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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*):
Mr. President, this great Assembly made a very wise choice when it placed the reins of its deliberations in the hands of a man of such great experience and political wisdom as yourself. The outstanding role played by your country in creating the group of non-aligned nations and in strengthening the third world already stands as a symbol. Bandung, in fact, was the spearhead of the diplomatic, political and economic campaign launched by the new States. All those factors assure and promise the successful conclusion of our discussions. The delegation of Burundi endorses the congratulations and best wishes that have been extended to you.
2. The commemorative session was presided over by a man whose competence, devotion, tact and mastery of international affairs have earned him our respect. I refer to Mr. Edvard Hambro. His invaluable contribution and wise assistance not only to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which benefited from his direction, but to the United Nations in general have earned our admiration and esteem. We repeat our gratification at the way in which he presided.
3. In the view of the Republic of Burundi, which lives in the very core of the realities and economic awareness of the disinherited world, economic development must be the main concern of the international community.
4. Furthermore, to us under-development is totally incompatible with security, which is the primary concern of this Organization.

5. One of the fundamental objectives written into the Charter 25 years ago was the imperative need to create conditions of stability and well-being and to assure a minimum standard of living compatible with human dignity, through progress and economic and social development. While part of mankind lives in comfort, if not luxury, another—and greater—part vegetates in discomfort and need, and the gap separating them becomes ever wider. The developing countries are excluded from the process of integration and the evolution of modern technology, which have spread so rapidly in the developed regions of the world.
6. That material need contributes to increasing tensions in the world and, were it to be allowed to continue or grow, it must inevitably constitute a grave threat to world peace. We can never sufficiently stress that the road to peace and justice passes through development. Obviously, as the Charter of Algiers stresses, the main responsibility is incumbent upon the developing countries to assume the burden of their own development. But they cannot rapidly achieve the desired goals unless the developed countries place greater financial resources at their disposal and adopt more favourable economic and trade policies towards them. International co-operation for development must measure up to the needs of the problem itself; partial, sporadic and half-hearted gestures cannot suffice. United Nations assistance is of particular significance to these countries since it is in keeping with their own interests and in accord with the principles of national sovereignty. But the capacity of the United Nations to grant such assistance should be increased, as provided for in the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)], so that the Organization will be able to fulfil the great responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter.
7. In the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], arrangements for the setting up of preferential treatment to be given the exports from the needy countries in the markets of the developed nations were adopted by the Trade and Development Board at its fourth special session¹ and now form part of the International Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.
8. Before the third session of UNCTAD, to be held in Santiago, Chile, next spring, the prices of raw materials will have to be stabilized, along with the prices of the basic commodities from which our countries derive the greater part of their currency and income.
9. Contributions to the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] should be increased. That assistance,

¹ Held at Geneva on 12 and 13 October 1970.

while deeply appreciated by my country, is still inadequate. We would suggest to the UNDP authorities that they adapt the minimal counterpart contributions to the economic possibilities of the recipient countries in order to speed up the launching of programmes that have been worked out. It would indeed be paradoxical if the less developed countries, for whom the programmes have been planned, were not able to take advantage of them because of the high counterpart contributions expected of them.

10. Generally speaking, the decade from 1960 to 1970 was discouraging. That failure can be attributed to the behaviour of the developed countries, which held back on the material and human resources required for the success of the programme. But the discouragements and disappointments of yesterday must not prevent us from working to achieve the objectives of a really ambitious development programme. This new decade should be a step forward towards the welfare and happiness not only of the present generation but of generations yet to come. The developed countries must, within the framework of bilateral and multilateral programmes alike, give more, to bolster the resources of the developing countries.

11. Specific attention must be paid to the needs of the least economically advanced countries of the third world by encouraging the taking of more intensive action to solve clearly defined problems and by laying down policies of aid and technical assistance which are easily applicable, in volume and in quality, to those countries in order to enable them to set about catching up without delay. We must also call for geological research to be carried out in a much more systematic way and more in keeping with local conditions.

12. Once again I would draw the attention of the international community to the case of the land-locked countries. Adequate financial and technical assistance, both bilateral and multilateral, should be made available to them in order to ensure the expansion, improvement and maintenance of their transport and communications services.

13. Peace and security are the constant and universal aspirations of man, but the will of States to fulfil them seems paradoxical. The inability or unwillingness of governments to achieve an objective so vital and so ardently desired by humanity was pointed out by Jean Jaurès, who said in an article in *L'Humanité* of 27 October 1907:

“The only combination that the peaceful imagination of peoples can think of is to assure the permanent existence of the most overwhelming military apparatus. An alien from outside the planet, on hearing the clash of arms, the sound of great cannons as they are dragged over the cobblestones of towns and bursts of shots on the firing ranges, would doubtless be convinced that the peoples of the earth were dreaming of only one thing: to fly at one another's throats. But if at the same time that alien could hear the declarations of the heads of State and the words of peace repeated by all he would be forced to say, ‘What hypocrisy!’ or ‘What madness!’ It is we who must choose.”

14. Insecurity today is due to the paradox caused by States which, despite their apparent desire for peace, refuse

to cease arming but instead multiply their stockpiles. The peace and security of the world will be in danger unless the nuclear-weapon States decide to do away with the contradiction in which they have sealed themselves—aspiring to peace without shedding the burdensome arms race.

15. It is true that the nuclear competition is caused by the mutual suspicion of those who possess the fatal weapons, but fate wills it that those countries possessing such nuclear arsenals also possess the greatest resources. If the worst should happen and the apocalyptic event occur, those nuclear Powers would suffer disproportionate losses. To understand even imperfectly the extent of the material and human damage a thermo-nuclear war could cause, we should imagine that suddenly the millions of human beings of each continent were destroyed and the fabulous economic resources wiped out; spectacular technological progress, and all prodigious installations of all types, would be pulverized.

16. It is true that the great Powers endeavour to limit the risk of the possible outbreak of nuclear war, but despite the signature in the last 10 years of five treaties to prevent such a catastrophe the danger has not been entirely eliminated.

17. There is only one way of avoiding that catastrophe, and that is the radical if not total elimination of weapons and missiles to preserve our planet and ensure the survival of mankind. However costly they might be, undertakings to remove from mankind the nuclear scourge must be speeded up. It is in the interests of all mankind that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*] in Helsinki between the two giants continue and lead to results that will exorcise the great dangers hanging over mankind.

18. The Powers that redouble their endeavours to establish a general discussion of disarmament are taking a long-range and global view of the matter, and in that respect the Government of Burundi wishes to welcome the courageous proposal to hold a world disarmament conference.

19. Some months ago it was suggested that there be a conference between the five great nuclear Powers. Because of the extreme importance and great significance of such a conference, we believe it is imperative that it be held; and, in order to achieve fully whatever objectives are set for it, it should be a summit conference—that is, it should be at the level of the heads of State of those Governments possessing nuclear secrets.

20. The scandalous squandering of financial resources on military expenditures is one of the burdensome consequences of the nuclear arms race. The possible outbreak of nuclear war has fortunately not yet materialized, but the massive sapping of material wealth caused by the stockpiling of nuclear weapons is already affecting the world economy.

21. The United Nations, which is considered the highest body and the one most capable of safeguarding peace, ekes out a bare living. But the nuclear Powers still do not hasten to replenish the treasury of a foundering Organization.

22. The enormous burden of massive armaments is an open assault on economic and social development. If only

half the astronomical budgets spent in the military fields were to be freed for economic and social objectives, not only would man's standard of living be significantly improved but the general conditions of mankind would be infinitely improved.

23. My Government sincerely hopes that the envisaged successive summit conferences in Peking and Moscow will concentrate on specific and definitive ways of achieving general and complete disarmament.

24. The evolution of the colonized peoples has in the last few years led to a spate of decolonization and the geographical modification of the world. This phenomenon of profound change has been particularly felt in Africa in the course of the last 10 years.

25. As far as Africa is concerned, security is closely linked to decolonization, the process of which has been hampered by a Portugal at bay that does all in its power to oppose the irreversible and powerful course of history. While the world unites against outmoded colonial domination, the Portuguese authorities defy all principles of justice and morality and use all their military might in a battle doomed in advance by history.

26. The spectre of the wars unleashed in Africa by Lisbon in the last 10 years has caused great concern. The duration of those wars, the lack of information on the enormous losses in human life and in material possessions may at times divert the attention of some and the vigilance of others. And thus certain circles are tempted to attach only secondary importance to this acute problem.

27. Colonial domination, with all its consequences, must inevitably vitiate human relations and threaten the security and sovereignty of innocent States. In this case, peace in that splendid continent of Africa is gravely jeopardized—and not only in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia; the threat also extends to sovereign States as attested to by the recurrent attacks of Portugal against the Republics of Zambia, Senegal and Guinea.

28. The self-destructive nature of the colonialism and racism that the Lisbon-Salisbury-Pretoria axis is trying to perpetuate in Africa has led to many yearly condemnations by States Members of the United Nations. Therefore I shall not speak at great length on the aberrant immorality of *apartheid* and of the colonial wars which have been stigmatized by all.

29. I should like to show the weakness and the short-sightedness of the racist and colonialist policies. In the course of the last 10 years a number of Powers with forces and resources obviously greater than those possessed by Portugal itself and by a South Africa confronted by the mass uprisings of 17 million of its inhabitants have given up colonial Territories and established with them new relations as partners.

30. If trade and economic interests have led European and American countries to follow these racial and colonial disturbances at times complacently, such an attitude will be profoundly altered when the monopoly over the natural resources is no longer possessed exclusively by Pretoria in Africa.

31. Portuguese and white South Africans lull themselves with the idea that they are the protégés of certain foreign States. The earlier economic forces that allowed the racists to impose their trade dictatorship and to exchange political support for gold or diamonds now have to seek other horizons.

32. It is true that the colonial and racial wars that afflict Africa seem very distant to European and American spectators and do not seem directly to affect the interests of the latter. However, lately the intensification of these wars and their continuation might very seriously jeopardize co-operation between the two partners, Africa and Europe.

33. Furthermore, the stubborn resistance for decades of the movements of liberation in southern Africa, despite 150,000 Portuguese troops, and despite the ultra-modern South African arsenals, proves how far the dominated people are ready to go to overcome all obstacles and to confront all dangers.

34. If these movements of liberation did not give up when they were left to themselves, how can it be thought likely that they will disarm at a time when the military and material resources of an entire continent are increasingly being used to complete decolonization?

35. Perhaps I should say that the assistance given by the African States to the movements of liberation is not assistance given out of military dilettantism. The openness and generosity of our Governments, the Manifesto on Southern Africa,² and the mission last year of President Kaunda—whose mandate was then transferred to President Moktar Ould Daddah—attest to the fact that Africa prefers a peaceful settlement to colonial and racial problems.

36. In the eyes of the warlike dominating group in southern Africa, the mission entrusted to the pilgrims of peace in Africa may seem to be proof of weakness. But, it is thanks to the ability, to the political far-sightedness and the moral strength of the African leaders that the Organization of African Unity placed its feet on the path of agreement among all States in order to overcome the arrogant intransigence of those régimes, bogged down as they are in racism and colonialism.

37. A mediating role by the Western Powers would succeed in safeguarding European and African co-operation and ensuring peaceful coexistence of African States too. But that co-operation, obeying as it does historical imperatives and the mutual needs of all, must be established first between the former metropolitan countries—including Portugal and South Africa—and the new States. On the other hand, the intimate ties that should link the two partners would be threatened if independence is to be conquered by force against the will of the colonial or racial Power.

38. The cult of colonialism and racism in southern Africa deprives man of both his dignity and his nobility. The damage caused by these Siamese twins is not limited to its direct victims in Africa. They threaten and seriously hamper the final reconciliation between Africa and Europe.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

and create a barrier to that understanding. If the European leaders are determined to wipe out from our continent the machinery of *apartheid* and colonialism, they would contribute to restoring harmonious relations between the two great partners, Africa and Europe. Apart, of course, from the moral and political obligation incumbent upon them, the Europeans themselves because of mere far-sightedness, if not egoism, would profit greatly from revising and changing their alliances with Portugal and South Africa. To safeguard future relations between Europeans and Africans they ought to assist Africa to achieve total independence.

39. A totally freed and independent Africa, far from closing itself against the world, would open itself up to universal solidarity and co-operation. Such co-operation and solidarity would be extended both to socialist Europe and to capitalist Europe, both to the Soviet Union and to the United States of America, both to Latin America and to Asia.

40. This African campaign of co-operation and solidarity would not be intended to bar or exclude Portugal or South Africa. If the Portuguese and the white South Africans instead of barring the road to political and racial emancipation were to decide to assist us, the vocation of co-operation and solidarity felt by Africa would give immediate attention to the establishment between the new nations to be created and the former metropolitan country of the closest of relations: with South Africa, because of its geographical proximity, and with Portugal, because of a historic affinity.

41. The African continent is on the threshold of a great economic boom, which it is ready to share with the rest of the world. That is why we call for the eradication of racism and colonialism in southern Africa; part of the strengthening of international security and the ensuring of economic independence.

42. "Western Humanism must be preserved even if through fanatical racism and colonialism": the advocates of such a theory and the missionaries of such a holy doctrine, have for centuries kept bottled up that very humanism in whose name they spoke and which they considered themselves destined to teach to a tiny *élite* of racists and colonialists. The fact of the matter is that the civilizing crusade is today an extremely jealously guarded private domain. The spreading of that humanism is entrusted to the white circles and is only doled out in dribbles to other races.

43. I shall refrain from illustrating this aberration with South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, where racial supremacy needs no proof.

44. The irrefutable evidence coming from Portuguese colonies refutes the myth that thus far had been believed in certain circles and according to which racial discrimination was non-existent in the countries under Portuguese domination. The Portuguese with duplicity in vain tried to disseminate the story that repression of innocents did not take place.

45. The Reverend Jean-Pierre Pickard, a man of God who is not a partisan nor obedient to any political organization,

described the human and physical degradations to which the Africans were subjected by the colonialists of Lisbon —and I quote from *Jeune Afrique* of 22 June 1971:

"The Portuguese political police arrest men without the shadow of a mandate; they punish them, they whip them, they torture them cruelly in order to have them admit whatever they are told. In the light of these tortures we are impotent."

"You can count on the fingers of one hand the blacks registered at the university."

"We note tremendous discriminations because equal work does not receive equal pay. In the great firms there are black, mulatto and European welders. For the same work the black is paid 1,800 escudos, the mulatto between 3,800 and 4,000 escudos and the European between 7,000 and 10,000 escudos. This is flagrant injustice, and these are specialized workers. The salary of ordinary workers is kept very low, because it is about 500 escudos per month."

46. We have seen efforts made to subject the church to the Portuguese state. A series of events that have taken place in clerical circles that oppose colonial and racial policies show that the Vatican is not going to give Portugal the title of "the oldest child of the Church". The efforts of Pretoria and Lisbon to treat the Church as a power to be made subject to the state have failed miserably.

47. The denunciation of racist and colonialist doctrines by the Church itself has increased in tempo. In June 1970 His Holiness Paul VI, profoundly concerned over the inhuman fate imposed on the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), granted to the nationalist leaders of these three States an audience that has since become historic and that has been a great comfort to the liberators of those countries. By that most magnanimous gesture, the head of the Catholic Church strengthened and reiterated the stern opposition of Christianity to any subjection of peoples—whether under the title of colonialism or under that of racism.

48. The return of the missionary fathers from Mozambique in May was also a significant stage in the decolonizing role of the Church. Under the enlightened aegis of the Very Reverend Father-General Theo Van Aster and his immediate assistant, Reverend Father Wally Neven, the Society of Missionaries of Africa decided unanimously to be expelled from their second country rather than bow to the will of the oppressor Government. This was a shattering decision since it meant that they would have to give up a flourishing ministry, and it was a sad departure since it meant the separation of the sheep from their shepherd, depriving them of the devotion of which they had been the object.

