-fire lines. We have never asserted that in a condition of peace it would be necessary for our troops to remain in all of the Sinai Peninsula or even in most of it.” [1946th meeting, para. 95.]

It is quite obvious that the Foreign Minister of Israel utilized considerable linguistic dexterity and word play; yet the one and only meaning to be drawn from this statement is Israel's determination to annex part of Egypt's territory.

43. In pursuance of our efforts to secure the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories occupied after 5 June 1967, President Anwar El-Sadat proposed last February an initiative which provides for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the withdrawal of Israeli forces in two stages. President El-Sadat declared that, upon Israel's withdrawal to the lines of the first stage, Egypt would be willing to accept a cease-fire for a period of six months, during which Ambassador Jarring would prepare a time-table for the implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution. During this stage Egypt would start clearing the Suez Canal with a view to opening it for international navigation. Egyptian forces would cross the Suez Canal to assume their national responsibilities on the eastern bank of the Canal and to protect the Canal and the Egyptian cities on the Canal.

44. The second stage would then follow. Israeli armed forces would be withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied after 5 June 1967, and the remaining provisions of the Security Council resolution would be fully carried out in conformity with the time-table prepared by Ambassador Jarring.

45. Israel rejected this initiative, as it had previously rejected the Jarring initiative. This rejection was expressed once again by the Foreign Minister of Israel on 30 September, when he declared that Israel would not withdraw from all the occupied Egyptian territories. Moreover, the Israeli Defence Minister stated on 19 September:

“Israel should keep Sharm El Sheikh, the Golan heights of Syria, and the Gaza Strip among the territories captured in 1967, at the same time keeping troops on the Jordan River”—that is, the west bank of the Jordan under Israel's military control—“and retaining new settlements in the occupied areas.”

46. Since the official announcement of its expansionist policy of annexing occupied Egyptian territory, the Israeli leaders have launched an active campaign aimed at resurrecting the principle of military conquest as a means for the acquisition of territory belonging to other States. This principle lay at the root of the whole colonial system and led to almost all the wars that had occurred before the emergence of the United Nations.

47. The Prime Minister of Israel, in her bitter attack on the Charter principle of non-acquisition of territory by force, had the audacity to refer to that Charter principle as “immoral”, as reported in *Time* magazine of 30 August 1971. The Prime Minister of Israel made the statement before one year had elapsed since the unanimous adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which spells out the provisions of that basic principle of the Charter. The Declaration states:

“The territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force. No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal.” [See resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.]

It also declared:

“Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing international boundaries of another State or as a means of solving international disputes, including territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers of States” [ibid.].

48. These fundamental norms of international law were reflected and further emphasized in the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly last year [resolution 2734 (XXV)], in order to emphasize their importance in the maintenance of international peace and security. Israel's insistence on expanding and annexing Arab territories is a categorical rejection of peace in the Middle East. It is also a clear manifestation of its determination to pursue war and to undermine the basic principles laid down by the peoples of the United Nations for the establishment of a civilized international order and for the maintenance of world peace.

49. Israel's policy of military expansion, its attempts to revive the colonial principle of military conquest, its refusal to agree to permanent peace, and its consistent defiance of the United Nations resolutions are all policies for which Israel finds no support whatever in the international community.

50. The United States, which provides Israel with military and economic assistance, has repeatedly rejected the principle of military conquest as a means of acquiring the territory of other States. The United States has, moreover, declared its support of Ambassador Jarring's aide-mémoire of 8 February, which calls for Israeli withdrawal to Egypt's international borders and the conclusion of a peace agreement.

51. In the course of his speech to the General Assembly on Monday [1950th meeting], Mr. William Rogers reaffirmed the position of the United States stated by him in a speech on 9 December 1969, in which he said:

“... in the context of peace and agreement on specific security safeguards, withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory would be required.

“Such an approach directly addresses the principal national concerns of both Israel and the United Arab

Republic. It would require the United Arab Republic to agree to a binding and specific commitment to peace. It would require withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from United Arab Republic territory to the international border between Israel and Egypt which has been in existence for over a half century.”<sup>6</sup>

52. We note that this position corresponds to the Jarring initiative of 8 February 1971, which was accepted by Egypt on 15 February. We also note that in his speech Mr. Rogers called for a step towards complete and full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We consider any attempt to transform such a step into a separate agreement as one of the impediments which Israel has often used to frustrate the realization of peace in the Middle East.

53. The United States, however, has continued to provide Israel with military and economic aid. At a time when Israel is actively labouring to annex the occupied Arab territories, this support by the United States does not represent merely a retraction of its previous commitments, including its commitments under the Charter, but it also enables Israel to pursue its policy of frustrating the implementation of the Security Council resolution and of continuing its aggression against the Arab countries and its defiance of the United Nations.

54. There is a basic contradiction between the repeated assertion of the United States of support for the Security Council resolution and its actual policy of providing military and economic aid to Israel, in spite of the latter's rejection of the Jarring aide-mémoire and its insistence on territorial expansion.

55. As a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, the United States bears a heavy responsibility and assumes definite commitments with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. Hence, the United States and the other big Powers should strive for the realization of the steps leading to the achievement of permanent peace in the Middle East.

56. Wide and important sectors of the international community have defined their position and announced their full support for Security Council resolution 242 (1967), and have called upon Israel to co-operate with Ambassador Jarring and to respond positively to his aide-mémoire. I should like to refer, in particular, to the fair resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on 22 June 1971 at Addis Ababa.<sup>7</sup> In that resolution the African leaders called for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all Arab territories to the lines of 5 June 1967; expressed their full support for the efforts of the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and his initiative for peace of 8 February 1971; reaffirmed their solidarity with the United Arab Republic and appreciated its reply of 15 February to Ambassador Jarring's initiative as a practical step for establishing a just

and lasting peace in the Middle East; deplored Israel's defiance of that initiative and called upon Israel to respond to that initiative.

57. The African leaders did not confine themselves to the adoption of that important resolution. They requested the President of Mauritania, Moktar Ould Daddah, in his capacity as Chairman of the eighth session of the OAU Assembly, to consult with the other Heads of State to exert their joint influence to secure the full implementation of their resolution. As a result of these consultations, a committee was established under the chairmanship of President Moktar Ould Daddah composed of the Heads of State of Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania, the Ivory Coast and Liberia.

58. Egypt declared its acceptance of the implementation of the resolution adopted by the OAU Assembly. We shall co-operate with the committee of our African Heads of State led by President Senghor with a view to ensuring the success of its mission and in order to carry out the collective will of Africa's Heads of State. In deference to this effort Egypt will not request the discussion of the item entitled “The situation in the Middle East” [item 22] in accordance with its established priority on the agenda of the General Assembly, and will await the results of this mission.

59. The support for Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the Jarring initiative of 8 February is indeed universal. Besides Africa's support, Asian States, non-aligned countries, the socialist countries and Western European countries have, on many occasions, strongly supported Ambassador Jarring's efforts. We are also confident that the Latin American countries, which contributed to laying the foundation of the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force, will no doubt reject Israel's attempts aiming at the acquisition of lands through military conquest and will actively support the Security Council resolution and the efforts of Ambassador Jarring to achieve permanent peace in the Middle East.

60. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is firmly based on two inseparable foundations, permanent peace and full withdrawal. Ambassador Jarring's mission is an integral part of that resolution. There are two roads before us which would lead to the full implementation of the Security Council resolution and to the establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East: first, the implementation of President El-Sadat's initiative, to which I referred earlier in my speech; and, second, Israel's agreement to enter into a peace agreement in accordance with the aide-mémoire of Ambassador Jarring of 8 February 1971. Egypt has responded positively to that aide-mémoire. It remains for Israel to take the same step, thus enabling Ambassador Jarring to resume his contacts. I would be ready to meet with Ambassador Jarring to discuss with him the implementation of the contents of his aide-mémoire. I am ready to do this today.

61. Moreover, we agree that the Security Council should lay down security arrangements to guarantee peace and security and to ensure the non-renewal of aggression in the Middle East. These arrangements include the establishment

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1970, document S/9588.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1971, document S/10272.

of demilitarized zones on both sides for equal distances and the establishment of an international force to supervise peace in the area.

62. Israel's refusal to withdraw from the territories it occupied as a result of its aggression of 5 June 1967 is a constant threat to peace. Firm international action is now imperative to force Israel to comply with the basic norms of the Charter. The Security Council, particularly its permanent members, bears at present a great responsibility for peace in the Middle East.

63. The achievement of permanent peace is the most genuine guarantee for security in the Middle East. Territorial expansion does not guarantee the security of any State. Expansion is not the path to security, but it surely is the road to war. There is a fundamental fact which stands out as clearly as the sun, through all the efforts made, through all the projects submitted and through all the accumulated United Nations records on the Middle East. That fact is summed up in the following words: peace in the Middle East depends on Israel's renunciation of its policy of expansion. If Israel announces today that it will withdraw its forces to the lines existing prior to 5 June 1967, peace would be achieved forthwith in the Middle East.

64. The leaders of Israel would be indulging in self-deception if they convinced themselves that they could force the people of Egypt to surrender an inch of Egypt's territory, in any form or under any name. In the valley of the Nile the people of Egypt offered as a heritage to the human race a civilization of peace. In peace and in tolerance they built their progress. More than once in their long history they stood up to invaders. The invaders were repelled and Egypt remained throughout history.

65. Today the people in the valley of the Nile, while looking forward to peace so as to proceed with the tasks of construction and to meet the challenges of progress, are also committed vis-à-vis the past, the present and the future to stand up to invaders, to protect the land of Egypt and to insist that peace must rest on justice.

66. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Romanian delegation and on my own behalf, may I offer you our sincere congratulations on your election to this important post and express the conviction that under your guidance the work of this session will be crowned with success.

67. At the same time, I should like to express the thanks of the Romanian delegation to the outgoing President, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who, by his tact, skill and good humour contributed so much to the work of the last session.

68. I should like also to take this opportunity to express again to the Secretary-General of the United Nations U Thant our deep respect and our great appreciation of his untiring activities in the service of the United Nations, of understanding and co-operation among peoples, of peace and of security in the world.

69. We also address our congratulations to the new Member States which at this session have joined the great family of the United Nations.

70. The work of our session is being followed with attention by the peoples of the entire world, which are aware that the items on the agenda concern their vital interests and the prospects for the development of mankind on the road of peace and progress; they rightly expect results. Our debates and the decisions we are going to take can make valuable contribution to the historical mission of the United Nations, to the extent that we all demonstrate the necessary political will and take into account the legitimate aspirations of the peoples, the realities of today and those of tomorrow. For its part the Romanian delegation, acting on the instructions of its Government, will do its utmost to ensure that the present session achieves as much as possible.

71. The participation of the Socialist Republic of Romania in international life and its position on the major problems of the modern world flow from a careful analysis of the realities and the phenomena of our time which reveal unprecedented changes, the expression of the broad and uninterrupted confrontation between the old and the new of the irreversible march of mankind towards a better and juster order. Above all, we have in mind the emergence and growing influence of the world socialist system, the progressive abolition of colonial domination, the accession to independence of a great number of new States, the full range of the technical-scientific revolution, and the ever more active participation of the peoples in social and political life and in the solving of international problems. These innovations undoubtedly also exercise an increasingly powerful positive influence on international relations.

72. With all its energies and creative capacities committed to a vast programme of construction, the Romanian people very much wants international conditions of peace and co-operation in which to realize its aspirations. As a socialist country, Romania naturally places at the centre of its foreign policy the development of friendship and multilateral co-operation with all the socialist States. At the same time, acting in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, it is continuously extending its co-operation with all the States of the world, regardless of their social systems.

73. One of the predominant realities of today's world is the irresistible affirmation of the peoples' will to decide their own destinies to be masters in their own land. Peoples are rising up in resolute defence of freedom and dignity, of the right to determine their future by themselves, without outside interference, to advance unhindered on the road to peace, prosperity and civilization. They firmly oppose the imperialist policy of force and *diktat*, and oppression and domination in any form. They are claiming, more and more vigorously, the right to dispose freely of their countries' wealth and to use it for their own development.

74. It is the firm belief of the Romanian Government that any infringement of the national prerogatives of one people gravely affects not only that people's vital interests but also the general cause of peace and civilization itself. The nation, the nation-State, have a particularly important role to play and will have for a long time to come. Only co-operation among free and independent nations can guarantee international peace and security. It is therefore essential that inter-State relations be placed on a new and healthy basis, on the principles of sovereignty and national

independence, full equality of rights and mutual advantage, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and non-recourse to the threat or use of force. These are universal principles which should govern relations among all States of the world and be strictly observed by all and towards all. Their unswerving application is the *sine qua non* for developing normal inter-State relations, for eliminating sources of tension and conflict in international life, and for guaranteeing every people's security.

75. My country believes it is a primary obligation of all States to refrain from the use or threat of force, from coercion and constraint, from any act generating tension, and ensure the settlement of disputes by exclusively peaceful means. In this respect, a great responsibility also rests with the United Nations. As the President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, recently stated, the United Nations:

“... must make absolutely sure that nowhere in inter-State relations is there ever again resort to the use or threat of force; it must act vigorously to ensure that States' declarations of principle do not remain a dead letter, but are consistently followed by deeds.”

76. The Romanian Government is deeply concerned at the persistence, in various parts of the world, of the imperialist practices of interference in the affairs of other States, of armed conflicts and aggressive wars that bring sufferings and heavy losses to peoples and endanger the peace of the world. Romania calls for an immediate end to the war against the Viet-Nameese people, as well as to the armed intervention in Cambodia and Laos. The restoration of peace in that part of the world requires the total withdrawal of the troops of the United States of America and its allies from Indo-China; respect for the inalienable right of the Viet-Nameese, Laotian and Khmer peoples to solve the problems of their existence by themselves, without any outside interference.

77. We also support the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which provides a serious, reasonable basis for a political settlement of the Viet-Nam conflict. We also support the initiatives of the Royal Government of National Unity, the United National Front of Cambodia, and the Patriotic Front of Laos.

78. Our country wants to see a political settlement of the Middle East conflict in the spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). This means that the Israeli troops must be withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories, the independence and territorial integrity of all States in the area must be assured and the problem of the Palestinian population must be solved in conformity with its national interests.

