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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KAMEL (Qatar) (*interpretation from French*): When I had the honour of coming to this rostrum of the first meeting of this session [1934th meeting] to address this Assembly for the first time, my first words naturally were words of congratulation to you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to this high post, and to express also to this eminent Assembly our deepest gratitude at the very generous welcome which was extended to us unanimously on the occasion of our admission to this great United Nations family. Now that I am privileged to return to this rostrum and to participate in the general debate, I would like again to tell you, as the representative of an Asian State which has the closest ties of friendship and co-operation with your great country just how happy we are at your brilliant election to the presidency of the Assembly. We feel that your high qualities of wisdom, devotion and competence will be the surest warranty of the success of your task and of our work.

2. It is also a very agreeable opportunity for me to repeat our warmest words of thanks for the kind and courteous thoughts and words expressed to us by many distinguished delegations during the first meetings of this session, and for the outstanding statements which were made subsequently during the participation in the general debate.

3. It is with immense joy that I would like to greet the admission to the United Nations of the Arab State of Oman, to which we are attached through national identity based on the most fraternal bonds. We are all the happier to see it admitted to this international Organization because we feel convinced that the very close co-operation, which already exists between our two nations in order to contribute to their progress and prosperity and to that of other countries in the region to which we belong, will no

longer be limited merely to this regional framework, but in the future will have as its aim the uniting of our devoted efforts with those of the United Nations in order to attain the highest objectives of the United Nations—namely, the preservation and furtherance of the progress and prosperity of the entire international community—on the basis of the noble principles of our Charter, principles for which our Arab world has the deepest respect and the greatest attachment. On this glorious and historic occasion for the sister-State of Oman I should like to address our warmest congratulations to His Highness the Sultan of Oman, his Government and his people.

4. May I also take this opportunity to express our sincerest appreciation to our eminent Secretary-General for the altruism which he has demonstrated for the past 10 years in the service of mankind? The most objective and tireless efforts which he has unceasingly made during this long period—a period which has been fraught with enormous difficulties for the realization of the ideals of our Organization—are deserving of our highest esteem. We deeply regret his decision not to prolong his term of office beyond this year, and we hope that this decision is not his final word in the matter.

5. For a new Member of the Organization, a study of the evolution of the United Nations over the 26 years of its existence is essential. Such a colossal study, however, is greatly facilitated by the successive annual reports of the Secretaries-General, whose services the Organization has been so fortunate to have for all these years. The last report [A/8401/Add.1], which was submitted to this session by our present Secretary-General, U Thant, has particularly attracted our attention. That survey of the main facts which characterize the life of our Organization inspires mixed feelings in us, however.

6. In the economic and social fields, our Organization can be proud of the work it has accomplished, which is studded with so many basic documents, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of 10 December 1948 [resolution 217 (III)], to the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966 [resolution 2200 (XXI)].

7. Moreover, the countries of the third world have reason to be satisfied. We can note in particular that the interests of those countries are being taken into consideration by the various United Nations bodies and are finding a useful forum within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

8. United Nations activities in the technical assistance field, in all its forms, are constantly expanding and are producing many practical results.

9. General recognition of the principle of the right of States to their natural resources has made progress. At the same time the practical utilization of these resources has profited from the advice and assistance lavished on us by United Nations Committees and experts.

10. In this context, special mention must be made of the activities of the Committee on Natural Resources, the Special Fund of the United Nations Development Programme, and the Resources and Transport Division of the Secretariat. We may expect an equally favourable development in the field of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. During this session we shall be examining the report of the Committee set up by the General Assembly to study that problem,<sup>1</sup>—the report on its summer session, held last July in Geneva [A/8421]. Because of its geographic location and its special interests in the field of natural resources, Qatar will be most happy to contribute to the various United Nations agencies dealing with this problem the fruits of its modest experience and will be pleased to make use of the studies, recommendations and advice made available by the United Nations.

11. Qatar will adopt the same positive attitude towards the other United Nations activities devoted to economic and social development. We are duly appreciative of the efforts undertaken by the Economic and Social Council, its subsidiary bodies and specialized agencies, in the field of the mobilization of financial resources, foreign investment, economic and social planning, housing, transport and health.

12. We realize, of course, that in many of those fields we are still only half way along the road towards achieving the goals which seem to be indispensable if we are to create a world fit for all people to live in. We know, in particular, that relations between countries which have been industrialized for some time and those which are now developing are not yet free from the evil of colonialism and the desire for economic domination on the part of some. But we also know that we are working in the right direction, and we can hope that with each passing session of the General Assembly we shall be recording substantial progress.

13. However, this method of gradual reforms can be allowed only in the economic and social fields. When it comes to the main lines of international politics, the United Nations does not have the right to adopt the same wait-and-see attitude. Thus we find that the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples show that developments here are still far from being in keeping with the tasks which have been given to this Organization. Many peoples who are deserving of independence are still being kept in a state of subjection to foreign domination.

14. The perpetuation of a system of *apartheid* in some countries in Africa, in spite of the numerous decisions and recommendations of United Nations bodies, constitutes a real crime against mankind.

15. And what must we say then about the shocking and unprecedented drama of the Palestinian people who have been fraudulently dispossessed of their homeland, who have been forcibly expelled from their homes, upon whom the aggressor has inflicted the most unspeakable miseries and most inhuman suffering, and whose right to self-determination has been recognized in all forums of the United Nations? What can we say to those people who continue to be deprived of the practical application of this right. This unspeakable drama whose perpetuation constitutes the most serious anomaly of our present international life—we might even say the most serious violation of moral and legal standards which govern this international life—is one which continues vainly to provoke the indignation of the international community which is quite aware that the idea of establishing a long-lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be considered without previously restoring to the people of Palestine their legitimate and inalienable rights.

16. There is no need whatsoever to say that as long as the movement towards independence of all peoples that are still under a foreign yoke is not completed, the United Nations will be unable to claim that it has concluded its development towards universalization. To be sure we are on the eve of decisive progress in this area. Indeed, the settlement of the Chinese question and the problem of the admission to the Organization of the so-called “divided nations” will bring the United Nations closer to the concept of universality. However, this universality cannot be fully achieved until all people that have a well-determined individuality are admitted, as independent members, to the family of the United Nations, a family which as the vocation of being an organization grouping together all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples of the world. If this ideal is not achieved there will continue to exist tensions and threats in the world which will endanger peace. But peace and security cannot be achieved without raising the question of the very existence of the world community and the United Nations which is the incarnation of that community.

17. These are not purely philosophical considerations. In the Middle East we are in fact witnessing a continuing conflict which is pitting the principles of peace and the prohibition of territorial acquisition through violence, the inviolability of borders and the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny, against a spirit of aggression, expansion and domination on the part of a certain State Member of this Organization. The illegal, aggressive and destructive action of Israel which has extended to Jerusalem, Gaza, Sinai, Golan and the West Bank of Jordan has been condemned unanimously by the other Members of the United Nations as a flagrant violation of international conventions and United Nations resolutions, resolutions which were dictated by the principles of our Charter. However, this condemnation has remained a platonic one because the United Nations, while firm in its attitude of principle, has adopted a passive attitude on the question of carrying out these unanimous decisions.

18. This session gives newly admitted States an opportunity to make known their views on current events and problems. Among these problems there is none more serious and urgent than the problem—which sums up all other problems—of the maintenance of peace and security.

<sup>1</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

19. This is a problem which has been especially highlighted by the adoption at our last session, on 16 December 1970, of resolution 2734 (XXV), the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In the preamble of the Declaration, the Assembly solemnly reaffirmed the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States. In the same resolution, which has 27 paragraphs, the Assembly basically calls on all States to observe the purposes and principles of the Charter in their respective relations and reaffirms that each State has a duty to refrain from resorting to threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any other State. It also recommends that the Security Council intensify its efforts in order to maintain international peace and security. This was not an academic intention but a resolution which is supposed to be a guideline for the Organization in its subsequent actions, with particular reference to those conflicts which continue to cause bloodshed in various parts of the world and which are a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security.