49. However mortifying this choice may have been for both the people of Mozambique and for the White Fathers, it nevertheless reflects the true message of the Church since it is in keeping with its mission of Salvation. The echo of the Church as carried by the missionaries of Africa will be considered much more helpful and healthy than the voice of other congregations that have yielded to the Portuguese dictatorship and become as clay in their hands.

50. The arrival of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly will presage a new world balance. For 20 years the absence of this giant has been part of each year's debates in the General Assembly. The gap caused by that absence has been deeply felt. The stage of arguments for or against the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has now been irrevocably left behind.

51. The Government of Burundi is truly gratified by the evolution of the Chinese question both during the twenty-fifth session, and bilaterally in the course of last summer. Among those events that best celebrated the silver jubilee of the United Nations we should mention the fact that the majority of the Members of the United Nations were in favour of the restoration of the People's Republic of China to its true place and this has opened up a new era. Moreover, the decision of the Government of the United States to go along with those who were in favour of that return, and the projected visit of the American Head of State to Peking is also an important milestone in the search for peace.

52. The crucial step has been taken, and the bringing together of positions that were at one time diametrical between those who opposed and those who advocated the return of the Government of Peking have led to an important step and will be a trump in the hands of the United Nations. We do not need to go into the reasons for advocating the entry of this vast country into the United Nations, since all participants in these meetings have recognized the absolute need and the obvious inevitability of it.

53. It is of great importance to world peace that the movement towards that date be speeded up and that the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations take place as soon as possible. The weight of industrious Chinese, a nation whose population constitutes more than a quarter of the population of the world, the third in surface with its 9,780,000 square kilometres after the USSR and Canada, will re-establish a new balance in the world community.

54. Consistent with its policy of effective and positive neutrality, the Republic of Burundi takes a stand devoid of hostility or partiality for or against any country. This position, which has been a feature of the foreign policy of the Government of Burundi, still prevails when we discuss the People's Republic of China. The Burundian decision on the Chinese question is in no way intended to prejudice the views expressed by other delegations. Our position has been dictated by the great value that we, as a non-aligned nation, attach to peace and to the objectives and ideals of the Charter. It is therefore in obedience to Article 2 of the Charter that my delegation feels it cannot turn from its imperative duty, namely, to recognize the indivisible entity, the inalienable sovereignty, and the territorial integrity, of the People's Republic of China.

55. Alexander the Great said that the earth could not tolerate two suns and the same applies to the United Nations, whose helpful role should now be deployed in order to encourage, if not to assure, a true reintegration within the great Chinese society of that part that was separated from it through historical events.

56. The entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations will be the first step towards a final settlement of a national problem that has lasted 22 years. If we approach the question from that standpoint, the restoration of lawful rights of the People's Republic of China will not cause the ostracism of one part of China, nor pit the citizens of the same country against one another. It is the magnanimity of the mother country and the members of the Formosa diaspora that will have to achieve the fraternal reconciliation without retaliation but in accordance with the ancient Chinese wisdom which says that water does not remain on the mountain side nor vengeance in a great heart.

57. To those who have been separated from their homeland, let us guarantee, perhaps through the United Nations mediation, a recovery of their right of citizenship and the realization of how desirable it will be to go back to the gigantic newly reunited China, possessing a weight and a destiny of planetary proportions.

58. Under the impulse of the movement of history our Organization is now on the threshold of working with a new international chess-board. The United Nations has not succeeded completely in doing away with the flouting of human rights in much of Africa and other parts of the world. The First United Nations Development Decade was discouraging and has resulted only in bitter disappointment for the third world. The efforts undertaken in the field of disarmament, although progressively converging towards a single goal, have achieved only meagre results. All those failures tend to annoy some and to make others more sceptical.

59. At the present stage, without wiping out everything that this Organization has done, it would be sterile merely to repeat and to make an inventory of its previous failures. If we dwell too much on the failures that time itself is blurring we may wind up merely discouraged. As the architects of an international society, all Members must help to guarantee a shining future for the Organization. We should now work to devise a plan for future action. To guarantee success in our renewal and to achieve the rededication, I hardly think one needs to stress that we have to arm ourselves against a three-fold danger: the wait-and-see attitude of the resigned, the pessimism of the discouraged and the quietism of the complacent.

60. In the course of previous years the States of the third world in general, and the non-aligned nations in particular, linked as they were by their community of needs and identity of destiny, were successful in many ways that should be stressed.

61. Among large-scale achievements, those nations were able to derive legitimate satisfaction from what they had done and to gain new strength to fight war, achieve peace and eliminate racism, colonialism and economic underdevelopment. Thanks to their converging and joint efforts, the world of today has become much more aware of this triple nightmare that still obsesses our Organization. The circle of non-aligned nations is becoming wider. With the People's Republic of China returning to our Organization, the United Nations will be endowed with new virtues and new abilities. That is why we should consider the future

from a standpoint of growing optimism. We must galvanize ourselves to take the next step, with the certainty of triumphing over earlier vicissitudes.

62. To be healthy, the dynamism which must be impressed on the future action of the United Nations must be a reflection if not of unanimity at least of universality. To give the international community the proposed new impetus is a joint and gigantic task, since it will govern the universal destiny of mankind, and for that purpose we must guarantee survival through peace and material growth through economic development.

63. The characteristics of the United Nations in the future will obviously be different from the present ones: the political constancy which the United Nations and its organs have shown thus far will no longer be confronted by new dangers.

64. The very variety of the components of this institution precludes its becoming a monolithic Organization or a faithful self-portrait of a club of colossi. Through its universal vocation it is called inevitably to become the true echo of universality reflected in both its acts and its decisions.

65. It is true that it is on the giants that the future of mankind and the primacy of peace rest. I must say that my apologia for the preponderance of the part played by the great Powers in safeguarding peace is not intended to catalogue them or, naturally, to set them up as titanic States, ready to eclipse all others. I draw a conclusion based on realism and the fact that we must admit the undeniable hegemony of the five great Powers: the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, a supremacy which they exercise by virtue of the very nuclear panoply that they possess and their immensity—as I have said on other occasions—in all fields, political, economic and military. There can be no doubt that it is they who are best placed to achieve the salvation of mankind through their effective determination to turn the United Nations into a powerful guardian of peace. Endowed as they are, with immense powers, agreement among them will allow them to act as sure and supreme guarantors of peace and of the authority of the United Nations.

66. Peace and security, however, do not fall solely and exclusively within the competence of the five great Powers, since according to Article 2 of the Charter it is to the collective efforts of all Members of the Organization that the world has entrusted its future. Every State, regardless of its resources, contributes its part as a member of the single human family.

67. It is by virtue of this principle—of the community of responsibility if not necessarily the equality of power, that the Organization of African Unity is now assuming its own rights and also fulfilling its duties in a conflict in the Middle East through the committee of 10 wise men of our continent.

68. Despite the impatience felt at the lack of progress in the settlement of the Middle East conflict, my delegation

will abstain from speaking on the matter until we have heard the results of the mission that the Organization of African Unity has sent to the region. However, we must make a heart-felt appeal that no obstacles may be placed in the path of this new pilgrimage of peace, and we would repeat the obligation of all parties concerned to comply fully with the request of the OAU and with the terms of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) that has been only partially echoed thus far.

69. In that part of the world more than elsewhere, the formulas, the procedures and the principles employed at the time of the Treaties of Westphalia and Vienna are still fashionable. The same wars break out on the same frontiers, following the same grandiose and tedious processes of history. In the age of the atomic bomb, our imperturbable international law still deals with armed conflicts as though they were the normal activities of States, whereas the concept of sovereignty is considered the right to unleash hostilities.

70. In the nuclear age how can antagonists still be unable to conceive of other solutions than those of war to resolve their traditional rivalries? As in the Middle Ages each Government feels that it is justified and consoled by contending that its weapons are used to defend peace. To make matters worse, each considers its weapons to be defensive, those of the other side offensive, and that its war is therefore "a just war".

71. In the course of a decade beset by difficult and complex tribulations, U Thant has shown a proverbial devotion to the United Nations. Apart from this cult of international peace, this beacon of Asian civilizations refined over the centuries, he has been a model of the inherent virtues and qualities in an overwhelming intricate and complex position through his integrity, his serenity, his indefatigable struggle for peace, his overwhelming magnanimity and his edifying level-headedness.

72. Fine flower of the sublime values of Asia, U Thant has impressed his character on the destiny of our Organization. The last fruits of his role are the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice which dismissed Pretoria, and the imminent arrival of the People's Republic of China. In one word, he has lived up to the vision and the vocation of universality which must be the main feature of a Secretary-General.

73. The renovating genius that he showed in convening and holding the first World Youth Assembly³ is far from being a mere passive heritage that he is leaving for future generations: its continuation and renewal are indispensable. The youth of today confronts the world. In the light of these facts, this Organization cannot judge it without concern. The contribution and assistance of youth today are very necessary at a time when the international community is starting out on a new road. The community must not only talk to youth: the community will survive only as long and as far as it benefits from the vitality of youth. The wisdom and maturity of age can improve the yield of all levels if these trumps are based on the ardour, the enthusiasm and the science of the new generations and the devotion of the youth of today.

³ The Assembly was held at New York from 9 to 17 July 1970.

74. I conclude by saying that to avoid a recurrence of its past infirmities, this Organization should undertake a global and simultaneous strategy to wipe from our planet racism, colonialism, under-development and the ever present nightmare and threat of a nuclear apocalypse.

75. Mr. ATTARD KINGSWELL (Malta): Mr. President, allow me to echo the sentiments which have been expressed by all the speakers who have preceded me and to offer you, on behalf of the Malta delegation, my warmest congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election is particularly welcome to us not only because of the high qualities which we recognize in Your Excellency, but also because your country, like mine, belongs to the developing world and as such, despite their huge disparity in size, they hold many ideals in common.

76. May I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, for his inspired leadership during the historic twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

77. Finally, I wish to offer to our respected Secretary-General our admiration and gratitude for the dedicated service which he has so ably rendered to this Organization and to the cause of world peace during the past decade. It is with regret that my delegation views his declared intention to vacate his high office, and we can only hope that his inspired service will call forth an equally dedicated and worthy successor.

78. To the four States which have joined this Organization at this session—Bhutan, Bahrain, Oman and Qatar—we extend our warmest welcome and congratulations. May their admission be an augury for the true universality of our Organization.

79. As we look around the world today we see areas of great and unparalleled prosperity, where larger and larger numbers of people enjoy more and more of the material benefits of life, side by side with other vaster areas inhabited by the majority of the world's population where poverty and hunger are still part of the daily scene. This deep and divisive inequality has long been recognized by responsible statesmen everywhere as containing within itself the seed of future catastrophe, and declarations have not been lacking—especially within this Organization—stressing the need for action to remedy this state of affairs before it is too late. The proclamation of this decade as the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] was a useful step in the right direction. But declarations in themselves must be met by concrete efforts on the part of the world community to achieve unprecedented results.

80. The time is short, far shorter than seems to be commonly believed, and certain protectionist trends which we have unhappily discerned in recent times will not contribute towards the success of the co-operative effort in development which the world's underprivileged majority simply must have within their grasp before the decade is out. We join our voices with those who, from this rostrum, have appealed to the developed countries to make a fresh and imaginative commitment to world development, to

liberalize trade and to dismantle prohibitive tariffs, particularly on goods from the developing countries, and to redouble their efforts in aid and assistance.

Mr. Mwaanga (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

81. The eyes of the people of the developing world will be focused next year on the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*]. It is fervently to be hoped that their legitimate expectations will not be disappointed again; and that enlightened self-interest will be forthcoming in sufficient measure from the richer countries to ensure a continuous progress towards the expansion and liberalization of world trade with suitable concessions to the exports of developing countries. In this connexion, I cannot help remarking that the discriminatory limitations placed by some countries on their schemes under the generalized system of preferences have generated despondency and erected fresh barriers against the exports of those developing countries, like my own, which have so far been left out. At the same time it is of the utmost importance that the international monetary system should be reorganized as early as possible in such a way as to respond to the needs of all the world's countries, not only of the rich few.

82. Our glance around the globe also reveals several areas of tension, of which some are recent and others of long-standing, but all of which are potentially explosive. The Middle East, South-East Asia, East Pakistan, southern Africa, Europe and the Mediterranean, to mention a few, are all areas where for one reason or another progress towards peace and security, based on mutual respect, must no longer be delayed. We are pleased in this connexion to note the positive movement towards *détente* which has taken place in Europe in recent times. We congratulate the parties concerned and look forward to further encouraging achievements in this theatre which so closely concerns my country.

83. In the Mediterranean, the presence of large and powerful opposing fleets is not a factor for stability, and we venture to express the hope that, in the context of wider negotiations aimed at securing a more relaxed attitude in Europe generally, the potential for confrontation between the great Powers in the Mediterranean will also be suitably defused. My country has already committed itself to make an important contribution towards the maintenance of peace in the central Mediterranean. The NATO headquarters and military facilities in Malta are being dismantled and are in the process of being withdrawn at the request of my Government. The transition from a military to a peaceful coexistence depends, however, on certain economic realities which in our case are too important to be ignored. We had a war economy for many centuries and my country is not yet in a position to sustain its economic growth on normal activities like industry, tourism, agriculture, and so on. The big problem at present absorbing all the energies of my Government is the need to create in a very short time those economic instruments which Malta requires so that it will not be forced at any time in the future to offer military bases to any foreign Power purely for reasons of economic stringency.

84. The situation in the Middle East continues to grieve us deeply. Despite all the efforts of the United Nations

mediator, Ambassador Jarring, and other initiatives undertaken by other parties, the road to a just and lasting peace has not yet been opened. The cease-fire, although in its fifteenth month, remains a precarious substitute for a settlement. Hostilities may break out anew at any time. The disastrous consequences of such an eruption are neither desired nor sought by any side. But the present situation cannot prevail indefinitely. It is draining the resources of the protagonists; it perpetuates the agony of the innocent victims—the refugees—who have not known a home for 23 years; the continued closure of the Suez Canal continues to cause heavy economic losses not only to the parties directly concerned, but also to others whose trade routes are affected.

85. My delegation sincerely hopes that, through the continuing efforts of all, especially of those directly concerned and of the big Powers, the way will be opened to the full and final implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which contains all the basic ingredients of an acceptable settlement.

86. In South-East Asia my delegation views with anguish the continued death and destruction wrought by a war to which an end is not yet in sight. Despite the peace talks in Paris, despite the process of withdrawal of the United States troops, the sufferings of the populations continue unabated. May the day soon come when this sorely-tried people, freed from the presence of all non-indigenous forces, can freely decide their own future and bend their energies towards the rewarding task of reconstruction.

87. In southern Africa, the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* continues to proclaim racial discrimination in the name of separate development. My country vehemently denounces every form of discrimination and infringement of human rights. We make no secret of our disgust at a policy which seeks to make, on the grounds of race and colour, second-class citizens of the majority of the people of South Africa, and to perpetuate a situation where a privileged minority can dominate the rest. Likewise we condemn the colonialist policy of Portugal, the rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia, and the affront to the international community constituted by South Africa's continued illegal presence in Namibia.

88. Recent events in East Pakistan have similarly caused us grave concern. Whatever the genesis of that situation, the world is faced today with an unprecedented influx into India of refugees, who have strained beyond limit the absorptive capacity of that country and its ability to give them food and shelter. Despite the efforts of the international community, and the welcome announcements by the major Powers of emergency assistance on a massive scale, the conscience of mankind demands still further effort. Bengal is a crucial test of world civilization and if the children die we are all indicted. The need for relief assistance has been described by international aid organizations as being so vast as to lie beyond the capacity of any country acting independently. It is therefore imperative that all nations should join together under the auspices of this Organization to assemble without delay a relief operation of truly massive proportions. It must also be said that no nation or the world community can realistically be expected to feed and look after 9 million refugees indefi-

nitely. These camps of squalor are not the result of some unimaginable natural phenomenon. They are the direct result of political and military action—action that can be reversed. Without this hope, the millions of refugees face gradual disintegration.

