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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): I am indeed pleased, Sir, to extend to you, on behalf of the Liberian delegation and myself, sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly, in our opinion, is indeed fortunate to have someone with your wide experience to guide its deliberations at this important session.

2. May I also take this opportunity to pay a deserved tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, who presided over the commemorative proceedings with aplomb and who directed the work of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly so ably as to merit the respect and admiration of all of us.

3. The Liberian delegation welcomes the recent entry into the United Nations of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar and extends to these delegations its sincere felicitations.

4. We in Liberia bemoan the recent passing of our late President, William V. S. Tubman. His tenure as leader of his country exceeded in time the life of this Organization. In his more than 27 years as Head of State, the late President Tubman spared no efforts in his endeavours to promote the interests of his people both at home and abroad. His untiring devotion to the cause of peace extended beyond the boundaries of Liberia and beyond the continent of Africa. His support of the United Nations and of the purposes for which it stands is well known.

5. He has been succeeded by President William R. Tolbert, Jr. whose faith in the United Nations and its purposes and whose dedication to international co-operation and to international brotherhood are equally and as firmly fixed.

6. President Tolbert, who served ably and faithfully as Vice-President for over 19 years, has always supported the

United Nations and other international organizations. He has directed me to assure the United Nations of his continued support and co-operation in its quest for international peace and security.

7. After almost three quarters of a century, in which the world has not been free of violence and war, with all the loss of human life and all the devastation that this has entailed, the world's peoples are yearning for peace and progress and for a better life. There are problems about which we in Africa are gravely concerned.

8. The situation in southern Africa presents perennial problems to which this Organization has been unable to provide solutions. I need not detail here the frustrations and anger and the disappointment this has caused to the peoples of Africa. The conditions necessary to find just solutions are clearly outlined in the Charter to which the Members of this Organization have subscribed. Nevertheless, this perilous situation has been allowed to linger because of selfish interests.

9. The South African Government has demonstrated extreme contempt for the ideals, principles and obligations of the Charter of the United Nations, among which are "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" and "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

10. Those principles inserted in the United Nations Charter seem, in our opinion, to place certain interests, as they relate to basic human rights, beyond the reach of arbitrary State action. Yet the South African Government has continued to ignore those principles and has challenged and defied the will and decisions of the Organization on them with a certain degree of impunity.

11. The failure of the United Nations to fulfil its mandate, at least in respect of southern Africa, clearly undermines the authority of the United Nations as a world Organization designed to ensure international peace and security. Many of the proposed remedies break down under critical analysis due to the attitudes of some powerful States. They declare lip-service condemnation of the atrocities of the Government of South Africa while lending extraordinary economic and other direct and indirect support to it. Thus, it is not very difficult to understand the apparent intransigence of South Africa.

12. There is no need for confusion about, or misunderstanding of, the avowed policy of *apartheid*. Any State that declares its policy to be based on racial distinctions over which the individual has no control and in fact imposes repressive measures to foster that policy, whatever the form of those measures, should be condemned.

13. One of the consequences of ineffective action by the international community is that the Pretoria Government has extended its heinous policy of *apartheid* to Namibia. In addition to the size of the world which frowns upon, condemns and opposes that policy, the International Court of Justice has, in its recent advisory opinion,¹ declared unequivocally that the continued South African presence in Namibia is illegal. My delegation feels that that significant opinion provides a basis for positive action by those big Powers that have, by their indirect action, conveniently encouraged South Africa to ignore the decisions of the United Nations on this burning issue.

14. The illegal minority régime in Zimbabwe—otherwise called Southern Rhodesia—provides another example of the grave situation in southern Africa which poses a threat to international peace and stability in the area. What is even more disturbing is the apparent ease with which a powerful sector of the international community seems to be adapting itself to the situation.

15. At the time of the unilateral declaration of independence by the Ian Smith régime, the United Kingdom expressly limited the measures it was prepared to take against its colony. That resulted in partial and weak measures being applied, and they have not been effective.

16. In 1968 the Security Council again voted unanimously to adopt resolution 253 (1968), imposing, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In spite of that expression of condemnation of the Smith régime by the international community through the highest world forum and the apparent manifestation of a concerted will to put an end to that illegal administration, the Smith régime has continued its intransigence. Last year's proclamation of a Republic of Rhodesia by the Smith régime is also illegal. Yet no successful attempt has been initiated to reverse the situation in Rhodesia and its tragic consequences for the African majority. The excuse for such failure is unconvincing, and the failure is due, not to inability, but to unwillingness to take the truly effective measures that would bring about success.

17. One of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the measures taken in regard to the illegal régime in Zimbabwe is the collusion between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime.

18. Once again, I consider it necessary to call on the General Assembly to strengthen its support for resolutions reaffirming the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), at present under Portuguese domination, to self-determination and independence. The present situation in those Territories is clearly a threat to international peace and security. This has been further evidenced by the dastardly attack made last year by that retrograde régime on the independent African Republic of Guinea, as well as the offensive incursions which Portugal has made on the territory of the independent African

Republic of Senegal. That threat to those independent countries is continuing today, and the Security Council Council is at present seized of those matters.

19. It is high time that the last vestiges of colonialism should be removed in conformity with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted as resolution 1514 (XV), and one of the documents adopted by the General Assembly at its commemorative session last year which called for the full implementation of that Declaration [*resolution 2708 (XXV)*].

20. It seems to me that the chief obstacle to our success in southern Africa lies not in our powers, were we to use them, but in those selfish aims which remain so little changed despite new situations. Unfortunately, it seems that it is the will of the international community that is at fault.

21. On the whole problem of southern Africa, I should like to re-emphasize what I said during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly on 10 October 1966: that the African Territories under Portuguese domination, Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa are elements of a single problem, the solution of which requires joint action [*1435th meeting, para. 25*]. That is essentially true as a result of the apparent unholy alliance among South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, especially when South Africa daily increases its military potential and was reported recently to have developed missiles which might be exported or supplied to its allies.

22. The United Nations will most likely succeed in fulfilling its obligations when its Members learn to avoid narrow national interests, to eschew economic greed and to respect fully the principles of the Charter, so that they may find themselves in a position objectively to support the efforts of the Organization.

23. Unfortunately the tragedy in Viet-Nam continues and there is still much uncertainty about a settlement. The talks in Paris have failed to yield satisfactory results. It is our hope that other events which have occurred recently may help to accelerate a solution in the interest of the Viet-Nameese people and in the cause of world peace.

24. Although there has been an effective cease-fire for over one year, the danger of an explosion in the Middle East which may have serious repercussions on world peace cannot be dismissed lightly. One of the causes for serious concern in that situation is the big-Power involvement. The missing element in that situation seems to be the will to make peace. The situation is further complicated by the unhappy ideological division in the world.

25. We believe it is time for the parties, Members of this Organization, which have obligated themselves to settle their differences by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, not only to use the existing means available to them but also to undertake fresh initiatives to reduce tension in the area. In this connexion we are anxiously awaiting the result of the initiative being undertaken by the Organization of African Unity and we can only wish success for the efforts of the 10 members of

¹ *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.*

the Committee of African Heads of State established by the Organization.

26. At this stage I should like to mention the serious financial situation of the United Nations, which was highlighted by our Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1]. This situation calls for serious decisions on the part of the Members of this Organization. We can no longer postpone or shirk the important responsibilities which the situation entails.

27. All of us need the United Nations. It is an important Organization for the maintenance of international peace and security and we cannot afford to let it drift into bankruptcy.

28. The problem of the refugees is one of great concern in many parts of the world. Because of the humanitarian nature of the problem we cannot brush it under the rug. Where there are internal conflicts and colonial wars the problem has been exacerbated.

29. The refugee situation in the Indian subcontinent places an onerous burden on India. This Organization has to assume the moral responsibility the situation imposes. Although something has been done to alleviate it, much more is required.

30. Africa is also afflicted with this problem. We hope that this Organization will make some progress in removing the conditions which have brought about such a serious human problem.

31. Although the problems I have mentioned appear intractable and cause serious concern, there have been some events in the past year which have given cause for some optimism on the international scene.

32. Perhaps I should mention first the reaffirmation of the dedication of Member States of the United Nations to the objectives and purposes of the Charter [resolution 2627 (XXV)], one of the four documents adopted by the General Assembly at its commemorative session almost a year ago.

33. Man's survival seems to depend greatly on the need to redirect our efforts to international co-operation and away from the forces which breed unrest and disorder. We also need to direct more attention to the human environment. Towards this end we should make a reappraisal of the means necessary to enable us to attain these objectives and purposes.

34. Another important factor has been the recent Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin² and the successful treaties negotiated by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics³ and with Poland.⁴ These agreements point to a normalization of relations between West Germany and other Eastern European coun-

tries and provide a welcome opportunity for the reduction of tension in this area. No one can doubt that this may have a salutary effect on an East-West *détente*.

35. Another significant factor has been the favourable, although slow, progress made in the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. To this must be added also the slow progress made in the Geneva disarmament talks by 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]. Liberia regrets that this agreement has not yet been extended to chemical weapons.

36. The Liberian delegation certainly wishes that more rapid progress could be made on the issue of disarmament. The arms race produces only unrest and instability and could result in disaster for mankind, especially in view of the advances that have been made in science and technology.

37. Apart from the fact that social conditions in many parts of the world can be substantially improved by funds diverted from armaments, we have a clear choice to make to prevent our self-destruction and ensure man's survival.

38. My delegation feels that the question of the sea-bed, and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction is one which requires the most delicate consideration and handling in our search for a solution within the meaning and context of General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV) and within the framework of resolution 2750 (XXV).

39. The ability of the international community to promote order and to preserve harmony may be tested by the success of our efforts in devising means of regulating activities in the intricate and challenging age of scientific and technological advances. Only one path provides a solution in the interests of mankind as a whole, and that is by agreement based on the principles of universality and equality.

40. To achieve this end, partisan and selfish considerations will have to give way to common interests based on the principle of equity. An international community in which each State is willing to surrender only that for which it can see an equivalent in terms of itself alone is not one that will provide an answer for the settlement of the question of the sea-bed.

41. General Assembly resolution 2750 C (XXV) also provides for the convening of a conference on the law of the sea in 1973 and it assigns certain duties to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction in preparation for the conference. While my delegation welcomes a conference on the law of the sea in 1973, we feel that views on questions relating to the law of the sea are in many respects so wide apart and diverse that a modification of extreme positions must be encouraged if the conference is to be successful. We must be prepared to submerge our separate and individual interests in a common cause for the common good and the benefit of mankind.

² Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

³ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁴ Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

42. I have spoken seriously about the political and social problems of our world. There is another problem which causes my Government serious concern. I have, in past statements before this body, applauded the United Nations for the role it is playing in the field of economic development and growth, in terms of technical advice, training, pre-investment studies and meaningful, if indirect, financial contributions.

43. The work of the United Nations Development Programme has become an integral part of the efforts of most developing countries to plan and implement both short- and long-term policies. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development continues to explore possibilities to improve trade relations between the developing and the developed countries.

44. Despite these efforts, there is today re-emerging a kind of rugged nationalistic conservatism in international trade and financial matters which, if not rectified, may ultimately dissipate those efforts at international monetary co-operation, which are already strained, and hamper our attempts to make significant gains in this field during this decade.

45. Change is inevitable and is a constant of history. In 1946, it was honourable to see the international community get together and work out financial arrangements for the furtherance and facilitation of international trade. Since that time, the nature of trade has changed and this has been the result of the imposition of protective measures which largely distort the real nature of trade in terms of both the actual exchange of goods and the international division of labour.

46. We, the developing countries, find ourselves at the lower level of an economic model we did not create. In almost every area of trade, our commodities suffer an unfair advantage in terms of price whenever they are permitted to enter into these protected markets. These markets are overprotected because the developed countries find it difficult to see the importance of those of our efforts which are not strictly related to their own national self-interest.

47. In the message delivered on behalf of the Secretary-General to the Economic and Social Council at its 1773rd meeting, in Geneva, it was stated that the task of translating the International Development Strategy into practice would require even more determination, understanding and goodwill than the original formulation which brought it into being. The concern expressed by the Secretary-General is one also shared by my Government.

48. With deteriorating terms of trade and a slowdown in growth, what developing countries need is the implementation of the terms adopted in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. The developing countries are in a situation where they are affected not only by their own economic policies but also by the economic policies of the developed countries, although the latter are not affected by the policies of the developing countries.

49. Recently we have heard talk about letting the world markets respond to the simple concepts of supply and

demand. Is it not ironic that the applicability of this concept practically excludes most countries of the third world? The constant plea of developing countries is for our commodities to enter the markets of developed countries at fair prices. How can we be expected to meet the targets of the Development Strategy if we have constantly to beg to sell those commodities which we produce?

50. I am unable to conclude these remarks without stating that Secretary-General U Thant deserves our appreciation and special praise for his sincere devotion and services to the United Nations as well as for his dedication to the cause of international peace and security. His astute handling of some of the most delicate international issues, his determination to serve humanity, his objectivity, his strength of character and his resoluteness in the face of challenging odds have merited for him our highest respect and won for him our admiration and affection. The Government of Liberia wishes indeed that he can be induced to continue in his high and responsible office. Nevertheless, should he insist on retiring we can only hope that his talents and experience can be made available to the Organization at times when they may be needed and that he and his family will have happiness in the years ahead.

51. Finally, Mr. President, you may be assured of the full co-operation of the Liberian delegation during this session. The times demand from us nothing less than this.

52. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): Mr. President, the sincere feelings which lead heads of delegations to congratulate the incumbent of the lofty office of President of the General Assembly are doubly felt by me, when I reiterate my delegation's deep gratification to see you presiding over our present session. Apart from your personal qualities of tact, knowledge and wide experience, you have a unique history as a resolute freedom fighter who unswervingly persevered in the face of numerous hardships and difficulties in promoting the cause of freedom and independence, and the deliverance of peoples from foreign domination and, above all, from economic backwardness and ignorance. There are no qualities admired more by my own countrymen than those of a dedicated freedom fighter. When such a person is the representative of Indonesia, a country which is bound to the Arabs by the strongest affinities of culture, religion and unity in the defence of the causes of liberty, justice and human dignity, we feel that we have equal reason to congratulate ourselves on such an auspicious occasion.

53. It is fitting to add here that your predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, lived up to our highest expectations when he presided over the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, for which he merited our deep esteem and appreciation.

54. Three years ago our distinguished Secretary-General pointed out in his report to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly that "... little progress, if any, has been recorded towards the growth of international order based on law and justice" [*A/7201/Add.1, para. 174*]. It distresses me to have to stand here now and express my fears that, despite the unmistakable signs of change which appear on the international horizon, it does not seem that any substantial progress has been made or is likely to be made to satisfy the full aspirations of the international community to peace and justice.

55. There have been, admittedly, some gestures from the imperialists which may give the impression, on the surface, that they have finally come to their senses. But let us not be deceived by all this. Whatever may appear as a sign of conciliation on their part would not really have taken place but for the resolute will of the peace- and freedom-loving countries and their insistence on regaining their full rights without any quarter being given or taken. In other parts of the world where international imperialism believes that peoples are dormant, less vigilant, or unable to resist outside interventions and designs, imperialism is still actively engaged in its usual scheming and manipulations. Thus, when it seems that, for example, United States policy is finally facing the realities in the Far East, let us not overlook the fact that it has never for a moment forgone its customary manoeuvring in the Middle East and elsewhere.

56. As far as the Arab part of the world is concerned, we have to observe first that a few months ago we entered the fifth year of Israeli occupation of the whole of Palestine and of parts of three Arab States. We entered the fifth year of Israeli aggression and occupation without any sign that this dismal picture is likely to change through the concerted efforts of the international community. What makes this situation all the more alarming is the fact that Arab land has been under foreign occupation for a longer period than most of the European countries were under Nazi occupation. All humanity joined forces during the Second World War to dislodge the Hitlerite *Wehrmacht* from the occupied European countries and terminate the Nazi aggression. Yet, when it comes to putting an end to the Zionists' aggression in the Middle East, we find the international community, and particularly the very instrument it created to re-establish international peace and order based on law and justice, incapable of taking any effective action to achieve the first and foremost purpose of the United Nations. We enter the fifth year of Israeli occupation with all the signs and indications of a perpetuation of that occupation, ranging from the perpetration of more *faits accomplis* in the occupied territories to the ruthless and inhuman liquidation of the Palestinian resistance.

57. From the time of its adoption on 22 November 1967 we did not have much faith in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We suspected its objectives and we doubted the possibility of its implementation. We opposed the resolution's departure from the principle of peace with justice and we resented the fact that it was to all intents and purposes rewarding the aggressor.

58. The four years which have elapsed since the adoption of that resolution have been enough to justify the worst of our misgivings. We realized that the resolution would never satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine and ensure their inalienable rights to return to their homes and determine their own future in their own country—rights which were reaffirmed by General Assembly resolution 2672 C (XXV) of 8 December 1970. We felt that any attempt to settle the crisis in the Middle East without restoring and respecting the legitimate rights of the Palestinians was unjust and contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination.

59. We were also certain that the resolution was impracticable, as we were confident that, unjust as it was, it had not

the slightest chance of being implemented in the face of the now too obvious Israeli designs of expansion and acquisition of more territory by use of force. We are not happy to see that it took four years of futile attempts to implement the resolution to prove us right. We are not gloating over the failure, but are rather saddened that the international community has not yet resorted to effective measures to vindicate the purposes of the Charter. Only such measures, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, can establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East. That anything short of these measures will not effect any substantial change in Israel's policy has been amply demonstrated by Israel's immediate and defiant rejection of Security Council resolution 298 (1971), the third resolution the Council has taken against Israel's illegal annexation of the city of Jerusalem.

60. What distresses us most is that we have witnessed since the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly a certain drift on the part of the United Nations into apathy and a willingness by allowing one of its Members to assume its functions to abdicate its responsibilities for re-establishing peace in the Middle East. The entire authority of the United Nations and even its mandate under resolution 242 (1967) itself have been usurped by one of the major Powers, a permanent member of the Security Council and, at that, the major patron and benefactor of Israel. What makes the situation all the worse is the fact that the United States, in pursuing its alleged objectives of establishing peace in our part of the world, has never ceased appeasing the aggressor and granting Israel one concession after another as an excuse for obtaining a dubious Israeli commitment, which Israel has no intention of honouring in the first place. There were even reports that the Government of the United States has promised Israel further deliveries of supersonic planes and war materials in return for the promise of a partial withdrawal from the occupied territories of one Arab country. If this pattern of appeasement is to continue, Israel will acquire all that it at present desires of weapons and instruments of destruction without yielding an inch of the occupied territories. What makes this all the more alarming is that Israel is now being promised weapons capable of delivering nuclear war-heads when Israel has obstinately refused to ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. To modernize and re-equip the war machine of an aggressor in order to make him disgorge his loot seems to me a most curious enterprise. The Nazis would have been reigning supreme in the world today had their aggression been treated in a similar fashion.

61. We believe that it is high time for the United Nations to shoulder its responsibilities towards the people of Palestine and towards peace in our area. It should reclaim the initiative in the search for solutions and endeavour to put an end to aggression by adopting the very same measures provided for in the Charter. At the same time, I should like to reaffirm from this rostrum the resolute will of my Government to remain behind the people of Palestine in their just struggle to regain their inalienable rights to their country and homeland. We shall remain faithful to the Palestinian resistance and will assure it of our full solidarity against the attempts aimed towards its liquidation. I should also like to assert our firm conviction that no envisaged solution, whether total or partial, of the

problem of the Middle East has the flimsiest chance of success if it does not ensure justice to the Palestinians and restore to them their elementary human rights to existence and self-determination.

62. Our concern for the cause of Palestine and the fate of the Palestinians makes us all the more aware of the need to assure peace and stability in another part of the Arab world very much closer to my country and directly affecting its vital interests and future developments. We have always felt that the liquidation of the United Kingdom presence in the Arabian Gulf was long overdue. It has always been our firm conviction that the liberation of the Arab world would not be complete without the elimination of residual spheres of influence and the total liquidation of foreign hegemony in the area of the Arabian Gulf. We therefore supported every move towards the total restoration to the Arab people of the Gulf of their rights to complete freedom and independence. We have always proclaimed our solidarity with our Arab brethren in the Gulf in their struggle to reassert their full independence and regain their complete sovereignty over the natural resources of their lands. We therefore supported the endeavours of our sisterly Arab States of Bahrain and Qatar to terminate their treaty obligations with the United Kingdom and to regain their rights to sovereignty and full independence. We welcome their entry into the ranks of the family of nations, just as we welcomed the entry of Bhutan and the expected entry of Oman, and pledge ourselves to join hands with them and other Arab countries for the complete fulfilment of the aspirations of the Arab people in the Gulf. We stand ready to extend the hand of co-operation to every other country in the area which wishes to rid itself of the last vestiges of foreign influence and we pledge our full support for them to occupy their rightful place in the family of nations. We therefore welcome the efforts that have been made to achieve the Federation of the Arab Republics of the Gulf and would assure the Federation of our unswerving solidarity against any attempt to encroach upon its territorial integrity.

