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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mrs. BANDARANAIKE (Ceylon): I am most happy to have the opportunity and privilege of addressing this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly and to bring members the greetings of the people of Ceylon. May I at the outset convey to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations and best wishes on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. It is a matter of particular pride and satisfaction to us in Ceylon that the Assembly has chosen, as the custodian of its rights and privileges on this occasion, a distinguished Foreign Minister of a neighbouring country with which Ceylon has a history of close and cordial relations. Your ability, skill and experience are well known and I am sure will stand you in good stead in guiding our deliberations.

2. I should also like to express our sincere appreciation of the valuable services rendered by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro.

3. I wish to take this opportunity also to add the warm tribute of my Government and of the peoples of Ceylon to U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It has always been a matter of especial pride to us in Ceylon that a fellow Asian, indeed a national of a country with which we count many affinities and bonds, including common religious links, should not only have been chosen to be Secretary-General of this Organization but also have been, over so many years, honoured with the confidence of the nations of the world. The United Nations has been fortunate in the incumbents of the office of Secretary-General, and U Thant has stood in that great tradition. He has not only discharged the onerous responsibilities of his office with distinction, but has made important contributions to mould and shape the character of this office in accordance with the changing conditions of our times. We regret his retirement from this familiar scene where he has been pre-eminent, and we hope that he will continue to give of his wisdom and experience in the cause of humanity.

4. Four new States have during this session been admitted as Members of this Organization—Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar

and Oman. We are happy to welcome them and are confident of their active co-operation in the achievement of the aims and objectives of this Organization.

5. This is the first time I have found myself in a position to appear before the Assembly and address a session of the United Nations. In doing so, my mind goes back to the eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, 15 years ago, when a Prime Minister of Ceylon, the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, last had occasion to address a session of this Assembly [*590th meeting*]. My late husband had an abiding faith in the United Nations and described it on that occasion as "the only lifeline of humanity today". As I stand on this rostrum today, as Prime Minister of my country, where also my late husband stood a decade and a half ago, the melancholy act of reminiscence evokes in me poignant memories of a deeply personal nature.

6. May I begin with a few preliminary remarks about my country. Ceylon is a Buddhist country which for 2,500 years has drawn its inspiration from the Dhamma as the guiding philosophy of the great majority of our people.

7. Politically, we enjoy a parliamentary system and a democratic way of life, which we are determined to preserve. We can point with legitimate pride to the fact that since we regained our independence in 1948 we have had five democratically elected Governments. It is through reliance on constitutional means alone that we are achieving the most decisive political, social, and economic changes in our country.

8. Democracy in Ceylon faced its severest test early this year, when an attempt was made by a revolutionary group to shatter the fabric of the system by violence. The protagonists were avowed enemies of the democratic process and were committed to a career of reckless destruction with no coherent policy or programme of social and economic reconstruction to offer. Our success in quelling the insurgency is to be attributed to the strength of our political traditions, our way of life, our faith in democracy and the parliamentary form of government, our social and economic system under which class brings neither privilege nor disability and, above all, to the broad-based character of my Government, which ensured for it the support of the peasants and workers and the great mass of the youth of the country.

9. Ceylon's unhappy experience in this regard is not unique. There is a spirit of restlessness and frustration particularly among the youth of the world. It is the duty and the responsibility of Governments to show a proper understanding of the problems of the younger generation and to give them a greater sense of participation in the function of government. This means more than the exercise

of the right of every citizen above the age of 18 to vote, a right that is already enjoyed in my country. It is my Government's firm resolve to do its utmost to fulfil the rightful aspirations and expectations of the youth of our country. In return, we ask of them a modicum of patience, a measure of trust and unswerving fidelity to the principles and practices of democracy. In dealing with the critical situation to which I have referred, we were fortunate in the prompt and substantial assistance that we received from many friendly States: the United States of America, the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. We also received valuable help in the form of drugs and medical supplies from the International Red Cross. To them all I offer the grateful thanks of the Government and the people of my country. Our good fortune in being able to rely on assistance in this crisis from countries differing so widely from one another in their political and economic systems is a measure of the value and validity of the policy of non-alignment which we pursue.