79. There is no doubt that a speedy settlement of the conflicts in Indo-China and the Middle East in conformity with the vital interests of the peoples and those of peace and security would make a significant contribution to the policy of co-operation, understanding and *détente* throughout the world. No people can consider itself secure if peace is disturbed in one region or another of the world, if upheavals and armed conflicts still occur. Hence the special

importance of the duty incumbent on all States, big or small, and on the United Nations, to act vigorously to maintain peace and strengthen international security.

80. Romania attaches great importance to the work of strengthening international security and makes an active contribution to all measures aimed at eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflict, consolidating the climate of *détente*, and promoting peaceful co-operation among countries and peoples. We consider that the United Nations should play a bigger role here and make a more effective contribution to fostering the policy of peace and security, at the same time acting more firmly to prevent war, stop aggression, bring about the political settlement of inter-State disputes, and defend the principles of the Charter. The consistent attainment of these objectives requires concerted and consistent efforts from both Member States and the Organization.

81. As emphasized in its reply [see A/8431, sect. II] to the letter of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Romanian Government understands the great importance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], co-sponsored by Romania. Solemnly reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter, as a basis for the relations among all States, and the obligation of States to observe them strictly, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security constitutes a political document to guide both the actions of all Member States and the activities of the United Nations in discharging the great mission of maintaining peace and strengthening security in the world.

82. That is why the Romanian Government considers that the debate initiated at this session by the USSR concerning the problem of strengthening international security must lead to measures to eliminate all the hotbeds of tension and conflict and to ensure peace and security in the whole world.

83. As a European country, Romania is vitally interested in the establishment on the continent of relations that will guarantee the security of every people, ensure the right to develop freely and strengthen contacts and links on many levels, and is working hard to that end. At the same time, our country is working to bring about effective measures of military *détente* and disarmament in Europe and to end its division into opposing military blocs. With the growing impetus to *détente* and co-operation, the military blocs appear more and more an anachronism, a permanent source of distrust and suspicion, an obstacle on the road to the rapprochement among nations. The creation of a durable system of security in Europe, permitting the peaceful and unhampered development of every nation, will necessitate the dissolution of the military blocs, namely, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and, simultaneously, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, a proposal repeatedly put forward, as you know, by the Socialist countries.

84. We note with satisfaction the improvement of the political climate in Europe, and the progress in eliminating the vestiges of the last world conflagration and of the ensuing cold war. We see this as the result of the efforts of all the peoples of the continent, to which Romania has made an active contribution, which come from their

decision to live in peace, good-neighbourliness and harmony. The development of intra-European relations points up the importance and timeliness of bilateral political agreements, to eliminate for all time any sign of the use or threat of force, and the need to settle existing problems exclusively by peaceful means and to develop wide international co-operation in the interest of general peace and the prosperity of every people. Noteworthy here are the treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>8</sup> and between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>9</sup>—whose ratification would be of particular importance—the talks between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, the negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the agreement on West Berlin.<sup>10</sup>

85. The Romanian Government considers that it is the duty of all States concerned to act decisively to build security in Europe and turn it into a continent of co-operation and peace. The attainment of these objectives would serve the interests not only of all the European countries but also those of all States for it is an essential factor in the stability and peace of the world. An important step in this direction would be the early meeting of an all-European conference on security and co-operation, in which all the countries concerned would participate with equal rights. Preparatory multilateral meetings should be started immediately, without further delays or conditions, so as to provide a solid, practical basis for the conference.

86. Romania attaches particular importance to relations of peace and good neighbourliness in the Balkans. It was there that many past conflicts broke out, originating not so much in the direct problems among the States of that region, as in the confrontation of interests of the great imperialist and colonialist Powers, which have always tried to stimulate and to perpetuate conflict and to divide the Balkan peoples in order the more easily to rule them. History attests that the Balkan peoples have always had to coexist peacefully, to know one another and to co-operate closely in defence of their vital interests, and that only when they acted together could they advance along the road to national liberation and progress.

87. The transformation of the Balkans into an area of peace and understanding, free of nuclear weapons, would be in the interests of all the Balkan peoples and must be the result of their joint endeavours. Romania, which submitted proposals to this effect as far back as 1957, believes that concrete steps are both necessary and possible, bilaterally and multilaterally, and will do its best to ensure that the Balkans become a zone of friendship and peaceful collaboration among peoples and that peace, security and co-operation are established in the whole of Europe.

88. If the United Nations is to do its important work effectively, it must ensure that all States of the world have an opportunity to take part in the discussion and solution

of the problems facing mankind. Disregard of this fundamental necessity—most flagrantly, in the arbitrary exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations—has done great harm to the Organization and weakened its capacity for acting. This profoundly abnormal and harmful situation, which is in obvious contradiction with reality, must be remedied without further delay. The positive process whereby many countries have normalized their relations with the People's Republic of China itself points to a trend whose deep political significance must be adequately reflected in the attitude of the United Nations towards the legitimate rights of that State in the Organization.

89. The Romanian delegation considers it especially important to display realism and political lucidity and to act in a spirit of high responsibility towards the major interests of the Organization and the requirements deriving from the very principles that lie at its basis, in order to restore to the People's Republic of China the seat—usurped by the envoy of Chiang Kai-shek—to which it is entitled as a founding Member of the United Nations. The participation of the People's Republic of China in international life and in the activities of the United Nations is in the interests of all peoples; it constitutes a factor of great importance for the cause of progress and peace in the world, and is an essential condition if the United Nations is to play a larger role in finding viable solutions to the great international problems.

90. The Socialist Republic of Romania which—as in previous years—is a co-sponsor of the item concerning the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [A/8392], strongly urges the immediate solution of this problem. The just way, in conformity with the Charter which is to restore to the People's Republic of China all its rights in the United Nations, is for the General Assembly to recognize formally the incontestable reality that there is only one China—Taiwan belonging to the People's Republic of China—and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate representative of the Chinese people.

91. At the same time, we favour the admission to the United Nations of the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—and other countries arbitrarily kept out of the Organization.

92. Guided by the basic principles of the Charter and of international law, our country, on this occasion as in the past, calls for the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in South Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the cessation of all interference in the Korean people's affairs, and respect for its right to decide by itself its path of development. We support the eight-point programme for the reunification of Korea, adopted this year by the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for putting an end to the artificial division of Korea. It is regrettable and altogether unjustifiable that, in spite of their urgency, the important questions regarding the withdrawal of the United States troops and of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea, and the dissolution of the purported United Nations

<sup>8</sup> Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

<sup>9</sup> Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

<sup>10</sup> Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, are not to be considered during the present session.

93. General disarmament, and above all nuclear disarmament, is still an especially important and urgent task facing the entire international community, an imperative condition of progress, a cause common to all peoples. The arms race, which has reached huge proportions, is a heavy burden on the peoples; it affects their economic and social progress and constitutes a permanent danger to world peace and security. Given the magnitude and unprecedented pace of the arms race, given the danger which nuclear weapons represent to the very existence of mankind, the results of disarmament negotiations, notwithstanding their importance, cannot be considered satisfactory and are far from meeting the expectations of the peoples.