63. It is the firm belief of my Government that the future of peace and tranquility in the Gulf can only be assured through co-operation among the States of that region, a co-operation based upon complete equality and respect for each other's sovereignty and independence and conforming to the strict rules of international law. In this respect it is imperative that all territorial claims and ambitions be relinquished. Naturally this should involve a demonstration of goodwill and expressions of good intentions on the part of all the countries of the area. I regret to state that this does not seem to be the case with our neighbour, Iran.

64. Two and a half years ago the Government of Iran unilaterally declared "null and void" the valid and mutually binding Iraqi-Iranian Boundary Treaty, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937. To justify that act, the Iranian Government alleged that my country did not honour its Treaty obligations in the Iraqi national river of Shatt-al-Arab.

65. In the face of that indefensible act, my Government never departed from an attitude of patience and self-restraint in spite of Iran's continued violations of Iraqi regulations laid down to ensure safe and orderly navigation on the Shatt-al-Arab. In pursuance of this policy my

Government on several occasions—twice from this rostrum, at the 1776th and 1854th meetings—called upon the Government of Iran to agree to refer these differences among neighbours regarding the application of the Boundary Treaty of 1937 to the International Court of Justice and to recognize the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in accordance with Article 36 of the Statute of the Court.

66. In the spirit of respect for the rule of law and the belief that disputes among States should be resolved through negotiations and not confrontation, I hereby call anew upon our neighbour Iran to accept the reference to the International Court of Justice of our differences regarding the boundary Treaty and its application and to safeguard the legitimate interests of both countries.

67. One of the positive achievements of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly was the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. Iraq has always believed that the attainment of international security on a global scale can be reached only through the full participation of the People's Republic of China in international life, including the restoration of its lawful rights in the United Nations. We have therefore joined hands with other friendly countries in proposing a draft resolution [*A/L.630*] to achieve that purpose. We feel that this is the only lawful and honourable course the United Nations can take to right the wrongs which have been perpetrated for the last 22 years. We also regard any suggestion that there are "two Chinas" or even "two seats" as a deliberate, though futile, attempt to circumvent the restoration of the legitimate rights of the people of China in the United Nations. Any pronouncement of the desire to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China does not seem compatible with the attempt to advance the myth of two Chinas, nor is it reconcilable with the attempts to frustrate the realization of the legitimate rights of the peoples in the Far East. Thus, it would appear to us hypocritical to advocate the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China and to pursue at the very same time the inhuman war against the courageous and heroic people of Viet-Nam. It is equally unthinkable that such "normalization" can be successful when war is extended to Laos and Cambodia and when foreign troops—largely United States troops—are still present in South Korea under the banner of the United Nations, thus effectively preventing the peaceful reunification of that country.

68. The strengthening of international security is closely tied to the principle of universality in the United Nations. Thus the present Berlin Agreement should pave the way to the participation of both Germanys and all the other divided countries in the world Organization.

69. I mentioned earlier the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It is fitting now to make a reference to other endeavours undertaken by the international community to lessen international tension and create the right atmosphere to strengthen international peace and security, to achieve general and complete disarmament and arms control, and thus to end the tragic waste of human energies and material resources. We support every effort aiming towards a universal prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. We also welcome

efforts made to ensure universal co-operation in outer space and on the sea-bed. We particularly laud the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in calling for the conclusion of an international treaty concerning the moon [A/8391] and for a world disarmament conference [A/L.631].

70. The Soviet Union's concern for a new world order based on stability and justice has been demonstrated to us and other Arabs by its generous and sincere efforts to end the occupation of Arab territories by Israeli forces and its support for the restoration of the rights of the people of Palestine.

71. The Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [resolution 2749 (XXV)] had our unqualified support, and we hope that the present preparations for a conference on the law of the sea will culminate in the desired international régime and machinery to ensure that the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor will be equitably shared by all mankind, particularly the developing countries. Such concerted endeavours towards the betterment of the human condition and the improvement of life on this globe will receive our full support and active participation. Nations of this world have finally come to acknowledge that, notwithstanding human failures and foibles in the political field, ours is really one world regardless of political, geographical or other boundaries that separate nations. That point has never been more strikingly emphasized than by the ills of the human environment. All of us now have become aware of the problems of the environment and we are all conscious that the price of the technological advancement of the developed countries is being paid by all mankind. We therefore look forward to the convening of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm next year. We trust that that Conference, in which we hope all States and even Non-Self-Governing Territories will participate, will succeed in finding ways and means of controlling the global pollution that threatens life on this earth with total annihilation.

72. My country's faith in the United Nations as the only means available at present to co-ordinate universal efforts to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields has never wavered or diminished in spite of our valid grievances and misgivings. And in spite of the criticisms that have been occasionally and often rightly levelled against this world Organization, we do acknowledge the fact that efforts have been made and achievements recorded towards promoting international co-operation in the non-political fields. My country has always supported, and whenever possible actively participated in, the endeavours of the United Nations in the social, educational, economic and humanitarian fields. My country is proud to be represented in the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women and the Committee on Natural Resources. We have always supported the activities and programmes of the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. As a token of our appreciation of the assistance these two bodies have been rendering to the large

number of developing countries and Territories, we have recently decided to increase our annual financial contribution to the United Nations Development Programme from \$220,000 for 1971 to \$300,000 for the year 1972, and from \$10,000 for 1971 to \$12,500 for next year's budget of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. We stand ready to study every possibility of rendering assistance within our means to all efforts of the United Nations to promote international co-operation in the economic, social and humanitarian fields.

73. It is indeed ironic that despite our awareness of the unity of mankind, regardless of race or ethnic origins, we still witness the divisive elements produced and nurtured by racial discrimination and the criminal theories of racial, religious or national superiority. Moreover, it is tragic that we still, in the last third of the twentieth century, have to endure the evils of *apartheid* and the fallacy of the existence of a "chosen people". No effort is too great and no price is too high if we are to overcome those social evils which are at the root of man's subjugation by man. Even our efforts in the field of decolonization are doomed to failure if we permit the persistence of the myth that some men, because of their colour, religion or race, are superior to others and accordingly have the divine right to shape the destinies of other peoples.

74. It is deeply discouraging to continue to witness the inability of the world Organization to take effective measures against the perennial problems of colonialism in Africa, due mainly to the failure of the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities and exercise its full authority with regard to Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies. The International Court of Justice has given its Advisory Opinion on the Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970). What remains to be done now is to adopt effective measures to put an end to that illegal presence. It is to be hoped that those measures will pave the way to the liquidation of the unholy alliance of the colonialists in Africa and to the beginning of the total liberation of that great continent from colonialism.

75. This session marks the tenth year of the incumbency of U Thant, our esteemed Secretary-General. We take this opportunity to pay a sincere tribute to his indefatigable efforts in the service of the United Nations, to his integrity and his total dedication and adherence to the purposes and the principles of the Charter. U Thant has endured the strains and stresses of this delicate office and, in spite of many pressures, he has succeeded in living up to a reputation of complete neutrality and integrity. We shall be sorry to see him leave the service of this Organization, but we are quite confident that he will continue to make every effort to promote the purposes of the Charter.

76. The man who will replace him will have to shoulder an onerous and formidable task. He will have to be endowed with exceptional qualities: competence, tact, knowledge, infinite patience, and wide experience in the affairs of international organizations. He will have to be a man of unique integrity having a profound sense of justice, and above all a man fully dedicated to the United Nations. Those qualities would then enable him to strike a balance

between the enormous demands of his office and the need to maintain absolute neutrality in the face of conflicting interests. The background of the candidate to that office should be such as to make him totally immune to the pressures to which he will undoubtedly be subjected once he assumes his lofty position, and which he cannot in all conscience allow to influence the discharge of his duties. Such an individual may be difficult to find, but we are confident that he exists. After all, he will be only a human being, albeit of exceptional qualities, dealing with other human beings.

77. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Your unanimous election, Sir, to the high office of President of this twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly is a resounding tribute to your eminent qualities as a statesman and experienced diplomat, and a source of legitimate pride for your country. Rwanda has particular reason for being pleased with that choice because of the more than friendly relations that my country maintains with Indonesia, whose noble son you are. Indeed, there exists between our two countries a common destiny, sprung from the same source, that great "event", the African-Asian Conference, in Bandung 16 years ago, which summoned the heretofore colonized peoples to awake and forged in us a common awareness.

78. My delegation would like at the same time to express once again its very high appreciation for the remarkable way in which your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, President of the twenty-fifth session, discharged his heavy responsibilities.

79. Secretary-General U Thant, an untiring apostle of peace, deserves a special word of recognition. For so many years, he has dedicated his best energies to counselling Member States on translating into reality the great ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. My country would be very happy to see him remain even longer at the helm of this Organization.

80. Rwanda is also extremely happy to extend a warm welcome as members of the community of nations to the States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, whose desire for peace and co-operation are known to us all.

81. As happens every year at this time, the entire world is again assembled in this forum to undertake a collective examination of conscience in order to weigh the successes and failures of nations' efforts to promote the progress and happiness of their peoples.

82. The maintenance of international peace and security, the development among nations of friendly relations based upon respect for the principle of the equal rights of peoples and on their right to self-determination; the achievement of international co-operation for the solution of international problems in economic, social and other fields, and the encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all are the principal objectives that have been accepted by States represented here in subscribing to the Charter of our Organization. It is in the light of those very objectives that their behaviour should be assessed.

83. Rwanda, for its part, will continue, as it has always done in the past, to direct its foreign policy towards the achievement of those goals, whether it be domestically, in its relations with its neighbours, or within the framework of the Organization.

84. The lives of nations, just as the lives of individuals, have their shocks and tragedies.

85. Thus it is that Europe, which yesterday was so ravaged by two world wars, today has great prospects for the future, thanks to the dynamic and far-seeing diplomacy of its leaders, who desired and have succeeded in re-establishing good relations between Germany and its neighbours and who just recently laid the foundations for a solution to the problem of Berlin.