10. The year 1956, when I first came to this Assembly with my late husband, is also linked with important developments in my country, for it was in that year that he committed Ceylon to the way of socialism and democracy, to non-alignment and to an independent foreign policy based on friendship with all countries, irrespective of differing ideological and social systems. He described his objectives at that Assembly in the following words:

"We have to build up a new society for ourselves; one, as I have said, which best suits the genius of our country. We should like to get some ideas and some principles from this side, and some from the other, until a coherent form of society is made up that suits our own people in the context of the changing world of today. That is why we do not range ourselves on the side of this power-bloc or that power-bloc" [590th meeting, para. 38].

11. A great deal has happened since those words were spoken. The United Nations has become more representative of the peoples of the world than it was when there were only 51 Members. There is a distinct possibility that it will soon become even more representative with the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. International relationships have undergone profound changes, the most significant of all being the apparent end of the cold war. The division of the world into two power-blocs, each vying with the other to draw into their camp nations yet uncommitted, is steadily being blurred.

12. These dramatic changes have no doubt been due largely to the determination of small nations—the economically weak and the militarily insignificant—to maintain their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to establish among themselves a unity founded on common interests and aspirations. This determination found expression in our acceptance of the policy of non-alignment, which some 60 nations now espouse and whose testament of faith and

purpose is inscribed in the Lusaka Declaration.¹ Ceylon, in common with these nations, has chosen to walk in the light of that wisdom which, in my opinion, is a blend of the noblest religious and ethical values in our human heritage. We believe that the philosophy of non-alignment combines the essence of the Buddhist doctrine of a middle path that eschews extremes and the democratic concept of a free society that recognizes the legitimacy of dissent with the dialectical vision of dynamic conflict and synthesis. It also represents the final repudiation of the colonial heritage and its replacement by a world of free sovereign and equal States.

13. Although threats to peace continue to distract us, there has been some slight relaxation of tensions. In particular, there has been a marked trend towards the removal of artificial barriers which have prevented communication between powerful nations or between parts of divided nations and kept the world in a state of psychological turmoil. The most noteworthy of these developments are the decision of the President of the United States of America to visit the People's Republic of China, the recent Berlin accord² and the prospect of a European security conference, which will include the United States of America and Canada. The Moscow Treaty of 1970³ and the Warsaw Treaty of December 1970⁴ could, upon ratification, together with the Berlin accord, offer the promise of a durable understanding in Europe the effects of which would be felt throughout the world.

14. Asia continues to be the scene of ruthless war and intractable conflict. In Viet-Nam the opposing sides continue to reject each other's peace plans and only a bold act of statesmanship can resolve the present deadlock.

15. The continuing crisis in West Asia is a matter of deep concern to us. Almost four years have passed since the Security Council unanimously agreed on a settlement, but a solution appears as remote as ever. Worse still, the policies of the Government of Israel in the occupied territories bear all the marks of the permanent consolidation of an illegal occupation. The United Nations should not neglect or forget its responsibilities towards the Palestinian people.

16. The recent political disturbances in East Pakistan have produced a problem that is not confined to the territory of Pakistan. The influx of refugees from East Pakistan into India has placed a heavy burden on India's resources. The refugee problem is a humanitarian one and must be the concern of the entire international community. The settlement of this problem calls for urgent and imaginative action. Ceylon scrupulously adheres to a policy of abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of States. While

¹ Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations, adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

² Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

³ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁴ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

emphasizing this policy, I must express the earnest hope that accelerated democratic and constitutional procedures will be allowed which would enable the refugees to return to their homes in East Pakistan and eliminate any possible threat to international peace and security.

17. The main purpose of my address today is to place before this Assembly a proposal which, if accepted, could make a positive and far-reaching contribution to the cause of peace. I propose that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace. The item has been inscribed on the agenda of this session [item 98] as an important and urgent one.

18. The proposal is not a completely new one. The concept of a zone of peace is inherent in the concept of non-alignment, which requires that the land territories, air space and territorial waters of non-aligned States must be closed to great-Power conflicts and rivalries. All areas under the jurisdiction of non-aligned States should, therefore, be by definition zones of peace. The peace-zone concept as applied to ocean areas, however, goes back to the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964. We were concerned then with one aspect of the question: the establishment of zones free of atomic weapons in various parts of the world, including Asia. In September 1970, at the Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned States, we went a stage further and called for a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, which would be one not only free of nuclear weapons but also one from which great-Power rivalries and competition would be excluded. It was the intrusion of those power rivalries into the Indian Ocean that resulted in the loss of political freedom in Asia in the eighteenth century. We certainly do not wish to see a recurrence of that situation. Our object is to contain the activities of foreign Powers and ensure that they do not make our part of the world a battleground for their rivalries.