94. To put an end to this disturbing state of affairs, it is necessary that all States, as well as the United Nations, act with greater firmness and perseverance to secure a halt to the arms race and real progress towards disarmament. The banning and destruction of nuclear weapons and of all weapons of mass destruction cannot any longer be postponed. The complete abolition of such weapons without further delay is the most pressing demand in the field of disarmament. In our opinion, the disarmament negotiations must be given fresh impetus, and move from general discussions to the adoption of practical, effective disarmament measures.

95. As it has already had the opportunity to state in this forum and in the Geneva Disarmament Committee, the Romanian Government believes it is of the utmost importance for promoting *détente*, trust and co-operation among all nations of the world, that partial measures be carried out, such as the freezing and reduction of the military budgets of all States; firm pledges in the form of an agreement to abstain from the use or threat of force, and from interference, in any form and in any circumstances, in the internal affairs of other States; renunciation of military manoeuvres on the territory of other States; a ban on the establishment of new military bases and the placement of new weapons on foreign territory; measures to dismantle foreign military bases; withdrawal of troops within national frontiers; establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world; and dissolution of military blocs.

96. Respect for the legitimate peace and security interests of all nations is an essential condition if the problems of disarmament, or any other major international problem, are to be successfully resolved. No problem involving the fate of all peoples, whatever its nature, can be settled by certain States or certain groups of States alone. All States, irrespective of population size or territory, of their economic, technical, scientific and military strength, have this right; it is a duty incumbent on all.

97. In this spirit, Romania has firmly stated its support for a general conference on Disarmament, with the participation of all States, to tackle the cardinal problems of disarmament, above all those concerning the banning and liquidation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Our country also considers it necessary that an adequate framework be created so that all interested States may participate in the work of the Geneva Committee and

the Disarmament Commission of the General Assembly may be reactivated, thus enabling all Member States to make a direct contribution.

98. Peaceful co-operation among all States, irrespective of their social systems—the only reasonable and realistic way of organizing international life—is today an objective necessity for the progress of each country and for the flowering of human civilization. At the same time, it is an essential condition for a climate of *détente* and rapprochement among peoples, the material foundation of peace and the strengthening of security in the world.

99. Economic, technical and scientific co-operation based on full equality of rights should benefit all partners and contribute to the development of every country and to the progress of the international community in its entirety. Broad and fruitful international co-operation can develop only after the elimination of all restrictions, all discrimination, all artificial barriers to the normal circulation of material and spiritual values created by peoples. In our view, the United Nations should make a substantially greater contribution to the removal of obstacles to trade, and to ensuring that every nation has free access to the fruits and the benefits of modern science and technology.

100. The economic and social advancement of the developing countries, the reduction and elimination of the gap that separates them from the industrialized States, represent nowadays an essential condition for general progress. We consider that it is high time to take vigorous measures to do away with under-development, to support—and the advanced nations should be the first to do so—the developing countries' efforts towards progress. The United Nations and the Member States have the duty to carry out the measures adopted for the Second United Nations Development Decade, measures from which all developing countries, irrespective of their social system or geographical region, have the right to benefit.

101. Romania is deeply committed to and firmly supports the peoples' struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism for the recovery of their freedom and national independence. We condemn the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the leadership of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and the colonial oppression in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and other Territories.

102. All States, as well as the United Nations, must act vigorously to ensure respect for and complete implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to prevent the revival, in any form, of the domination of one State by another, of the neo-colonialist policy aimed at subjugating the peoples and despoiling their wealth.

103. We appreciate the attention the United Nations and its various bodies have given thus far to the problems of youth. In view of their importance and complexity, we are convinced that they should be constantly under review by the Organization. The natural concern of the young generation to see peace, equity and justice reign in the world of tomorrow makes it a trusty ally in promoting the noble purposes and principles of the Charter. The United

Nations, the specialized agencies, and the whole international community are called upon to make their contribution to the education of youth in the spirit of high humanistic ideals of peace, understanding and friendship among peoples, to its training and participation in creative activities; they should see to it that young people are enabled to participate fully in building the society in which they will have to live.

104. It is our opinion that the United Nations should periodically organize meetings on problems peculiar to youth, solemnly proclaim the rights of youth, and consider how the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples [*resolution 2037 (XX)*], adopted upon the initiative of Romania and of other States, is being carried out.

105. To find solutions to the many and complex problems on our agenda will certainly require sustained effort on the part of all. We are convinced that goodwill, the spirit of co-operation and a constructive approach to the issues can lead to correct and viable decisions that will satisfy the peoples' hopes.

106. In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's hope that the present session will help to enhance the United Nations capacity to act so that it may play a more active role in international life, to base relations among all States on the universal principles of the Charter; to ensure respect for the fundamental obligation of all States to refrain from the use or threat of force and from any kind of constraint or coercion in inter-State relations; to ensure respect for the right of every people to decide its future by itself; to develop broad co-operation among peoples, and to encourage the efforts of mankind towards peace, security and progress.

107. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, I should like to begin by extending to you my heartfelt congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We rest assured that in discharging your difficult task you will bring to us the invaluable contribution of your well-known and exceptional qualities as a highly respected international personality. I am convinced that your rich experience in statesmanship will ensure the success of our deliberations, and my delegation will not fail to give you its full support in this respect.

108. It is also a pleasant duty for me to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Edvard Hambro, who conducted our work with great wisdom and tact during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

109. Once again, we are happy to welcome among us several new Members. We look forward to the positive contribution which Bahrain, Bhutan, Qatar and Oman as new Members will, I am sure, bring to the work of our Organization. The increasing membership of the United Nations is indeed encouraging for the attainment of universality.

110. In this connexion I think it would be appropriate for me to state that we look forward to the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations this year

and we believe that such participation is bound to strengthen the Organization's goal of achieving better and more effective co-operation among nations.

111. I should like now to express our views on some of the problems that arise on the international scene.

112. We are happy to find it possible once more to speak of an atmosphere of *détente* in Europe. Developments which are taking place on the continent strengthen our hopes concerning the solution of its problems. The Moscow and Warsaw Treaties concluded last year by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union<sup>11</sup> and Poland,<sup>12</sup> respectively, had already brought about a significant improvement in the political climate of Europe. The results obtained recently in the four-Power talks on Berlin are a new and important step which increases the prospects for the achievement of reliable European security and co-operation. We hope that they will lead to a final agreement.

113. It is obvious that political agreements alone cannot meet all the requirements of security in Europe. They need to be complemented with a lowering of the level of the military forces which confront each other. It is this necessity that has bred the concept of mutual and balanced force reductions.

114. If the present positive tendencies can be maintained and strengthened, we might witness in the near future new developments which would enable us to advance toward the convening of a European security conference. Such a conference, which would be of historic importance and have a bearing on the vital issues of security and co-operation in Europe, requires extensive and thorough preparation since not only would failure halt progress towards further *détente*, but it might also bring back conditions reminiscent of the past.

115. Turning to the Middle East, I regret to say that it is not possible to express the same optimistic views as those I have stated about the situation in Europe. More than a year has elapsed since the cease-fire agreement, but we are still waiting for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

116. The cessation of hostilities gave the conflicting parties a priceless opportunity to seek a durable solution. Although expectations from the cease-fire have not been fulfilled, its continuation must be considered a welcome achievement which should bear the seeds of a future over-all settlement. If the present opportunities are missed, a much more serious situation is bound to develop, a situation from which neither of the conflicting parties would benefit.