86. However, while Europe is actively working for a reconciliation with itself in order to regain its former grandeur, the situation is totally different in Asia, where absurd wars, imposed from the outside, spread needless suffering.

87. What scope do the war in Viet-Nam and the conflict in the Middle East leave to international peace and security? In both cases a gun is brandished in the name only of "might makes right". But strength for whoever is strong lies not in the subjugation of the weak, but in mastering one's self to avoid falling prey to the excesses to which such strength might lead. As Gandhi, that great philosopher, said, "strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will" and non-violence means "putting one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant".⁵ It is certainly high time that all the parties to the war in Viet-Nam knew that the Viet-Nameese people in particular and the world in general are impatiently waiting for the rays of the sun of peace again to emerge over that suffering area.

88. In the Middle East, hatred piled upon hatred has hardened and lulled consciences to sleep, by setting up the law of the sword and the cannon in men's hearts. It is necessary for all the Members of the Organization to support the efforts deployed by the four great Powers and by Ambassador Jarring to achieve a negotiated agreement whereby the Arab States may recover, without any preliminary conditions the territories occupied by Israel, and Israel may possess secure and recognized boundaries. This, in the view of my delegation, is the very essence of resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council. As the philosopher Aristotle has said, an unjust victory cannot convey a just claim.

89. I should like to turn now to the problem of the representation of China within the Organization, a subject that has aroused passionate debate for so many years in this Assembly.

90. In the opinion of my Government, the exclusion of one quarter of humanity from an organization that aims at

⁵ *All Men are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as Told in His Own Words*, compiled and edited by Krishna Kripalani (Ahmedabad, India, Navajivan Publishing House, 1960), pp. 138 and 139.

universality by references to all sorts of fallacious arguments is an absurd situation to which we should put an end. The People's Republic of China should be re-established in its legitimate rights and should take its seat in the Security Council as a permanent member, in conformity with Article 23 of the Charter, as well as its seat in the General Assembly.

91. Like it or not, the People's Republic of China, with its 750 million human beings and its area of 9,600,000 square kilometres, its economic, scientific and technical development, its diplomatic relations with countries in all the continents of the world, is a giant that must have its bit to say in the settlement of the world's problems if we wish this settlement to be permanent. No one is ignorant of the fact that States that make up this Organization have different political and social régimes, for each people chooses at a given moment of its history the ideology and the régime that it considers appropriate. Why, then, exclude the People's Republic of China from this Organization—a country created by a glorious popular revolution? The peace and security of the world will be built with the full participation of the 750 million Chinese, or they will not be built at all.

92. Thus the Government of Rwanda is prepared to support without any reservation whatsoever any proposal which is designed in a positive way to allow the People's Republic of China to make its contribution within the framework of the United Nations to the building of the future of mankind. Furthermore, my country is convinced that the question of the representation of China is by no means a question of the admission of a new member State or of the exclusion of a Member State within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, because the State of China is a Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council in conformity with Article 23 of the Charter.

93. As far as the 14 million people living on Taiwan are concerned, Rwanda believes that they, too, have a natural and legitimate right to be subject solely to a Government of their free choice.

94. I cannot leave the Asian continent without referring to the problem of Korea. As the Assembly has decided [1939th meeting] to adjourn a debate on Korea to the twenty-ninth session, I will confine myself solely to stating that my Government hopes with all its heart to see this country recover its unity. It is encouraging most actively the efforts for a rapprochement that have been made at the humanitarian level by the Red Cross organizations of the two parties in order to settle the fate of prisoners. May this contact be the forerunner of others and may it open the path to a fruitful dialogue between the two Koreas, for let us not forget that it is up to the Koreans themselves in the long run to solve their own problem, free from any foreign interference, military or otherwise.

95. If it is essential to put a halt to the suffering caused by the wars in Viet-Nam and the Middle East, to promote the reunification of Korea and to do justice to the People's Republic of China by opening to it the doors of this Organization, it is equally necessary to condemn that great shame of the twentieth century, namely colonialism and *apartheid*, which are rampant in southern Africa.

96. These two scourges have repeatedly been condemned by the General Assembly. Yet, the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, the immediate authors of this hideous drama, continue to flout the decisions of the Organization.

97. Thus, Portugal continues to deny to the populations of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) their right to self-determination and independence; what is worse, it is carrying on a heinous colonialist war in these Territories. Its sinister annexationist plans even cause it to become involved in acts of aggression against Senegal and the Republic of Guinea. The monstrous crimes of which Portugal is guilty every day in Africa should lead to unanimous condemnation by the international Organization and should induce the latter to render it impotent to cause harm by forcing Portugal, by all possible means, to cease deliberately shocking the universal conscience by its conduct which has already manifestly been condemned by history.

98. In South Africa, the philosophy of racial segregation involves the South African Government in acts of bloody repression against the populations of African origin, acts designed progressively to exterminate them. Some sources advocate dialogue with the racist régime of Pretoria. Of course, it is better to discuss, to negotiate, in a word to conduct a dialogue, than to fight. However, a dialogue presupposes the existence of at least two parties; but the authorities of Pretoria clearly do not want such a dialogue, because by the principle of their racial segregation they definitely exclude their true partners in dialogue, namely, the African populations of the territory who are directly concerned by the subject of such a dialogue. The Government of South Africa should first agree to discuss with the Africans of that country in order to find ways and means of constructing a State that will fully guarantee the rights of the majority before seeking to lay traps for the independent African States, traps designed to sway their opinion on South Africa's policy of oppression.

99. In Namibia the situation is equally alarming. Although this Territory is directly under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, the Government of South Africa, which has refused to withdraw from this Territory, thus defying the moral and political authority of the United Nations, continues to carry out its criminal policy of humiliation and oppression. South Africa should know that it is illegal to give orders without the right to do so and particularly when this is against all laws. The Government of that country should enter into immediate negotiations with the Secretary-General in order to find the best ways and means to effect, without delay, the transfer of power and sovereignty to the legitimate representatives of the people of Namibia.

100. In Southern Rhodesia, Ian Smith and his clique hold millions of Africans under their yoke under the complaisant eyes of the United Kingdom, which, in the opinion of my Government, remains fully and directly responsible for the situation prevailing in that African Territory.

101. The unholy alliance of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury obviously constitutes a permanent danger to the peace and security of the African continent, because despite numerous appeals made by our Organization this alliance

persists in its error by ignoring the irreversible laws of history which show that any revolution of substance always triumphs in the end.

102. My Government is equally shocked to see that certain Western Powers are deliberately violating the decisions of our Organization by continuing to supply arms to South Africa and Portugal and by failing to observe the total embargo which was proclaimed against Rhodesia. Such conduct weakens the authority of the United Nations and also gives encouragement to manifestly immoral causes for whose defence these arms are intended.

103. It can be foreseen that, exacerbated by the colonialist repression of Portugal and Ian Smith, and by the inhuman and unnatural policy of racial segregation, the African populations of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) will finally decide to meet violence with violence and will take it upon themselves to choose the true path of their freedom, the path of revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said:

"A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."⁶

104. As an African Government, my Government is greatly preoccupied with the tragic situation that exists in the southern part of our continent. As a member of the world community of nations, it is equally preoccupied with the danger that hangs over our heads because of the huge stockpiles of arms of all types which States, especially the great Powers, continue to manufacture, devoting enormous sums to their manufacture. The larger and smaller nations must become acutely aware of this dangerous situation and work more decisively for the destruction of all these stockpiles that serve less for the defence of humanity, than for its impoverishment.

105. In truth, the imperative need for peace and security throughout the world, and for good relations between countries, also requires increased international economic co-operation, in order to achieve more genuine international social justice, because, believe me, gentlemen, hunger, illness and ignorance throughout the world are as dangerous to the happiness and the security of peoples as is the sound of the cannon.

106. The gap which has continued to grow between the richer and poorer countries is such that the equal right of all peoples of the world to flourish in full measure and to enjoy the benefits of civilization has become an empty slogan today. Through science and technology, which man himself has developed, man today has pierced the mystery of the depths of the oceans and has conquered outer space. The walk on the moon, this event a legend throughout the ages for all civilizations, has now become a reality. Why is man suddenly paralysed when it comes to beating all

records in demolishing slums in which thousands and thousands of human beings are stagnating and in providing men with a decent way of life, in other words, by offering them a chance to survive as well as a reason for living?

107. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted by Member States on 24 October 1970 [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], is a true holy writ whose precepts should be kept constantly in mind by the leaders of the world today. The following is stated in the preamble to that text:

"...the level of living of countless of millions of people ... is still pitifully low. These people are often still undernourished, uneducated, unemployed and wanting in many other basic amenities of life. While a part of the world lives in great comfort and even affluence, much of the larger part suffers from abject poverty, and in fact the disparity is continuing to widen. This lamentable situation has contributed to the aggravation of world tension."

108. While it is encouraging to note that there is a universal awakening to the existence of this unfortunate reality, it would be unfortunate if States, particularly those which possess more material wealth than they need, were to be content with expressions of pious wishes, without having sufficient political will to commit themselves fully to the course of international co-operation.

109. Classical law, born of the traditional structures of Western Europe, has for long accustomed us to the idea of the coexistence of States which are fully independent one of the other and whose sovereignty is limited neither at home nor abroad. Such an approach, which reflects the liberal spirit with which the Western civilization was impregnated, is now a thing of the past. The twentieth century demands that States bow to the law of our time, which is the rule of co-operation and interdependence.

110. This co-operation, so necessary in all sectors, is even essential in the economic field, where the developing countries are, from many points of view, treated unjustly. International social justice requires that the raw materials exported by these countries receive a fair price in world markets. The continuous deterioration of the terms of trade is of particular concern to the developing countries. It has recently been aggravated by the lack of equilibrium created in the world monetary system as a result of unilateral decisions adopted by certain States, without any account being taken of the repercussions they would have on commercial relations between the developed countries and the developing countries. It is important that the world community should do everything possible to remedy the situation.

111. Furthermore, rates of interest for capital loans on the world market should become less prohibitive in order to allow all developed and insufficiently developed countries to have access to such loans, and thus to break the vicious circle existing today, in which loans are made only to the wealthy.