89. I have referred to a number of areas where tension abounds and where a solution, based essentially on political accommodations, is at best elusive. By all means let us persist in our efforts to seek such solutions—the world can do no less. But during the long-drawn-out process of negotiation let us keep in the forefront of our minds the plight of the unfortunate victims.

90. They, too, have their inalienable human rights, some of which may not be attainable while the present situations persist. But at least let the world ensure that their basic right to life itself is upheld. In the face of stark famine and pestilence threatening millions of refugees, let it not be said that this Organization could find time to discuss how to improve the quality of life on this planet, but was unable to save the lives of destitute refugees.

91. Every year during the general debate the world's statesmen continue to give expression to the hopes of humanity for a better world order than has ever been known in the past, one in which the spectre of war will have been banished and peace and security will be available to all in a world without armaments. The progress towards disarmament registered in the past 25 years has been disappointingly modest. The various "non-armament" treaties negotiated in recent times stand out in all their stark reality against the background of the much brighter hopes for real disarmament which are still cherished by humanity as a whole. We welcomed those treaties for what they were, as we shall welcome this year the agreed draft convention banning biological weapons.

92. But our hopes for the future remain fixed on more tangible achievements. In particular, we would welcome early agreement on achieving a comprehensive test-ban and the conclusion of a treaty banning chemical weapons. Above all, we passionately await concrete results from the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the USSR, leading to the long-heralded agreement on limiting both defensive and offensive strategic weapons. Such a development could well be the necessary prerequisite for setting the stage for renewed efforts towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. In this connexion, my delegation has noted with interest the Soviet initiatives for convening a world disarmament conference [A/L.631], as well as a conference of all five nuclear-weapon States [A/8328].

93. Certainly the movement towards nuclear disarmament cannot realize its full potential without the participation of all the nuclear Powers, including France and the People's Republic of China. My delegation welcomes the prospect of seeing the People's Republic of China assume its rightful place in this Organization during this session of the Assembly. We hope that that historic event will bring the United Nations a big step nearer to the realization of the goal of universality.

94. My delegation was instrumental in bringing before this Assembly the issue of ocean space in all its dimensions. My

Government believes that all countries, each in its own way and within its possibilities, should contribute towards peace among all peoples. It is with that thought in mind that the Government of Malta continues to take a keen and lively interest in the work which the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction is doing in preparation for a conference on the law of the sea, scheduled to take place, we hope, in 1973.

95. In the terms of General Assembly resolution 2750 C (XXV), adopted last December, "the problems of ocean space are closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole". It is therefore our view that, unless the necessary international legal instruments for the orderly development of ocean space as a whole are laid down in the near future, conflicts and confrontations will reign in that vast area of our globe as technological progress makes the use of that area more varied and more intensive. In an attempt to deal effectively with the problems of ocean space through a unified and comprehensive approach to them, the delegation of Malta presented, at the summer session of the Sea-Bed Committee in Geneva, a draft ocean space treaty as a working paper for discussion purposes [*see A/8421, p. 105*]. The paper seeks to outline an equitable legal framework within which the vital interests of mankind are protected and all States can find expanding opportunities in the beneficial and peaceful use of the marine environment.

96. The phenomenal advance of technology has produced increased awareness of a host of other problems, all urgently pressing for attention and solution. One of these closely affects the life pattern of the world's human population. I refer to the question of the elderly and the aged, the problems associated with the increasing proportion of the world's population falling within this definition as a result of increasing life expectancy and advances in medical care, as well as the urgent problem of utilizing to better effect the immense reservoir of human knowledge represented by that segment of humanity and its closer integration with the rest of society. My delegation will have more to say on this matter at the appropriate stage in committee.

97. My Government attaches the greatest importance to this Organization. We unreservedly uphold its principles and ideals. I welcome this opportunity solemnly to reaffirm Malta's unswerving adherence to the Charter of the United Nations. It is in this spirit that we endorsed the important declarations adopted last year: the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]. In its relations with other countries, Malta seeks to put these principles into practice. Our policy is to promote friendly and mutually beneficial relationships with all and hostility towards none. In that part of the world where we are situated, in the Mediterranean, we enjoy close and friendly relations with our neighbours, and it is our firm desire further to cement those friendships.

98. We visualize the Mediterranean as a zone of peace and we earnestly look forward to the day when such a prospect

can become a reality, when all foreign forces alien to that sea would have been withdrawn in peace, and foreign intervention in the area would become a thing of the past. If, in the meantime, my country continues to make available to other Powers the use of its facilities for defence purposes, it is precisely because we are convinced, and intend to ensure, that the facilities are used exclusively for defence and security purposes and never for offensive acts against anyone, and under such conditions as will guarantee that our relations with each of our neighbours are not adversely affected. Such use of our facilities is, above all, designed to ensure for our people sufficient revenues during a period in which our efforts to build a peaceful economy find their greatest need.

99. Malta possesses no natural resources, but its excellent geographical situation lends itself admirably to a concerted programme aimed at attracting international conferences and conventions within the context of our developing tourist industry. It is my Government's express desire to host more such conventions and conferences, particularly those of a truly international character, and, in accordance with Malta's declared policy of changing its image from that of a former military base to a centre of international peace and co-operation, we would welcome the opportunity of affording more facilities of this nature, including permanent facilities. In the meantime and until such time as we are able to develop our economy, our strategic position constitutes the closest similarity to a natural resource, and it is our right and duty to employ that one resource which God has given us for the best benefit of our people. Nobody would deny us that right.

100. In the full recognition of such right, I am glad to record that the prospects for still closer relations with our friends and neighbours have been enhanced. My delegation attaches particular importance to the excellent relations which Malta enjoys with its two immediate neighbours to the north and south—Italy and Libya—and we have noted with appreciation the kind words spoken the other day from this rostrum about my country by the Foreign Minister of Italy [*1954th meeting*]. We fully reciprocate those sentiments.

101. As we embark upon the second quarter-century of our Organization's existence, we cannot but be struck by the immensity of the tasks facing us—in the fields of disarmament, economic development, colonialism, social progress, and the strengthening of peace and security. In addition, the inexorable progress of science and technology have awakened opinion to the dangers of environmental pollution which could threaten the entire basis for continued life on this planet. Only a truly co-operative effort on the part of all the nations of the world could, in the long run, provide adequate solutions to all these problems. It is time to sink our disagreements—which history will surely characterize as petty—in order to embark upon a course of active co-operation, in the shared conviction that unless we do so, the future of our planet, this spaceship earth as it has been called, will indeed be bleak.

102. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): To be one of the last speakers in the general debate, which is about to be concluded, entails both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages lie in the fact that, by having listened to so

many distinguished and well-informed speakers, one finds it easier to form precise opinions on issues whose intricacies and details are, by their very nature, not all known or not well known to some of us. The disadvantages, on the other hand, are even more obvious, in the sense that one runs the risk of repeating most of the things which have already been said, discussed, stated and analysed. Being conscious of this, I shall try to limit myself to what I consider to be some of the most essential points.

103. In joining with all the speakers who have preceded me in expressing to the President of the General Assembly my warmest congratulations on his election to this high office, I trust that my remarks will not be taken as a mere formality. I extend to him my very sincere wishes for his success in his most difficult and delicate task, which still lies ahead. He will be presiding over a session of the General Assembly which might prove to be a landmark in the history of the United Nations, not only because of the renewed effort to promote its universality, but also because of the valid and justified expectation that some significant decisions may be taken and significant progress made as a result of the almost unanimous will, so strongly expressed last year, to take concrete steps towards the furtherance of the purposes and the attainment of the goals of the United Nations.

104. We all deemed it appropriate, last year, while celebrating that historic event, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, to assess the failures and the achievements of the United Nations. In so doing we reiterated not only our conviction regarding the usefulness of our Organization and our faith in its principles, but also our resolve to do our utmost individually and collectively to make the United Nations succeed in the interest of humanity as a whole.

105. It was admitted by everybody that it is the Members of the United Nations who are to blame for its failures and it is the Members who can make the United Nations succeed. It is the Members who must show respect for the United Nations by fulfilling their obligations under the Charter. It is not necessary to expand any further on that point, for it has been stressed so many times. No cure can be found by merely repeating the diagnosis.

106. What we did last year, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary, was to pledge ourselves solemnly to provide the cure, which, if we wish to avail ourselves of it, is within our reach. Last year, as we have been doing every year, we praised the achievements of the United Nations, which are by no means insignificant, whether in the political, economic, technical, legal, cultural, scientific or humanitarian field. In drawing up the balance-sheet of the achievements and the failures of the United Nations, whatever differences and variations may have been observed in individual assessments, the unanimous conclusion was that much more must be done, and indeed can be done, by the United Nations.

107. Despite the frustrations of the past and the pessimism which was so prevalent over the last few years in regard to the inability of the United Nations to deal in a satisfactory and effective manner with a number of serious problems, it was a good omen and a promising sign that the

importance and the authority of the United Nations was generally acknowledged and accepted. This was, in fact, the message which was conveyed to the world from this hall last year.

108. The fact that we have all agreed that the failures of the United Nations and its shortcomings are exclusively the fault of its Members, the fact that we have all recognized and praised the achievements of the United Nations however limited they may be, the fact that we once again pledged ourselves to the United Nations and its principles, and the fact that from this very hall a message was sent to the world asking it to maintain its faith in the United Nations and to continue to hope for its final success—all of this amounts to a renewed and firmer commitment meaningfully and genuinely to do our utmost faithfully to discharge our obligations and to advance the purposes of the United Nations.

109. These conclusions and this commitment were repeated again this year, the first session of the General Assembly to be held since our solemn rededication last year. It is, therefore, our duty not only to continue to make progress but also to make progress in the right direction and at a quicker pace. But, again, the responsibility lies squarely and solely with the Members. The Members must decide to abide strictly and invariably by the rules and not merely to invoke them when it suits their own interests and not to ridicule the United Nations and its noble task when its rules do not permit them to pursue selfish interests of their own. Nor do some serve the cause of the United Nations in any way when they come to this rostrum full of praise for the Organization while outside it they describe it as a "house of illusions" or signify, in any other manner by words or by deeds, their lack of respect for the United Nations, thus illustrating—to put it mildly—their inconsistency. They cannot be allowed, without consequence, to break the rules and to boast of being false to their commitments.

110. We have to choose between international anarchy and the rule of international law, and it is the United Nations which provides the basic and elementary set of standards of international behaviour and conduct. To pay lip-service to the principles of the Charter and to the authority of the United Nations is a form of behaviour which was tolerated too much in the past and which should not be tolerated any more in the future. If the United Nations is to become our effective, collective organ for peace and security in the world, as was originally envisaged and as we once again confirmed 25 years later, we must all act always in accord with its rules and principles and not permit deviations and violations, whatever their reason and whatever expediency may lie behind them.

111. Not forgetting the experience of the past, from which many lessons have been and can still be derived and which must have a great bearing on our attitudes in the future, we must still strive for what we describe every year as a necessity: we must strive to strengthen the United Nations. As we have often said, we should look upon the United Nations not merely as a forum from which to air our grievances, or as a place from which we can freely disseminate propaganda, or as an arena in which to quarrel and argue for the purpose of scoring points for home

consumption; on the contrary, we must look upon it as the place in which differences should be smoothed out, problems resolved, crises averted and conflicts eliminated. This should be done on the basis of and in accordance with the accepted standards of international behaviour and in conformity with the principles of the Charter, which, in theory, no one in this Organization has ever questioned. It must be stressed that quite often the real and basic purpose of the United Nations is being undermined because its Members—at least some of them—are not honest or courageous enough to accept these principles and criteria in practice. From now on we must more scrupulously protect the honour of the United Nations. Otherwise its achievements will decrease and its failures will mount, to the detriment of humanity. We are living in a world of many and compelling necessities—necessities that must be met without delay by the international community acting together in harmony. Above all, there is the overwhelming necessity to fulfil the basic prerequisites for lasting peace and security: equality, universal freedom and universal justice.

112. Mr. President, as has already been suggested, this year's session of the General Assembly may prove to be a historic one. You will be required to guide the Assembly in its deliberations on many crucial issues. Some evidence must be offered to the world to the effect that what was said and declared last year in this hall by the leaders of the world was not simply an empty promise not meant to be fulfilled but an earnest of our readiness and determination to act.

113. We shall again be inspired this year by the wisdom, the rare personality and the experience of our Secretary-General, for whom it is not possible to find enough words of praise. U Thant is the man who has devoted himself to the cause of the United Nations, who has for 10 long years been the dedicated servant of humanity and whose faith in the United Nations has never been shaken, despite the very many adversities with which he has been faced. Through his work and his deeds he has proved that idealism and adherence to principles should not be looked upon as something different or contrary to the so-often advocated need for realism. U Thant has proved that moral principles and moral standards cannot be divorced from a realistic approach to various problems. Foresight and vision would help to convince everyone that this is so. It would indeed be a great blow to the United Nations were U Thant to give up his post, as he has announced he will do. No one can question his right to relinquish his post after such a long, hard and trying, but successful, period of service. He has carried on his shoulders for 10 long years an immense burden of responsibility in a manner that has won for him universal respect and admiration. In paying a tribute to the Secretary-General, I submit that we should fail in our duty to the United Nations if we were not to request him once again to reconsider his decision and carry on with his mission. While we shall continue to benefit from his experience and his advice in the time that lies ahead, we still wish to remain with the hope that he will accept our request to stay on. In this connexion, I fully endorse the remarks on this score made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary in his statement this morning [1964th meeting].

114. A number of developments are likely to occur during the next few months. There are many items on the agenda. All of these items are important, but some are bound to receive special attention at this session. Among such items is the question of the representation of China. That issue, which has been regarded until recently as a perennial one, now appears to be nearing solution. There is going to be a full debate on that question very soon, and I therefore consider it unnecessary to go into the matter at any length at this stage. But I do wish to emphasize that a decision to enable the People's Republic of China to occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations, both as a member of the General Assembly and as a permanent member of the Security Council—a decision which, due to well-known circumstances, has been delayed for too long—will be the biggest possible step forward towards achieving the goal of universality for the United Nations.

115. The acknowledgement and acceptance of that reality is most significant. That development will undoubtedly produce an immense change in the United Nations. We believe that, because of that development, together with other great steps and important developments which are occurring in the world today, greater opportunities will arise for better understanding and for an improvement in international relations, and this in turn may contribute to the speedier solution of many problems. We believe that it would be in the interests of the United Nations if that question could be resolved this year.

116. Of the other questions which are before us, one of paramount importance, which continues to present a potential threat to peace, is the situation in the Middle East. More than four years have gone by since the last war in that area. Almost four years have passed since the Security Council, in its resolution 242 (1967), laid down the foundations for a peaceful and over-all settlement of the Middle East problem. The various efforts which have since been made have produced no results, with the exception of the cease-fire agreement, the significance of which cannot be denied. The problem, however, remains unresolved, and the dangers are ever present.

117. While there is talk of an effort to achieve a partial agreement with regard to the reopening of the Suez Canal, and while other initiatives, such as the one by the Organization of African Unity, are about to be undertaken; and while there are hopes—due perhaps to some recent developments—for the reactivation of Ambassador Jarring's mission, an over-all settlement is not yet in sight. And the people in the area continue to live in conditions of anxiety and agony about their future. And the involvement of the super-Powers remains deep.

118. Any further delay in tackling the basic issues involved can easily lead to a new explosion with unforeseen consequences. Unless the basic issues are settled, the danger and the threat to international peace and security will not have been eliminated. Resolutions of the United Nations cannot be ignored; the acquisition of territory as a result of war cannot, with the passage of time, become admissible; the drama of so many thousands of refugees cannot go on indefinitely. Partial agreements can help if their result is to increase the chances for an over-all settlement: if they are in the direction of an over-all settlement, and not instead of

it. Peace must be secured and ensured, and the basic guidelines are laid down in the resolution of the Security Council of November 1967, which we fully support and have always fully supported. The parties to the conflict must do their utmost to give a new impetus to Ambassador Jarring's mission.