117. I should like to express the appreciation of my Government for the sincere and dedicated efforts made by the United Nations and various Governments in the search for peace. I must also express our thanks to Ambassador Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-

<sup>11</sup> Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

<sup>12</sup> Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

General, for his perseverance and equanimity in his difficult mission. We do hope that the co-ordinated efforts of all parties and the realistic attitude of the Arab Republic of Egypt will pave the way to a just settlement.

118. We continue to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains all the necessary elements for the promotion of a comprehensive, peaceful settlement, provided that it is interpreted and implemented in good faith.

119. My Government has repeatedly stated that it is firmly opposed to the concept of securing political advantage or territorial gains through the use of force and through military occupation. We deplore and reject faits accomplis and unilateral measures aimed at altering the status of Jerusalem.

120. The people and the Government of Turkey share the deep feeling of sorrow at present felt in Pakistan following the tragic civil strife. It is my Government's earnest hope that friendly Pakistan, in its wisdom, will succeed in its endeavours to solve this internal problem.

121. The plight of the large number of refugees who have crossed over to India complicates the humanitarian aspect of the problem and therefore warrants the continued interest of our Organization.

122. While the relief work conducted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the immediate response of the international community has been significant, it still remains far from being adequate in view of the proportions and the urgency of the need. Our joint efforts should continue as the Government of Pakistan gears itself to solve the problem.

123. I must also mention the protracted war in Viet-Nam, where perhaps we may have reason to believe that a positive outcome is in the offing. If this feeling proves to be true, as we hope it will, I am sure that the whole world—and above all the peoples directly interested—will greet such an outcome with a sigh of relief.

124. I regret to report to the General Assembly that the Cyprus problem, in which Turkey is so directly involved, still remains unsolved. After more than three years of talks, the two communities in the island have not been able to achieve any meaningful progress on constitutional issues. It is not my intention here, however, to go into the reasons for this regrettable and serious situation, as I am most reluctant to engage in an unproductive exchange of arguments. I wish only to assure the Assembly, that, while upholding firmly its obligations flowing from treaties, as well as its moral and contractual commitments to the Turkish community, Turkey will continue to do its best to keep the door open to peaceful negotiation and agreement among the interested parties. I should like also to repeat once again our appreciation for the services rendered for the purpose of maintaining peace and tranquillity on Cyprus by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP]. Nevertheless we understand the difficulties encountered in the field of financing the continuous presence of UNFICYP and feel that it will become more and more strenuous for all contributing countries to carry this burden indefinitely if there is no prospect of settlement.

125. We proclaimed the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade. One cannot underestimate the importance of this issue. It concerns not only progress towards a better world, but also the very survival of mankind.

126. When we speak of the disarmament question, we often have the feeling of being faced with an overwhelming challenge. In view of the difficulties and complexities of the problem, this feeling may seem justified. But we have to admit also that, especially during the last few years, considerable efforts have been made to stop the arms race and we should not minimize the results already obtained. These results have strengthened our will to pursue our objectives, to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. So far, the Moscow partial test-ban treaty,<sup>13</sup> the outer space treaty,<sup>14</sup> the non-proliferation treaty,<sup>15</sup> and the sea-bed treaty<sup>16</sup> have all been important steps in the right direction. I am happy to state that Turkey is a party to all these treaties.

127. For a long period now the United States and the Soviet Union have been engaged in negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms. The importance of these negotiations for the strengthening of the peace and security of all countries hardly needs to be stressed. The two nuclear control agreements recently signed between the United States and the Soviet Union constitute a welcome development for the prevention of the accidental outbreak of nuclear wars.

128. The draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [A/8457-DC/234, annex A], proposed by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, should win the support of this Assembly. We should not be afraid to modify it, should it become evident that such a modification would make it a more effective instrument of peace. In fact this convention constitutes a significant achievement which should pave the way for further agreements aimed at reducing already existing armaments.

129. I think that I need not repeat my country's readiness to assist in all initiatives in the field of disarmament, provided that such initiatives achieve concrete and positive results.

130. As one of the co-sponsors of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV), Turkey is happy to note the positive results so far achieved in this field through the constant efforts of the United Nations. Nevertheless, it is a cause for great concern that many Territories are still non-self-governing. The process of decolonization has

<sup>13</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed at Moscow on 25 July 1963.

<sup>14</sup> Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (resolution 2222 (XXI), annex).

<sup>15</sup> Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (resolution 2373 (XXII), annex).

<sup>16</sup> Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (resolution 2660 (XXV), annex).

slowed down noticeably. The most difficult and complicated problems remain unsolved. The political fate of more than 28 million people in 44 Territories who live under colonial rule or a semi-colonial administration constitutes a direct challenge to the Charter of our Organization.

131. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should pursue its valuable mission with the same determination of purpose, and it is also imperative that the remaining colonial Powers should attune themselves to the imposing realities of our times. The last manifestations of colonialism must be eradicated sooner rather than later. The Special Committee should lead the activities of decolonization with pragmatic and feasible proposals and suggestions.

132. While a closer rapport between the administering Powers and the Special Committee is necessary, it will also be useful to give greater publicity to these activities, in order to rally wider support by world public opinion.

133. Although *apartheid* has been totally and unanimously condemned, it continues to exist and, what is worse, it tends to expand, in spite of continuous and vigorous action on the part of the United Nations.

134. On the question of Namibia, the recent advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice<sup>17</sup> is a significant development. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice is a highly meaningful reaffirmation of the 1966 resolution of the General Assembly [resolution 2145 (XXI)], of which my country was one of the sponsors. This development in the right direction should inspire further the related organs of our Organization, namely, the Security Council and the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which Turkey has been a member since its establishment.

135. The illegal administration created in Southern Rhodesia in 1965 by the unilateral declaration of independence has so far survived despite the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council. I am happy to say that my Government strictly observed from the beginning the provisions of Security Council resolution 217 (1965), instituting these sanctions.

136. We should only be pleased if the current unofficial contacts between the United Kingdom as the administering Power and the *de facto* régime in Salisbury pave the way for a settlement satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the African people on the basis of observance of the principle of one man, one vote.

137. As usual, an important part of the work of the General Assembly consists of economic and financial questions. I should like to dwell briefly on certain aspects of this work. Two important conferences are due to take place in the course of the coming year. The third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

[UNCTAD] will meet in April 1972 in Santiago, Chile. The General Assembly, at its present session, will review the work of UNCTAD during the past year [item 41], and set the tone for its third session. I am convinced that our review of UNCTAD's activities is bound to note that, unfortunately, recent developments within UNCTAD's scope of competence have not been very positive.

138. Most of the decisions and recommendations of the second session of UNCTAD have failed to be implemented thus far. The share of developing countries in world trade continues to shrink. No significant developments have occurred in the field of commodity-price stabilization. The over-all picture in development assistance, both as to volume and terms, remains clouded. The one bright exception has been in the field of the implementation of the scheme of generalized, non-discriminatory, non-reciprocal preferences. However, even in this area the situation is not completely satisfactory. Some of the preference-giving countries have restricted their lists of beneficiaries to include only those developing countries which are members of the Group of 77, thus excluding a number of developing countries from the scheme. This has had the effect of damaging the "generalized" and "non-discriminatory" character of the arrangement.