112. As we were saying, in the past man has broken through the most stubborn resistance offered by the ocean

⁶ *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960), pp. 11-12.

depths. This adventure has also enabled him to discover other heretofore undreamt-of riches to which, in my Government's opinion, all mankind should have equal access.

113. I should also like to refer in this connexion to a problem of the utmost interest to my country: that of land-locked States. While Rwanda is very pleased that the United Nations has taken cognizance of the importance of this problem, yet it deplores the fact that in this matter certain States are at times adopting practices that run completely counter to the decisions of the United Nations. It is necessary that all countries be invited to become parties to the Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States, signed at New York on 8 July 1965, and should adhere to the convention as soon as possible. My country therefore launches a pressing appeal to all States to conform to the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations on this subject.

114. The consolidation of this world Organization, designed to guarantee the peace and security of all nations, the promotion of a peaceful spirit which will induce States to solve their problems through negotiation and dialogue, renewed urgency in the struggle against colonialism in all its forms and against racial discrimination in southern Africa, renunciation of the armaments race and the rechanneling of financial resources thus released towards the tasks of civilization and peace, the creation of social well-being for all human beings without distinction as to race, sex, colour or religion and the creation of conditions that enable all human beings fully to enjoy their fundamental rights—this is the challenge that the world of today, our common heritage, as President Nixon put it so well, must meet.

115. For its part Rwanda considers it a point of honour to state that, as a loyal partner, it can always be counted on to make a generous contribution towards the forging of a better future for humanity.

116. Mr. HILLERY (Ireland): I should like, Sir, on behalf of the Irish delegation, to add my warm congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly has chosen a President who knows how to bear wisdom lightly and, in electing you to this high honour, has paid tribute to you as a distinguished leader and statesman of your great country, a country of rich cultural "diversity in unity" and one which has such an important role in the affairs of your region and among all the nations.

117. I am happy to join in the universal tribute that has also been paid to Mr. Harnbro, the distinguished representative of Norway, whose patience, skill and dynamism were so brilliantly displayed as President of the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly.

118. It is my pleasant duty to join in welcoming three new Member States, Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. Together they are further encouraging evidence of the spirit of freedom which has animated this Assembly from its beginnings. My delegation looks forward to happy and fruitful co-operation with them. We shall be most happy to vote this afternoon for the admission of Oman.

119. The United Nations has striven to establish the right of all nations to political freedom and a voice in the council of nations. In this it has achieved great success, the number of newly independent States which are Members of the Organization being now greater than the number of States which signed the Charter. We must remain unshaken in our resolve that those which have not yet achieved independence, or have had it snatched from them, must be given this right, this essential condition—as freedom is an essential condition—for progress. Political freedom is not everything—though perhaps only those who have ever lost it know fully how precious it is. The great tragedies of poverty, of economic exploitation, of the threat of war, of the rivalry of nations, of a polluted environment remain. Political freedom will not of itself solve these problems. But at least no nation should have to remain a helpless prisoner, unable to do anything to try to solve them, or to join with others in trying to solve them, and resign itself to seeing its future decided by outsiders.

120. It is our very great loss that we must fear we shall soon no longer have the personal guidance of U Thant in these efforts of ours. I say personal guidance, for even when he will lay down his office—despite, I am sure, the unanimous wish of this Assembly that he should stay—his courage, his words, the attitudes he has taught us and his tolerance will remain to guide and inspire us. His most recent achievement, in the comprehensive, thoughtful, objective and challenging introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1], has given a picture of 10 full years, of failures and accomplishments—and of the frightening problems facing humanity. If we can follow his advice, if we do not squander the years before us, we will be able to produce a better balance sheet at the end of the next decade.

121. U Thant has been a man of peace. It is a very difficult thing to be, for it demands the exercise of that most difficult of virtues, tolerance. We all have strongly held beliefs and we are quite sure we are in the right. It has been said that there are neutral countries but no neutral men. U Thant is too imbued with philosophy and religion to be neutral in human issues. But he has striven to see both sides of the various problems which affect us and he has, despite the experience and no doubt the frustrations of a decade in office, affirmed his faith in humanity.

122. I have been moved especially by two sentences of his report:

"I feel more strongly than ever that the worth of the individual human being is the most unique and precious of all our assets and must be the beginning and the end of all our efforts. Governments, systems, ideologies and institutions come and go, but humanity remains." [*Ibid.*, para. 146.]

It must give us pause when we realize that that last sentence could be proved false. Humanity remains, but easy means now exist to wipe humanity off the face of the earth. There have been, and there are, disarmament talks. There has been progress. There have been six major treaties. These include the partial test-ban Treaty,⁷ the Treaty on the Non-

⁷ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and the agreement to prohibit nuclear and mass-destruction weapons on the sea-bed,⁸ and the great Powers have agreed not to place weapons of mass destruction in outer space. And then there are the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. These last may lead to some reduction in future production. This is perhaps poor consolation when we realize that the two super-Powers have enough nuclear weaponry to destroy each other and all the rest of us and enough automatic systems to continue the salvoes over the corpse of humanity. Was there ever such a waste of human effort?

123. For poverty and the diseases of poverty continue to threaten two thirds of mankind in this Development Decade. And yet the scientific and technological basis exists for an abundant world food supply. The Secretary-General has told us that by promoting the uses in less developed areas of new types of cereals and legumes we can help 300 million children grow up healthy in mind and body [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 74*]. One of mankind's victories has been the war against malaria, so that 1,000 million people now live in areas from which it has been eradicated.

124. How much more could not be done if the \$200,000 million spent each year on armaments could be put to useful purposes. We may well ask, when we realize that only 3 per cent of that amount is spent on aid to developing countries. Whatever the problems that face us, however deep our passions may be, they cannot justify a threat of nuclear war. When Pope Paul came here at the twentieth session at the invitation of U Thant he bade us listen to the call of humanity: "Never again war, war never again!" [*1347th meeting, para. 33*].

125. We Europeans have for many centuries known the evil results of war. In this century Europe has twice seen unparalleled devastation. From that misery a new Europe has arisen. Great rivalries have been resolved in friendship and co-operation, and the anxieties they provoked stilled.

126. One of the most imaginative initiatives taken in Western Europe, after economic stability had been restored largely due to the generosity of the United States, was the creation of the European Economic Community.

127. There is now every reason to believe that the Community will shortly be enlarged by the accession of four more countries, including my own. This is a prospect which my Government warmly welcomes, for, while the economic aspects of the Community are of course of the very highest importance, its objectives go much further in calling for co-operation in many other fields. But at the same time, as the Foreign Minister of France said here on 28 September, the very structure of the Community keeps it from becoming inward-looking [*1942nd meeting, para. 46*]. Indeed, we see in the Community and its evolution an important instrument for the promotion of *détente* between all European countries, east and west. And this *détente* is bound to lead to a co-operation in several areas which, we are convinced, will promote the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

⁸ 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*].

128. In this connexion, my Government continues to follow closely all developments calculated to create a favourable climate for convening the conference on security and co-operation in Europe, which, if successful, will greatly assist in furthering world peace and security in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], adopted with virtual unanimity at the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly. We have in the past made known our active interest in the conference, while pointing out that careful preparation beforehand is essential to ensure positive results and obviate the risk of failure of a far-reaching initiative which is bound to attract world-wide attention.

129. Several previous speakers have called attention to the progress which has been made within the last 12 months on issues which have been the cause of division in Europe. Like them, we welcome the treaties concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union,⁹ on the one hand, and between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland¹⁰ on the other. We also welcome the recent Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin between the four big Powers which will, we hope, shortly be completed. These developments have much enhanced the prospects of convening, with an assurance of success, the conference on security and co-operation in Europe.

130. We are preparing for another conference which affects all of us, the Stockholm United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to tackle pollution and environmental problems. And, while it seems clear that the national effort in the conservation of resources and the environment must be primary at this stage, global effort will certainly also be necessary. International co-operation is still in its infancy. My Government sincerely hopes that the Stockholm Conference will provide helpful guidelines for action on a global scale and will likewise stimulate action by each of us in a national context.

131. None of these noble efforts can succeed while we devote so much energy to war and preparations for war. But, however devoted we are to the need of peace, the shadow of war will be there if we do not seek to end the causes of war. We all know that injustice breeds violence. It is our duty to prevent and eliminate injustice and tyranny. It is our business in the United Nations to seek out and strive to end tyranny, whatever form it takes—whether the form of colonialism or racialism, of *apartheid* or master-race theories, or of economic exploitation—which has plagued the earth for too long.

132. To do this duty of ours, we must represent all countries, great and small. The President has expressed the hope that this Assembly might be remembered as an Assembly of universality [*1934th meeting*]. That is obviously not possible while the representatives of China, with one quarter of the world's population, remain outside this Organization. This is a great problem. Twenty years ago China was divided in civil war. Two Governments remain which claim to be the Government of China. One of them,

⁹ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

¹⁰ Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

the Government of the People's Republic of China, controls all mainland China. The other controls the island of Taiwan. It does not claim to be the Government of an independent Taiwan. Indeed it refuses to sanction any formal partition of China into a so-called mainland China and a State of Taiwan. It also claims to be the Government of all China, including Taiwan.

133. On the rights and wrongs of that great civil war it would be inappropriate for me to speak. The fact remains that the People's Republic of China emerged from that war and its Government rules over mainland China and more than 700 million people. They must be heard. Moreover, the People's Republic of China has also a special importance as a nuclear Power, and, as my Prime Minister said here last year,

“... we must ensure that the United Nations is representative of all the Powers which have a special role in this respect and we should not enshrine in our practice policies which lack realism.” [1879th meeting, para. 40.]

It seems clear that this great Power will not come to this Organization while a rival Government claiming the same jurisdiction continues to be represented here.

134. China, as a great Power, was properly given one of the permanent seats on the Security Council, the organ of this Organization with the right to make decisions binding on all Member States, and where the realities of power were recognized by permanent membership and the right of veto. That the People's Republic of China should sit there is now recognized by all the other great Powers without exception. The representatives of the Republic of China, deprived of real power in China, have continued to exercise the rights of a permanent member and have done so with a moderation and balance that have been exemplary. But this is an unreal situation. We should regret the departure of those who have loyally tried to serve China and the Charter, but it is a question of deciding who is in reality representing the people of China. The future relations between Taiwan and mainland China are, and obviously must be, a matter for peaceful negotiation.