119. Apart from the specific items which are on our agenda, there are other important and serious questions which, because of their gravity, have been prominent in the general debate. This is not the first time that we hear of the situation in South-East Asia, but we all hope that it will be the last. Despite the fact that no progress has been made in the Paris talks, and despite the fact that the war is still raging, with continued untold human suffering on all sides—and which, again, cannot go on forever—despite this basically unchanged situation, there is a strong feeling that those involved in the conflict have come to the conclusion that a way must be found to disengage themselves from the battlefield. In this, as in almost all other cases, the conflict cannot be resolved by war. Here again, as in the case of the Middle East, there exists the basis for a peaceful settlement: namely, the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

120. Wars, apart from their inadmissibility as a method of solving problems, in the world of today cannot solve any problems, as a rule, whatever their outcome. The sooner it is realized that violence and oppression cannot replace conciliation and the rule of justice, the better it will be—for the weak as well as for the strong. This should be borne in mind, in particular, by those through whose actions or policies new wars and new conflicts may arise. The task of the United Nations is not only to try to contain and correct situations which have arisen in the past and continue to exist, or only to stop wars, but also to prevent wars and conflicts. In order to do so, it is the task of the United Nations and of all of us to remove all possible causes of conflict and war, and to ask, and to urge, and to call upon all those who bear some responsibility in each particular case to listen to reason, to reconsider their attitudes and to realize to what situations their wrong policies may lead the world.

121. In this connexion, I would wish to stress that it would be totally unrealistic if the authorities in South Africa and Rhodesia were to think that they can continue without serious consequences to pursue their policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Serious consequences may also ensue if self-determination is denied to the majorities in those and other Territories, and if freedom is denied to Namibia, and if the remnants of colonialism are not eliminated in Africa and everywhere else, and if human rights continue to be violated and denied in various parts of the world. New sources of wider conflicts will sooner or later be created; again, it would be totally unrealistic to believe that those situations can be perpetuated without posing a grave threat to international peace and security.

122. It is the task of the United Nations to correct those situations. It is true that, in the field of decolonization, the United Nations has done quite a lot, but the process must be completed, because it is not only a matter of justice that the peoples of those Territories should secure and enjoy conditions of freedom and human dignity, but it is also imperative to eliminate all causes of conflict. Not that

conflicts in regard to these situations do not already exist: they do exist. But those conflicts, as time goes by, will become wider and deeper, and it will be much more difficult to solve them. Are we ready, this year, to take a more positive step forward towards implementing our resolutions?

123. A new issue that does not appear as a specific item of our agenda is the situation that has arisen in East Pakistan. This is a situation we cannot close our eyes to or pretend that we are not aware of its potential dangers. The consequences of the situation in East Pakistan, which has caused millions of refugees to flee into India, may be described as a humanitarian problem, but humanitarian problems usually have their roots in political situations. The Secretary-General has put the proper emphasis on this issue, and he himself has undertaken commendable initiatives. But there must be a follow-up. No one wishes to interfere in the domestic affairs of an independent State Member of the United Nations, but the humanitarian aspect of the problem has acquired such dimensions that the international community will have to play a more active role, and, in so doing, it cannot overlook the real causes of the problem. Let us look at this problem also from the same point of view we took in looking at all other problems: is it or is it not possible that this situation, if it is not contained and speedily corrected, may lead to conflict with wider repercussions?

124. It would be both difficult and repetitive to refer to all the problems composing the present international situation, but to counterbalance the pessimism that prevails with regard to some—not all—of the problems to which I have referred, I believe I should emphasize the marked improvement that has taken place in the course of the last two years in Europe. Although the developments in Europe—the progress that has been made, the lessening of tensions between East and West and the propitious conditions that have been created, this time promising a real *détente*, which we all hope will continue—are not the direct result of United Nations activities, they cannot be considered irrelevant to the United Nations. After all, the basic pursuit of the United Nations is international peace and security, and it is in that respect that what has been achieved in Europe has great relevance. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, the Treaty signed earlier between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, and all the other developments justify many hopes for further progress to the extent that a European conference on security and co-operation—as it was well described and analysed by the Foreign Minister of France during the first few days of this general debate [1942nd meeting, para. 51]—can now be considered almost a certainty. The significance of such a conference will not be limited to Europe or to the countries expected to participate. The more progress that is made in Europe, the easier will be the task of the United Nations in pursuing its primary objective.

125. The great and rapid changes that are occurring in the economic field, the action which is necessary not only to readjust economic relations and trade patterns but also urgently to expedite the development of the less developed countries, and therefore the necessity for some further planning by the appropriate agencies of the United Nations,

also require special attention this year, as indeed do many other issues and problems. Questions relating to the Second United Nations Development Decade, to disarmament and to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXI)] are also of special significance and deserve proper attention.

126. It is clear from what has been stated in this debate, which we are about to conclude, that we all feel the necessity for a new, determined effort to further the basic pursuits of the United Nations, to complete the process of decolonization that has been undertaken with success by the United Nations and to eradicate the last vestiges and remnants of colonialism, foreign occupation and racial discrimination. We have also concluded and stressed the necessity for providing the United Nations with wider and greater authority in regard to the removal and elimination of all causes of conflict and war, including poverty, slavery, non-respect for human rights, interference with the sovereignty and independence of States, expansionism and gunboat diplomacy. Those are some of the targets we have set ourselves, in a renewed effort, to pursue with more vigour in and through the United Nations at the beginning of a new chapter in its history, after the completion of a relatively successful quarter-century of life.

127. Before I conclude, and with your indulgence, let me refer to the present situation with regard to Cyprus. For the last three years, we have been having a period of uneasy calm. We have been doing our best to preserve the peace. But it would be very wrong to take the attitude that we should be content to live with the problem. Problems must be solved. Despite its apparent complexity—as I have often had the opportunity to explain and analyse in this Assembly and in the Security Council—the Cyprus problem can easily be solved if the objective criteria and standards laid down by the United Nations in its resolutions and if the principles laid down in its Charter are strictly adhered to and implemented. Those have always been our guiding criteria. That has always been our policy, and this will remain our policy until a solution is finally reached. I am sure that all in this Assembly will agree that force cannot solve this problem, or indeed any other problem. In this respect I wish to state most emphatically once again that we are committed to a peaceful solution. But on the other hand, we cannot bow to the wishes of others, nor can we accept any curtailment of our sovereignty or independence; we cannot accept anything that may lead our small island to division or partition, or anything that would be contrary to the wishes of the vast majority of the people, who are firmly committed to the principles of democracy and to the Charter. The local talks that have been going on for three years have unfortunately yielded no results, and they are now in a state of deadlock. Who is to blame? That will soon be established, but it is certainly not those who wish to preserve and ensure the unity of the State.

128. Our policy may be summarized as follows: First of all, we aim at preserving the peace. That is the most immediate objective. Secondly, we aim at further improving the internal situation. We believe that that would contribute to the creation of even better internal conditions.

Mr. Malik (Indonesia) resumed the Chair.

129. Thirdly, we aim at securing a solution within the framework of the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter and in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In this respect, any initiatives and any new procedures should emanate from, and should be within the framework of, the United Nations and in conformity with its resolutions.

130. Finally, we aim at a solution on the basis of a unitary, fully sovereign and really independent State. Any kind of divisive arrangements are completely unacceptable. At the appropriate moment we shall explain in more detail our concept of unity as well as the philosophy of division to which we refuse to subscribe.

131. We shall continue to do our utmost to find a peaceful solution, a solution which will secure for all the citizens of Cyprus, irrespective of ethnic origin or religion, conditions of equality, happiness and prosperity. And, I submit, we know better how this could come about than others outside the country. Although Cyprus is a very small State, it is an equal and full Member of the United Nations. It is a State which, like all the other States, is entitled to enjoy the same rights, the same privileges and the same opportunities as others, and it is ready to discharge to the full its obligations which, by virtue of the Charter and the resolutions, all States are obliged to respect and fulfill. Despite our efforts, which I repeat we shall continue, and despite the simplicity of the problem which we have in detail repeatedly explained and analysed both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly—as we would have no difficulty in doing again and as we shall do if the necessity arises—we have not yet been able to secure a solution on the lines that I have described. But we are determined to continue with our effort.

132. I hope and trust that in this effort we shall continue to have the assistance of the United Nations in which we have—as is well known—from the very beginning placed our faith and our hopes. And we are confident that the United Nations and its appropriate organs will spare no effort to assist and protect one of the smallest, but at the same time, may I humbly submit, one of the most faithful Members of the Organization.

133. By way of conclusion, I wish, on behalf of Cyprus, to reiterate our faith in the United Nations and to place on record once again our readiness, within our limited possibilities, to play our role in the common effort to strengthen the United Nations, whose high and noble principles and purposes we shall continue to serve with dedication and absolute devotion.

134. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, first of all, speaking on behalf of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, I should like to join with the other delegations to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this lofty post, Sir, is a tribute to your statesmanlike qualities and a fitting recognition of the useful contribution your country has made to the promotion of international peace and understanding. I am confident that your wide experience in the field of international affairs will immensely benefit the work of the present session. I should also like to associate myself with

the tribute paid in this Assembly to my distinguished colleague and friend, Edvard Hambro of Norway, who very ably presided over the historic twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

135. Now, continuing to speak on behalf of my head of Government and also in my own name, I wish to express my very sincere felicitations to the Secretary-General, U Thant, who is completing his second term of office this year. The dedicated service of the Secretary-General during the past 10 years for the fulfilment of the lofty ideals embodied in the United Nations Charter has won him not only the deep appreciation but also the admiration of all those who are concerned with the preservation of international peace and the betterment of the conditions of life around us. That is why the decision of the Secretary-General not to accept a third term of office is very much regretted by us. However, it is beyond any doubt that U Thant will be remembered by future generations as one of those outstanding personalities of our times who have left a lasting mark on our endeavours to promote a better world in the true spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

136. One of the primary objectives of the founders of the United Nations was that this world Organization should serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of the Member States in the pursuit of common goals—peace, prosperity and social development. The goodwill and co-operation of many of the Member States represented here have enabled the United Nations to take some positive steps towards the attainment of the objectives the Organization set itself to achieve 26 years ago.

137. The Organization can pride itself on having averted serious crises threatening international peace on several occasions and also on having been instrumental in restoring freedom to millions of people who had been condemned to colonial exploitation for years. But the hopes and aspirations of millions of our brethren have yet to be fulfilled.

138. In various areas of the world, freedom and peace have been but a mirage to generations of people born in our century. In Viet-Nam hundreds of precious lives are being lost daily. The Middle East, for so many years now, has continued to be the theatre of armed struggle or tension. In the African Territories still under colonial domination, freedom is denied to the large bulk of local population. Then there is the question of millions of refugees across the world whose fate words are inadequate to describe. These are so many human tragedies that endanger international security, mar the prospects of world peace, and are a blot on the conscience of mankind.

139. We in Mauritius have welcomed the move by the United States to normalize its relations with the People's Republic of China, which we would like to see occupying its rightful place in this Assembly without, for that matter, depriving Taiwan of a seat among us.

140. On the Middle East problem my country continues to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) continues to provide an adequate basis for negotiations leading to an honourable settlement between the Arab Republic of Egypt and Israel. We have also appreciated the

diplomatic efforts undertaken by some States and recently also by the Organization of African Unity to explore new grounds for a settlement of the problem. I hope that those initiatives will lead to at least a partial solution to be followed by a just and lasting solution in the spirit of the Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The United Nations, through its High Commissioner for Refugees, should, in the short run, redouble its efforts to assist countries having to harbour refugees and, ultimately and urgently, to find peaceful political solutions to the problems of this disinherited portion of humanity.

141. This year is being observed throughout the world as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It is inconceivable that, in an age of so much scientific and technological progress, the human mind should still tolerate such old prejudices as racial superiority. But the worst is the institutionalized forms of racism, like the *apartheid* policy of South Africa. Mauritius is a multiracial country where people of different ethnic origins from Asia, Europe and Africa have long coexisted in harmony. We therefore unequivocally condemn *apartheid* and all other forms of racial and religious intolerance wherever these are being practised in flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

142. My Government has supported the various United Nations resolutions relating to the Territory of Namibia. We welcome the recent verdict of the International Court of Justice⁴ and we shall support all recommendations that the General Assembly may make towards the implementation of the verdict of the Court.

143. The maintenance of international peace and security constitutes one of the major responsibilities of the United Nations. Mauritius considers the adoption last year by the General Assembly of the Declaration on Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] an important step towards the fulfilment of one of the main objectives of the United Nations Charter. We will continue to support all positive action by the United Nations in the field of international security.

144. My Government strongly supports the efforts of the United Nations to provide for the progressive development of the international law of the sea. We welcome the establishment of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction to elaborate the legal principles and norms which would promote international co-operation in the exploration and use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and to ensure the exploitation of their resources for the benefit of mankind. Those areas of the seas are the common heritage of mankind and their resources should not benefit only the technologically advanced countries.

145. According to Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, conditions of stability and well-being are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. In the developing countries, the problems of stability and well-

⁴ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

being are in fact our major preoccupations. Faced with unfavourable trade patterns, growing populations and a lack of financial resources, we often find it extremely difficult to offset the odds of economic under-development at a rate to correspond with the demands of a more and more articulate population for better employment opportunities and improved standards of living. This is perhaps especially true of a small and highly over-populated country like Mauritius.

146. With your permission I would like to stop a while and refer briefly to the efforts my Government is presently making to promote economic development and describe a few of the problems we have to face. We are confronted at present with a very serious problem of unemployment which has been the logical consequence of an essentially monocrop agricultural economy in a country with limited land resources. Various economic surveys of Mauritius have recently been carried out and it has been the general consensus that industrialization should occupy a priority place in our plans for all future development.

147. We have, therefore, embarked on a plan to set up a number of industries starting with import-replacement industries. Under our export processing zones scheme, a number of export-oriented industries are being set up. Several of the industries being labour-intensive, we feel that we may be on the right track towards satisfying our urgent need to create massive employment. We have adopted various export-promotion measures with the collaboration of foreign entrepreneurs and suppliers to whom we have provided a number of incentives.

148. The success of this conscious effort to solve the serious unemployment problem depends on a number of external factors over which Mauritius has unfortunately little or no control. I am referring, in particular, to the trade policies which are adopted by developed countries to protect their economic interests. Such measures seriously impede the economic progress of the developing countries, some of which, like ourselves, have only recently embarked on export-promotion programmes, the success of which may indeed be vital to their economic survival. The adoption of those measures detracts from the concessions previously offered under the generalized system of preferences and nullifies the professed support of the principles of assisting the trade of developing countries as embodied in the activities of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD].

149. I think I am voicing the unanimous feelings of the whole developing world in stating that we are pinning our hopes on the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade, which is to be implemented as from this year. We trust that the developed countries will consider the vital interests of the developing world in any future adoption of trade policies. In short, we must provide instruments for the promotion of trade between the developing and the developed countries and this, not simply to the advantage of the latter.

150. It is against this background that I view the probable enlargement, in the not-too-distant future, of the European Economic Community and the accession of more African and Caribbean States to associate membership. It is my

hope and prayer that, when that historic moment comes, Europe will rise above narrow parochial considerations and use its united strength to succour the developing countries with which it has been associated, in one way or another, for centuries.

151. To alleviate further the problem of over-population and unemployment in Mauritius, my Government has embarked upon a programme of assistance to Mauritians who wish to settle in countries which lack manpower and which would welcome them. We therefore believe that countries which do not have over-population problems and where employment opportunities exist should open their doors to immigrants from over-populated areas of the world.

152. My Government is convinced that the welfare of the peoples of this world can only be achieved through co-operation in all fields of activities between all the States of this world irrespective of their size, geographical situation, racial appurtenance and ideological aspirations—co-operation based on mutual respect of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Those ideals Mauritius tries to pursue by maintaining friendly relations with the other nations of the world and through its membership in various international and regional organizations.