20. In this connexion it is impossible to ignore the cruel inconsistency which exists in the Middle East between words and deeds. In spite of the repeated positions taken by various United Nations bodies and, in particular, by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the occupation of Arab territories by the aggressor State continues.

21. This is an extremely serious state of affairs to which, it is true, our Organization has not been insensitive. Just a few days ago on 25 September the Security Council adopted, by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention, resolution 298 (1971) in which it urgently called upon the aggressor State to rescind all measures which it had taken during the last four years to change the status of Jerusalem. After it had reaffirmed its previous positions—resolutions 252 (1968) and 267 (1969)—and recalled once again “the principle that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible”, the Council deplored the violation by the aggressor State of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and requested the Secretary-General to report to it on the implementation of this new resolution.

22. But do we really have to point out that the time for these reports has now passed and that because of this persistent violation of law we must now expect something else from the United Nations? Hardly had this resolution of 25 September been adopted by the Security Council than it was rejected by the aggressor State, as if it was up to a State which is breaking the law to apply a resolution or not to apply it as it liked, and in this way to defy the conscience of the world.

23. The examples of Israel's scorn for the resolutions of the United Nations, which are governed by the principles of the Charter, as well as for the most elementary rules of international law and international morality, are unfortunately only too numerous. This attitude of a lack of respect has been adopted by Israel, stubbornly and unvaryingly, for 25 years. The facts and the evidence showing this to be true are incontestable. I shall not go into the background of this sombre affair before this Assembly, which is fully aware of it. However, it is important for us to note that the situation

in the Middle East has become so serious that we might even legitimately consider that Israel's attitude, which brought it about, is one of the basic causes for the crisis which our Organization is presently going through.

24. How can we fail to see clearly the gravity of such a situation? It brings to mind the bitterest of memories, memories of the war in Ethiopia, which in its time sounded the death-knell of the League of Nations. If the United Nations were to accommodate itself to this Israeli challenge, it would be unable to prevent Members from experiencing feelings of insecurity, the final outcome of which would be the disintegration of the Organization as such. Each one of us, then, should repeat to himself in a paraphrase those prophetic words uttered many years ago by the Emperor of Ethiopia before the League of Nations, and say that each one of us should fear one day becoming someone else's Palestine.

25. How then could the scales be tipped by the achievements of the United Nations in the economic and social fields? We have seen and we all know that if we are to continue to move towards progress in these areas the United Nations needs time. But at the same time we should make it clear that the time which the United Nations needs to develop its activities for the progress of mankind should be a time of peace. If the Organization shows itself to be incapable of ensuring this time of peace, then all of its past activities and its chances for the future will be reduced to nil. However, we all have the greatest need and the greatest desire that this activity should go on and that those chances should be preserved. But if this is to happen, then the United Nations must do everything in its power to restore peace, a true peace, and States—and in this case the State which is opposed to this—must be required to heed the decisions which are regularly being taken by this Organization. The Charter gives us the means of attaining this end. It is only necessary for the Organization to have the will to use those means.

26. Is there any need to point out that the piling up of resolutions which condemn the illegal activities and the attitude of Israel can be of no further use? It is quite clear and obvious that this type of resolution, unless bolstered up by effective measures, is, on the contrary, a type which may further weaken the authority of this international Organization, since Israel regularly opposes them with its traditional arrogant rejection and is systematically frustrating them.

27. The Foreign Minister of Israel, before this Assembly on Thursday, 30 September last, declared: “This Organization, for all its imperfections, is still the only organized expression of the planetary spirit” [*1946th meeting, para. 111*]. Well, if this is the case, how can he expect us to accept his proposal which discredits the various resolutions of this Organization which were intended to show the road towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East? How can we follow the road which he is suggesting? Those resolutions, which reflect the planetary spirit and which are inspiring the international life of our age, an age which is governed by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, condemn the policy of aggression of Israel and enjoin Israel urgently to respect the legitimate rights of the Arab States which have been the victims of aggression, and

to restore to them their territories which have been invaded through armed force.

28. Hence the only solution which is indicated here would be for Israel to heed the resolutions of this Organization and for the competent organs of this Organization to ensure respect for its resolutions by all means at their disposal. Any other proposal of the type suggested by the Foreign Minister of Israel is only intended to maintain the illegality of a *fait accompli* which has been brought about through military force and which has been condemned by the United Nations. It is true that all those interpretations of the resolutions of the Organization in this matter, which do not contain a categorical affirmation of the urgent need for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories which they occupied after 5 June 1967, would be purely and simply the equivalent of deliberate support for the sinister desire to perpetuate the *fait accompli* to which I have just referred.

29. Israel's refusal to heed the decisions of the Organization in an area which affects the maintenance of world peace has lasted for a long time now without the Organization having taken any effective measures intended to cause this State to mend its ways. Nevertheless—and we cannot repeat this too often—it has a whole arsenal of measures of this type: we have economic sanctions, the other measures in Chapter VII of the Charter and the procedure for expelling a State. It is urgent that the United Nations should frankly take a decision to use every avenue open to it under the Charter and to compel Israel to submit to international order. If the United Nations vacillates any longer in taking this road, then it will be in danger of admitting its inability to carry out its essential mission of maintaining peace or, if necessary, of restoring peace, which is the supreme asset and the permanent justification of the Organization.

30. However, in spite of everything, the world continues to hope that our Organization will not tolerate this anarchy created by the acts of a Member State and that it will, at however late a stage, eventually hasten to discharge its main responsibility—which is the source of all its other responsibilities—that of ensuring respect for the rule of law and for the purposes and principles of our Charter. That is the frank and direct path towards international peace and security. The others, which are uncertain and tortuous, can lead only to the wrecking of that international order which cannot exist outside the rule of law.

31. May the sense of responsibility towards the present and the future of the world on the one hand and the great hopes which mankind has in the Organization on the other hand inspire all of us, in particular those among us who shoulder the greatest responsibilities and the most direct powers, with a determination to act in concert in order to avoid the road of disaster, a road which leads to destruction of the international order; and may they take the right road, the road which leads to the building of a just peace and lasting security, to which the international community aspires.

32. Mr. MAMOUDOU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me first of all, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Niger, to congratulate you most warmly

on your election to the highly responsible post of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The unanimous choice of your person testifies to the confidence placed in your eminence as a statesman and an experienced diplomat, but it is also a deliberate and carefully reflected choice of your great country, which is a symbol of liberty, the historic site of the awakening of the third world, which was crushed under the yoke of colonialism and underdevelopment. Bandung 1955 still echoes in our hearts as the rallying cry of all the oppressed peoples of the earth for their determined march towards liberty and dignity. We are particularly pleased because your visit of friendship to our country two years ago strengthened even further the bonds of solidarity and fraternity between our two peoples.

33. May I also, Sir, take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Hambro, who served so admirably as President of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session.

34. I should like now to address myself to U Thant, the distinguished Secretary-General of our Organization, to convey to him the feelings of confidence and high esteem of the President of the Republic of Niger and his Government towards him personally. Indeed, for 10 years he has carried out an overwhelming task and defended the ideal of the United Nations with vigour and perseverance. I should like to express to him once again our gratitude, and to repeat to him here, publicly, the profound hope of my Government that he will find it possible to renew his tenure of office.

35. I should like also to express our feelings of friendship with, and to bid welcome to our great universal family, to the new States of Bahrain, Bhutan, Qatar and Oman and to assure them of our total and sincere co-operation.