139. In addition, we hope that recent international monetary upheavals and their negative repercussions on trade policies will not have undesirable effects on early implementation of the preferential arrangements. It is to be hoped that, whatever measures are adopted in the field of trade policy by the developed nations, special care will be taken to safeguard the trade interests of the developing countries.

140. I believe that no statement regarding the Second United Nations Development Decade would be complete without reference to the resources of the sea-bed, which is "the common heritage of mankind". The connexion between the two cannot be considered as a mere coincidence. In 1968, the General Assembly, in resolution 2467 C (XXIII), declared that the exploitation of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction should be carried out "... for the benefit of mankind as a whole ... irrespective of the geographical location of States, and taking into special consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries". I wish to underline the urgency and the importance of delimiting the sea-bed area beyond national jurisdiction and establishing the necessary machinery for harnessing the resources of this area as soon as possible.

141. As a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, Turkey will be guided by these considerations in extending its support to the common effort aimed at convening the conference on the law of the sea in 1973. While the conference reviews the questions of navigational rights, utilization of the fishing resources, pollution and scientific research in the seas and oceans, it would be prudent to avoid the creation of unnecessary new burdens and restrictions.

142. I believe that a flexible approach to, and consideration of, situations peculiar to various regions of the seas and oceans will provide the initial means of co-operation in this field.

<sup>17</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.*

143. The second important meeting for 1972 is the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in June, 1972. The need for co-ordinated international action to deal effectively with the problems created by rapid population growth, by urbanization, by industrialization and by the heedless use of natural resources, is now universally recognized. We note with satisfaction the valuable work of the Preparatory Committee and of the Secretariat in this respect.

144. The problems of the deteriorating environment are going to affect all of us, whether we live in a developed or a developing country. But it is in the developing countries where the difficulties of coping with the problem are greatest. We welcome the fact that the General Assembly has, from the very beginning, taken into account the special needs of the developing countries, and we are confident that this recognition will be reaffirmed at the Conference so that the problems of the environment can be effectively resolved on a world-wide scale.

145. Last year, the Turkish delegation had the honour to draw the attention of the Third Committee to the need for a world-wide effort to assist countries struck by natural disasters. Our delegation subsequently prepared a draft resolution which was presented by a large number of delegations and became resolution 2717 (XXV). I am happy to note that satisfactory progress has been made in the implementation of that resolution. Acting upon the report of the Secretary-General, the Economic and Social Council recommended in its resolution 1612 (LI), *inter alia*, the appointment of a disaster relief co-ordinator and the consideration of the establishment of stockpiles to be used for emergency assistance in cases of natural disasters.

146. I hardly need to say more about the importance of this problem, from which so many countries have suffered, except to express the hope that the Assembly will establish the necessary set-up, and my delegation intends, in co-operation with other delegations, to introduce a draft resolution on this issue some time during the current session.

147. In concluding my remarks, I wish to state that in our review of the international situation and the problems which confront us today, we have been able to speak this year of some positive developments. Despite the tragedies that beset the scene, a more optimistic picture is gradually emerging. If this thinking is justified, then it is all the more imperative that the United Nations should continue to strive for, and spare no effort to attain, the objectives of peace and co-operation among all nations.

148. Nothing would be more appropriate here than to quote the words of wisdom of our eminent Secretary-General, whose decision to relinquish his post has been received with much regret in my country. In his introduction to the annual report this year, U Thant said:

“Much of the usefulness of the United Nations is unknown and indeed intangible. But, however faulty, it represents an aspiration and a method of trying to realize a great ideal” [A/8401/Add.1, para. 139].

149. Mr. MORO (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Italian delegation I am very

happy to express our satisfaction at seeing you preside over the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly and to offer you our warmest hopes for success in your undertakings. In electing you unanimously to that post, the Governments represented here have attested to the esteem which they feel towards a statesman and an eminent diplomat as well as towards the great people of Indonesia, who are at present playing such an important role linking Asia and the fifth continent, Australasia.

150. I am sure that the wisdom with which you will direct our debates will match the example given us by the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Hambro. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat our gratitude to him for the exceptional contribution he made to the work of the commemorative session of the General Assembly.

151. May I also endorse the tributes that have been addressed to our Secretary-General, U Thant, who has occupied his high office with dignity, reliability, and a wisdom and competence that have earned him the confidence of all Member States. In the course of a long period characterized by frequent crises and dramatic events, he has borne his burden of responsibilities with unique sensitivity. For all these reasons, we sincerely regret learning that he is retiring from the post that he has for so long occupied in the centre of the world arena.

152. Our work this year, therefore, is being carried out under two of the most eminent statesmen of Asia. This leads me to stress the ever-increasing role that the Asian continent is playing in the destiny of mankind. Asia is re-emerging today on the world scene, a continent inhabited by hundreds of millions of people who embody an impressive heritage of civilization and culture and are imbued with new initiatives and ideas. In the international context China already occupies a very important position. Japan has become one of the great economic Powers of our day. Other Asian States of ancient traditions are catching up on their delayed economic development.

153. These are the most evident signs of the profound change that is taking place in the balance that was established at the end of the Second World War. New centres of influence are emerging and are being added to those that already existed. I think we should be pleased and follow with interest this course of evolution. It affords great possibilities for assuring international peace and security. Since a profound modification of the existing situation is taking place, if the transition from the old balance to the new is to be accomplished without setbacks, at least three basic conditions must be met.

154. First, in order that the dialogue to be established among a much larger number of centres of world influence be not only feasible but fruitful, it is necessary for each of the centres to have the possibility of participating fully in the life of the family of nations.

155. The second condition is that this dialogue draw its inspiration from the principle of peaceful co-operation and not from out and out competition.

156. The third condition is that, while the dialogue among the great centres of influence is necessary—and I shall in a

few moments speak briefly about Europe—it is not sufficient in itself.

157. With regard to the first condition, I should like to recall that the Italian Government has for a long time advocated the universality of our Organization. It is consistent with that view that we trust that at the present session the Government which lawfully represents the great Chinese people, that is, the Government of Peking, will take its place in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. We stress the historic decision of President Nixon to renew a dialogue that has for too long been suspended between the United States and the People's Republic of China. I trust that this development will have fruitful results for the cause of peace in the world. Within the lines of the universality of the United Nations, we are also gratified that a number of States which have recently acceded to independence—Bahrain, Qatar and Bhutan—have joined us at the opening of this session of the General Assembly. Other States are still not in our Organization, but I strongly hope that they will join us very soon.

158. With regard to the second condition that I defined earlier, I would recall what the Secretary-General of the United Nations stated in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1]. Indeed, he stressed the need to strengthen peace and security and, in that way, to reach increasingly effective agreements concerning both peace-keeping operations and general and complete disarmament.

159. Regarding the third condition, I should like to recall that the great problems confronting the world today cannot be solved only by the efforts—even the joint efforts—of the great Powers. Each and every man must be asked to contribute to the struggle of humanity for survival, dignity, liberty and well-being. Of course we can no longer agree that there still exist certain peoples that make history and others that suffer it: the democratic conscience of the world could not accept that.