153. Millions and millions of people throughout the world, and we in the developing countries especially, have placed their faith in the United Nations and we are confident that this Organization can fulfil the mandate conferred upon it if each of the present Member States gives its full and unconditional support to the principles of the Charter.

154. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It is not only in order to keep up a tradition that I shall start my statement by presenting to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of my delegation, and my own congratulations, on your election as President of this session. Your election is not only an honour to you but also a tribute to your country and the whole Asian continent, to which we are linked by so many common concerns and common aspirations. Your long political experience and your clear awareness of the problems of today's world are, we are convinced, the best guarantee for a successful session.

155. It is also a pleasant duty for me to address our thanks to Mr. Hambro, who presided with competence and authority over the twenty-fifth session, which will remain an especially important one in the history of our Organization.

156. Four new independent States have been admitted to our Organization. Those four countries—Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman—whose arrival among us we greet with the warmest sympathy, will make their contribution to the search for and strengthening of peace in the world, that peace without which the independence of young States would have only a formal significance. In bidding them welcome to the international community I should like to present to them the best wishes of Algeria and its people for a prosperous future and happiness for their peoples.

157. Each session of our General Assembly, in offering us an opportunity of undertaking a general consideration of

the international situation, of drawing up a balance-sheet of our activities, and an inventory of our difficulties, invariably leads us to a somewhat pessimistic assessment of the evolution of the world. Constant resort to violence and intimidation, the persistence of conflicts, the expansion of zones of unrest, the aggravation of threats weighing upon mankind from all sides are factors which, among others, lead us to be sceptical or become discouraged.

158. Indeed, we rejoice, together with all delegations that have spoken before us from this rostrum, that relations among the super-Powers remain characterized by the establishment of a peaceful dialogue which, albeit without result for a long time, now seems to be bearing its first fruits, especially in the field of disarmament. The progress thus achieved in that field is, of course, well below our hopes, but we greet it as the beginning of a situation which could lead to more effective action, associating all countries concerned with efforts to put an end to the arms race and reversing the trend towards the perfecting and stockpiling of such weapons.

159. By the same token, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, by eliminating one of the last sequels of the cold war, makes it possible to hope for the disappearance of a hotbed of tension and the advent of an era of peace for the whole European continent. The establishment of a dialogue between the two Germanys and the improvement of links between East and West Europe could lead to the convening of a conference on European security, which would strengthen stability in that part of the world and, therefore, peace in the world as a whole.

160. Finally, the contacts established between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, by being a harbinger of the end of the policy of isolation of Peking practised by Washington for over 20 years, certainly open up new and promising prospects for the settlement of problems upon which peace in Asia and the Pacific depends.

161. But on the other side of the ledger, and as opposed to these encouraging findings, the situation prevailing in the rest of the world continues to give rise to the gravest concern. Whether it be in South-East Asia, the Middle East or Africa, we always meet the same problems—problems which become more serious over the years through the accumulation of misfortune and destruction. For the countries of the third world the fight against under-development is being carried on energetically without their seeing in the foreseeable future any signs of a successful conclusion to their efforts. The fight for freedom, for human dignity, for the minimum conditions of a better life remain the only resort of many people confronted with difficulties of nature, vicissitudes inherited from history and the merciless constraints of an international order whose weight they bear without actually being able to change it.

162. I started by speaking of South-East Asia. That is because war is still being waged there. It directly involves one of the super-Powers. It perpetuates a dramatic situation for the people concerned and is a matter of deep anguish to all those who aspire to peace. Many hopes born in preceding years and based on the awakening of international opinion and the intentions proclaimed by governments have been seriously dashed.

163. The Paris talks aimed at restoring peace to Viet-Nam, the opening of which was greeted as the starting-point of a long-awaited step towards a peaceful settlement have not lived up to expectations and continue to reflect the contradictions, hesitations and obstinacy of the various parties. The will to independence of the Viet-Nameese people and their determination to break all foreign domination are clearly expressed in an implacable struggle which, after so many years of sufferings and sacrifices, has not succeeded in shattering their will. Nobody could gainsay the Viet-Nameese the right to settle their own internal problems themselves and to decide the future organization of their political institutions and social structures. Intervention in the affairs of the Viet-Nameese people on the part of the United States, which continues to support an alleged government discredited both inside and outside the country, a government unable to claim any genuine representative character, is incontrovertibly the essential element which constitutes an obstacle to any peaceful prospects in the area. It is inconceivable—and this has been clearly proclaimed—that the Viet-Nameese people will abandon their struggle so long as they are not assured their total freedom and the choice of their future.

164. It is only once the true intention of the United States to abandon any intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet-Nam is proved that the modalities for the cessation of the war can be studied. The first step towards such a development is the withdrawal of United States troops and of all other foreign troops from the area. The latest proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in this connexion constitute a valid and reasonable basis for negotiations; they should make it possible speedily to reach an agreement by offering at one and the same time to the South Viet-Nameese people genuine possibilities for ensuring free and democratic participation of all currents of opinion in deciding on the future of the country, and to the Government of the United States honourable conditions for disengagement from what now appears to have been an adventure doomed by international opinion as well as by American public opinion itself.

165. Until the voice of reason prevails in the final analysis, the war continues, increasing disorder and confusion in South Viet-Nam and expanding the theatre of operation to the whole of the Indo-China peninsula in flagrant violation of all international agreements and of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Renewing in Cambodia and Laos the same tragic errors committed in Viet-Nam, the United States pursues its policy of direct intervention in the internal affairs of those countries by imposing government leaders obedient to their instructions, but deprived of any popular base.

166. Algeria proclaims once again its constant and firm support for the struggle waged by the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam and that of the Khmer people, convinced that their just cause will prevail in the end and that there is no other peaceful solution to their problems than that which will guarantee the unity, independence and territorial integrity of their countries.

167. I have spoken about the situation in the Indo-China peninsula, but I cannot gloss over other hotbeds of tension

in other parts of the Asian continent. The situation created on the border between India and Pakistan by the arrival of enormous numbers of refugees from East Pakistan raises social and humanitarian problems which, quite justly, have deeply moved international public opinion. The Government of Algeria which has the most friendly relations with both India and Pakistan cannot conceal its alarm at seeing the possibility that this situation could become a source of conflict between the two countries and maintain in the area a climate of suspicion and hostility which would harm, above all, each of the two countries. This friendship that we feel for both leads us to express a wish for the speedy return of refugees to their homeland, the widest manifestation of international co-operation in the field of effective international assistance and the establishment of a climate of national reconciliation to which the Pakistan Government is already devoting all its efforts because, no matter what the concerns of the international community, it is abundantly clear today that, to be a genuine solution and not to create similar difficulties for other countries in the world, the final solution of this painful problem can be ensured only through respecting the unity and national integrity of the territory of Pakistan.

168. The problem of Korea, of course, is not a new one; nevertheless it is a question deserving of all our attention, first of all because our Organization was involved in it at the outset. The delegation of Algeria deeply regrets that the General Assembly should have seen fit to postpone consideration of this problem until the next session. We already had an opportunity to stress the unjustified character of that decision. We consider, in fact, that it is high time to move resolutely towards normalizing the situation in the Korean peninsula because this area will not know peace as long as the southern part of Korea remains occupied by foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations and cut off from the other part of Korea. That is why we think that any lasting solution of this problem is necessarily predicated upon the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. To that end my Government expresses its total support for the eight-point proposal for national salvation which the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea put forward in April 1971.

169. Almost all speakers have justly stressed from this rostrum that they are deeply concerned by the situation in the Middle East, by the fact that no progress towards a satisfactory settlement has occurred. Yet, attempts to reach an agreement have been numerous, whether at the level of the super-Powers, at the level of the four big Powers, or within the framework of the mission of Ambassador Jarring, Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

170. Africa, in turn, is trying to make its contribution to the search for a solution by appointing a mission of four eminent African Heads of State, who would inform themselves on the spot about the state of affairs and the intentions of the main antagonists, and seek ways and means which would lead to proposals acceptable to all parties. Algeria as an African country, is happy to welcome this initiative, which is consonant with the idea of the solidarity of our continent with an African country victim of aggression, a part of whose national territory, like a part

of that of some Arab countries, is still illegally occupied by Israeli troops.

171. We have never had the slightest illusion about the aggressive and expansionist character of Israel. Its creation was marred by flagrant injustice, since it was brought about in conditions that are well known, to the prejudice of the Palestinian people expelled from its national territory. Its existence is based on the permanent maintenance of this original sin which dooms it to showing continuous hostility towards its neighbours. Finally, its policy dooms it to constantly seeking to expand its territory, thus making its own the notorious theory of *lebensraum*.

172. The arrogance which has always characterized the attitude of Israel is probably encouraged by the impunity which it has so far enjoyed. We are entitled to wonder, as a Member of this Organization, how far and until when such contempt for our international institution and the principles of our Charter will be condoned. What credence will still attach to our decisions if they can be ignored and trampled on in such a deliberate and constant manner?

173. But if attempts to reach a solution have failed until now, it is also because an essential element has been forgotten or neglected, an element which is fundamental to any settlement of the situation in the Middle East. I have in mind the Palestinian people, whose inalienable rights have been recognized and reaffirmed by our General Assembly. This people, despoiled of its national territory, is now waging a struggle within the framework of the wide liberation movement evident in the whole world. The echoing solidarity aroused in world public opinion by its struggle confirms the legitimate and just nature of its claims. Indeed, these are founded on sacred notions such as freedom and dignity. They are those for which a people is ready to accept any sacrifice and for which it will always find sufficient resources to attain its objective. It would therefore be dangerous to neglect this fundamental element in the search for a solution, but nothing will prevent it from being strengthened and from developing as it is in line with the normal course of the history of all peoples accidentally deprived of their freedom and their national rights.

174. To see in the problem of the people of Palestine merely a problem of refugees who must be assisted and for whom one implores international charity is a grievous error whose consequences can be tragic. One can easily understand that Israel prefers for reasons of its own to conceal under purely social humanitarian aspects a problem whose political dimensions are as important as they are incontrovertible. But—and we shall never tire of repeating it—a just and lasting peace cannot be established in the Middle East except on the basis of the integral recognition of the rights of the people of Palestine to national independence and sovereign existence.

175. I now turn to events in Africa, and I cannot help saying how painful it is to us to have to speak about the same topics each year. If we run the risk of tiring those who listen to us or of losing the interest of public opinion we must do so because of the persistence of problems afflicting our continent. This clearly shows the impotence of the Africans to protect themselves from foreign interference and ensure respect for their dignity, but it shows especially

and above all the ineffectual nature of our institutions which in these matters, as in so many others, are more likely to adopt resolutions than to undertake firm and decisive action.

176. The problems of Africa therefore remain what they were for years: the fight against colonial domination, the fight against racial segregation, the fight against under-development. Once again the Organization of African Unity has drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the danger of this situation at present and in the future. I could not plead the cause of Africa better than it was pleaded from this rostrum by the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Mr. Mokhtar Ould Daddah, present President of the Organization of African Unity [1938th meeting].

177. But what I should like to stress here is that several countries, sometimes great Powers, directly or indirectly contribute to perpetuating if not to worsening this state of affairs. Without the support which is granted to Portugal it is doubtful that the colonial war waged by that small country in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) could go on for long. The liberation struggle is developing in those Territories. We have full confidence in the final result but the present situation represents a great threat for all neighbouring countries, and it suffices to remind the Assembly of the latest Portuguese aggressions against Guinea and Senegal. It will therefore be understood that the African countries consider themselves at one in their will to free their continent in its entirety from any colonial domination. They will always continue to bring all assistance to back the liberation movements and they renew their appeal to world opinion and the countries concerned to put an end to the support they grant to Portugal, which enables that country blindly to pursue a policy that has been unanimously condemned. That small country would be better advised to think of its own development, of its own internal development, instead of squandering important resources which it is now spending in its effort to maintain a colonial empire which ineluctably it will lose.

178. Must we once again mention the problem of Southern Rhodesia where, in spite of the resolutions of the Security Council and economic sanctions imposed on the Ian Smith régime, the African majority of Zimbabwe remains in the hands of a white minority? The United Kingdom, the administering Power, still tries to negotiate with an illegal Government which deliberately opposed its authority. No matter what the results of these talks it remains clear that the United Kingdom is primarily responsible in this matter but that this responsibility must be laid also at the door of all members of the international community which must heed the decisions of our Organization.

179. If the Salisbury régime was able to defy public opinion and to cause the action taken against it to fail, it is, above all, because of assistance from Portugal and especially from South Africa. The Pretoria régime which made of *apartheid* a political system has become a gigantic war machine thanks to the complicity of the Western Powers. Possessing ultra-modern armaments in abundant numbers, this country is now able to produce and export war matériel of all kinds. There is no need to wonder what those armaments are for. It is obvious that no foreign threat

seems at present to menace South Africa. This military force is exclusively destined to prevent and to squash any attempt at rebellion by the black population against the racial segregation régime imposed upon it. This is an immediate danger against the independent countries of the area and enables the authorities of Pretoria to strengthen their domination of Namibia in full contempt of the decisions of the United Nations.

180. We are not among those who think that the Africans would be able to convince the white racists of Pretoria and compel them to abandon their *apartheid* policy by opening a dialogue with them. Such a discussion presupposes that there is a common language, that there is respect for the same principles, the same values and the same meaning of human dignity. Who could claim that such conditions exist in this case when with every passing day we see the most incontrovertible proof of the way in which the South African authorities intend to discuss with the black populations pining under their yoke?

181. I do not think it is necessary for me to dwell any further on these problems which unfortunately are not new and whose permanence would lead us to believe that they are an integral part of our present-day world. If mankind achieves any progress, it is in the field of science and technology, but far from being applied to an improvement in the standard of living of peoples and their relations within the international community they tend to extend to outer space the mastery of man over nature. We applaud the exploits and the achievements on the moon and in the matter of exploring the universe in which our modest planet moves about, but we cannot help thinking that there are many other achievements which must be accomplished and realized which are more urgent and just as prestigious to enable all men to have a worthier life.

182. Human genius, which was able to reach dimensions which were even unsuspected yesterday, is not incapable of doing this, but such a task is predicated less upon intelligence than upon generosity, disinterestedness, unselfishness and qualities of the spirit and the heart. The behaviour of States ignores such feelings and more than ever we see developing selfish national interests, attempts at domination and hegemony. The international situation remains under the influence of the super-Powers which, having reached some equilibrium in their military and nuclear power, are now engaged on peaceful coexistence excluding from its implementation the rest of the world. Their confrontation is at the level of establishing developing zones of influence for the enslavement of other peoples and often brutal intervention in their own affairs. The conflicts which are called local are born from the direct confrontation between the will of those Powers to impose their political, economic and strategic domination and the stubborn opposition of peoples which defend their freedom and want to preserve their natural wealth, but we cannot accept the thesis according to which, obviously, it is essentially through such localized conflicts that mankind will be able to prevent a generalized war.

183. It is on this deep conviction that the policy of non-alignment, which Algeria has always made one of the essential principles of its international behaviour, is predicated. It is significant that the countries of the third world

which adhere to this policy are getting ever more numerous, thus making of the non-aligned group an important element of international equilibrium and their action in the cause of peace and progress will exert a positive influence upon the evolution of the world situation.

184. Everybody seems agreed that the era of colonialism has finally come to an end, that every people is entitled to independence and freedom. The principles solemnly enshrined in the Charter were reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and, at its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted a programme of action for the complete application of that Declaration [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*]. We have seen that in the third world, especially in Africa, there are Territories which still remain under colonial domination. But can we fail also to mention political pressures exerted on small countries, military threats against them, the practices by which their natural resources are exploited for the profit of foreign interests? Because, there again, those are imperialist and colonialist manifestations; they involve not only the super-Powers, but also many countries which have reached a high level of economic development and military power.