36. Speaking after so many distinguished representatives who have preceded me, I shall not dwell at any great length on the great international problems which still await solution and which sometimes arise again in more pressing form to threaten world peace. I should like, in passing, to express regret at what might be considered a gradual weakening of the powers originally conferred on the Assembly by the United Nations Charter. A mere glance at the list of items on the agenda of this session shows clearly that most of the urgent questions upon which world peace and security depend have been circumvented—and, what is even worse, the Security Council itself has practically been denied the opportunity to deal with the most thorny problems. That is a situation which we believe to be most disturbing.

37. Having said that, we can nevertheless express satisfaction regarding some matters.

38. In the Middle East, although a final solution is not yet in sight, it must be noted that the cease-fire has been respected for a year and there are certain grounds for hoping for at least the beginning of a *détente* and a partial solution.

39. I should like to repeat here the unreserved support of my Government for Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which should be implemented without further

delay. We are in favour of the right of peoples to self-determination, and it is on that basis that the problem of Palestine, including the status of Jerusalem, must be resolved. Recently we considered it a good sign that the two sides, the United Arab Republic and Israel, had accepted the principles of a visit from the Committee of African Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity, entrusted with seeking new approaches for attaining a just and lasting solution.

40. In Europe, we note with satisfaction the signing, on 3 September 1971, after long and arduous negotiations, of an agreement among the four occupying Powers on the status of Berlin. Although that Agreement does not bring any final solution to the distressing problem of the division of Germany, it none the less represents a step forward and gives us reason to hope for new measures which will lighten the burden of armaments and further relax tensions between East and West.

41. In the same context we impatiently await tangible results from the SALT negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of antiballistic rocket systems and offensive strategic weapons. We also hope that the efforts of the great Powers in that area will not cease there but will lead to progressive disarmament measures, which will free for other, more humane tasks the enormous sums of money squandered each year on the arms race.

42. In the Far East we glimpse a real hope in the Indo-China peninsula, which has not known true peace for more than 25 years. The decisions of President Nixon gradually to withdraw American troops from Viet-Nam and to begin a dialogue between the United States and the People's Republic of China have opened up new and promising prospects.

43. The Government of Niger will support any action in favour of the dual representation of China. If the law of numbers is a factor which is to influence our judgement, it is none the less true that the moral quality and sense of responsibility exhibited by the Republic of China for more than a quarter of a century must command the respect and admiration of this Assembly.

44. A supporter of peace, freedom and justice, my country will spare no effort to see to it that the Republic of China, a founding Member of our Organization which has always respected the Charter, continues to enjoy an honourable place within the United Nations. In this regard, I must state that the Republic of Niger will reject any proposal to expel the Republic of China, to which my country is linked by bonds of friendship and co-operation and which has always consistently upheld the ideals of freedom and democracy.

45. On this understanding, the Republic of Niger will not oppose the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

46. Within this disturbing international context, Niger, in so far as it is able, has never ceased to strive for peace and understanding both within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, the African, Malagasy and Mauritian

Common Organization, as well as in the more limited context of the Council of the *Entente*, whose cohesiveness has been strengthened from year to year.

47. We also take pleasure in the harmonious development of bonds of friendship and co-operation with all our neighbours.

48. The eminently peace-loving disposition of our people and Government does not blind us to the still open wounds in the flesh of our continent. We solemnly condemn the obduracy of Portugal in remaining the only colonial Power in Africa which refuses self-determination to the peoples of the Territories under its domination. We have duly condemned the barbarous act of aggression perpetrated against the sister Republic of Guinea on 22 November 1970, and the repeated violations of the territories of Senegal, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Zambia.

49. In the face of the inhumane practice of *apartheid* in South Africa and the occupation by that country of Namibia in spite of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, we can only note and deplore once again the indifference to these problems on the part of the great Powers, whose concerted and energetic action could alone sway the policies of these racists.

50. With regard to the illegal régime instituted in Rhodesia by a white minority, we reiterate our appeal to the United Kingdom rapidly to restore legality in that country, a country which is the responsibility of the British Crown.

51. While we are deeply concerned about these problems, we in Niger do not lose sight of the vital problem of economic development which, in the final analysis, influences all the others because it is on the strength of their material superiority that the industrialized countries deny us the right of raising our voice in favour of our brothers.

52. If I have not dwelt at any great length on certain political problems, it is to highlight their real importance because, in the final analysis, these problems are only the reflection of another more important problem as we see it; this is the economic and social development of the third world, especially on the African continent.

53. The unequal development of the world where the rich countries continue to grow richer and the poor countries grow poorer is at the root of what is so seriously wrong with our world. If the wisdom and the will of the great Powers cannot prevail over their desire for domination, we are all running the risk of a conflagration one day whose consequences are immeasurable. The great financial and economic crisis of 1929 has given the first evidence of this. The recent monetary crisis is likely to give us further proof if the international community does not take the necessary urgent measures.

54. The developing countries remain powerless spectators of the interplay of the great Powers. Their development suffers constantly from the often irrational nature of the assistance which is contractual and specific and does not make it possible to carry out long-term planning. This situation is made even worse by the effects of unequal

trade. In this regard the President of the Republic, His Excellency, Elhadji Diori Hamani, said four years ago:

“Until we can find together a solution to a phenomenon which appears to be the simple result of the working of the law of supply and demand, whose effects must be remedied, a phenomenon which has the effect of causing the price of the major primary products to remain stagnant and often decline, while the price of industrial products constantly increases in relative value, there will be no tangible progress for the developing countries.”

55. The industrialized countries have certainly made considerable efforts to help the under-developed countries but they give more and more the impression of trying to fill a bucket in the bottom of which they themselves have punched a hole.

56. Increased efforts must be made by our Organization with the participation of the rich countries, to inform the people of the rich countries and to make them more aware of the ever-deepening tragedy which is afflicting the developing countries.

57. The rich countries should not rest on their laurels but should realize that their fate is necessarily linked to that of the “proletarian nations”. One cannot talk from this rostrum of peace, freedom and justice, while millions and millions of people are suffering from hunger and disease.

58. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted unanimously [resolution 2626 (XXV)] by rich and poor alike, should give us grounds to hope that beyond resolutions and expressions of sympathy, there does exist a will to act, to forge this great alliance mentioned by the President of the Economic and Social Council, this great alliance against poverty, injustice and misery.

59. This requires a great deal of goodwill and courage both from the rich and from the poor. It also requires a restructuring of certain United Nations agencies and this is certainly what the Secretary-General felt after the adoption of Economic and Social Council resolution 1553 (XLIX) of 30 September 1970 with regard to regional structures and arrangements of the United Nations and its subsidiary organs and specialized agencies.

60. In addition to its unambiguous response to the Secretary-General's questionnaire, my Government reiterates its unreserved support for the proposal to expand the membership of the Economic and Social Council. We feel that the present composition of the Council no longer reflects with sufficient accuracy the present state of the community of independent nations, and that, as has been done elsewhere in most international bodies, there should be a readjustment of quotas which are now more than a quarter-century old.

61. These, then, in a few words are the comments which the Government of Niger has instructed me to make to this august Assembly. My Government, which lives in peace with all of its neighbours and desires to maintain relations of friendship with all nations, will give its support here to any action which, within the framework of mutual toler-

ance and understanding, will better assure world peace and interdependence of nations.

*Mr. Ibrahim (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

62. Mr. RABEMANANJARA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): I should be giving no evidence whatsoever of originality if I were to recognize, along with all of the preceding speakers, that the opening of a dialogue between Peking and Washington is an event of extraordinary importance, one which may indeed profoundly modify the international political situation. The “realists” have at length and unanimously been expressing their delight. I willingly concede that it was essential for 700 million human beings no longer to be left outside the community of nations. However, I shall not surprise you if I say that, as far as the Government I represent is concerned, the Malagasy Government, our misgivings outweigh our satisfaction.