135. Conflicts also rage or threaten within the framework of the Organization, between or within Member States. The Secretary-General's introduction devotes a section to events in East Pakistan and the consequences of those events [A/8401/Add.1, paras. 177-191]. What he says conforms, I believe, to the views generally held throughout the world. They closely reflect the opinions expressed in the Irish Parliament when the matter was debated there some months ago. In particular my Government, and the Irish Parliament, agree with his statement that a solution depends on a political solution based on reconciliation and that this is an indispensable prerequisite for the return of the refugees now in India [*ibid.*, para. 184].

136. I am only too conscious that we have here a problem which, as U Thant said in his letter to the President of the Security Council on 20 July, and again in his introduction, highlights the conflict between the principles of the territorial integrity of States and self-determination, a conflict which, in his opinion “has often before in history given rise to fratricidal strife” [*ibid.*, para. 185]. The

formal conflict on these Charter principles seems to us a matter to which the Organization could well and usefully devote attention. And here may I say that my delegation was impressed by the observations on this topic by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada last week [1944th meeting], and those of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium on 4 October [1950th meeting], who hoped that peace-keeping institutions are conscious of the need for imaginative studies on the development of pacification procedures in domestic disputes.

137. This is indeed a problem, to which the Secretary-General has elsewhere called attention, when he speaks of the “violation of human rights within the frontiers of a State” [A/8401/Add.1, para. 147], a problem which he says has been almost daily in his mind during his time as Secretary-General. As the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands has said:

“The machinery available to the international community at present cannot essentially facilitate or promote the universal observance of human rights” [1948th meeting, para. 94].

My delegation joins with the Netherlands delegation in hoping that this Assembly will, as a step in the right direction, decide to create the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, as recommended by the Commission on Human Rights.

138. It is the ardent hope of my Government that the political solution, based on reconciliation, in Pakistan, of which the Secretary-General speaks, can be realized; and also that the refugees in India—and we are dealing here with a number of refugees which much exceeds the population of my country and of very many Members of the United Nations—that these refugees who place such an enormous burden on India can return without fear to their homes in East Pakistan. The Irish delegation will be happy to be associated with any action to that end by the Assembly.

139. The Middle East continues to hold terrible dangers, but at least fragile peace has been established for some time though no peaceful and agreed solution is yet in sight. The Security Council's cease-fire resolutions of June 1967, resolutions 233, 234 and 235 (1967) and its resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 provide the essential framework.

140. The break-down of peace talks under Ambassador Jarring acting as the Secretary-General's Special Representative is a set-back; but we must hope that the search for peace between the parties can be intensified, bearing in mind that the Secretary-General has said—and this is all too apparent—that time is of the essence. I do not wish to minimize the difficulty of this task; I realize the almost superhuman efforts of tolerance, of forgiveness, of justice and of compromise which will be needed to reach even the beginnings of such a settlement, but we know, too, that failure might mean the widening of the conflict to a point that none of us dares contemplate.

141. The United Nations has had limited successes in bringing about the end of conflicts, but even its power for limited action has been eroded steadily by a simple lack of

money. No wonder a spirit of cynicism has spread when all the nations of the world cannot agree on providing the sums of money it needs, sums which are insignificant in comparison with our expenditure on war and defence arrangements. Putting the financial system right is primarily the duty of the permanent members of the Security Council, for it is with them that power resides. The problem derives from differences of principle.

142. But there is surely an element of paradox in the fact that, when the Security Council set up one peace-keeping mission—the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus—it decided that its costs should be met from voluntary contributions. If the Council thought right to set up the Force and to extend the mandate every three or six months over the past seven years, it should have decided on means to pay for it or should now remedy that defect—which only it can do.

143. Last year the Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] aimed at the strengthening of peace and security of all peoples and increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations in this most important part of its work. That Declaration will be nullified if the financial aspects of peace-keeping are not put right very soon. Whatever the problems of principle are, it is now time to find a compromise solution, if we are serious about international security. Sterile arguments about the past are of no service to humanity; and they certainly do nothing to solve the very grave over-all financial position of the Organization which, as the Secretary-General has warned [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 121*], and you, Mr. President, recalled on 21 September [*1934th meeting*], now faces the prospect of imminent bankruptcy.

144. Ireland has been proud to provide soldiers for United Nations peace-keeping and observer missions. Irish soldiers have died under the United Nations flag. It is with regret, then, that I must refer to the fact that the Irish Government and the Irish people themselves have had, in the last two years, to face the reality of escalating violence and bloodshed in Ireland itself, though in that part of Ireland over which the United Kingdom retains control.

145. The problem of my country may seem small compared with those of other Member countries, but perhaps they may have a moral for the more terrible problems. We have tried to be a loyal Member of the United Nations; we have tried to work in harmony with others for peace. The violence and bloodshed in Ireland are not of our seeking or our making, and we hope that the conscience of mankind as here represented will help to end it. For human misery, wherever it exists, affects us all.

146. The occupation of Ireland in recent centuries was dictated by what were felt to be the strategic needs of a powerful neighbour which was constantly embroiled in war with other neighbours. In such quarrels the rights of small nations have never been much regarded.

147. Like many others here, we Irish are no strangers to defeat. We know that there is no humiliation in defeat itself but, rather, in the acceptance of defeat. But we equally know that too often—in the words of Simone Weil—

“Justice is a fugitive from the camp of victory”. When Ireland was divided in 1920—and that division was reinforced by an unequal treaty in 1921—those who had struggled for national independence, for justice and for peace with justice were, in a sense, defeated. But those who succeeded in dividing Ireland, and into whose hands Britain delivered the six Counties of the North, thereby assumed a grave responsibility.

148. The establishment of the Northern Ireland Administration was a victory for those who were opposed to Irish independence and who wished to remain part of the British Empire—then still a vigorous and powerful figure on the international scene. The Northern Unionists, paradoxically, had threatened to fight Great Britain in order to remain within the British Empire and outside an independent Ireland. “Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right” was their motto. But were they right? Has the society which evolved in Northern Ireland vindicated the forceful resistance of the Northern Unionists to the democratic wishes of the masses of the Irish people?

149. We must measure the value of a society, not by the mottoes and slogans inscribed on the walls of its temples or proclaimed in its constitution and laws; these are usually impeccable. The true measure of a society or a political system is the actual relations in that society between man and man and between community and community. And by this standard of measurement Northern Ireland has been a tragic failure. It is a society which has oppressed the economically and politically deprived and, worse, which has sought to justify that oppression. For 50 years, every attempt by the minority to assert its human dignity and to obtain elementary civil rights was characterized by the Northern régime as an attempt to overthrow the Northern State. Justice, indeed, was a fugitive from the camp of that victory.

150. But even a régime whose origins are dishonourable may validate itself in time and may secure a measure of consent or reluctant assent to its authority. A *de facto* régime which does not legitimate itself is doomed. There is ample evidence—from the dispassionate investigations of the political scientist, from the passionate testimony of the petrol bomb, mass civil disobedience by the minority, and the threat of violent reaction from Orange extremists and armed militia—that the Northern régime has not achieved that consent to its democratic legitimacy which is the hallmark of a just and stable society.

151. The non-Unionists repudiate a régime which oppresses them and denies their national aspirations. The reactionary elements in the Unionist community and the Orange Order regard themselves, for their part, as the final source of the régime's authority. If the Northern Administration should appear to falter in what the reactionaries consider is the duty of the Administration to maintain Northern Ireland as a sectarian State, they threaten in turn to withdraw their consent from the régime and thereby bring it either to heel or to defeat.

152. The contradictions and divisions in Northern society which reflected the divisions in Irish society as a whole when our country was divided in 1920 were not resolved by partition; they were compressed, exacerbated and

intensified. Because of the political and demographic structure of Northern Ireland, discrimination against and oppression of the minority became not merely a choice for those who held power but, in their eyes, an absolute necessity.

153. To maintain its grip on the Northern masses, the Unionist régime made its supporters into a caste. The Northern Protestant worker was reminded, whenever there seemed a danger that he would pursue the real interests of his class or social group, that any deviation of that kind would result in the dissolution of the Northern Administration and the consequent loss of his caste privileges and the material advantages which he enjoyed over his Catholic neighbour.

154. Thus, the political life of the North was distorted, the norms of British democracy, which the régime pretended to uphold, were flouted, and the British parliamentary structure, which the Stormont system was supposed to emulate, was perverted into a caricature and farce. The world has witnessed the tragic cycle of events in Northern Ireland over the past three years. Demands for elementary civil rights were met with official repression, which led in turn to an increasing resort to violent means and finally to the suspension of *habeas corpus*, the withdrawal of the opposition from Parliament, mass arrests and detention without trial and the virtual collapse of civil order in the North.

155. It is natural that my delegation should bring to the attention of the international community the plight of the minority in Northern Ireland. We have done so with restraint, both in this Assembly and in the Security Council. It is not our purpose to try to coerce the Unionist community in the North of Ireland into a united Ireland. We do not believe that power, political or, above all, moral, grows out of the barrel of a gun. On the contrary, we are convinced that political power, and the moral power of a community—its ability to transform values into facts—lies in the capacity of people to act together in concert. We trust that in time the people of Ireland, of all Ireland, will join together in the exercise of a collective political will to translate into living and permanent realities our aspirations for peace, justice and progress, principles which the twenty-fifth session of this Assembly adopted as its motto, since they are the essential and interdependent elements of a decent international order.

156. Our conviction that the achievement of justice and stability lies essentially in national unity has secure growing recognition not only in Ireland. Mr. Michael Stewart, the former Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, whose task it was to deal with this matter in 1969 when it came before the United Nations, said two weeks ago in the United Kingdom Parliament that if the situation was to be sorted out, the proposition had to be accepted that "the whole island of Ireland has to be a single Republic"; and he said that internment, the impossible position of British troops and the employment of terrorist methods, all arise from the fact that "we are trying to maintain a connexion which cannot be maintained".

157. In our commitment to national reunification we are sustained by the recollection of those men and women,

from north and south, who over the centuries suffered and died in the cause of justice for Ireland. And if we must keep faith with the dead, how much more are we obliged to keep faith with the living, and ensure that justice is accorded to the minority in the North of Ireland now? But the means by which justice for the minority in the North is secured must not render the achievement nugatory. The tragic history of past and present conflict, both national and international, has taught us that the means used to achieve political goals are often of greater relevance to the end result than the intended goals themselves, however just they may be. It is thus vital to eschew those means which would bring even greater tragedy to Ireland.