185. With the end of the cold-war period and the accession to independence of numerous States, the division of the world into developed and under-developed countries has succeeded the division into blocs based on ideology. The newly independent States rapidly became aware of the vital necessity to promote their economy in order to fulfil the needs of their social development and the aspirations of their peoples. The recovery of their natural resources was one of the first steps in a long and arduous struggle which recently has been much debated by world public opinion in the matter of natural fuel. That crisis again stressed the injustice of which the under-developed countries are victims in international trade relations, as they are condemned to derive very small profits from their raw materials without being able to compensate for the progressive exhaustion of their reserves for building up new economic structures which would yield employment and income. Indeed, foreign assistance is indispensable to our countries to ensure our development in all fields, but the first means for such action must be found in our own resources. That assistance becomes a mere mystification if it is accompanied by rapacious plunder of our wealth which, in any case, we shall never again allow.

186. This is only one of the elements of the struggle against under-development. There must be a readjustment in the terms of trade in order to remedy the injustice due to their present degradation. But there are other aspects to this struggle—agriculture, industry, transport, public health, education—which require much effort and sacrifice on our part. The scope of those problems, the immense resources required for their solution, make it necessary that there be concerted action on the international level, the importance of which was stressed by the institution at the level of the United Nations of a first, then a second, Development Decade.

187. This manifestation, this token of international solidarity, is based upon a conviction that the maintenance of an imbalance in the levels of development is a source of

tension in the world and a danger for peace. Such an enterprise obviously requires the contribution of all countries, especially those which have already reached a high level of economic expansion, which have abundant income for which no better use could be found than the struggle for a better distribution of the wealth of this earth.

188. It is probably in this field that the United Nations has achieved the most positive results in its action and has most obviously proved its usefulness. The expansion of those activities of its specialized agencies clearly shows to what extent they are needed in our countries. The failures of our Organization are numerous, such as its inability effectively to achieve and carry out its mission for maintaining peace, its inability to ensure the implementation of its own decisions. They reflect, above all, the contradictions in our international community. The ever-more pronounced trend of the great Powers to take the place of the United Nations in settling the most crucial problems of peace and security in the world is incontrovertibly the source of the crisis of authority in our Organization. But an important role is also played by the absence from our Organization of several countries, not the least influential, which are decisive elements in the international equilibrium.

189. The problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is not a new one. The most objective analysis of the deterioration in international relations proves, if need be, that no viable and valid solution can be found to world problems without the participation of that great Power. And yet, despite an increasingly favourable view in the matter of attributing to Peking the seat of China in the General Assembly and the Security Council, the question could not be settled until now, because of procedural machinations incompatible with the political importance of the problem and its incalculable consequences for the maintenance of peace. If we do not seek any credit for having long ago denounced as an unjust and dangerous anomaly the absence from the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, we are satisfied to note that there is a clear-sighted and courageous evolution in the attitude of many States on this matter.

190. To those who still manifest some hesitancy in accepting an irrefutable reality, those who still want to find refuge in outmoded fiction, we would merely say that political wisdom does not accept any half-measures. Why deny the evidence? This evidence is that there is only one China, that Taiwan is only a province of that huge country and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only representative of the Chinese people. We have great hopes that this debate, which has lasted far too long, will finally be concluded and that this session will not end without restoring a situation more in keeping with the realities of our world and the principles of our Charter.

191. But I cannot speak of our Organization without evoking the pre-eminent role for over 10 years of its Secretary-General, U Thant. It is with the greatest sympathy and the most sincere admiration that we followed and supported his efforts to strengthen the authority of this high institution and to enable him fully to discharge its mission for the maintenance of international peace. I hope he will accept here the expression of the deep friendship of

Algeria, which will be especially grateful to him for the vigorous action carried out by him in favour of freedom for all peoples. We can never forget his personal attitude in favour of the independence of Algeria and his contribution to our cause. Sharing the opinion of very many delegations, we should like to see him continue to preside over the fate of our Organization, a task to which he has devoted himself for so long and which has earned him our unanimous respect. No matter what his final decision, may he know that he will always be entitled to our gratitude and our eternal friendship.

192. Our impatience may be too great to see justice and wisdom prevail everywhere in the world and our energies entirely devoted to problems governing the development and well-being of our peoples. We are aware of the fact that, like any new member of the international community, we have a somewhat Utopian conception of relations among States, characterized by an absolute faith in the principles of international morality. Brutal contact with reality leads us to a more correct assessment of things and convinces us of the need to continue to wage a long struggle to break down all narrow interests and impose strict respect for rules which should govern an international society based upon justice and the primacy of right over might.

193. Disappointing and discouraging as this long journey towards a better future may sometimes be, where in a world reborn the genius of man would serve the well-being of mankind, we shall not abandon this fight which translates ever better the solidarity of our peoples. Our voice, those of all disadvantaged countries, will not always remain without an echo. It carried with it the hopes of millions of men representing over half of the population of our globe. Why could we not think that one day this voice will be heard and will finally impose a world order placed under the sign of friendship among peoples and fraternity among men?

194. It is with the expression of this hope that I shall conclude.

195. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply. Before doing so, I should like to refer to the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1937th plenary meeting, on 24 September 1971, concerning the exercise of the right of reply, in which the Assembly confirmed the decision taken at the twenty-fourth session that such interventions should be limited to 10 minutes.

196. Mr. PATRICIO (Portugal): Sir, as this is the first time that the Portuguese delegation has intervened during a plenary meeting of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating you on your election to the high position of President of the Assembly. The choice of you, Sir, to discharge this difficult role in a session of the Assembly which is not without very thorny questions to be decided upon, besides being a well-merited homage to your personal qualities, provides us with a guarantee that the work of this session will be conducted in the best and most orderly fashion, and that you will successfully lead the session to a happy conclusion. The Portuguese delegation congratulates itself that it is able to count upon your leadership in this

role, and wishes to assure you of its frank and sincere collaboration in the work before you as President of the General Assembly.

197. One more general debate of the General Assembly has come to its end; and, once again, the representatives of certain countries—they are always the same—thought it opportune to make references to my country, Portugal, in order to repeat old accusations belied in the past by facts, and to insinuate threats that are hardly in harmony with the principles of peaceful coexistence among nations enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

198. In reality, the complete lack of substance in the allegations made against Portugal—accompanied as usual by outmoded slogans which cannot pass for true merely because they are repeated—as also the paucity of any sound elements in these references, would not justify our coming to this rostrum in order to exercise the right of reply to which we are entitled. It should have been sufficient to state that each country is entitled to hold its own point of view on the subject of the Portuguese overseas provinces. But long-winded discourses based on emotions and not on facts are certainly not the best guidelines for a consideration of the problem.

199. Nevertheless, one point was raised in the course of the general debate which, in our opinion, calls for consideration. We have been accused of constituting a threat to the peace and security of Africa, and of violating the frontiers of neighbouring States and endangering their independence; and to this end several complaints brought to the United Nations by various African countries have been cited.

200. I should like, in the first place, to remind the Assembly that Portugal has frontiers in Africa with other African countries which have never adhered to the thesis that we constitute a threat to the peace and security of the continent, and have never brought to this Organization any complaints against Portugal of violations of their territorial integrity and sovereignty. Such complaints come only from countries whose Governments profess a desire to live within the spirit of peace and respect for the law, but which, in flagrant contradiction to this declared intent, shelter, finance and arm bands of terrorists who daily cross their frontiers into the Portuguese provinces with the objective of sowing death and desolation among our peaceful populations in Africa. Strangely enough, all of them, or at least the great majority of them, deny emphatically the existence of any terrorist bases in their territories, and on the other hand accuse us of inventing the existence of such bases, which, they allege, exist merely in our imagination. All the same, whenever Portugal has proposed on the bilateral plane that an investigation should be carried out into the existence of these bases, which are in fact the real cause of the tension that prevails in certain regions of the African continent, it could have been expected that these our opponents, who are so emphatic in denying the existence of the bases, would eagerly accede to the proposal, for such an investigation, by revealing the true facts, would prove conclusively who is telling the truth. But unfortunately this has not been the case. They have no hesitation in coming to this Organization with complaints against Portugal intended for easy propaganda at home and abroad, but so far they have failed to accept the straight-

forward proposal to establish, by means of bilateral commissions, a system of controlling the frontiers which is certain to guarantee a zone of peace and security. Firmly convinced that this is the only means of verifying the truth of the alleged cases of frontier violations, and without falling into the vicious circle of having to reply to complaints with counter-complaints, to accusations with counter-accusations—a process that leads to nothing beyond heightening tensions, which are taken advantage of by interests that are alien to the African continent—Portugal renews forthwith all the proposals in this direction that have so far been presented on its behalf.

201. Likewise, Portugal wishes to reiterate, for all useful purposes, all its proposals for co-operation with all countries of Africa, without regard to the régimes by which they are governed, since it is convinced that the problems of Africa can be resolved only through recourse to dialogue and understanding and not by means of insults or threats. We are prepared to give every form of guarantee of our desire to respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all our neighbours once we are assured of reciprocity from them. And I am certain that we are here asking neither more nor less than any other country would ask in identical circumstances. I express the conviction that, with the passage of time and the widening example of useful and loyal co-operation in all fields with various African countries, the day will not be far distant when we shall be able to maintain with other countries also relations of constructive co-operation.

202. In the final analysis this can only redound to the benefit of the populations which at the present moment are subjected to every sort of affliction, thanks to a political course that seeks incitement to violence and an open and manifest disrespect of the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. Portugal hopes that the new countries of Africa will come to adhere to these ideas and dispose themselves to a constructive collaboration with us.

203. In this context I cannot do better, in order to give emphasis to these sentiments, than to quote here a passage from the speech delivered in Lisbon by the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Marcello Caetano, which is a clear profession of faith:

“We Portuguese are sincere peace-lovers. I myself am one; nor can I understand how any balanced individual can desire, applaud or provoke the solution of disputes by bringing about massacres and the extensive destruction of property, with all the consequent but unforeseeable damage and extension of strife. But this fact itself makes it the duty of those who wish to preserve the peace to discourage aggressors, just as it is their duty to mete out punishment to those who disturb the peace and to restrain their activities.

“In Africa we are defending the peace. We should like it only too well if fighting could stop, if the terrorists ceased to enjoy the support thanks to which they penetrate into our Territories and worry and disturb their inhabitants. But until that happens the work of the authorities and of security forces is increasingly directed to winning people over rather than to taking lives, to

bringing forth the harvest instead of laying waste the land.”

204. We are convinced that in some cases a lack of knowledge of the realities of life in the Portuguese overseas provinces lies at the basis of the support that is given to acts of violence being perpetrated against Portuguese populations in Africa. The Portuguese overseas provinces are open to all who wish to visit them without having preconceived ideas or predetermined objectives. It should be enough to recall that every year many diplomats, government leaders, newspapermen and other public personalities of all nationalities have visited and toured our overseas provinces, seeing with their own eyes, and appreciating, the economic, social and educational advancement of the populations.

205. In the political field, I am certain that international attention has undoubtedly been drawn to the amendment of the Portuguese Constitution approved by the National Assembly, in Lisbon, in July this year. This amendment consecrates, within the context of the Portuguese nation, the widest principles of full autonomy for the overseas provinces in the economic, financial and administrative sectors, without any restrictions for each Territory, and demonstrates Portugal's traditional respect for all types of culture and civilization and its recognition of the rights of the various ethnic groups in the populations of each province. Such a step was possible only because Portugal is in a position to count upon the unswerving loyal support and collaboration of these populations, who will freely participate in the process of electing their representatives in the Government.

206. The representative of the Republic of Guinea has in the course of his statement [1943rd meeting] made lavish references to what he has called attempts to invade his country allegedly made by Portuguese armed forces. I shall not tire the patience of the General Assembly by trying to answer his allegations in detail.

207. In order to give an indication of the honesty of the methods employed by the Government of that country in its campaign against Portugal, however, I shall limit myself to recalling, by way of example, that in August last a complaint against Portugal was presented to the Security Council, which met in emergency session, on the basis of a letter from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea.⁵ In that letter it was alleged that, through the interception of radio messages exchanged between Portuguese armed forces, the Guinean Government had obtained information to the effect that an invasion of that country was being planned by Portugal. But a perusal of the report submitted by the Special Mission dispatched by the Council to Conakry⁶ reveals that, according to the statements made before the Mission by members of the Government of the Republic of Guinea themselves, what was at stake was nothing more than a communication between two individuals who were subjects of that Republic. It is with accusations of that nature that it is sought to build up an international campaign against Portugal.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1971*, document S/10280.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Special Supplement No. 4*.

208. Mr. SEN (India): I was prepared to exercise the right of reply last night, but the hour was late and there were 10 speakers who exercised a similar right.

209. I spoke briefly on the evening of 5 October [1953rd meeting]. It had taken Pakistan nearly seven days to conceive and deliver its reply [1963rd meeting]. Such a long period of gestation for a reply is unusual, if not unknown, in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. But then it was not merely a reply but in many respects a full, but stale statement, timed to coincide with what President Yahya Khan of Pakistan had to say yesterday and with various other publicity efforts. I was astonished that so much nervousness should be displayed about facts and so many bald assertions made without foundation. When on 5 October I spoke as a Bengali, I was simply sharing impressions on the basis of my experience. I am grateful to the representative of Afghanistan for having demolished some of Pakistan's bald assertions.

210. In his broadcast yesterday the President of Pakistan gave some details of his plan, the substance of which he had announced on 21 June. That plan was described by informed opinion as a "pathetic sham".

211. If General Yahya Khan had any intentions of transferring power to the elected representatives, he could have done so earlier this year and again he could have done so yesterday.

212. Air Marshal Asghar Khan of West Pakistan, a most distinguished soldier, has declared that the election results are already predetermined; and Mr. Nairaj Mohd Khan, a leader of the People's Party led by Mr. Bhutto, has refused to go with his party's delegation to East Bengal, for he found that the power there is shared by reactionaries, murderers and people without political support. Of course, given the press censorship in Pakistan, we cannot supply full texts of these statements, but we can draw some conclusions from the nature of the government which has been established in East Pakistan. One gentleman of this Government, known as "Minister", lost the elections by 46,186 votes. His name is Mr. Abul Quasem. Another Minister, Nawazish Ahmad, lost his election by 96,007 votes. Still another, Mr. Akhtaruddin Ahmad, lost by 39,681 votes. Yet another, Maulana A. K. M. Yusuf, lost by 44,590 votes. Need I go on?

213. The representative of Pakistan kindly agreed with me that these tragic problems are not fit for debate or polemics, yet his whole statement was nothing but a series of polemics. He says that the present problem is of recent origin, while the bilateral problems between India and Pakistan have existed for many years. I do not expect that the international community would be at all unhappy if India and Pakistan solved all their bilateral problems. We offered to do so time and again, but without response. It was not we who brought up the question of Kashmir in the Assembly, but the representative of Pakistan.

214. I have already commented on these diversionary tactics Pakistan uses. May I simply say that we should like the well-established principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by force to be applied to Kashmir as much as to any other place.

215. Pakistan accuses India of creating tension on the border and of supporting the freedom fighters inside East Bengal. I would in this context read out what the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington had to say on 15 August 1971 on a programme of the television network of the American Broadcasting Company [ABC]. Incidentally, the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington is the brother of the representative of Pakistan here. He said:

"There were at least about 160,000 armed personnel who defected on account of Awami League propaganda. The army was asked on the 25th of March to go and deal with these 160,000 armed people."

Who are those people? In the same interview the Pakistan Ambassador answered:

"There are not only East Bengal Rifles; there were East Pakistan Rifles; there was a border military force; there were armed police."

From where did they get their arms? The Ambassador said:

"These weapons came from the looting of armouries and government stores and from the armouries of reserve police and so on, weapons that had been collected by force, by militant student bands who were going and knocking at the doors of the houses and asking people to deliver their guns and whatever sporting rifles—guns and rifles—they had. These were not collected from the East Pakistan Rifles. We wish we had taken the trouble to disarm them before."