63. On the one hand, because the Peking authorities have not, as far as I know, given up exporting their policy of subversion—the pernicious character of which is felt all the more strongly by the countries of the third world because of the feebleness of their resources and their still-fragile structures—it would be wise, before we raise this grand new banner, to make certain that our new partner intends to respect one of the basic principles of the Charter: non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

64. On the other hand, the circumstances in which this new event was prepared, decided upon and announced must necessarily leave smaller nations somewhat perplexed. Those circumstances in fact seem to indicate that in the conduct of their affairs the great Powers are not hampered by ideology or previous agreements and are guided only by their own interests.

65. From this rostrum I have often deplored the all-too-obvious dichotomy between words and deeds. My fears, unfortunately, were only too well founded, and, as far as I am concerned, I am apprehensive of a new Yalta leading to a new marking-out of areas of influence, to the detriment of the rights of peoples to self-determination.

66. May I stress this point, because I know that there are many here who share my anxiety. It would be indeed tragic if the hopes that were raised by decolonization, a process which has restored the rights of the subjugated nations of Africa and Asia, were to end up in another form of domination, even if that new form were to prove more subtle and less apparent. It would be even more tragic if the super-Powers were to wage by proxy a war which they do not dare wage openly.

67. The Malagasy Government will of course be following with the greatest attention the development of the discussions and the negotiations that will take place. Our attention will be particularly keen for two reasons.

68. The first is the existence in Madagascar of a large Chinese community, to whose loyalty and industry I wish to pay a tribute. The existence of that community is not at all in question; however, we cannot be entirely indifferent to the question of whether it is culturally attached to a democratic or to a totalitarian State.

69. The second reason is the friendship that ties us to the Government of Formosa. It is a friendship based on mutual esteem that has been remarkably strengthened by most valuable and highly appreciated technical assistance in the field of rice-growing and cottage industries.

70. In these circumstances, and subject to whatever new factors may be introduced—something which, in my view, seems very improbable—the Malagasy Republic will maintain diplomatic relations with the Government of Taipei.

71. It is not within Malagasy traditions to abandon our friends, especially when they are going through hard times. One of our proverbs expresses the strength of this idea very well: "Do not give up the domestic fowl in your own yard in order to go out chasing a wild guinea-hen with coloured feathers."

72. In this course, the Malagasy Republic remains faithful to the ethical standards of its people, to the ideals of justice and freedom enshrined in its Constitution, for after all, it was Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who affixed his signature to the Charter that founded our Organization.

73. I come to another crucial point in the diplomacy of Madagascar, which has to do with the relations between Madagascar and South Africa.

74. Throughout my life I have struggled against racism in all its forms. As a black man, I have suffered harsh repression, imprisonment, a sentence to hard labour for life, and exile all of which were imposed on those who were at the forefront of the struggle to free our oppressed brothers. At this very rostrum on many occasions I have denounced the concept and consequences of *apartheid*. As far as patriotism or love of Africa are concerned, Madagascar has nothing to learn from anyone. No nation can or ought to assert the right to give lessons to others.

75. In the fullness of its sovereignty, the Government to which I belong has concluded an agreement on trade and co-operation with the racist Government of Pretoria and my deputy, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, visited Pretoria at the beginning of last August.

76. I have had an opportunity to point out that, as a close neighbour of South Africa, Madagascar has every interest in maintaining good relations with that nation, for economic as well as strategic reasons.

77. I should also stress that ideological differences between the eastern countries and the free world have never prevented them from carrying on a particularly active trade. What I should like to stress most of all is that our position stems from this fact: the warlike utterances of the past years, the repeated condemnations, have proved fruitless. As for what I modestly call the direct action desired by some, that would unfortunately lead only to a worsening of the position of the people mainly affected and would bring chaos to Africa. War would only cut down the finest flower of African youth and we in Madagascar do not want to see that.

78. We think that the solution should be approached from a different standpoint. A dialogue must be begun. We must

talk and ensure that the dialogue leads to a gradual whittling away of a situation which must be condemned from every point of view.

79. If the whites in South Africa prove themselves to be such racists it is because they are afraid of what they consider to be the black peril. So we must exorcise them from this demon of fear. I am convinced that this is the proper course of action because, as the Minister from Malawi said after President Banda's visit: "South Africans will never be the same again after they have seen their leaders receive us Negroes so well."

80. Dialogue, negotiation, provided of course that they take place among the parties concerned—these in the opinion of the Malagasy Republic are the basic methods for settling the disputes and conflicts from which mankind is suffering at present.

81. May negotiations be initiated between Israelis and Arabs on the basis of recognition of the rights of all the peoples of the region and respect for the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. May the Paris conference on Viet-Nam cease to be an eternal dialogue between the deaf while that unhappy country, a military proving ground, continues to see its children mutilated physically and—what is even worse—ravaged spiritually and culturally!

82. Nor can we be indifferent to the fact that millions of Bengalis are being expelled from their homes and, after long wandering on land and water, being packed into improvised camps in conditions of indescribable misery.

83. Of course it is not for us to interfere in the domestic affairs of Pakistan. However, would we be doing so if we were to ask for some humaneness in the conduct of repressive operations?

84. On the other hand, it is certainly a duty of our Organization to mobilize the resources which are indispensable to alleviate the unspeakable sufferings of the refugees. It is absolutely scandalous that, when the industrial Powers are stockpiling large surpluses of powdered milk, wheat, meat, and powdered eggs, women and children should be dying by hundreds of thousands. Will it be said that the consumer society was indifferent to their fate? Of course I do not wish to minimize the efforts which have been made by certain States, in particular by India. What I am saying is that not enough has been done and that it is urgent that the problem should be viewed in its proper perspective.

85. Following our eminent Secretary-General, I should like in this connexion to address a pressing appeal to the major Powers. They have supplied, and are continuing to supply weapons to both sides. Would it not have been wiser simply to provide clothes and food? Would not the solution to the conflict itself have been much easier if the super-Powers had not found there a new opportunity for fanning the flames of regional rivalries and fighting one another by proxy?

86. Here I return to one of the main themes of my statement. Small nations should not continue to be the playthings of large nations; self-determination should no longer be a stylish slogan but should become reality.

87. I shall not dwell on the problems of disarmament. My country's position is well known. A peaceful nation, it wants a limitation of armaments and the outlawing of atomic weapons. An under-developed nation, it wants the funds now being set aside to build up the forces of destruction to be used to finance action in favour of economic and social progress in the third world.

88. This naturally leads me to mention the problems of development and to recall the main concerns of my Government once again. As we are about to enter the Second United Nations Development Decade, we must note that the implementation of the resolutions of the New Delhi Conference<sup>2</sup> has not been satisfactory.

89. In 1970, the total contribution of all States members of the Development Assistance Committee still represents only 0.78 per cent of their gross national product, as against a target of 1 per cent in 1972. The amount of public assistance has only risen slightly, so that if we take into account the rise in prices, its real volume has dropped if compared with 1969.

90. Furthermore, the assistance given by these same countries members of the Development Assistance Committee includes a greater proportion of loans, the amount of which is now comparable to the amount of donations. When we realize that in the ledgers of the private sector their contributions are posted as insurance credits for exports, we cannot fail to be somewhat disturbed at the development of this assistance, since it seems to increase only to the extent that it is a commercial proposition.

91. Concerning the generalized preferences, I must note that certain donor countries have excluded from the scope of generalized preferences products which are of particular interest to the developing countries, whether these be textiles, fuels or processed agricultural commodities. As a representative of a State which is associated with the European Economic Community, I must also note that the advantages of the association are reduced by the entry into force of a system of generalized preferences without the legitimate compensations which the associates had a right to expect being granted.

92. I could give many more examples. I could also point out how precarious the results are. In fact, the current monetary crisis has had as its immediate consequence a noticeable decrease in the assistance given by the main donor country, the United States, and we cannot view without great concern the decision of the same country to apply to the poorer countries the 10 per cent surcharge imposed on imports of manufactured or semi-manufactured products or even on such primary commodities as vanilla. Can we even think of putting Japan, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and Germany in the same boat as Upper Volta, Rwanda, Burundi, and Madagascar and the Comores? We think this is an unspeakable injustice.