19. The global implications of the proposal require that it should receive universal acceptance and be fitted into the larger design of world peace and security and of general and complete disarmament. These were among the considerations that led me to present the proposal to the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Singapore at the beginning of this year. I now commend it to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The proposal should not be regarded merely as part of a scheme of collective security confined to the Indian Ocean. On the contrary, it is intended as a direct and tangible contribution to the Disarmament Decade and to the strengthening of conditions for world peace.

20. In recent years there has been a trend in the development of international law and practice towards the principle that areas not assimilated to national jurisdiction constitute an international domain that should be subject to international regulation and international responsibility. Existing circumstances in the Indian Ocean, as distinct from other oceans of the world, are especially conducive to the application of this policy to the area. There are no nuclear Powers or any major maritime nations among the littoral States of the Indian Ocean. All such nations are in fact geographically remote from the area and have no reason to consider the Indian Ocean as critical or vital to their security and strategic interests. The military and naval

forces of the great Powers in the Indian Ocean have not yet assumed significant proportions, and the adoption of the Indian Ocean peace-zone proposal would not involve us in the necessity of making elaborate provision for the dismantling of existing military bases and installations, as would be the case in other areas.

21. We recognize the fact that important commercial sea-lanes lie across the Indian Ocean. The use of these sea-lanes is crucial to the interests of the great Powers and other non-littoral States. Any arrangements to give effect to our proposal should, accordingly, take due account of these interests. The littoral States, however, have a paramount interest in the defence and security of these lines of communication. At their level of development they need conditions of peace and tranquillity to transform and modernize their economies. Their energies and resources must be preserved intact and employed exclusively for the advancement of the social and economic well-being of their peoples. They could be freed from all liability for the defence and security of the area if all other nations would refrain from any military intrusion into the area.

22. Several questions will be raised in regard to the proposal. What geographical limits are contemplated for the zone of peace? What are the implications of the proposal for the principle of the freedom of the seas? What is the regulatory system envisaged? What is to be the future of already existing bases falling within the prescribed zone? Will present treaty commitments be affected? What type of international instrument would be needed to establish such a régime? We have given some thought to these matters and have some general ideas as to the answers. We hope that countries interested in the proposal will join with us in resolving these issues.

23. The essence of our proposal is that in the Indian Ocean a defined area shall be declared to be a zone of peace and which shall be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes under an appropriate regulatory system. Within the zone, no armaments of any kind, defensive or offensive, may be installed on or in the sea, on the subjacent sea-bed or on land areas; ships of all nations may exercise the right of transit, but warships and ships carrying warlike equipment, including submarines, may not stop for other than emergency reasons of a technical, mechanical or humanitarian nature; no manoeuvres by warships of any State shall be permitted; naval intelligence operations shall be forbidden; no weapons tests of any kind may be conducted. The regulatory system to be established will be under effective international control.

24. It may be argued that a zone of peace in an ocean area would be incompatible with a body of customary and conventional international law which seeks to preserve the seas beyond territorial waters as open to all nations. There is no reason why this concept should not be modified to accommodate the needs and realities of the world of today. One may go so far as to say that the principle of the freedom of the high seas does not adequately serve the fundamental interests of all nations alike but is clearly weighted in favour of the interests of the dominant user nations. This inequality must be redressed.

25. I sincerely hope that this session of the General Assembly will take concrete measures for the establishment

of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and thereby make a signal contribution to the cause of international peace and the well-being of a large section of mankind.

26. The problems and difficulties that have afflicted Ceylon's economy for the past 15 years or more persist, with no signs of alleviation or improvement. The prices of our exports have continued to show a remorseless and sharp decline. A 1971 report of the World Bank, commenting on the current economic situation in Ceylon, points out that, through price declines of its major export products alone, Ceylon lost roughly \$U.S. 680 million in exchange earnings in the 1960s. Our total export earnings in 1970 were lower than the export earnings in any year between 1954 and 1968. In 1970 our earnings from our three major exports were only 4 per cent higher than the earnings in 1950. The most striking example of the failure of increased productivity and increased export volume to produce commensurate rewards in the form of higher export earnings is provided by our principal export, tea. Between 1947 and 1970, although the volume of our tea exports rose by 60 per cent, our total earnings from tea exports increased by only 10 per cent.

