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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. TEPAVAC (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me to extend to you my warm and sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of our Assembly. The delegation of Yugoslavia sees in your election a tribute not only to a personality whose statesmanlike qualities we have often had occasion to admire, but also to the representative of a friendly and non-aligned Indonesia, a man who will know how to bring into our work the philosophy of life and age-long experiences of great Asian civilizations and happily merge them with the contemporary trends of the present political moment.

2. At the same time, I should like to express our feelings of respect and appreciation to Mr. Edvard Hambro, who so competently presided over the twenty-fifth anniversary session of our Organization.

3. My Government highly esteems the untiring activity of our Secretary-General, U Thant, who, in the past decade, has discharged his responsible duties with his own characteristic wisdom and dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, constantly drawing attention to the numerous difficulties, but even more to the vast possibilities, of the world Organization, while expressing confidence in its future.

4. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to say how happy we are to welcome the admission of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar to the United Nations.

5. It seems that a new period of significant changes and turnabouts in the world has begun. Perhaps this is precisely the right moment to take a look at some of the most important events of the period we have just passed.

6. Conflicts and crises no longer remain isolated. So-called local disturbances have world-wide repercussions and bring the world to the brink of wider conflicts.

7. Wars and outside interventions do not promise easy gains to the promoters of the policy of conquest, imperialism and hegemony. Even when such a policy seems successful, reverse effects also manifest themselves.

8. Wars, interventions and foreign interference only strengthen the will of peoples to fight for independence, sovereignty and independent international development.

9. No genuine people's movement had been broken by force. The fate of the world does not depend on violence alone, but on resistance to violence as well.

10. Differing social systems have not been the basic causes of conflicts and crises. Quite often conflicts have not by-passed States with the same social systems.

11. It has been confirmed that universal coexistence is irreplaceable. Bloc approaches to international problems are in a state of crisis. The movement of non-alignment is asserting itself as a significant factor in international relations, a factor which cannot be ignored.

12. The world is not willing to reconcile itself to the division into rich and poor, although it has not been able to overcome nor even alleviate this division so far.

13. The young are emerging on the international scene in a greater measure than in the past, both in their respective countries and at the level of concerted international action. Even in those instances where the young fail to apply the most appropriate forms of struggle, the essential value of their aims and ideas cannot be denied.

14. The extent to which we shall succeed in our efforts to change the conditions prevailing in the world will largely depend on the extent to which we grasp the difference between what is inevitable and what is likely to disappear. All this has always been important but never more than today when interdependence is a general rule and when the interrelationship of economic, political and moral values is reaffirmed, independently of State boundaries and socio-political systems.

15. During the preceding 25 sessions and especially at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly, we adopt many decisions of the greatest significance. The results fall far short of the objectives set. Nevertheless, they represent some progress in comparison with the starting-point. Which of the decisions and declarations constitute a success and which of them a failure will be determined by the answer to the question: What has changed for the better and what has remained unchanged on the restless international scene? My Government therefore strongly believes that this Organization should become more effective not

only in formulating decisions but also in ensuring that decisions become a reality.

16. The positive changes—which were perhaps more numerous last year than previously—have not yet extricated the world from a state in which, true, there is no direct threat of a general war but in which genuine peace is not guaranteed either.

17. Among the positive developments in the present phase of changes we should mention the establishment of contacts between those who have not had them—to their own detriment and surely to that of the international community. My country ranks among those which maintain contacts and co-operate with a large number of countries on all continents, and is thus able to appreciate readiness and ability for dialogue between friends and also—perhaps even more—between those whose views and interests are different or even conflicting. In this world of contradictions but also of growing interdependence, peaceful contacts and talks mean something more. Even when they do not bring about rapid solutions, they generate an atmosphere which promotes agreement and discourages conflicts. Without harbouring illusions as to the possibility of rapid favourable changes, we believe in the possibility of substantive progress.

18. When I spoke of new developments in international relations I also had in mind the ever-more-strongly expressed desire of the international community to have the People's Republic of China finally occupy the place which in reality belongs to it in our Organization. It is not only a matter of correcting the injustices of yesteryear, but of a more profound process of revising dogmas and norms inherited from the past. It seems that at last a sense of reality is proving to be stronger than prejudice.

19. It follows that the question of the representation of China must be definitely removed from our agenda. There are not two Chinas—only the Government of the People's Republic of China has the right to be the legitimate representative of the Chinese people in the United Nations.

20. Allow me now to recall the problems of development in the first place, without underestimating thereby any field of activity which is of interest for the further progress of the international community. It is obvious, in that field, that we have taken only initial steps and that we have not reached a decisive level of readiness to change the unfavourable situation. There is a justified fear that the consequences of the chronic crisis of the international economic, trade and, now, even monetary systems will affect the position of precisely the developing countries most adversely. That merely increases the difficulties they will have to face. The monopolies of closed economic groupings and their most powerful protagonists are also contributing to this negative balance.

*Mr. Bitsios (Greece), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

21. All those circumstances make it imperative to establish new bases for the trade and monetary systems, promoting a closer integration between the economies of the developed and the developing countries. For this reason, it is more

than justified to demand that the latest protectionist measures should not be applied to the developing countries. Monopoly, discrimination and protectionism at the expense of others not only impede general progress but also widen the material base for conflicts and crises in the field of political relations.