93. I shall not go so far as to say, as some experts have, that this measure sounds the death-knell of the preferential

system, on which a bad agreement had only just been reached after years of laborious negotiations. I shall merely say that the interest of the poorer countries does not seem to have been the main concern of the rich countries.

94. However, I am convinced that the demands of the poorer countries could easily be satisfied if they could benefit from a diversion of the considerable funds which are allocated by the rich countries to armaments, the conquest of space, agricultural price supports, and leisure. Recently, the headlines of a major French newspaper proclaimed that the American astronauts had left \$100 million on the moon. As a human being, I must bow to the scientific achievement represented by the exploration of our satellite, and to the heroism and the courage of the men responsible for this achievement. But I cannot help thinking at the same time that peasants in Africa, Madagascar and possibly South-East Asian countries as well are still using agricultural implements which date from the Middle Ages and that very often they must carry their crops away on their backs.

95. It is quite clear that under present conditions the gap between the rich and poor countries is constantly growing, in spite of the fact that, as the world progresses, the position of some of the poorer countries has become less unbearable.

96. I have on more than one occasion stressed in this very hall the risks of conflict entailed by this state of affairs and the insidious aggravation of North-South antagonism which flows from it. I shall not revert to this matter. What I would like to do, however, is to draw the attention of the industrialized countries to another aspect of the problem, with the hope—although it is a tentative one—that they will take heed of this because it involves their interest, their balance and their future.

97. It has become quite clear—and the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm in June 1972, will stress this—that industrial civilization is confronting Europe, the United States, and Japan, and the countries of the East, too, with considerable dangers because of overcrowding and pollution. Life as such is becoming more and more difficult. The increase of industrialization and its corollary, urbanization, is posing problems which everyone is describing as insoluble over the medium term.

98. We in the developing countries have some difficulty in understanding the importance and scope of these problems. In any case, we are ready to help solve them. Since we are the purveyors of commodities and energy, why not transfer some activities to our country? The only result could be a better balance for mankind as a whole. The decline in living conditions in the industrialized countries would be arrested, on the one hand, and on the other, economic and social progress in the third world would be accelerated.

99. Now it will be argued that the problem is easier to state than to solve. I agree. Indeed, as far as my country is concerned, I would not agree that those transfers of activity should be converted into a new form of colonialism.

*Mr. Malik (Indonesia) resumed the Chair.*

<sup>2</sup> Second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

100. But it does seem to me that the interests of both sides could none the less be safeguarded. It should be possible to accelerate the process of industrialization in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia while safeguarding the interests of investors as well as of the nationals of the countries concerned. How would that be done? A certain number of principles may be stated: the choice of the activity and its establishment should be worked out by common agreement; nationalization—in the sense of Africanization or “Madagascarization” for example—of property and management within limits to be determined should be envisaged and described in detail; and the bulk of the resulting profits should remain in the country concerned. On the other hand, the Governments concerned should offer guarantees for the security of capital and should promote the establishment of national savings and be more active in bringing about regional co-operation.

101. I am quite aware that these problems are being debated at great length, by experts certainly more competent than we are in other bodies, such as UNCTAD, UNIDO and GATT. I mention these matters because I have the feeling that those studies and meetings are sufficiently advanced for a decision to be taken. But I also feel that such a decision will not be forthcoming until such time as a clear political will to that end has emerged. It seems to me that we could in fact provide that political will and become that driving force for new initiatives and new accomplishments.

102. Those are the principal concerns of the Malagasy Government in the face of the great problems of the world today.

103. You will thus understand, Mr. President, how pleased we are to congratulate you on your election to your high post. Leaving aside the basic affinities between the people of Madagascar and the fraternal people of Indonesia, whose pride you are, we are sure that under your presidency our debates on all these essential items will take place in a climate of tranquility ensured by your impartiality, and in a businesslike manner, which has been your hallmark throughout your brilliant international career. Madagascar salutes you.

104. It is not without regret, however, that I raise these grave matters, mindful that henceforth we must deal with them in a climate overshadowed by the decision of our devoted Secretary-General to leave us. I hope that U Thant will find in my tribute the fervent echo of the gratitude of Madagascar, and I must say I have been instructed by the President of the Republic, Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, to urge him to remain at his post for the better functioning of our Organization—an Organization which he has so well served—and in the interests of a fruitful search for peace for troubled mankind.

105. Until recently, man depended strictly on his environment; in such circumstances, it was inevitable that the struggle for life assumed brutal forms, such as wars between clans, tribes and nations, or profound inequalities among men of the same clan, tribe or nation. Today, thanks to his intelligence, man has really become master of his own destiny. He has tamed nature, has increased his control over

birth, and has found ways of postponing death. It would be absurd for the old quarrels to continue and for inequalities to persist when it is now possible to bring about peace and to make prosperity accessible to all, especially when such quarrels and inequalities can only result in a terrible tragedy—indeed, the destruction of mankind itself.

106. Mindful of that danger, but aware also of the immense potential of the human intelligence, my Government—and I hope the arguments I have put forward have left you convinced of this—has ceaselessly striven, and will continue to strive, for dialogue and universal progress.

107. I am sure that I will be heard by this Assembly, but what I particularly wish is to be heard by the Governments that have sent their representatives here. Our Organization must cease to be a mere meeting place and must become once again a centre of action and decision, as its founders wanted it to be. In this way, nations great and small will be associated in the joint search for solutions to the great problems in respect for the rights and interests of everyone. It is this wish that I express, in concluding my statement, for the triumph of peace, justice and freedom.

108. Mr. PÉTER (Hungary): The current, twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly launches the second quarter of a century in the existence of the United Nations. With last year's commemorative session of the General Assembly, the first quarter of a century of this international Organization came to a close. Much has changed in this world of ours between the founding of the United Nations and its twenty-fifth anniversary, but so has the Organization itself.

109. Here in the General Assembly hall, much of that change is reflected in the fact that we are already short of room to accommodate all the representatives of Member States. In other words, the architects of this building had not foreseen that, in a historically short period of 25 years, the United Nations would have more than 130, instead of only 51, Member States. That goes to show that neither the architects nor some founding Members of the United Nations could have imagined that the long-standing forms of the colonial system would disintegrate within such a short period of time.

110. It would seem reasonable to pose the question here and now. What changes can the world, and thus the United Nations itself, expect? Will our children and our children's children celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations?

111. The victorious Powers of the First World War brought into being the League of Nations, but the League did not live to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary. The Second World War broke out before the League could celebrate that anniversary. Although it had some useful achievements to its credit, the League of Nations was more than once instrumental in preparing the ground for armed conflicts. What is more, the League played a part in the outbreak of the Second World War, primarily by refusing to adopt proposals for peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the prevention of war.

112. The successor to the League of Nations, the United Nations, was brought into being after the Second World

War, again by the victorious Powers. Already the United Nations has gone through many a crisis. The United Nations has also been made an instrument of armed conflicts, even of threats of world-wide war. Sometimes it was also the instrument of cold war activities. In Korea, for instance, the conflicting sides are still today negotiating under the United Nations flag. In bygone years many have warned in this hall that the United Nations might meet the same fate as the League of Nations. So far, the United Nations has overcome all these crises. This can be ascribed to certain specific reasons.

113. Firstly, the Charter is superior to the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Charter was drawn up by countries having different social systems but a common aim: to help all peoples for the sake of peace. That is why it was expressly stated that the goal was to free all peoples from foreign and colonial domination. It was even enacted that war as a means of resolving international disputes must be banned once and for all through disarmament.

114. Secondly, the composition of the United Nations has undergone far-reaching changes. During the lifetime of the Organization, the new social system, that of socialism, emerged in several countries. This, in turn, has changed the international balance of power. The countries freed from the colonial yoke have made a vital contribution to this modification of the balance of power. Their presence in the United Nations has effectively contributed to eliminating cold war subjects from discussion and to focusing attention on the fundamental problems in the life of the peoples.