160. Our Organization must therefore remain the world forum where the peoples of the world can bring their claims and where we can all work together to find the best way to solve the great problems confronting mankind. It is by beginning to create conditions of confidence and co-operation among neighbouring States that we can hope little by little to establish a better order. The golden rule of the foreign policy of yesteryear was that the enemies of our neighbours were our friends. But more and more that rule is being replaced by a new one: our neighbours must be our friends. Indeed, we see more and more frequently and in more and more parts of the world, that there are close ties of co-operation and union being set up between neighbouring peoples. Because they are recent and eloquent witnesses to this development may I mention on this specific point the Andean Pact in Latin America<sup>18</sup> and the Federation of Arab Republics in the Mediterranean.

161. I wish to mention here the friendly relations that Italy enjoys, in a constructive spirit, with all countries—without exception—that have a common frontier with it or

that, bathed by the Mediterranean Sea, share a common heritage of history, culture and interests.

162. I should like briefly to mention the relations of my country with one of its neighbours, relations on which the General Assembly has in the past received considerable information. Last year [1857th meeting] the Italian delegation brought the Assembly up to date on the positive result achieved from contacts between the Italian and Austrian Governments on the interpretation and the implementation of the agreement signed in Paris on 5 September 1946. Since then, concrete measures have been adopted by the Italian Government to guarantee the legitimate rights and to ensure the peaceful development of the different ethnic groups that live in the Alto Adige, and it intends resolutely to continue along the same lines.

163. The progress that has been achieved in that field has permitted a favourable development in Italo-Austrian relations, and we, for our part, hope that we shall be able to make them even wider and ensure their growing cordiality.

164. Regarding relations between Italy and its neighbours—some of which are its allies—I should like to stress the exemplary nature of our relations with Yugoslavia which are the fruit of the will of the two Governments and the two peoples in the widest possible way to develop mutual co-operation in an atmosphere of full confidence.

165. I should also like to mention the traditional ties between Italy and Malta and the sincere friendship of the Italian people for the Maltese people, as well as the efforts that my Government is constantly making in order to open up a new era in its relations with Libya.

166. I feel in duty bound to add a few words regarding the union that has been set up between a number of peoples of Western Europe and which has been institutionalized in the European Economic Community, of whose Council of Ministers I have the honour at the moment to be *pro tempore* chairman—a Community which, although its title bears the adjective “economic”, has nevertheless acquired an increasingly obvious political trend.

167. This work of both economic and political unification of a large part of Western Europe was born of a grand design: to have mutual co-operation replace mistrust and rivalry among the peoples of the region—two factors that have been at the root and the origin of two world wars. This Community, which has been an important, I would say, outstanding success, is open and will remain open to all the peoples of Europe that draw their inspiration from the same concept of political life and that may wish to participate in it. We trust that very soon negotiations for the adherence of the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland and Norway will be completed. Other Governments will also sign association agreements. Hence a wide and unified economic market, composed of more than 250 million people, will have been launched.

168. This undertaking may give the peoples of Europe a better chance to have their voices heard. Can this regained influence be a danger to anyone? The answer is no. It is not—and shall not be—directed against any people. It is directed against war, against the burden of armaments,

<sup>18</sup> Andean Subregional Integration Agreement, signed at Cartagena, Colombia, in 1969.

against famine, against under-development, against inequality, against all and any that might interfere with free and fruitful communication among all men.

169. I should like to mention the considerable contribution that the European Economic Community is already making to the maintenance of peace and balance in the world. Apart from the efforts that each of the member countries may deploy on a bilateral level, the Community has facilitated the establishment of relations of a new nature between the industrialized countries and those of the third world.

170. The convention of association with a group of African countries<sup>19</sup> has been a very important step along those lines. But the Community has no intention of limiting its aid to a single geographical sector. The recent decision to apply generalized preferences to the third world stands as eloquent proof of this.

171. Secondly, I wish to mention the constant contacts between the members of the European Economic Community and the United States and Canada, their friends and their allies, in order to come to a true *détente* with the countries of Eastern Europe. A number of bridges have been thrown across the gaps that had been opened by events, whose memories are now beginning to fade. All the Governments and peoples of Western Europe have understood and approved of the courageous initiative of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany to re-establish normal relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. As early as three years ago, in fact, they had made clear that one of the roads to *détente* lay in the mutual and balanced reduction of forces in the heart of the Old World.

172. The efforts of a number of years, the patient search for points of possible agreement, and the care not to disturb the balance of forces have finally been rewarded by an agreement that is probably one of the most significant of the post-war period. I am speaking of the agreement that will guarantee the rights of the people of Berlin. That city had stood as the symbol of a Europe divided in two, one part armed against the other. In order to progress it was necessary to do away with that line on a future of peace and co-operation; proof had to be given that the fate of 2 million men and women was not going to be jeopardized. Let us pay tribute here to the goodwill shown by the Governments concerned during the course of the negotiations.

173. True, all is not yet settled; there are still obstacles to be overcome for the two parts of Europe, by means of free contacts between the inhabitants of both sides, to come together at last.

174. It is to progress along these lines that the conference on European security and co-operation must, after careful preparations, devote its attention. With the participation of all the countries of Europe, the United States and Canada, we hope that that conference will very soon get under way.

<sup>19</sup> Convention of Association with the European Economic Community, adopted at Yaoundé, Cameroon, on 28 March 1961 by the Conference of the 12 French-speaking African and Malagasy States, renewed on 20 July 1963 and 6 July 1969.

175. In my country we say that Rome was not built in a day: neither can security, relaxation of tension, and co-operation in Europe. The European conference will doubtless be a step forward, but if it engages in mere legalistics and only crystallizes the present rather than opens the door to the future, its results will not be wholly satisfactory. It is obvious that we must advance with prudence and realism, particularly in the first phase. But we should not allow the great hope of all the peoples of Europe to achieve a freer, more prosperous and open life, to get lost in the complex network of a purely formal treaty. That, even if it were unintentional, would only sanction the division of Europe.

176. On the contrary, it is only by paving the way to a new balance—of which the European Economic Community would be one of the most significant components—and to more freely articulated relations among all peoples, that we can possibly hope to establish in Europe, relations based on trust, rather than on power, which would have a positive effect on the entire world.

177. If after the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Nuclear Warfare, signed on 30 September at Washington, and at which we are extremely gratified, substantive progress is achieved in the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitation; and if in the course of the forthcoming year a European conference can be held along the lines that I have just outlined, then an important step will have been taken to put an end to some of the major causes of international tension. But that will not be sufficient unless we come to grips with the arms race, which at one and the same time, is both cause and effect of tensions all over the world.

178. Our best hopes are placed in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Thanks to the efforts it has made this year, a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction has been prepared [A/8457-DC/234, annex A]. The Italian Government, which participated actively in its preparation, is gratified at that positive development. It is indeed the first true disarmament agreement arrived at since the war. All the other agreements, however important they may have been, were only non-armament agreements.

179. The Italian Government has always insisted that, together with collateral questions, the problem of general and complete disarmament should be faced. We are pleased to note that the same idea underlies the Soviet proposal to call a world disarmament conference [A/8491] to deal with all the problems of disarmament—nuclear as well as conventional. While giving this idea of the Soviet Government all our attention, we reserve our right to study the methods of translating it into reality.