216. That is the reality of resistance within East Pakistan—a resistance which was inspired by years of discrimination and exploitation and which was the direct result of ruthless and massive military action with unparalleled atrocities, the total extinction of human rights, and a full-fledged campaign of genocide.

217. I repeat what I said before: we must not, shall not, and cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. At the same time, Pakistan must not interfere in our internal affairs.

218. What has happened is that by Pakistan's brutal and preposterous actions, India has been faced with a refugee population of 9 million people, with consequences on its social, political and economic structure which are well known to the Assembly.

219. I would have been more comforted if the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had himself given a report on the plight of those refugees and on the alleged return of some of them to Pakistan. It is extraordinary that the Pakistani reported figure of 200,000 returnees has remained steady for at least one month or more. We are, of course, not privileged to go inside Pakistan and collect statistics, but let not the representative of Pakistan have any grievances about such authoritative statements as are available to us.

220. Similarly, it should be easy for Pakistan to say what happened to the 471 complaints we made. We presume they should know. We have replied to all the complaints brought to our notice.

221. Yesterday the representative of Pakistan dismissed a *Manchester Guardian* comment as frivolous. That is his privilege, but I shall now supply some figures from the *Christian Science Monitor* given in its article, "The Agony and the Danger" of 31 July 1971. This article says:

"Estimates 'of people killed, not counting'—I repeat: not counting—" 'those who died of famine and cholera' range up to a million."

The International Press Service of America estimates of the number of people killed up to mid-August by the army varies between a minimum of a quarter-million and a maximum of 2 million persons. Is it, therefore, an exaggeration to say that the armed action has resulted in at least a million deaths?

222. I have already referred to the type of election which is being worked out for bringing about normalcy in Pakistan. In this context a report has been received by Mr. Paul-Marc Henry, the Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the United Nations Relief Operation in Dacca, prepared by United States AID mission experts. Parts of that report have been made available to *The Sunday Times* of London; and in its 10 October issue William Shawcross, describing the conditions in East Pakistan, says: "... the infrastructure of the country has totally collapsed". He continues:

"Victor Powell, the Chairman of the Consortium of British relief charities, who returned from Dacca this week ... reckons that only 20-30% of the country's [East Pakistan's] industry is now functioning. ..."

Mr. Shawcross goes on to say:

"There are still reports from East Bengal of how the Government and army commandeer food trucks and boats and use hunger as a political weapon."

223. If all this is not enough, it has been made clear in the United Nations report quoted in that article in *The Sunday Times* that:

"... the Government will allow them [United Nations agencies] to work only on post-cyclone relief projects that were begun before the spring civil war. Officially they are not allowed to give relief to those affected by the war rather than by the floods. In the North there was no flooding and it is there, as a result, that starvation is likely to increase—because so far the Pakistan Government has forbidden access, except to the permanent missionary bodies."

224. In addition, the Assembly is aware of the large number of Pakistani diplomats, including several ambassadors, who have defected. The latest is the Pakistan ambassador to Argentina, Mr. Monin. Are these the kind of people who will be influenced by the bogey of Indian propaganda? No one can be more blind than the man who refuses to see.

225. Another development in Pakistan which is of intense international concern is the reported sentence of death on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. It would be good to hear a denial

of that report. If anyone has seen him during the last six months, we do not know him; all we know is that his British lawyers were not allowed to see him, and we are certain that Pakistan would not have allowed any outside judge—even a judge of the International Court—to be present at his trial. Anyway, newspaper reports indicate that the trial is over.

226. Pakistan objects that any suggestion of political settlement with the elected leaders is an interference in Pakistani affairs. We in India have been burdened with over 9 million refugees as a direct consequence of Pakistan's military action. Is it, in these circumstances, unreasonable or illogical to suggest the kind of solution which in our view should be arrived at in order to persuade the refugees to go back home?

227. Is it unreasonable or illogical to recommend a political solution to bring about the kind of confidence that is a prerequisite for the return of the refugees? Is it illogical or unreasonable to suggest that, unless the refugees have a degree of security and hope for peaceful existence on their return home, they will be reluctant to go back? If these are illogical and unreasonable suggestions, I am glad to see myself in the company of a large number of delegations, foreign Governments and numerous official and non-official organizations. If a country resents this kind of suggestion, how can it in the same breath ask for co-operation in solving a problem which is essentially of its own making?

228. Besides, what relief can we promise to the people of East Bengal when we did nothing when their friends, relatives and fellow citizens were being killed, their women raped, their houses smashed, their property looted, their children burnt, and their crops destroyed?

229. We have no intention of interfering, in spite of an invitation. All we can say is that this problem can be solved only between the rulers of Pakistan and its elected leaders, and we are disillusioned by the attempts to bring about a so-called normalization.

230. It was only the other day that two members of parliament of the Netherlands had their invitations withdrawn, simply because they would not accept Pakistani figures for refugees. The case of Senator Kennedy of the United States is much too well known, and I do not wish to dilate on it.

231. The problem has been created by a campaign of genocide, and Pakistan must settle it in consultation and co-operation with its own people. There is undoubtedly tension in the area, but that, too, is the direct consequence of Pakistan's actions. Tension will disappear and the refugees will go back whenever Pakistan chooses the wise course leading to a political settlement. Unless that is done, all this public agitation for Indian co-operation is nothing but mere eyewash.

232. In fact, in spite of the apologists for Pakistan, the President of Pakistan has made it quite clear that he would not meet the Indian Prime Minister. Even in these days of permissiveness, I cannot bring myself to repeat the words the President used about our Prime Minister. The curious will find them in *Le Figaro* of Paris. That particular article

was reproduced in *The New York Times* about two weeks ago. Apart from insulting the person whom Pakistan would have us believe the General wishes to meet, he says bluntly: "I will not meet her." So much for seeking co-operation.

233. There are many instances in history when States have deliberately, and as acts of policy, promoted external tension in order to solve their domestic difficulties. Nothing is easier, and nothing is more dangerous. That is what Pakistan is trying to do today.

234. A great crisis has overtaken Pakistan as a result of its own acts in using military force and repression against the people of East Pakistan in a situation which called for conciliation and compromise. To deflect the criticism of its own people and of the international community from this crisis, a campaign is being mounted against India. But that will not resolve the crisis.

235. The solution of the crisis lies between the Government in West Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan. If India advocates such a solution, it is because what has happened in Pakistan is of extreme concern to the international community, and particularly to India. Because of its geographical location, India has to bear a heavy and continuous burden. While we speak of the return of the refugees, would it not be pertinent to ask why more and more of them are still coming? Because the house is on fire, and the fire cannot be put out by bullets. It is not a question of our leaving Pakistan alone; it is the people of Pakistan who are steadily coming to India.

236. Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the many delegations that have spoken with sincerity and sympathy about the grave difficulties which we face. I should like to thank them publicly, and I should also like to state that we have appreciated the concern which they have shown for a problem which has been created by Pakistan but the consequences of which affect us all.

237. Mr. LEGNANI (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Yesterday we were in the Second Committee, when the representative of the Cuban régime spoke about Uruguay in this hall [*1963rd meeting*]. Having read the verbatim record of what that representative said, I note that he repeated statements made last July by his Government, to which I shall now reply by simply citing my Government's communication on 6 August to the United Nations Secretariat, which reads as follows:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay expresses its deepest displeasure at the public statements made by the Prime Minister of Cuba concerning internal Uruguayan affairs; since these statements constitute interference in our country's activities and, consequently, a flagrant violation of the principle of non-intervention—acts which it strongly repudiates

"A decision on these matters is the exclusive responsibility of the Government of Uruguay and its people, who will have the opportunity freely to express their views—in accordance with their tradition and custom—in the democratic electoral process guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the Republic, entirely free of any

external pressure which is detrimental to the national feelings and civic spirit of the Uruguayan people."

238. That communiqué also complies with the principle of non-intervention, which without any possible distortion is the basic and cardinal corner-stone of the foreign policies of Uruguay, the constant validity of which has always been and is of the greatest concern to the Government of Uruguay to define and govern relations among nations.

239. My Government has the constitutional duty and the great task of leading the citizens of our Republic, freely and unhampered by foreign pressures, to elect the authorities that will guide the destiny of the country during the five years beginning in 1972 and at elections to be held next November. Among the candidates parties of the most diverse political orientations are represented. In entirely free expression, the Uruguayan people will choose those who are to govern them and the institutions to frame their future. The democratic vocation and mission of the Uruguayan people can conceive of no other mode of expression. It is the firm purpose of my Government to continue to protect that mission and its normal expression by adopting all just and necessary measures to ensure that the tasks imposed upon us are fulfilled—tasks the majority of the Uruguayan people desire to see fulfilled in accordance with their own capacity to decide.

240. But it is equally the purpose of my Government to defend our country from those who, considering all means legal, try to impose upon us through violence their own ideas, thus destroying the juridical and legal order the Uruguayans have freely chosen for themselves. It has been and is the intention of my Government to organize this defence within the framework of the democratic institutions we possess, with all the limitations inherent in such institutions. But we shall respect all of them and also the correct functioning of the division of powers of State.

241. Therefore, we cannot condone foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Uruguay, and our immediate repudiation of such interference on behalf of our people is the expression of our deepest convictions. Ours is a tradition upheld at all levels of life by those who at every stage of our history have been responsible for our country.

242. The international community, through the United Nations, has given validity to the principle of the inadmissibility of foreign interference in the domestic affairs of States, and at this time Uruguay wishes to reaffirm its adherence to a principle so basic to international coexistence. We therefore resolutely reject any interference in our domestic affairs.

243. I should like to add that the purposes that motivated the statement to which we have just replied are very obvious. The statement was made in July by the Cuban Government and repeated the other day and addressed to Uruguay and other countries. It is a very old trick to distract the attention of a country whose difficulties, far from being solved, become worse, by trying to convince it of the important international role being played by that Government. We shall not follow in their footsteps nor give them an opening to speak again. We shall limit ourselves calmly but decisively, and perhaps thus put an end to our

reply, by saying that the principle of non-intervention is very deeply rooted in the foreign policy of Uruguay. It is linked closely to our tradition, to our tenets and to the very life of Uruguay. But that is not only reflected in the full validity and purity of our own sovereignty, but also in the way we totally abstain from interfering in the lives of others, directly or indirectly. We keep out of the domestic affairs of other States.

244. We do not understand—or rather, we do understand only too well—but reject the “non-interventionism” as sponsored by those who now speak for Cuba. Non-intervention? It is the flat, exclusive and uncompromising opposition to any form of interference—be it real or disguised, slight or serious, true or fictitious when laid at the doors of financial imperialism. But on the other hand, it is not intervention when it leads them crudely and barefacedly to advocate guerrillas in other countries—to send *agents provocateurs*—to dispatch mercenaries, moneys or weapons. As far as we are concerned, both these forms are perfect and close-fitting sides of the same intervention. We know there are injustices; we know there is unemployment; we know there is under-development. We are told that these are the reasons for the guerrilla warfare. Yet we know that the profound and indispensable social and structural changes cannot be based on violence—and even less so on the creation of authoritarian régimes that subject and hamstring peoples.

245. The problems that confront each country—its crises, its political choices—have to be solved by its own citizens without outside interference, without political or military aggression, without foreign pressure, without economic strangulation, without cultural infiltrations that contaminate or distort the indigenous spiritual and ethnic heritage unique to the people themselves.

246. For all these reasons, through its humble representative in the United Nations, the Uruguayan Government states, in reply to these guerrilla warmongers, to those who sow and nurture violence and hatred that Uruguayan soil does not lend itself to the inculcation of hatreds and violence nor to the enthroning of extremisms from the left or the right, nor is it a spearhead of sedition expected to grow later in foreign lands.

247. There are no weaknesses or doubts in my country, when defending our institutional organization and the well-understood policy of non-interference which is basic if we are to respect and be respected.

248. Therein lies the Uruguayan democracy encouraged by a Government, inflexible in its application of the law and resolute in the defence of our legal and political order.

249. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): During the general debate my delegation has stressed several times that we are not here to match arguments and score debating points. We regard the present India-Pakistan situation as too serious and the imperative of peace too compelling to allow us exercises in debate.

250. The reply just made by the representative of India to what I said yesterday [1963rd meeting] contains several mis-statements and repetition of old charges which we have

already refuted. No one in the Assembly, I am sure, enjoys a series of replies and counter-replies which fail to advance the cause of peace or to bring about a clearer understanding of a situation which involves a threat to peace. Nevertheless, in view of the earlier intervention of the representative of India, I am duty bound to my Government to make a reasoned and dispassionate presentation to correct the picture that he has painted.

251. First of all, the representative of India seemed to be aggrieved that I exercised my right of reply yesterday, that is seven days after his, the Indian, statement of the allegations against us. I should like to assure him that we always believe in taking pause and reflecting on any charges that may be made so that we do not make impassioned replies or generate heat, but serve to enlighten this General Assembly. It is for that reason that we thought we should make a considered reply rather than the type of statement that we heard a moment ago from the representative of India.

252. I was also greatly surprised when the representative of India said that the points that had been made by me in the India-Pakistan exchanges were demolished by the representative of Afghanistan in his statement at the 1961st meeting. I am loath to infer from this that there has been any collusion between India and Afghanistan.

253. We have heard for the umpteenth time that the Government of India does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan and yet the representative of India launched into a veritable tirade over the internal developments of Pakistan. He quoted certain political leaders of Pakistan about the nature of the Constitution or the political plan that has been put forward by President Yahya Khan. Is comment on the internal constitutional developments of a country not within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of a State? While he quotes from the Pakistan press about what the political leaders of Pakistan have to say in exercise of the free expression of opinion which obtains in my country, yet he does not give credit to my Government that these critical opinions about the Government—which are not only critical but very strongly critical—are in fact published. He still derides the situation in my country and states that we do not know that this is all they have said because there is censorship in Pakistan. If there were censorship these critical comments against the Government by the political leaders of Pakistan would not have seen the light of day.

254. The representative of India was good enough to inform this General Assembly about the relationship between me and the Pakistani Ambassador in Washington and to quote from what Ambassador Hilaly stated in a television interview as to how the insurgents and the secessionist elements obtained arms. Ambassador Hilaly was speaking of the situation between 1 and 25 March 1971, when the loyalties of large sections of the East Pakistani police, the paramilitary forces and the East Pakistani regiments were subverted. These elements were incited to loot the armouries and the shops which sold arms and ammunition. Obviously being paramilitary forces and members of the regular armed forces of Pakistan and East Pakistan, they were armed with weapons, and when they defected and rose in rebellion against the Government, they

used these weapons against the Government's forces. But that is not the end of the story. There has been infiltration of armed Indian elements into East Pakistan over a long period. The fact that arms and ammunition are being collected and sent by India into Pakistan is a fact of public knowledge. No attempt has been made by the Indian officials over the last few months to deny that they are supplying and arming the guerrillas. Only today we have had a dispatch in *The New York Times* from Sydney H. Schanberg, who is *The New York Times* correspondent based in India, about trainload after trainload of arms going to Calcutta for arming these insurgents so that they can step up their raids into East Pakistan.

255. I can quote many correspondents from 25 March onwards, correspondents of world-famous newspapers—*The Times* of London, the *Daily Telegraph* and others—who have sent dispatches to their editors about the extent of the involvement of India in the arming and training and unleashing of these insurgents, with the support and assistance of the Indian armed forces.

256. We hear a great deal from Indian representatives about the need strictly to observe the principles and purposes of the Charter, the principles of strengthening international security, the Declaration on principles of friendly relations, the principles on which a definition of aggression should be based, and we know that Indian representatives have themselves taken an active part in formulating definitions of aggression or definitions of international conduct, stating that the arming and inciting of guerrillas and sending them across international borders to carry out raids and sabotage are acts of aggression. But this is precisely what they are doing in regard to Pakistan; yet they say that they do not wish to interfere in our internal affairs.