115. Now there can be a new perspective for the United Nations and it may be opened up this year. So far, one quarter of humanity—a country 800 million strong—has been debarred from the activities of the Organization, a country which is a founding Member of the United Nations. The time is growing ripe to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. This is not a question, as some would have us believe, of ousting a country from this Organization but of restoring to a founding Member of the United Nations its fundamental rights. Those who hitherto opposed the seating of the rightful representatives of the People's Republic of China did harm to this Organization, to international relations in general, to the People's Republic of China and, last but not least, to themselves. It is gratifying to note that here at the General Assembly the number of members in favour of restoring to the People's Republic of China its full rights in the activities of the United Nations is increasing. These rights must be restored. There is only one China. Should the General Assembly decide to invite the representatives of the People's Republic of China, this decision should exclude the presence of a second Chinese delegation. Taiwan and mainland China have to settle their disputes between themselves. Clearly Taiwan also professes the "one China" principle.

116. The fact that a solution of the question of the representation of People's China seems to be imminent is one of the factors that has decisively improved the atmosphere of political discussions at this session of the General Assembly.

117. Peoples and Governments had pinned their hopes on the commemorative twenty-fifth session, when it seemed

likely that Heads of State or Government throughout the world would meet here in honour of the anniversary last year. But this came to nought because of a gust of the cold war. As could be expected, those who were the target of criticism on this account were hardly gratified.

118. Unlike last year's anniversary session of the General Assembly, the present session began in an extremely positive atmosphere, indicative of the many positive changes in international relations that have occurred since last year. I have touched on one of the causes of the change: the door is about to open to the People's Republic of China.

119. A much more essential cause is, however, an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. In the eyes of all democratic forces and humanitarian people, the pivot of international life is the desire to escape the threat of a thermonuclear war. This depends principally—at least under the circumstances of the present balance of power—on relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The most important piece of international good news concerns the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on measures to reduce the risk of nuclear war and the agreement on improving the direct communications link between them, both signed at Washington on 30 September 1971.

120. Part and parcel of improving the international atmosphere is the penetrating, realistic attitude being taken at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Furthermore, a 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*] has already been submitted to the General Assembly.

121. Humanity can be saved from a new world war, and the hazards of thermonuclear war can be eliminated, only by a gradual approach to general and complete disarmament.

122. The partial agreements already concluded or still under discussion all serve this historic purpose. No one must be naive as far as these high aims are concerned. In this connexion I refer to the Soviet proposal for a meeting of the five nuclear Powers [*A/8328*] and a world disarmament conference [*A/L.631*]. The purpose of those proposals is to keep the questions of the ban on the armaments race and the realization of general and complete disarmament on the agenda of our everyday life. Humanity is capable of bringing disaster on itself, even without thermonuclear war, merely by maintaining and stepping up the present arms race.

123. In addition to improved Soviet-United States relations as part of the positive turn in all-round international relations, recent events in Europe have fundamentally affected the international atmosphere and thus the atmosphere at the present session of the General Assembly.

124. The enormous progress made by the German Democratic Republic has vitally contributed to those far-reaching changes in the European situation. There is also an East

German miracle, which has prompted the present West German Government to take a policy which is more realistic than ever before. This more realistic policy matured in the conclusion of agreements between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>3</sup> between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>4</sup> and between the four Powers on West Berlin.<sup>5</sup> Those agreements are the most important milestones in East-West relations in the post-war years since the Austrian State Treaty. At this point none of them has yet been ratified. Before ratification can take place much circumspect work in many fields still has to be completed.

125. The point has been made that before further steps can be initiated to prepare the conference on European security all three agreements have first to be ratified and implemented. The Hungarian Government, in unison with the other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, has repeatedly made clear the following point: in international relations it is unwise to make the solution of one question subject to the solution of another, however closely and logically those questions may be related. It has become increasingly evident in recent months, however, that some countries—without which the holding of a European conference on security and co-operation would be unthinkable—wished to make the next logical steps for preparing a European conference on security and co-operation dependent on the entering into force of the agreements relating to the two German States and West Berlin. But we have to be realistic in this matter. The spokesmen of this approach ignore two essential factors. The first is that the treaty settlement of questions fundamental to the future of Europe has been made possible by the more positive, all-round atmosphere created as a result of extensive bilateral or multilateral discussions, chiefly in the last two years, on a European security conference. The second is that it is precisely those who earlier had made the holding of the conference conditional on careful preparation—pending the coming into force of the German agreement—who have now put a full stop to any preparation.

126. Although we are ready to sit down at the conference table, even tomorrow if necessary, we are obliged to accept this political situation. All we ask is, let us not sit back with folded arms and wait. In other words, until the time is ripe for all-round, multilateral talks, let us continue, within the framework of bilateral discussions, to clarify our views on how the conference, or rather the series of conferences, should be organized, what items should be included on their agenda, what documents should be drafted, and what the permanent organ of the conference or of a European security system should be.

127. Efforts in this direction would expedite the entry into force of the agreements on the German question just as, in the same way, earlier talks on the European security conference paved the way for the successful conclusion of those agreements.

128. The issue of European security is connected with the peace of the whole world. In the same way, the ideal of

universal peace and security as expressed in the Soviet proposal submitted to the General Assembly is also connected with European security. The Hungarian delegation is ready to co-operate in the preparation of international projects relating to those proposals.

129. A turn for the better can be observed not only in questions in which actual progress has been made, but also when very little or no progress could be registered towards a practical solution.

130. Such questions are as follows: first, the aggression against Viet-Nam. The war in Viet-Nam is still going on. From time to time it has flared up and more recently it has spread to even larger areas than before. But respect for the Viet-Nameese people including recognition of their right, has never been higher than in these days, not only in other parts of the world, but also here in the United States of America.

131. Given these circumstances I should like to draw attention to the following. At the time when the escalation of war in Viet-Nam was growing in proportion—I mean in 1965—the Hungarian People's Republic was among the first to declare here in the General Assembly that the way to the negotiating table could be cleared only by putting an end to the bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam [1350th meeting, para. 21]. This has since been proved true. Now we say with the same certainty and with the same sincerity that nothing but a coalition government, which can be established only by the joining together of all South Viet-Nameese forces, will be able to put a stop to the fighting in South Viet-Nam and even in Laos and Cambodia.

132. In the past, some nurtured the illusion that it might be possible, through the influence of one or other socialist country, to induce the Viet-Nameese leaders to continue negotiating with their opponents by acquiescing in the loss, or at least the curtailment, of the independence of their people. That illusion has grown dimmer. But now it cannot be ruled out that some think such a goal may be attained through the influence of the People's Republic of China. Those who put their faith in such a view will be disappointed. The efforts of the People's Republic of China to normalize its international relations are inconsistent with the continued toleration of aggression against the Viet-Nameese people.

133. The devotion of the Viet-Nameese people to independence and to their right of self-determination can be broken by no overt or covert attack whatsoever, even by one launched with the catchword "Viet-Namization". Peace in South-East Asia can be achieved only by direct negotiations with the genuine representatives of the peoples of that area.

134. The second question concerns Korea. On this question also there is some improvement. Those who earlier exploited this question for cold-war purposes have not pressed the point at the present session. The current talks between the two Red Cross societies in Korea also herald some good news. It could be of help here, in the United Nations, if the United Nations flag were removed from the negotiating table in Panmunjom, and if the members of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification

<sup>3</sup> Treaty signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

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

<sup>5</sup> Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

and Rehabilitation of Korea were to hand in their resignations.

135. The third question relates to the Middle East. There is still no approach being made towards a practical solution of this question; nevertheless, some improvement can be registered here too. The peoples of the world understand the justice of the Arab cause better today than in 1967. In the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), taking into account the views so far stated by all parties concerned, the following might be considered.