27. In contrast, there has been a sharp rise in the prices payable by us on our imports. This problem has been accentuated by the even higher prices payable on imports obtained on credit or other aid arrangements.

28. Several increases in freight charges have also imposed a further strain on Ceylon's external payments position. These factors and the poor prices obtained for two of our major exports, tea and rubber, have been mainly responsible for the deterioration in our terms of trade. That is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, had the prices of our exports and imports remained at their 1959 levels, the actual volume of our exports and imports in the period 1965-1969 would have resulted in surpluses rather than deficits in our current account.

29. Foreign aid is no substitute for fair and just prices for our exports and for the expansion of trade. It carries with it the obligation of increasing debt-service burdens to which special reference has been made in the World Bank report, with Ceylon cited as a case in point.

30. The most pressing problem my Government has to face is the high and rising level of unemployment. The creation of employment calls for a high level of investment. While I am prepared to call upon our people to make the sacrifices which even a modest programme of development would demand, I hope that a conscientious effort will be made by the developed nations to ensure the conditions necessary for steady economic growth in countries like mine—namely, fair and stable prices for our exports, equitable terms of trade, the avoidance of punitive freight surcharges and a steady and assured flow of foreign finance on much less stringent terms than at present.

31. The International Development Strategy adopted at the twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] points the direction. In a few days from now the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in preparation for the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*] will begin in Lima. The message

that Conference should convey to the community of developed nations is that social pressures within the developing countries can be eased and political stability ensured only if a steady level of economic growth is maintained. What we seek is social justice on an international scale.

32. One of the purposes of the United Nations is to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples. Although many countries have succeeded in freeing themselves from colonial rule, there remains a large area of southern Africa whose peoples continue to suffer under the oppressive burden of foreign domination. I refer particularly to Portuguese colonialism in Africa, South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the racist minority régime in Zimbabwe.

33. Along with many other countries that respect the principles of the Charter, we have, both at the United Nations and in other international forums, consistently urged the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism. At the Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, in September 1970, a definite programme of action was adopted to that end. The General Assembly has a clear duty to intensify its efforts to complete the emancipation of the human race.

34. The vicious policy of racial discrimination that continues to be followed by Governments and régimes that are totally insensitive to enlightened world opinion calls for its immediate eradication through concerted measures on the part of countries within this Organization and outside it which respect the spiritual and cultural values of our civilization. The United Nations should not allow the millions who continue to be the victims of racial discrimination to languish in despair.

35. The last three decades have witnessed spectacular advances in technology that have transcended the most imaginative forecasts of fiction. The moon and outer space have been conquered. In the seas and oceans man may now not merely take his traditional harvest of food but may also extract from the ocean depths the mineral wealth that could bring increased prosperity and rapid improvement in the quality of his life.

36. My Government warmly welcomed the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction adopted without dissent by this Assembly during its twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*]. Some two thirds of this planet are thereby declared to be the common heritage of mankind, to be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes and to be explored and exploited for the benefit of mankind as a whole and for the developing countries in particular. That Declaration will remain a monument to those whose vision of a just and orderly world first inspired us to preserve that vast area of our planet from competitive exploitation for selfish ends. I am particularly pleased that Ceylon's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, as Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, contributed in no small measure to the negotiation and adoption of that important Declaration.

37. My Government also welcomed the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [resolution 2660 (XXV)] as a first step towards excluding those areas from the arms race.

38. It is my earnest hope that the same high level of statesmanship, co-operation and mutual understanding that called into being those two historic instruments will be displayed in the current negotiations by the Committee on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, which has been entrusted by this Assembly with the responsibility of preparing for a third conference on the law of the sea.