158. The Charter prescribes recourse exclusively to peaceful means for the settlement of any dispute between Member States, and those are, we believe, the means by which justice in Northern Ireland must be sought. But justice there is the essential condition for the social and economic progress of the area as, indeed, for the social and economic progress of Europe and of the international community as a whole.

159. My Government is firmly committed to a policy of peace and justice in Ireland, which we regard as the indispensable foundation for progress and the promotion of a national society informed by the purposes and principles of the Charter. We are determined to build this society peacefully, both because we would otherwise negate our achievements since independence and because we thereby conform strictly to the letter and spirit of the Charter which enjoins us "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

160. The establishment of justice and the consolidation of peace in the North of Ireland fall now within the power and responsibility of another Member State: the United Kingdom. We do not doubt its consent to these aspirations. But consent to values demands commitment, and promise demands performance. Practical political steps are necessary so as to guarantee to the minority in the North of Ireland an effective exercise of their political will and an effective role in the collective life, both of Northern Ireland and of Ireland as a whole.

161. Several speakers have referred to the usefulness of a dialogue in resolving political problems. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in his statement on 29 September [1944th meeting] concerning the risk of confrontation, laid stress on dialogue as a principal means of preventing the deterioration of dangerous situations. My delegation shares this view and, as the representatives are aware, we are actively engaged on dialogue on this issue. However, dialogue, if it is to be worthwhile, must not solely create an impression that something is being done to improve matters but must give positive results. The resolution of political problems by dialogue demands a dispassionate diagnosis of the roots of the problem. And a reiteration of received ideas is a poor substitute for objective analysis.

162. In this connexion I must say that my delegation would find difficulty in accepting the Foreign Secretary's opening remarks on the situation in the North of Ireland. He is, of course, quite right in speaking of the existence of a

highly dangerous situation there, but it would not be correct to suggest that this arises solely or mainly from a confrontation stemming from religious differences. Rather would I invert the order of Sir Alec Douglas-Home's observation that in Northern Ireland:

"... a terrifying manifestation of the old danger of religious confrontation has reappeared, complicated in this case by other political and social problems" [*ibid.*, para. 82].

In my view, what we have there is a confrontation because of political and social problems, complicated by the exploitation of a religious factor. Confrontation, particularly within national societies, is not simply a manifestation of anarchic forces at work, still less the result of doctrinal differences. It is much more likely to arise when the existing political or administrative structure fails to provide the means of effective democratic participation by a large section of the community or frustrates their demands for justice and equality of treatment. And the Belfast régime's failures in this regard are there for all to see.

163. My Government deplores the use of violence as a means of solving political problems and more specifically we deplore the use of violence as a means of solving the problem in the North of Ireland. We in no way whatever condone the use of violence there by either side.

164. But in order to end the present violence we must try to understand and eliminate its causes. It seems obvious to us that the current campaign of violence has as its cause the growing frustration of the minority in the North at the failure of the reform programme to afford them substantial redress. The promise of redress was set out in the declaration on human rights and absolute equality of treatment issued jointly by Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Chichester-Clark from 10 Downing Street on 19 August 1969. Lord Caradon read the terms of that declaration into the record of the Security Council on the following day, at its 1503rd meeting, and he spoke of the determination of his Government to pursue relentlessly the programme outlined in the declaration. He also said that the British troops which had been sent to the North were a peace-keeping force, and that no better peace-keeping force could be there. I ventured the opinion, on the same occasion, that the use of British troops alone was unacceptable and that in the long run they would prove to be more a hindrance than a help. Events have vindicated my opinion. British troops have been used in one-sided arms searches and in carrying out a policy of mass arrests and internment. From a peace-keeping force they have become, in the eyes of the minority, a coercive instrument to prop up the Northern régime. It is in these events that we can find the causes of the present violence and through understanding them endeavour to bring about the changes which will bring the peace and stability we all long for to the suffering people of Ireland.

165. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom has rightly said:

"Each of us has the means to redress legitimate grievances within our own community; that is what gives us the right to insist that violence within the borders of our State shall not be used" [*ibid.*, para. 85].

I would say that it is when we fail to use that means to redress legitimate grievances that violence will appear, to demand redress. The history of almost every country has only too many examples of violence doing what statesmanship had neglected to do. A French writer has said that we all have sufficient fortitude to bear the misfortune of others. Complacency, too, can be the enemy of justice.

166. Great Britain is rightly proud of its people's profound regard for democracy and fair play. And indeed, even when we were engaged in our bitterest struggles with British Governments, there was never lack of voices raised in Britain on our side. Many British statesmen have pleaded eloquently for Ireland. And the voice of the plain-working English men and women has always been raised against policies of their Governments which, whatever their specious justification, were wrong and unjust.

167. It is essential that through dialogue a structure will be created in the North of Ireland which will permit the minority there to play an effective role in the community and permit them likewise to realize their passionate aspiration for national unity. If stability and peace are to return to Northern Ireland, they will only return when an administrative structure which establishes justice is created there. Such a structure is the indispensable foundation on which to build the national consensus which will reunify Ireland and finally guarantee to Irishmen, and to all the children of the nation, full political and civil freedom so that together we can face the future enriched by, and cherishing, our several traditions.

168. Mr. KOUN WICK (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me on behalf of the Khmer Republic as well as my own behalf to convey to you my very warmest congratulations on your impressive election to the office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

169. This honour which your eminent qualities justly merit will redound to the honour of your great and beautiful country and on your brother nations of South-East Asia. We are convinced that, thanks to your ability, your impartiality and your spirit of equity, your lengthy experience in international affairs and the breadth of your political vision which my country has had an opportunity to appreciate, the work of the present session of the Assembly will go on in the spirit of Bandung, in an atmosphere of cordiality, understanding and tolerance. The Khmer delegation assures you of its full and friendly co-operation.

170. Moreover we would be derelict in our duty if we did not avail ourselves of this occasion to convey to you again, Sir, our deep gratitude for the continuing support that the Indonesian Government and you yourself have given to our struggle to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of our country. The Khmer people and its Government will never forget the perseverant and courageous efforts that you exerted to this end at Djakarta,¹¹ Dar-es-Salaam¹² and Lusaka.¹³

¹¹ Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Countries of Asia and the Pacific, held at Djakarta, Indonesia, on 16 and 17 May 1970.

¹² Preparatory Meeting for the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, from 12 to 17 April 1970.

¹³ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 3 to 10 September 1970.

171. I should also like to associate myself with the words of tribute to Mr. Hambro, the outgoing President, who guided with competence and efficiency the debates of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Ismail (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

172. I wish in particular to pay a glowing tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, who has won the gratitude and admiration of the Khmer people for his tireless efforts to maintain and promote peace, security and justice throughout the world. His memorable accomplishments over more than a decade in the service of the United Nations and of mankind are almost beyond number. That is why we have received with deep regret the announcement of his decision not to accept a third term of office. We retain, however, the firm hope that, with the blessing of Buddha, he will agree to remain in his post, at least until the international community succeeds in reaching agreement on the choice of his successor.

173. It was with great pleasure that my delegation voted in favour of the admission to the United Nations of the States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar on 21 September last [1934th meeting]. In so doing the Khmer Republic, which respects the principles of universality of the United Nations and of self-determination of peoples and faithful to its policy of neutrality and peaceful coexistence, hopes to establish ties of friendship with all countries, without distinction as to ideology or governmental régime. Accordingly, in addressing to the representatives of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar who are present here our sincere congratulations and best wishes for their well-being, the Khmer Republic wishes to assure them of its friendly co-operation in all fields on the basis of the principles proclaimed in the Charter.

174. First of all, I should like briefly to pass in review the tragic events that have taken place in my country. The Khmer Republic, a sovereign, independent and neutral State, a Member of the United Nations, which has always respected the principles of the Charter, has been the victim of an overt act of aggression by the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong. This unjustifiable aggression has been going on for more than a year now. Its authors were convinced that they were going to be able in a very short period of time to crush the resistance of the feeble Khmer army of that time and of a people that was then in no way prepared to face the invaders. But these assumptions about our resistance, which Hanoi and the Viet-Cong considered would be ludicrous, have proved false, because they took no account of one decisive factor, namely, the patriotism of the Khmer people.

175. May I now set forth to the Assembly in broad general terms the present situation in my country.

176: As part of our self-defence, we now have the initiative in operations on almost all the fronts, thanks to the determination of the entire Khmer people and thanks to the improvement in the organization and equipment of our national forces. Our fighters recently inflicted a series of defeats on the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong invaders, in particular in the eastern Mekong region, where

a North Viet-Nameese division was almost completely wiped out. Our forces have succeeded in turning back all the enemy assaults and the operation that they conducted early in June 1971 enabled them to clear the zone of the enemy.

177. The victorious battles waged almost everywhere have clearly shown the progress made by the Khmer Army, which now has the weapons and *matériel* necessary to carry out its task of defence, whereas it completely lacked these means a year ago.

178. The true successes recorded in military terms, however, were overshadowed by the situation of our economy, which, already difficult enough before the events of March 1970, could not help but grow worse with the war of systematic destruction and extermination waged on our territory by the foreign aggressor troops. From the outset the aggressors were able to occupy a part of our territory, in particular the rubber plantations region—one of our principal resources—and also the region of the Angkor temples, the centre of our tourist activities. At the same time, contrary to what happened in South Viet-Nam, they engaged in the indiscriminate destruction of our economic infrastructure, in particular our means of communication and transport, our plantations, factories, workshops and industrial enterprises of all kinds, even those created from foreign aid, whether French, American or Chinese in source. They have even begun to attack enterprises placed directly under the control of the United Nations. Thus during the night of 24 to 25 September 1971, their assault troops attacked the storage depot for supplies and fuel of the construction plant for the Prek Thnotdam, an international project which we were able to set in train thanks to the personal efforts of U Thant and to the participation of a group of friendly countries.

179. These premeditated acts of systematic destruction have dealt a severe blow to our economy. Our exports have been considerably reduced. Many products have become scarce on our markets and we are now witnessing a considerable rise in prices. Our Government has done everything in its power to remedy this situation. But its means are still of necessity limited because of the fact that we are at war and because of the criminal acts of our aggressors.

180. Thus, the Khmer Republic continues to be the victim of deliberate aggression on the part of the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong, who, because they belong to a race completely different from the Khmer people, do not even spare our religion and do not hesitate every day to impose the most savage demands on the sacred persons of our monks and to engage in the deliberate destruction of our religious buildings.