180. Although the events that I have just outlined give us reason for optimism, the presence of hot-beds of war must, by the same token, cause deep concern to all of us. In Asia, in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the flames of battle that were kindled a quarter of a century ago are still burning. Despite the resumption of a few military actions, which still concern us, we believe that the policy of progressive

military disengagement, which was lately undertaken by the United States, has not changed. Italy will continue to strive for a political solution to the problem, in accordance with the freely expressed will of all the peoples of the region.

181. Another Asian people—the people of East Pakistan—has been struck by a twofold tragedy: the unleashed forces of nature, and a bloody domestic crisis. That drama, which has moved world public opinion, calls urgently for a concerted humanitarian effort on the part of all our Governments; but, at the same time, it is indispensable that, by means of far-sighted measures, we create an atmosphere of normalcy that will allow the millions of human beings who have had to flee their homes to return to them. During Italy's presidency of the Security Council, contacts along these lines were undertaken.

182. I come now to another source of tension: that of the Middle East. For 15 months now, a precarious truce has existed there. That the cannons have been silent for all this time can be attributed only to the intervention of the United Nations, to the mission of Ambassador Jarring, to the advice of moderation given to the parties concerned, and to the wisdom shown by them thus far. Indeed, I think we can detect an inclination on their part towards a search for a political solution. We must express to the United States our appreciation for the efforts it has made in the last few months to obtain the agreement of the parties concerned to a partial solution to the conflict, which would be the first step towards an over-all solution. The benefits of a partial solution based on the clearing of the Suez Canal would of course be considerable, since they would contribute to establishing an atmosphere, if not of confidence, at least of coexistence between two peoples which for a quarter of a century have not known the blessings of happiness or of true peace.

183. Those benefits would also be shared by a large number of other countries whose economies have been seriously affected by the closing of a vital means of communication. The coastal States of the Mediterranean, of the Black Sea, of the Red Sea and of the Indian Ocean are, in fact, suffering gravely today because of the closure of the Suez Canal which has set the clock of world maritime communications back a hundred years. This state of affairs is most damaging to the less developed countries and, therefore, an effort must be made to put an end to it as soon as possible.

184. We would hope that, when it has to deal with the question of the Middle East, the General Assembly, in its wisdom and authority, will see fit solemnly to reaffirm the principles which can serve as a basis to end the conflict in the Middle East and which can be found in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which should be fully implemented.

185. At the same time, a new impulse must be given to any effort to find either a global or even a partial solution to the problem. This is, I know, a far from easy task, since the peoples which must become accustomed to coexistence and to co-operate with one another have, three times in the last 25 years, confronted one another on the battlefield. But we trust that proof will be given of realism, magnanimity and realism so as to put an end to a struggle that might take a very different turn if allowed to continue unduly.

186. Speaking of tensions and abnormal situations in the world, I cannot overlook the colonial problems and the systems of *apartheid*, which are contrary to our concepts of law and which we consider to be incompatible with the fundamental principle of respect for human dignity. The Italian Government has always given, and will continue to give, full support to any constructive action by the United Nations for the establishment of a more democratic and more human order by peaceful means in southern Africa.

187. By the same token, during the course of the year that the United Nations has devoted to the fight against racism and racial discrimination, may I announce that Italy intends very soon to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*].

188. Obviously the United Nations lacks the means to put an end to the conflicts that I have just mentioned and we know the reasons for its impotence. But though our Organization seems to lack the effective power and though its role with respect to problems affecting international peace and security very often exceeds its possibilities of intervention, it nevertheless still is the place where human conscience can be expressed. If the voice of that conscience is silenced, injustice and violations will prevail.

189. All this proves that we need an Organization where all great problems can be examined and, if possible, directed towards a solution. In fact none can deny the irreplaceable role of the United Nations. An international system in which it did not exist would be doomed to anarchy and the most serious upheavals. But our Organization must continue to strengthen itself, not only by writing all the peoples of the world, but by adopting structures and rules that will increase its effectiveness.

190. I will venture prudently where, perhaps, angels might fear to tread. But I would dare say that the passage of years, the modification in the relations of the forces of the world, the new possibilities offered by science and technology, the first steps of the human race into outer space or on the ocean floor and many other factors all show that the world is changing and that our Organization must adapt itself to these changes. We believe that that adaptation should follow a twofold direction.

191. On the one hand, it should be concentrated on those problems that best lend themselves to a solution in a forum such as ours. It is true that one of the main objectives of the United Nations is to guarantee international peace and security; but it is no less true that the creation of peace cannot be limited to a mere search for a solution to the political differences that could lead to armed conflicts. It must tackle the underlying causes of those conflicts and those differences; it must lead to the establishment of an international order where social, economic and technical disparities will have been eliminated so far as humanly possible; an order in which any injury to the dignity of the human person which still exists today will have disappeared; an order where the right to decide their own fate will be guaranteed to all peoples free from any foreign interference or any form of constraint.

192. In the spirit of the Charter signed at San Francisco all is indissolubly linked and everything is placed at the service

of our main goal, which is the maintenance of international peace and security. But this security and this peace will be all the more stable when they set their roots in an order to whose creation the United Nations will have contributed and made more human and more just.

193. It is in that perspective and from that standpoint that my Government gives its full support to the initiatives that are intended to strengthen the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, to reaffirm the role of the International Court of Justice, to ensure respect for human rights—and now I come to the second line of direction—to assist the regions which have suffered delays in their economic development.

194. As far as its financial capabilities allow and within the framework of its economic system, Italy is ready, during the Second United Nations Development Decade, to contribute to the solution of this fundamental problem of the future of humanity.

195. To achieve those goals we are convinced that it is imperative and urgent to reaffirm the role of the Economic and Social Council. We are equally convinced that if there is wider participation on the part of the members of that organ to which the Charter has entrusted the primary task of elaborating and carrying out the policies of the Organization in the economic, social and humanitarian fields, the countries of the third world will also have found the way of expressing themselves effectively and in a constructive atmosphere and also of progressively achieving their goals.

196. For all the industrialized countries, this important task will be greatly facilitated by a free and open system of economic relations, where exchanges can develop without let or hindrance and within an atmosphere of stability. Here we took note with satisfaction of the assurances given by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, in his

speech to the Assembly the day before yesterday [1950th meeting], when he confirmed that there is no basic change in the traditional policy of the United States in international economic questions and that the United States Government does not envisage a policy of economic nationalism. The European Economic Community intends to continue its own actions along the same lines.

197. Having said all this, need I add that to be effective an organization must dispose of sufficient financial resources with which to carry out its task? A number of speakers have alluded to the difficulties of the Organization in this field and the need to confront them. Italy, whose concern over this matter was attested to concretely by an increased subscription to the bonds issued by our Organization—and in this we were not alone—hopes that all the countries that have not yet done so will make adequate and equitable contributions in keeping with their own resources.

198. Obviously there is also another problem, that of ensuring effective representation in the main bodies of the United Nations to those States that have the greatest responsibility in international life.

199. Thus the Italian Government sees the United Nations as an organization that can adapt itself as rapidly as possible to the evolving state of the world, one that possesses the necessary flexibility and is able to fulfil its tasks.

200. Allow me, before concluding, to stress that the policy of the Italian Government is a policy of total support for the United Nations. Its action in the international field will continue in fact to be inspired by the principles in the Charter, and it is on the basis of those principles that the hopes of mankind for a better future rest.

*The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.*