39. My Government sincerely hopes that this session of the General Assembly will see the final disposal of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its related organizations. We have throughout maintained that the China that was the founder Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council was not to be identified by reference to a particular group of individuals, that is, Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters. Rather, it is to be identified as a geographical, political and juridical entity which is now known as the People's Republic of China and has been known as such ever since Chiang Kai-shek was ousted from power and sought refuge on the island of Formosa, taking with him only the name but not the allegiance of the country and people on whose behalf he signed the Charter.

40. The reality can no longer be ignored, and there is hope that at long last the incongruous and legally insupportable contention that Chiang Kai-shek and his group represent China will be unequivocally rejected and that the real representatives of the real China—the People's Republic of China—will assume their rightful seat in this Organization. There is no question whatsoever of the expulsion of a Member of the United Nations. Taiwan has never enjoyed the legal status of membership in the United Nations.

41. It has been both an honour and a privilege for me to address this Assembly. The 131 nations represented here jointly share the responsibility and the power to establish justice, to maintain peace and to ensure progress in our troubled world. We have the Charter and a formidable body of international law, including declarations and resolutions, to illumine our path towards those goals. It is in our minds alone that darkness still exists, a darkness created by fear, hatred and suspicion. Our problem is to rid our minds of those darkening elements. To this problem, as to many others, the answers were provided 2,500 years ago in the teachings of Gautama Buddha as expressed in the Dhammapada:

"In all, the primal element is mind; pre-eminent is mind; by mind is all made. If a man speaks or acts uprightness of mind, happiness follows him close like his never-departing shadow."

42. Mr. DJAJADININGRAT (Indonesia): Mr. President, I am proud and happy to congratulate you, on behalf of the Indonesian delegation, on your election to the presidency of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your

assumption of this high office is a fitting tribute to your years of service and dedication in the field of international relations, and it is an honour for Indonesia to share with this august Assembly one of its most outstanding citizens.

43. May I also pay a tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, whose wise leadership, experience and understanding helped to steer us successfully through last year's milestone session: the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

44. I would like to extend also on behalf of my delegation a warm welcome to the four new States Members of our Organization admitted this year. We feel certain that the participation of Bahrain, Bhutan, Qatar and Oman will greatly contribute to our deliberations and decisions and will strengthen the United Nations by bringing us one step closer to universality of membership.

45. Mr. President, in your opening address to the Assembly [1934th meeting] you emphasized the theme of universality, urging us to work for a universality of peace as well as of hope in this era of interdependence.

46. Universality implies, first of all, conquering our worst enemy: man's basic self-centredness, which affects all relations whether interpersonal, national or international. It means the submersion of narrow national ambitions in the broader stream of common interest. It requires the forging of a new global vision and a global capacity to deal with the problems of our time.

47. The timeliness of your appeal is confirmed by the situation we see around us. The world seems to be going through a period of far-reaching transition and change. Yet, deep-seated contradictions and inequities continue to dominate international life.

48. On the one hand, the sharp divisions of the early cold war years are dissolving into a new multipolarity in the international power constellation. The tremendous advance of modern technology is opening up unprecedented possibilities for progress, while transforming the dimensions of international relations. Ideological intolerance is slowly giving way to a general search for new forms of global accommodation and coexistence.

49. On the other hand, the trend towards *détente* among the major Powers still fails to improve the security of the smaller and weaker nations. It has not removed the scourge of war in various regions of the world. The benefits of modern technology have yet to reach the majority of mankind, while its unrestrained use now threatens to degrade the human environment. And, as the Lusaka Declaration so eloquently states, "In spite of the great achievements and aspirations of our generation, neither peace, nor prosperity, nor the right to independence and equality, have yet become the integral and indivisible attributes of all mankind."⁵

⁵ Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations, adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

50. Thus, the era of transition in which we find ourselves today raises our greatest hopes, but also presents us with grave challenges.

51. The essential task we face is the structuring of a new international order that will make possible the establishment of genuine peace in the world and the equitable sharing of economic prosperity in freedom and social justice for all. Whether such an international order can emerge in the future will depend on how we decide to resolve a number of fundamental problems confronting us today.

52. How to obtain effective nuclear arms control so as to enable us to move towards general and complete disarmament; how to build an international economic and monetary system that will ensure stability as well as continued growth for the developing countries; how to exploit the new resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor under arrangements equitable to all; how to end the war in Indo-China and the Middle East, relieve the sufferings of refugees on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and in Palestine, and eradicate racism and colonialism in Africa—these are some of the problems to which we have to find the collective answers, and on which will depend the shape and conditions of the new international order that will emerge.