181. The exactions from and the massacre of our civilian and religious population are increasing from day to day and are turning into true genocide. Our military authorities have discovered in regions recently liberated by our army many common graves which contain the bodies of villagers who were assassinated by the aggressors in cold blood because of their refusal to collaborate. This is a common practice adopted by the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong to terrorize the population in order to force the people to rally to their cause.

182. Among the many acts of vandalism committed on Khmer territory there is one which affects the heritage which belongs not only to the Khmer nation, but also to all of mankind. The historic temples of Angkor, the preservation of which is still entrusted to the French School of the Far East, are in serious danger of destruction, because they have been occupied by North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong regular troops, who have made them their real sanctuaries and fortified military bases from which they attack our forces with impunity.

183. In this connexion, the Khmer Government, as of 11 June 1970, launched an appeal to all countries, and in particular to those that are signatories to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, signed at The Hague on 14 May 1954, to take the necessary steps and set in motion the necessary and appropriate activities in order to help us to enforce respect for and safeguard this artistic and cultural heritage. For its part, the Khmer Government could have freed Angkor by force, but it prefers to seek all possible peaceful means rather than to run the slightest risk of damage to these monuments. We want to spare Angkor from the fate of the historic city of Hué in Viet-Nam.

184. That is why, in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Hague Convention of 1954, the Khmer Government has again addressed a solemn appeal to all Member States and to all men of goodwill to help it to convert the Park of Angkor into a demilitarized, neutralized zone placed under international control.

185. I hereby renew that appeal. The Khmer Government undertakes, for its part, to avoid any action or any military occupation of Angkor, and awaits a similar commitment from the adversary. International action for the preservation of these temples is exceedingly urgent, particularly as quite recently, on 13 September 1971, the aircraft in which members of the Khmer Government were riding on their way to Siemreap, at the time of its landing at the Siemreap airport, came under the fire of mortars shot from one of the bases installed at the summit of the Bakheng monument in the Park of Angkor, wounding a number of the civilian population. In the search for a solution to preserve the temples of Angkor from destruction, we express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and to UNESCO for the efforts that they have made in this direction.

186. With respect to foreign affairs the policy of the Khmer Government continues to be based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, peaceful coexistence, reciprocity and neutrality. We do not seek to become members of a military bloc or alliance, no matter what type it may be.

187. Yet while fighting a war that we did not seek, we continue to proclaim our desire for peace and our devotion to neutrality. Accordingly, we warmly endorse the recent and dynamic initiatives taken by President Nixon to set up a constructive dialogue with Peking. We are convinced that these initiatives increase the likelihood of peace and can contribute in large measure to diminish tension in the part of the world in which we live, which would be to the utmost good of the smaller nations whose people wish to remain free.

188. Taking into account our geographical position in a region where various ideological currents come into confrontation, neutrality proves to be a necessity for us, and, at the same time, a factor for peace and stability in South-East Asia. The Khmer drama has its origins in the violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 by others, and not by the Khmer people themselves, who have always respected those Agreements. We think, therefore, that a reversion to the strict application of those Agreements with the withdrawal of all foreign forces from our Territory would be the best way to restore peace to our country. There is no doubt that peace will be quickly restored in our country if the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong forces withdraw finally and completely from our territory. That is why we support any initiative to revive those Agreements.

189. I solemnly proclaim that the Khmer Republic abides by the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly condemning direct or indirect interference by one State in the domestic affairs of another, rejecting aggression as the most serious of crimes against peace and calling for the establishment of relations of good neighbourliness between States regardless of their social and political doctrine.

190. We reaffirm our respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination; we are opposed to the policy of racial discrimination; and we support the true liberation movements by peoples under colonial domination. However, we condemn the false liberation movements which sow subversion and exploit the credulity of peoples in order to practise annexationism, as in the case of the Viet-Cong and the North Viet-Nameese.

191. Within the context of respect for human rights, my Government draws the attention of the Members of the United Nations to the fate of journalists assassinated in cold blood or carried off and kept prisoner by the aggressors. We should vigorously condemn these barbarous acts committed against innocent people who are only discharging their duty to inform. It is to prevent the truth from coming to light that these journalists have been either killed in cowardly fashion or kept as hostages. For its part the Khmer Republic, since the very first cases of disappearance of foreign journalists were noted on its territory, has spared no effort to discover their whereabouts or at least to obtain information about them.

192. According to statements gathered from our rural population, there is no doubt that these journalists were captured by Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese forces.

193. Accordingly, we firmly support any action undertaken by international organs to achieve the same purpose. We have even taken the initiative along these lines by proposing, through an official statement of 17 March 1971, that the Viet-Cong and the North Viet-Nameese prisoners that we had captured should be released in exchange for the journalists held prisoner by the aggressors. The Khmer Government has approached the International Red Cross in order to enter into negotiations with North Viet Nam, but the latter has categorically rejected our proposal. We continue to offer broad support to various initiatives undertaken abroad to help the captured journalists and we support fully the initiative of the United Nations to help

foreign journalists working in dangerous areas or those who are prisoners of the North Viet-Nameese.

194. In the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations the Khmer Government fervently hopes that our Organization will become truly universal in character. Accordingly, the Khmer Republic supports any country wishing to become a Member of the United Nations which agrees to abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law. And it will not oppose the entry into the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, for it hopes that that Government will consider itself duty-bound to conform to the aforesaid principles.

195. However, by virtue of these same principles, the Khmer Republic will oppose the expulsion of the Republic of China, which is recognized by many Member States as having always scrupulously fulfilled its obligations under the Charter and will vote against any resolution to bring about its expulsion.

196. With respect to the divided countries, in accordance with this principle of universality and because of its policy of non-alignment, the Khmer Republic is in favour of equal treatment for both parties in question and their admission to the world Organization, pending their reunification to be effected in accordance with the freely-expressed will of the peoples concerned.

197. Furthermore we are still in favour of international and regional co-operation. We participate actively in the project of the Mekong Committee. We are already a member of the Asian Parliamentarians Union and of the Pacific Area Travel Association, and we hope soon to become a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the purpose of which is to promote economic, social and cultural co-operation among its members.

198. The situation obtaining in my country is sometimes judged with a patent lack of good faith. For example, in his statement of Tuesday, 5 October [1952nd meeting], the representative of Albania took it upon himself gratuitously to insult half a dozen countries. The Khmer Republic did not escape his violent diatribe. Since we have become accustomed to this since last year, the Khmer Republic was not at all surprised.

199. Indeed, at the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations, Albania undertook to distribute to the representatives of States Members of this Organization a communiqué from GRUNK,¹⁴ a puppet of Sihanouk, supporting the alleged legality of this overthrown prince and making unpleasant references to our Secretary-General, U Thant, who could not recognize him. Apart from a few representatives, no one took that communiqué seriously and some even went so far as to protest against the crude language used by Sihanouk about the Secretary-General.

200. Albania would not have aroused our interest if it had not intervened in our domestic affairs. In the statement to which I have already referred, the representative of that country allowed himself the luxury of describing the

Khmer Government as a puppet régime and of calling its Head, Marshal Lon Nol, "a docile instrument of the United States of America"—a completely gratuitous allegation. To those who insist on coming to this rostrum to distort the facts concerning my country, I should like, on behalf of my Government, to reissue to them here the invitation I extended to them last year from this rostrum [1855th meeting] to come to our country and to see for themselves on the spot the realities of the aggression of which the Khmer people is a victim. We think that in so doing we are making a gesture of goodwill, and we are entitled to expect that in return they should grant us the just and equitable treatment which is due us, instead of continuing to adopt an attitude of discrimination towards us.

201. In this connexion I should like to inform the General Assembly that recently Khmer jurists invited by the President of the World Peace through Law Center to the Fifth World Conference on World Peace through Law, held at Belgrade from 21 to 25 July 1971, were unable to participate in that Conference as the result of the refusal of the Yugoslav authorities to grant them entry visas although our jurists were already *en route* to the Yugoslav capital. True, that Conference for world peace was organized outside the framework of our Organization, but the fact nevertheless remains that it was an international conference. Yugoslavia, by agreeing to receive it on its territory, was in duty bound to conform to the obligations of a host country and to respect the commitments undertaken by the organization issuing the invitations by setting aside any personal or political considerations. In submitting this case for the consideration of the General Assembly the Khmer delegation hopes that our Organization will examine the measures within its power to prevent countries legally represented in the United Nations from being treated in such an unfair and discriminatory manner on the occasion of international meetings or conferences organized under its aegis or with its approval. In our opinion, the selection of a country truly free of any complex of fear or discrimination is the most desirable choice. My delegation would even suggest that the country chosen should be one that undertakes to abide strictly by the obligations devolving upon a host country.

202. From the picture I have just sketched, it can be seen that the war which has been imposed upon us by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the so-called National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, known as the Viet-Cong, is—I continue to repeat—an act of true genocide. This slaughter of the unarmed civilian and religious population, the systematic destruction of any infrastructure which is essential to the existence of a country and which has no military character: these acts are designed to achieve one specific purpose, the extermination of the Khmer people and preparation for its ultimate annexation. For centuries we have witnessed the thrust of the North towards the South, and the North Viet-Nameese continue today to pursue the annexationist aims of their ancestors. The disappearance of the Kingdom of Champa, struck from the map of the world, is tangible proof of this. Here you have the true face of North Viet-Nam and the Viet-Cong. What we have here is a new type of imperialism, pompously camouflaged under the label of a liberation struggle. They even camouflage their presence in the Khmer Republic and describe the war in our country as a liberation struggle

¹⁴ Gouvernement royal d'union nationale du Kampuchea.

between Khmers and Khmers, which is really the height of duplicity.

203. Fortunately, the truth always comes to light in the end. Journalists and correspondents of the entire world press have recorded their presence in the Khmer Republic, and even the former leader of Cambodia had to admit to a reporter from the French newspaper *Le Monde* the presence of his "dear friends, the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong", who had come to massacre his Khmer compatriots and ravage his own country.

204. In the face of this mortal danger the Khmer people has risen up as one in this ultimate struggle to preserve its independence and freedom. But its only desire is to live in peace and security within its own frontiers as they now stand. It therefore launches a pressing appeal to the international community to ask it to help in putting an end to this attempt at extermination and foreign domination, and to persuade the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong aggressors to withdraw from Khmer territory.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.