257. It is always most painful to have to enter into any argument as to the awful arithmetic of death or the number of casualties. The representative of India has persisted in stating that the casualties number from a quarter of a million to 2 million. Now, is it responsible to make such a statement—to take the liberty of giving a margin from a quarter of a million to 2 million, as if these casualties are just figures or just inanimate units, and not living human beings? If we consider the laws of our own countries, every single death is investigated as the highest crime, and a country is most concerned and exercised over even a single casualty. But the representative of India comes here and charges Pakistan with causing, by the federal action against secessionist elements, the death of between 250,000 and 2 million men, women and children.

258. What can one say of the requirements of veracity and precision when they make such allegations? Let me say that those figures which are always quoted by India and which have found their way into the world press have all emanated from Indian sources, from the secessionist elements that have spread rumours and tried to defame the image of Pakistan. Members are all aware of the cyclone that occurred last November. At that time certain charges were made by political parties in East Pakistan engaged in elections that the Government of Pakistan had not sufficiently mobilized all the resources to bring help to the survivors of that flood. Those political parties which made

the charges against the Government did not send a single worker of their parties for the sake of humanity to go to the relief of their own kith and kin. They were engaged in electioneering, campaigning and leading processions, and yet they charged the Federal Government of Pakistan, let me tell the Assembly that they charged the Government of Pakistan, with responsibility for genocide.

259. Apparently in this war of words people have lost their sense of reality; words have lost their meaning. Not a single survivor of that cyclone subsequently died as a result of neglect. The casualties that took place were due to the flood; all happened in the cyclone or within 24 hours of it, and yet the Government of Pakistan was accused by those political parties—which later on betrayed their secessionist colours—of genocide.

260. Let me also tell the Assembly that between 2 March and 25 March the Awami League took a series of actions to set up a parallel government and defy the authority of the established Government. It issued directives to Government employees not to attend offices; it raised the flag of rebellion; it gave directions to courts and to commercial houses; it gave directives that no taxes should be paid to the central Government, and it was the secessionist elements which started the killing of innocent citizens. Those facts have been documented. When the armed forces, which were standing aside as spectators in order not to be accused of interfering in the political process, were at length ordered to suppress the killings, and when, as a result of their action, not more than two or three dozen people were killed, they were accused of genocide. The cry of genocide against the Government of Pakistan started even before 25 March when the army took action to suppress the killing of innocent people in East Pakistan who were not of the same political persuasion as the secessionist element.

261. Those are recorded, documented facts, and yet there has been a suppression of information. Those facts have not been allowed to find their way into the world press. Yet the Pakistan Government is accused of censorship and suppression.

262. However, let me tell you that the figures of death quoted by the representative of India have all emanated from Indian sources. Correspondents have been fed with such stories. I do not wish to dwell upon this further, but if I am challenged I am ready to present further evidence before you. I have already stated that the insurgents and the secessionists—apart from those armed elements of our armed forces and paramilitary forces who stole arms from the armouries and who looted arms and ammunition shops—were supplied and armed by India, and I have drawn the Assembly's attention to an article in *The New York Times* of today.

263. In regard to the question that the representative of India has raised about an alleged death sentence having been passed on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, there is a news item in *The New York Times* today which states that a diplomatic defector from a Pakistan mission made this statement on the authority of information that had been given to Pakistan missions abroad before he defected. Let me here make a categorical statement: neither my mission nor any such mission has received any information from my

Government about the question of a sentence passed on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Therefore any defector from this mission who goes and states to the press that a sentence of death has been executed is not speaking the truth, and I wish that the representative of India had exercised due care and caution before he came to fling this charge at us.

264. I will also tell this Assembly that certain diplomatic defectors have circulated memoranda and letters to the correspondents here saying that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is dead. What purpose is served by circulating such wrong statements and falsehood is beyond our comprehension, but at least we would hope that representatives of sovereign States would exercise greater responsibility than pamphleteers and propagandists in making charges and innuendoes against other Governments.

265. Let me pass from replies to these charges, which are painful to me as to all of you, to something more constructive. Let me avail myself of this opportunity to renew the offers made by the Government of Pakistan to arrest the deterioration of the present India-Pakistan situation and to create a climate of confidence conducive to the return of the displaced persons.

266. These are our offers.

267. First, we propose that the number of persons who were displaced from East Pakistan and went to India should be ascertained by an impartial international agency, so that the controversy regarding the numbers of refugees who have left East Pakistan may be finally laid to rest. In view of the wide disparity existing between the number calculated by us and that alleged by India, only an impartial agency could arrive at an assessment which would be beyond challenge.

268. Secondly, we offer to arrange the stationing on both sides of the border between East Pakistan and India of representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in order to facilitate the return and rehabilitation of the displaced persons. That is a proposal which was made by the Secretary-General [see A/8401/Add.1, para. 189], and it is clear that a measure of that kind would go a long way in improving the climate and establishing confidence. My Government affords all facilities to representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to visit areas of East Pakistan where refugees are returning, and to meet them. On the other side of the border, however, a curtain has been drawn which hampers the return of the refugees.

269. Thirdly, we offer to invite a good-offices committee of the Security Council to confer with the Governments of both India and Pakistan regarding how the present tension between the two countries can be dispelled in order to bring about the return of the displaced East Pakistanis from India in conditions of full security.

270. Fourthly, we are ready to work out with India, in bilateral talks at any level, ways and means by which the repatriation of the refugees could be accomplished and the threat of an armed conflict removed.

271. Rather than prolong polemics, which merely add to bitterness, we would hope that the Government of India

will not reject these offers. I know that it can say "they have been made before and we have turned them down", but we would appeal to it to reconsider its rejections, because these are constructive offers and could bring about a true amelioration of the situation, so that we can contribute to the realization of the aims demanded by both humanitarianism and peace. I appeal again to the representative of India not to belittle these offers.

272. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Those who may have had time to read through the provisional records of the 1963rd meeting, circulated today, will have noted that my delegation did in fact allude to Uruguay, devoting to it about two lines. I must say, therefore, that it is a surprise to me that so few words should have given rise to such an inspiring reaction and such a lengthy analysis from the representative of Uruguay this afternoon.

273. My delegation in fact does not intend to delve into the statement of the representative of Uruguay. We merely intend to indicate exactly what we said yesterday, and what had been said earlier by leaders of my Government: it was only the statement of a fact: the fact of the rise of the Uruguayan popular movement, a movement which, among other things, seems to offer as a possible alternative the establishment of a government of popular force in that country.

274. This fact has been mentioned, in one way or another, by other persons. It has come from other governmental or quasi-governmental sources without having provoked such a reaction from the present representatives of the present Government of Uruguay. It is difficult for the representatives listening to this debate or reading the records of it to understand how anyone stating these things can be accused of intervening in the domestic affairs of a country.

275. There is a popular movement which has nothing to do with me, which has nothing to do with our way of life and with whose creation we have nothing to do—it exists in and of itself, and many opinions can be held regarding it. I apologize to the representative of Argentina for quoting *The New York Times*, but that paper devotes parts of its editorial today to the question, reflecting more or less the same facts that I mentioned yesterday afternoon. Obviously *The New York Times*—like the representative of Uruguay—frowns on the possibility that in that country the November electoral exercise may lead to a change of the present governmental team, but the possibility of such a victory on the part of the popular forces in November is mentioned in this American newspaper today, in the editorial.

276. And the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the present Government of Uruguay, Mr. Mora, from this self-same rostrum [1941st meeting]—on his own initiative, and not in reply to anybody—alluded to the domestic problems of Uruguay and stressed the increase in popular strife and struggle in that country. If one reads through the records of this session one finds that the first person to refer to the situation in Uruguay was the Foreign Minister of Uruguay, Mr. Mora.

277. That is why my delegation would like to repeat that all we did yesterday afternoon was state a fact; and it was

not we who first stated it, since a number of persons had, from different standpoints, mentioned that fact first.

278. However, what is at stake is that those who invoke the principle of non-intervention do so because their intention is to oppose anything that may challenge the sacrosanct intangibility of the *status quo*, while never having been too eager to denounce or in any way oppose the repeated historic violations of that principle on our continent.

279. Since my delegation had yesterday to reply to a long series of Latin American statements I should like merely to say a few words regarding statements made yesterday afternoon. The representative of Argentina ended his statement with a sentence with which we entirely agree. He spoke of "an island which it is not easy to enter—far less to leave" [1963rd meeting, para. 218]. Needless to say, he was referring to Cuba.

280. In fact, I could speak at great length on this question of foreign interference. The last 12 years have been years of constant and systematic efforts to violate our national sovereignty and to overthrow the revolutionary Government established in Cuba. I do not think I need rehearse those facts at great length. The Assembly will recall that in 1961 more than a thousand mercenaries were landed on the Cuban beaches and it was in fact difficult for them to get in—so difficult that they went no further than the beach of their landing area. And, of course, to any others who may try the same thing in the future we might repeat the slogan coined here by the representative of Argentina that it will be difficult for them to get in; and they can be perfectly sure that any aggressor, anyone who tries to interfere and land on the Cuban beaches, will leave only in the same shape as the sand of those beaches.

281. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): We would not wish to tax the patience of the members of this Assembly by speaking at length at this late hour, but the intervention made this afternoon by the representative of Lisbon, with his wild pretenses, compels us to take the floor if only to deprive the Lisbon authorities of the privilege of indulging unchallenged in an exercise of distortion, falsification and misrepresentation. In view of the lateness of the hour, and taking into consideration the fact that the delinquent nature of the Portuguese régime is a matter of common knowledge to members of this Assembly, I shall endeavour to be extremely brief in my right of reply.

282. A régime which pursues preposterous concepts, such as the one that the territory of Portugal extends thousands of miles to incorporate the African Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) without annexing any territories in Europe that lie within its immediate vicinity, is capable of indulging in the worst imaginable misrepresentations. Such a régime is certainly capable of indulging in all sorts of self-delusions. Thus, if only to keep the record straight and to deprive the Lisbon authorities of further illusions, I must categorically reject the absurd explanation given by the representative of Portugal in defence of the atrocious colonial policies of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

283. We would have expected that Senhor Caetano's representative would address this Assembly with repentance instead of misguided self-righteousness. We would have expected that at long last the régime of Portugal would begin to realize the hopelessness and futility of the wars of aggression that it is now waging in the Territories under its occupation. We would have expected it to show repentance for its misplaced sense of arrogance which it has persistently shown to this Organization and to the international community. But then it would indeed be foolhardy to expect the régime of Portugal to bow to the will of humanity and move with the tide of history.

284. What this Assembly and Africa want to hear from the Portuguese authorities is this: when will they stop the enslavement of the African people and recognize the legitimate rights of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and full independence?

285. If this Assembly has gained anything from the so-called right of reply made by the representative of Portugal, it is a further demonstration of the callous disregard and contempt in which the Portuguese authorities hold this Organization. He spoke in terms of the right of each country to hold its own views. We entirely agree with the representative of Portugal on this. Our problem is not with the right of the Portuguese régime to do or not to do what it wishes inside Portugal. The fact that it is oppressing and suppressing its own people is none of our business. The fact that Portugal is considered the most backward country in Europe may arouse our interest, but not our comment. The fact that it spends its considerable resources—which are badly needed in its impoverished state—on armaments is again a matter on which we have no intention of commenting. But when these arms are used, as they have been used, against Africans, be they dependent territories or independent African States—the former, through brutal colonial wars, and the latter, through violations of the territorial integrity and independence of sovereign African States—then the problem ceases to be a Portuguese affair. It becomes an African problem, and indeed a problem of the international community. Africa has not failed to recognize it as such and, for that matter, neither has the international community, as evidenced by the continual adoption of resolutions year in and year out by both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

286. The representative of Portugal spoke of frontier problems. Those who may not have had an opportunity of looking at the map may easily imagine that Portugal is located in the heart of Africa; but the truth is that Portugal is in Europe and we have not as yet heard of a frontier problem between Portugal and, for example, Spain or any of its other European neighbours. Thus, when the representative of Portugal talks of frontier problems he is actually talking about the wars of oppression, suppression and aggression which that régime is waging in Africa in the Territories under its occupation and against a number of independent African States—as for example, the naked aggression against the Republic of Guinea perpetrated last year.

287. But what is the use of engaging in a dialogue with the deaf? Thus, without taking up the valuable time of this

Assembly by further rebuttal of the absurd and hollow explanations given by the representative of Portugal, I would only say that the Assembly must intensify its efforts in support of the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique.

288. In this respect the role of the allies of Portugal calls for particular mention; for, as the Foreign Minister of Algeria, Mr. Bouteflika, so rightly and eloquently put it this afternoon, the Portuguese régime would not be in a position to carry out its aggressive wars without the support which it enjoys from its allies.

289. We must put an end to this despicable display of arrogance on the part of the Portuguese authorities. We must all strive to do our utmost to make it impossible for the decisions of this Assembly—and indeed our Organization—to be a subject of systematic violations by those whose notorious role is to subjugate and exploit millions. My delegation remains confident that the day will come when, in this Assembly, we shall be privileged to hear the authentic representatives of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). The duty and responsibility of the Assembly is to act in concert to bring closer that momentous day. Only then shall we be spared the ordeal of listening to the ridiculous and childish pretences of the representative of the Portuguese authorities.

290. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): It is rather late. We had hoped that our work would be crowned with success and it is painful at the end of this laborious day to have to hear the representative of Portugal, a country whose political, economic and social structure has been sufficiently depicted in this debate by more than 50 delegations from Africa and Asia, a country whose policy of colonialism was systematically denounced by the quasi-unanimity of representatives at this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations—if we expect its acolyte, South Africa, of course.

291. This leads us to ask that we should be permitted to exercise our right of reply to the representative of Portugal because, in his fallacious statement, he mentioned a fact which was described in the statement of the Guinean delegation [*1943rd meeting*] to this Assembly, a fact which the representative of Portugal tries to deny. The international community still has fresh memories of the criminal aggression of 22 November 1970 against the Republic of Guinea, an aggression committed by Portugal, which, leaving its territory of Guinea (Bissau), a territory under its domination, on that date attacked the Republic of Guinea by sea and land, thus violating the sovereignty of a peaceful African country aspiring only to peace and development.

292. Let the representative of Portugal come to this rostrum, if he does not feel ridicule, to tell us about his respect for the Charter, his love of peace and so on. Whom is he mocking? This international community which we represent? There are no polemics, no war, no disputes

between the Portuguese people and the African peoples, but there is a dispute between the Fascist Government of Portugal, which persists in its colonialist policies against African peoples despite resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, a resolution which clearly spelled out the inalienable right of the colonial peoples freely to determine their fate.

293. The representative of Portugal has come here to say that in a document recently provided by a mission of the Security Council dispatched to the Republic of Guinea⁷ there was a mention of two messages and that those messages were exchanged between two Guineans. Yes, they were exchanged between two Guineans, but I should inform this Assembly that those two Guineans—who are mercenaries trained, equipped, armed by the Fascist Government of Portugal in order to infringe upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea—are in Guinea (Bissau). They are fed, clothed and paid by the Fascist Portuguese Government. That is where the evil lies, that is a small detail which the representative of Portugal did not touch upon when at this rostrum.

294. As it is late we reserve our right to come back to the absurdities dished out by the representative of Portugal, but the General Assembly knows enough about the evil of Portugal for the United Nations.

Organization of work

295. The PRESIDENT: Next Monday, 18 October, the General Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 93, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".

296. In this connexion, I should like to consult members regarding the list of speakers. In order to utilize the time allotted for the debate, it would be difficult—indeed impossible—to reserve a specific date and time for each intervention. I should like therefore to exercise my prerogative under rule 35 of the rules of procedure and urge representatives to take the floor in the order in which their names are entered on the list of speakers.

297. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that procedure.

It was so decided.

298. The PRESIDENT: I shall give the Assembly a clearer programme of work as soon as I have an indication of how many representatives wish to speak before the vote. It is my intention to close the list of speakers after the third day of the debate on agenda item 93, and I shall announce this early next week.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.

⁷ *Ibid.*