53. In facing these problems, there is indeed legitimate reason for hope. The most cynical pessimist cannot but acknowledge the growing tendency towards rapprochement among the major Powers, evident at various levels and within several regions.

54. The degree of accommodation and integration taking place in Europe at present increases the prospects for peace and stability in that area, and thus internationally. In this context, my delegation particularly welcomes the recent Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971 as a first step towards a conference on European security.

55. Progress so far achieved in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, although still limited, brings us a step closer to our shared aim of general and complete disarmament.

56. Indonesia is also heartened by the steps which the United States and the People's Republic of China have taken with a view to normalizing relations. My Government has always welcomed any development which could support and strengthen the conditions for world peace and international security. Our response to the United States-China rapprochement, therefore, is based on our hope that this new development will indeed bring greater peace and security to the world and especially to Asia and will effectively contribute to the resolution of such fundamental problems as disarmament, the Indo-China war, the question of divided countries and related issues.

57. Aside from these hopeful aspects, however, the most critical and explosive sources of international tension still remain, and we are today, more than ever, faced with the problems of human conflict and suffering, injustice and discrimination in various forms.

58. Undoubtedly, the most urgent of these problems is actual and potential war, casting its shadow over various

regions of the world, in south and South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in southern Africa.

59. The war in Indo-China continues to prevent the early stabilization of peaceful conditions in South-East Asia. As such, it remains a potent threat to world peace, a fact which, due to the prominence of certain other questions of international concern, seems unfortunately to have been relegated somewhat to the background.

60. The heavy toll of human tragedy continues unabated. For almost 30 years now the people of Viet-Nam have suffered the agony of war, and an entire generation exists which does not even understand the meaning of peace.

61. As a close neighbour, Indonesia cannot but have a direct interest in what is happening in Indo-China. With the other countries of South-East Asia it shares the need for peace in the area as a prerequisite for development. That is why my Government took the initiative last year of organizing a conference of Asian Foreign Ministers on the question of Cambodia. The decisions we made then are still relevant to the situation today. The Djakarta Conference on Cambodia demanded, among other things: the withdrawal of all foreign troops to facilitate the cessation of hostilities; respect for the sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of the countries concerned; the reactivation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, and the convening of an international conference similar to the Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace to Indo-China, which met at Geneva in 1954.⁶

62. And when, earlier this year, events in Laos took a turn for the worse, Indonesia, together with Japan and Malaysia, again initiated a series of direct appeals to all parties involved and actively sought concrete ways to overcome the impasse.

63. My Government remains convinced that peace in Indo-China cannot be achieved by military means, and that a political solution, to be lasting, should take into account the legitimate wishes of the Indo-Chinese peoples themselves. We maintain the hope that the present stalemate in the Paris peace talks will be broken soon and that an acceptable formula for a settlement can be reached on the basis of various proposals already submitted to this forum.

64. In the Middle East, Israel's adamant refusal to comply with the essential conditions for peace as provided for in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) remains the principal cause of continuing and explosive tensions in the area.

65. For four years now, Ambassador Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East, has untiringly devoted himself to helping to find a solution based on the above-mentioned resolution. His efforts and proposals have met with the support and sympathy of all parties except Israel. On the other hand, the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El-Sadat, has shown commendable reason and courage in declaring Egypt's willingness to sign a peace accord with Israel provided Israel withdraws from all Arab territories occupied since the June 1967 war, and even

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1970*, document S/9843.

to reopen the Suez Canal as a first step towards an over-all settlement.

66. It is clear that Israel's intransigence directly undermines the prestige and authority of the United Nations. Its continued illegal occupation of Arab territory and its persistent denial of basic human rights to the Palestinian people constitute serious violations of the Charter. And even as recently as a fortnight ago, Israel once again showed its total disregard for Security Council resolutions on the status of the City of Jerusalem.

67. Indonesia remains firm in its conviction that the acquisition of territory by military force cannot be tolerated. The complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab lands should, therefore, be the starting-point from which to develop all further efforts to attain a just and durable peace. We will continue to stand on the consistent implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), as well as of last year's General Assembly resolution which guarantees the Palestinians their inalienable right to self-determination [*resolution 2672 C (XXV)*]. We reaffirm our support to Ambassador Jarring's mission and welcome any other initiative, including interim agreements, to secure these objectives.