136. First, with a view to opening the Suez Canal, an arrangement should be worked out which contains an expression on the part of Israel of its willingness to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories. Secondly, as the President of the United Arab Republic has recently proposed, the United Nations or other peace-keeping forces should provisionally take over from the Israeli occupiers the administration of the area east of the Suez Canal. Thirdly, the administration of all the other occupied territories should be similarly taken over by the same forces pending the settlement of all questions involved in this problem.

137. We can thus see a number of indications during the current session that international relations are improving. But we know also that the process of improvement comes up against many difficulties and that a number of political elements are taking pains to stop and reverse that process. However, as the general debate in the General Assembly at this session has been characterized by good hopes rather than by recriminations, I do not now wish to specify those difficulties and negative factors.

138. The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is guided by the following principles.

139. First, as in our domestic policy we wish to work for the fundamental good of the people, so in our foreign policy we are out to ensure more favourable international conditions of existence for the people.

140. Second, since the future of our people, and of all peoples, is fundamentally dependent on the possibility of preventing a thermonuclear war, we join in all major schemes of international co-operation aimed at warding off the danger of thermonuclear war.

141. Third, local conflicts also can lead to great wars; therefore we support any movement aimed at eliminating aggression.

142. Fourth, in accordance with the principles of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we work towards over-all international co-operation. We are ready to take part in any discussion—for example, in the shaping of a European security system—which could make military alliances superfluous. But as long as the representatives of NATO are not ready to do the same, we continue to strengthen our defensive military organization. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is an institution that does not cut itself off from countries outside the organization. We are in favour of greater integration movements, but we are against discrimination.

143. Fifth, close relations within the socialist countries, and first of all with the Soviet Union, are our aim and purpose. We seek to develop our ties with the other socialist countries as well. We wish to expand our contacts with the People's Republic of China and with all other socialist countries, including Albania.

144. Sixth, we are making every effort to develop our relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

145. Seventh, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence we intensify our connexions with the countries of Western Europe and with the American continent. Recently we succeeded in settling a number of questions hampering Hungarian-United States relations. Consequently, new avenues can be opened up in the development of our relations. The improvement of relations between the two German States holds out new prospects for Hungarian-West German relations as well.

146. The present session of the General Assembly is characterized, in comparison with previous sessions, by a very large number of bilateral talks between heads of delegations. Of course, the United Nations provides the most valuable regular meeting-place for representatives of peoples living in different parts of the world, and those contacts can contribute in this way to dispelling international mistrust and strengthening mutual understanding.

147. I have already had opportunity, on the occasion of a personal meeting, to offer to you, Mr. President, my felicitations and the congratulations of the Hungarian delegation. It is the wish of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic that the United Nations may set out safely, under your presidency, on the path of the second quarter-century of its existence in the service of a peaceful and happy future for mankind.

148. In conclusion, I should like to say a few very warm and grateful words about our Secretary-General, U Thant. He has been serving as Secretary-General of the United Nations for 10 years now. I wish to lay stress on the word "serving": he really is the servant of the future of mankind. Earlier he had acted as Permanent Representative of Burma, as one of us who were often together in this building. All, without exception, pay tribute to the selfless devotion with which he has dedicated himself to service for a happier future for mankind. Now, for many reasons—some of which may be readily understood—he wishes to retire, but for the sake of the future of the United Nations—partly so that the Organization might avoid the fate of the League of Nations—it would be advisable for Member States to ask our Secretary-General, U Thant, to continue in office temporarily, for at least one or two years, until some consensus is reached regarding a new candidate for the office of Secretary-General. That is what I wish the United Nations, for the sake of its future and of the future world situation, and that is what I ask of our Secretary-General, U Thant.

*Statements on the occasion of the two thousand five-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire*

149. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity to mention that Iran is about to celebrate the two

thousand five-hundredth anniversary of its birth as a nation, with the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great. I wish to extend to His Imperial Majesty the Shahansha of Iran and to the Government and people of Iran our congratulations and best wishes on this momentous occasion.

150. In its long history, Iran has played a decisive role in the formation and growth of civilization. It lies in that part of the world where some of man's earliest organized communities were founded and where many of the philosophies we still hold were enunciated.

151. This anniversary is not just a memorable occasion in the history of Iran. To the extent that it recalls the rise of a great humanitarian monarch 25 centuries ago, it is something to be shared by the world community. Eloquent testimony to this is borne by the fact that some 2,500 years ago, Cyrus the Great proclaimed a charter establishing the rights and the liberties of all people, which may be considered one of the earliest declarations of human rights. The United Nations, through the generosity of the Shahansha and the people of Iran, will tomorrow receive a replica of this historic charter.

152. The present celebrations take place at a moment when recent rapid economic and social changes are transforming Iran and permitting it to find once more its proper place in the family of nations. With an illustrious past and a dynamic present, I have no doubt that Iran can look forward—thanks to the efforts of its determined and dedicated people—to a great future.

153. I understand that the chairmen of the regional groups of States have expressed the desire to make short statements on this occasion.

154. Mr. TRUONG CANG (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): With your permission, for which I thank you, Mr. President, I have the honour today of discharging an agreeable duty, that of speaking as Chairman of the Asian group of States for this month of October 1971 and as spokesman of the delegation of the Khmer Republic, to present our best wishes for happiness and prosperity to the Imperial Family of Iran and to the Iranian people on the occasion of the two thousand five-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire.

155. Other voices better qualified than mine have already recalled the history of that Empire and have clearly indicated the importance of the celebration of this happy anniversary. It only remains for us to associate ourselves with these voices and, in our turn, to convey our respectful congratulations to the Imperial Court of Iran, which has evolved with time, creating its own revolution and proving to us that any régime, according to the national concept of the State, only exists and lasts through the people, for the people and with the people. That is why we take pleasure again today, even more than yesterday, in rejoicing with the whole Iranian people, to whom we extend our fraternal congratulations and best wishes.

156. In the same context and in the framework of the United Nations, speaking of Iran, we are thinking also of Teheran for this good reason: the magazine *Historia*, No. 60

of 9 January 1969, recalls that on 28 November 1943 in Teheran, three men accompanied by their technical advisers met, that those three represented the most formidable military power the world had ever known, and that their association was already known by the impressive name of United Nations, the name by which our Organization is now known. *Historia* asks the following question, "What are the real intentions of the three men with regard to both their own countries and humanity as a whole? And to what point will they resolve their political difficulties and their interests in order to wage a common struggle?" And we would add: the joint struggle to win the war first of all and, subsequently, to organize the peace? These questions *Historia* answers in the following terms: "The understanding reached in Teheran is considered as the promise of a better world, but as this understanding disintegrates we shall begin to consider the Teheran Conference as a mere mirage."

157. Since this understanding among the three became an understanding among four, then five, we are entitled to ask the same question and to give the same answer. However, we think that with the new prospects offered to us, our answer should be qualified. Indeed, he who talks of mirage, also talks of disappointment, but at the same time of hope, of the hope to see a real oasis, an oasis of peace for all in justice and equity.

158. Let us hope that this will begin for the happiness of the world with this year of the two thousand five-hundredth anniversary of the Persian Empire and of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Teheran Conference, from which emerged the promising name of our Organization, "the United Nations", whose membership of three last week became a membership of 131.

159. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of the African group of States, of which Tanzania has the honour to hold the chairmanship this month, I wish to extend our whole-hearted congratulations to the delegation of Iran, and through it, to His Majesty the Shahansha and the Government and people of Iran on the occasion of the celebration of their two thousand five-hundredth anniversary. In the course of its long history, since the Persian Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great, Iran has had a great and rich history.