68. The tragedy of civil strife in Pakistan is another matter of deep concern to Indonesia. While my Government regards the political turmoil in the eastern part of that country as an internal affair of Pakistan, we realize that the resultant problem of refugees should be the humanitarian concern of the international community also. Indonesia, therefore, fully supports all efforts to extend relief to the distressed people of East Pakistan, as well as to the refugees in India. It has appealed to both India and Pakistan to resolve the tensions that have arisen between them, through peaceful negotiations and without recourse to force or mutual recrimination. And we entertain the hope that with the return of a civilian administration in Dacca, the confidence of the people will be restored and the general situation in Pakistan returned to normalcy.

69. The threat of war is not limited to Asia. Colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism continue to hold sway in southern Africa and create tensions constantly endangering world peace.

70. Despite all the efforts of the United Nations, over so many years, large parts of Africa continue to suffer under colonial oppression and racial discrimination. I refer to the Portuguese Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and to the abhorrent manifestation of racism which is *apartheid* in South Africa. Even worse, Secretary-General U Thant has alerted us to the fact that there has been a slowing-down in the pace of decolonization during the last few years [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 55*], due mainly to resistance or lack of co-operation in implementing United Nations decisions on the part of certain Member States.

71. My delegation wishes to stress the importance of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly

last year [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*]. Within the framework of that Declaration, we reiterate our full support for all relevant decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We also welcome the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia,⁷ in the earnest hope that it may bolster the determination of the Security Council to take resolute action and to put a stop to the continued defiance of the authority of the United Nations by South Africa and Portugal.

72. We appeal to all nations to co-operate in implementing the above-mentioned decisions. But we would like to address ourselves specifically in this regard to the big Powers and the major trading nations of the world. It is they who possess the influence and capability to impose the necessary economic and political sanctions on these colonial régimes.

73. Colonialism and racial discrimination, under whatever guise or label, are anachronisms we should no longer tolerate at this stage of world development. Instead, all of us should actively work for the liberation of the Territories remaining under colonial bondage, so as to enable them to join the United Nations and thus contribute to the strength and universality of our Organization.

74. The principle of universality also determines the manner in which we view the question of the representation of China. Ever since this issue arose in the General Assembly, the Government of Indonesia has taken the position that there is only one China—the People's Republic of China—and that, therefore, China's seat in the United Nations, including the Chinese seat in the Security Council, rightfully belongs to it. This position remains unchanged, in spite of the suspension of diplomatic relations between our two countries. In this respect Indonesia maintains that normalization of bilateral relations must be settled on the basis of the principles of the Bandung Declaration,⁸ of which both are signatories, notably the principles of non-interference and respect for each other's sovereignty. Indonesia hopes that, by assuming its rightful place in the United Nations, the People's Republic of China will be placed in a position where it will carry out its foreign policy with full responsibility for peace and security in the world, and especially in Asia.

75. Moreover, the participation of the People's Republic of China in our work and deliberations will considerably strengthen the authority of the United Nations and add to its effectiveness. For it has become obvious that the solution of many outstanding world problems requires China's participation. At the same time, however, we are fully aware that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China may leave important residual problems arising out of the political realities existing in the region and as also reflected in the United Nations itself. We hope that the parties concerned will be able to reach a satisfactory solution to these remaining problems.

⁷ *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.*

⁸ Adopted at the first Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung, Indonesia, from 18 to 24 April 1955.

76. I turn now to the question of the so-called divided nations. We only wish to restate our position that the divided nations should be admitted to membership in the United Nations, and that the peaceful resolution of their differences, which has our support in principle, should be considered an internal affair of those countries.

77. As to the question of disarmament, we recognize that there have been some limited achievements in this field. But our main concern—that of general and complete disarmament, including a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty—is far from being achieved. In this connexion a world disarmament conference, as proposed by the Soviet Union [A/L.631], certainly deserves our serious and sympathetic consideration. But that conference should be carefully planned. It should be held under the auspices of the United Nations and with all States participating.

78. But let me stress that the aim of general and complete disarmament must also be seen in the light of development. The figures for armament expenditures are appalling. Our Secretary-General quoted a figure of over \$200,000 million for 1970 alone [A/8401/Add.1, para. 42]; that is to say, the equivalent of a total year's income of all the developing countries.

79. Last year the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a link between the Disarmament Decade and the Second Development Decade [resolution 2685 (XXV)]. The International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)], which was adopted in the context of the Second United Nations Development Decade, is aimed primarily at reducing the gap between the rich and the poor countries, redressing the unequal distribution of wealth, power and resources and the imbalanced access to scientific and technological knowledge. As my delegation sees it, the deeper significance of this Strategy lies not in the goals *per se* but in the collective commitment and responsibility we have jointly undertaken.

80. But, unfortunately, recent developments, especially in the trade and monetary fields, have run counter to this commitment, and have added to the already aggravated burdens of the developing countries. The present monetary crisis has not only led to a loss in the real value of our monetary reserves, but also to a reduction in development assistance at a time when the need for such assistance has substantially increased. Moreover, the danger of a revival of economic nationalism—that is, a tendency towards protectionism discernible in certain quarters—if not checked threatens to halt or even to reverse the growth of international trade.

81. Those developments only serve to underline the interdependence between nations. It is clear, then, that the present situation can be remedied only through collective measures, which must be carried out in a spirit of co-operation between developed and developing countries, with mutual goodwill and understanding.

82. Any solution to the current crisis must not impose additional burdens on the developing countries and must adhere to the principles set forth in the International Development Strategy. The developing countries must be compensated for any loss in the real value of their

monetary reserves. Also, a new international monetary system must be evolved which would provide additional development financing to developing countries and which would be geared to a more dynamic concept of world trade, based on a new international division of labour between developed and developing countries. New conditions must be created which are favourable to the expansion and liberalization of trade.

83. We should like to stress the significant role of the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development [UNCTAD] in solving these problems. We earnestly hope that the third session of UNCTAD, to be held in Santiago, Chile, and the preparatory conference of the Group of 77 in Lima, Peru, will provide both the impetus and the instrument for further liberalization and expansion of trade in the developing countries. In particular, we should like to emphasize the urgent needs for the speedy removal of all tariff and non-tariff barriers.

84. Of vital importance to the success of the Second Development Decade is the monitoring mechanism on the national, regional, functional and world-wide levels. Concerning the global, over-all level, we feel that the Economic and Social Council should play a primary role in the review and appraisal of the Decade's progress and achievements. As the President of the Council, Mr. Driss of Tunisia, has pointed out, all efforts to strengthen the Council in this vital function are welcomed as timely and appropriate. Measures to expand the membership should go hand in hand with measures to expand its functions.

85. But, ultimately, the success of the entire Strategy is only possible once we have established a concrete link between the Second Development Decade and international peace and social justice. The Second Development Decade should only be seen as a part of a global commitment to solve our major problems: those of the environment, the population explosion, technological excess, the future exploitation of new resources, of the continental shelf, the sea-bed and the ocean floor, as well as a more equitable distribution of the resources and wealth already available to us. Problems of development cannot be regarded without this reference point to international social justice. We must work within the framework of our mutual interdependence, developed and developing countries alike, always keeping this crucial link in mind.

86. I have dwelt at some length on the problems of development. This is only natural, since to Indonesia economic development remains a matter of the highest priority in our Government's programme. As in the past three years, Indonesia this year once again made significant progress towards monetary and economic stability.

87. Hand in hand with economic stability, of course, goes political stability. We have just passed another important phase in our national development. The general elections of 3 July 1971 resulted in a more representative parliament closely reflecting the aspirations of the people. That is a clear endorsement by the people of all of those in our society favouring planned development, rationality and realism in government.

88. Finally, I should like to convey my delegation's most sincere appreciation to our Secretary-General for the devotion to the ideals of the United Nations he has shown over the past decade. In this period, U Thant has gained the respect and friendship of all who have come to know him and work with him. We shall remember the contributions he has made to the Organization during these most difficult and challenging years. We join with other delegations in

expressing regret at his decision to retire from the position of Secretary-General, and to wish him and his family the best of health and happiness. It is our hope, however, that the United Nations may continue to benefit from his vast experience, wise counsel and guidance in the future as it has in the past.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.