160. Antiquity was made more glorious by the civilization of Babylon, the achievements of which are ranked among the wonders of the world. The Persian Empire, whose two thousand five-hundredth anniversary is being celebrated today, is endowed with a great history and its people with a great culture. I would not, however, in this short discourse, attempt to highlight the different great moments of history that have taken place in these last 2,500 years. That would be too impossible an exercise. But I would like to place on record the fact that the people of that great Empire have for hundreds of years been associated in one way or another with the peoples of Africa, more particularly those of the eastern coast of Africa. It is a historical and pleasant reality that many countries along the eastern part of Africa had ties of trade, co-operation and friendship with the people of Iran. And with the advent of independence in many of the formerly dependent African nations, a new era of closer friendship and co-operation set in. This co-opera-

tion is based on the many common objectives and ideals that have been fought for and that are highly regarded by the peoples of our continent and by the people of Iran.

161. In modern times, Iran has made great strides in all fields of human endeavour. We have all followed with particular interest the economic and social developments in that friendly State. At various international forums, Iran's voice has always had considerable weight and has been listened to with attention and respect. Iran's contribution in the United Nations has been particularly noteworthy. As an African, I must pay tribute to Iran's positive role in this Organization in matters affecting the dignity and worth of the human person. We have particularly appreciated the consistent diplomatic support given by the people and Government of Iran, both at the United Nations and in other international forums, to the rights of those struggling against colonialism and racism. To that end, Iran's membership in and its positive contribution to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are highly appreciated.

162. Iran's contribution in many a great cause is well known to the membership of this Assembly and needs no further elaboration. I should perhaps, at this juncture, mention only how much we have appreciated working together with the representatives of the Government of that State in the Afro-Asian family, as well as in the family of those developing countries that are fighting for our survival and progress amidst formidable international economic injustices; for Iran's active and constructive role as a member of the Group of 77 has always further enhanced the reputation and prestige of that State.

163. Therefore, as we join our friends from Iran in celebrating this important and historic anniversary in the rich history of their Empire, we not only pay a tribute to the achievements of the past, but instead of merely confining ourselves to the past, we also extend our congratulations on their present achievements and look beyond the immediate present and express our confidence that the people of Iran will make even greater strides and win greater victories in the political, economic, social and cultural development of their country.

164. It therefore gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the African group of States to wish His Imperial Majesty the Shahansha of Iran long life, and the people of Iran another glorious era as they enter the two thousand five hundred and first year of the Persian Empire.

165. Mr. ČERNÍK (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): Permit me, on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and my own country, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to congratulate the Iranian people on the historic anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire, which occurred 2,500 years ago. The people of the socialist countries know and attach enormous importance to the treasures, which were created so many, many centuries before our age by

the Persian people and which they have preserved for mankind as monuments of an ancient culture and art.

166. Today these treasures of the human spirit and human hands are known throughout the world. They are a source of knowledge about the life and culture of peoples of ancient times and an inspiring example of the creative power of the beings on our planet. We cannot pass over in silence the contributions of scholars of the most diverse nationalities who, by their research, have helped to bring nearer to current generations the monuments of ancient Persian culture. A number of scholars from our own countries, too, including Czechoslovakia, have made their own valuable contribution to that research. The whole world also knows the Persia of today, Iran, and follows its recent and current development with respect. The peoples of our countries rejoice at every success achieved by the Iranian people; they are aware of the tremendous efforts being made in Iran to develop the general education of the people, and of the moves towards the industrialization of the country and the modernization of agriculture, the foundation of which has been laid by wide-scale agricultural reform.

167. The peoples of the socialist countries cherish feelings of great respect and friendship for the peace-loving, industrious and courageous people of Iran. We give concrete expression to this in the widest possible range of mutual relations, and mainly through our economic relations.

168. We also welcome the fact that the Iran of today and its Government respect the principles of peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems, as is positively demonstrated in our relations to our mutual benefit.

169. I wish to assure the people of Iran and their Government that on the road leading to the attainment of world peace and security they will always enjoy the full support of the socialist countries.

170. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The commemoration of 2,500 years in the history of a nation is a propitious opportunity to pause in our work and think deeply about our destiny as components of a world community which is hastening towards changes whose ramifications we have not yet been able clearly to define.

171. We are living in a time of transition. The rich experience offered to us by history makes us aware that we are moving towards a new era in the historic development of mankind.

172. There are many voices of protest, acts of discontent and contradictory reactions. There is a world effervescence which escapes the attention of no good observer.

173. We are living in a critical epoch in the history of human civilization and it is incumbent upon us, who are in positions of leadership, to channel these concerns to better achievements for man. What is the best road? This is the unknown element which we must clarify.

174. Here we speak constantly of economic and social development, opportunities for all, free determination,

basic human rights, welfare, justice and peace. Let us think now as we celebrate 2,500 years of life of a noble nation, Iran, the modern expression of ancient Persia, the Persia of Cyrus the Great, a king who, history tells us, prohibited pillaging and violence in victory, respected religion and the temples of the Babylonians, liberated captives and was tolerant, generous and idealistic. Let us think, I say, whether we are speaking the same language and let us consider whether we all mean the same thing when speaking of peace and justice.

175. Let us make an effort to use common standards for the expression of our languages and to get along better. Let us try together to dissipate the clouds which prevent us from finding a destiny of peace, freedom and justice for all, a happy destiny which I wish, on behalf of the Latin American group of States, for the people of Iran and their Government on this date that is now being celebrated.

176. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): I am greatly honoured to have this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Western European and other States on the occasion of the two thousand five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Iranian nation. For the United Nations, which so recently commemorated its twenty-fifth anniversary, this is a felicitous occasion to extend good wishes to a Member State which for 100 times as long has maintained through its historical and cultural traditions, a significant place and played a remarkable role in the evolution of the world community.

177. Cyrus the Great, 2,500 years ago, established a monarchy on principles of tolerance and understanding which all of us present here can recognize, revere and uphold in our Charter. Iran has been, through the centuries, the crossroads of East and West; its power and influence ran from the Indus to the Nile; its culture and civilization left its mark from China to Greece. The Achaemenian Empire of Cyrus the Great and Darius is remembered for its humanity and its religious toleration. Persia was then the world's sole super-Power notable for its size, its organization, its communications by land and sea and the liberal policies of its rulers. Today the illustrious successor of Cyrus the Great, His Imperial Majesty the Shahansha of Iran has set a noble example of leadership in modernizing his country and in fostering the prosperity and happiness of his people. I extend to the Government and people of Iran

and to the gracious chairman of the delegation of Iran our warmest good wishes for the success of the anniversary celebrations and for the future of her country.

178. It is the wish of us all, Mr. President, that, as you have proposed, you should convey our most sincere congratulations to His Imperial Majesty the Shah on this momentous day. Let the United Nations salute a truly united nation, Iran.

179. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the representative of Iran.

180. Princess Ashraf PAHLAVI (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me on behalf of the people and Government of Iran to express to you and to all the distinguished speakers who have been good enough to make statements, our profound gratitude for the compliments addressed to my country and its founder. The heritage of Cyrus the Great is a message of tolerance and understanding, greatness and humility, courage and compassion, and above all individual liberty. His words and his acts constituted as it were the first declaration of human rights. The ideals proclaimed by Cyrus throughout the vicissitudes of our long history, have guided the destiny of our people.

181. In expressing my thanks to you I would, in conclusion, like to quote a few sentences written by the well-known historian, Arnold Toynbee, from a recent article written on the occasion of the two thousand five-hundredth anniversary of my country:

"Now that technology has abolished distances and invented atomic weapons, all the peoples of the world must come together in one way or another as the only alternative to mutual destruction. This unification on the world scale will be as difficult as it is necessary. In this respect the first Persian Empire was one of the first to have approached success. Its experience is hence a subject of interest to mankind today. The spirit of tolerance of its founder, Cyrus, and his successors, constituted precisely the spirit which our world today requires from statesmen in order to unite humanity on the planetary scale."

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*