22. We expect the developed countries to show greater understanding for the solution of this problem. On the solution of the problems of the developing countries depend not only stability in international economic relations but also the perspective of peace and security in the world in general and, by the same token, the long-term interests of the developed countries themselves. In this context, the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], to be held at Santiago in April 1972, is of particular significance. For this reason, we attach great importance to the forthcoming Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 developing countries to be held at Lima later this month, which should contribute much to the preparations for the third session of UNCTAD and consolidate the unity of action of the developing countries.

23. The international community is faced with a new situation of conflict on the Indian subcontinent. The refugee problem, which has assumed vast proportions in Asia as a result of the mass exodus of refugees from East Pakistan to India, cannot be isolated from the whole complex of economic and political problems. The international community should not remain indifferent to this situation, nor can its involvement be limited to merely providing the material assistance necessary to alleviate the untold suffering of millions of innocent people. It is essential to create political conditions making it possible to remove the causes, without relaxing our efforts to cure the effects at the same time, so that refugees can soon return to their homeland. Unless this is done soon, the existing situation may lead to even more tragic consequences.

24. We have long since accepted the axiom that peace and security are irreplaceable premises for any normal progress. We have also recognized the truth that, without an effective system of over-all security no one, by himself, is safe. Although there is less likelihood, today, of a world conflict, the possibility of threats to the security, independence and sovereignty of small and non-aligned countries, in particular, far from having been reduced may even have increased. The United Nations has adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], embodying a precise programme of action, but it has done very little to establish a system of collective security. Dependence on military alliances and bloc formations has not proved to be a reliable factor of security, sometimes even for countries belonging to such alliances. We should strive towards greater solidarity with, and greater assistance to, countries which are threatened with, or are the victims of, aggression. At the present session we should take one step forward in implementing the basic provisions of this Declaration.

25. It goes without saying that the end of the arms race governs any action to reduce the threat to peace. While welcoming the draft convention on the prohibition of

biological weapons,<sup>1</sup> we urge, at the same time, the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, the total prohibition of underground nuclear tests and the adoption of other measures of a partial character. The most recent initiative of the USSR for convening a world disarmament conference [see A/8491]—which had already been proposed by the non-aligned countries first at the Conference in Cairo<sup>2</sup> and then at the Lusaka Conference<sup>3</sup>—gives specific form to the repeated demand of many countries who feel that all nations should take part in solving the question of disarmament.

26. It is difficult to speak of disarmament while weapons talk. The war in Indo-China has caused great suffering to the peoples of that region, but it does illustrate the paramount truth that the struggle for independence and freedom cannot be defeated. We are deeply convinced that the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, set forth in seven points, provide a framework within which it is possible to find an acceptable solution and that, before anything else, the United States should fix a time-limit for the earliest possible withdrawal of its troops from Viet-Nam.

27. There is a certain feeling of weariness and absence of initiative in the search for a solution in the Middle East crisis. I wish to reiterate the conviction of my Government that in the Middle East no solution has any future unless its point of departure is the radical cancelling of the results of aggression.

28. The fallacious truce which Israel is using for purposes of annexation is too dangerous to be able to last any longer. The total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories as well as the realization of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine constitute the *sine qua non* for the solution of the crisis. Ambassador Jarring has done a great deal to assist in finding a solution and has submitted proposals which all—with the exception of Israel, unfortunately—have approved and judged acceptable and just.

29. The last strongholds of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, particularly in Africa, of course, constitute a great danger for the independence of African peoples and for peace in the world. Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, Namibia and South Africa are glaring examples of attempts to preserve relations of inequality and subordination. The resistance to the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations by those who are in the best position to contribute to the elimination of the residuum of colonialism is the major cause of the deterioration of the situation in southern Africa. Therefore the world Organization should—among other things—increase its assistance to the movements of national independence.

30. Progress in Europe became possible once the conviction prevailed that European realities cannot be changed by

the use of force and that contacts and expanded co-operation can bring benefits to all.

31. It seems to us that the prospects for the convening of a conference on European security are more favourable because in some of the most delicate issues, such as the German and Berlin questions, a way out of the deadlock is emerging. Progress on the Berlin question is important in itself. It is, however, even more important as proof that the most sensitive issues can be settled by patient negotiations and mutual understanding. Fortunately, the dilemma “for” or “against” a European conference no longer exists; it is now only a question of how to ensure its success. This is how we view the role the United Nations can have, as an organization for, and interpreter of, the universally recognized principles of the Charter, in contrast to theories and practices advocating special or distinct norms in international relations. We even more persistently maintain the point of view that not only the central but also the southern part of Europe—particularly the Balkans which, together with the Mediterranean, form a compact geographical and political region—should become an area where peaceful relations and co-operation inspired by the spirit of good-neighbourliness are governed by the same norms.

32. It is evident that no real progress can be achieved unless we find a way out of the existing crises and conflicts and unless we are able to accelerate—all of us to an equal degree and all of us together—the solution to the long-term problems of security, disarmament and development.

33. The policy of non-alignment has never been an end in itself. Since the Belgrade Conference,<sup>4</sup> the tenth anniversary of which is this year, non-alignment has always sought, as a reflection of progressive aspirations, actively to meet the vital needs of mankind. The significance of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries seems to be greater today than at the time when it was held. The recent consultations among non-aligned countries have confirmed their agreement on the necessity to ensure the continuity of their efforts, both in the United Nations and on a broader international plane, in the struggle for peace, universal security and general progress in the world.

34. It has been demonstrated that non-alignment, far from being removed from reality, is an expression of reality. The non-aligned are not powerful enough to prevent brutal blows inflicted by force, but they are sufficiently strong not to bear them passively.

35. Yugoslavia, like the other non-aligned countries, highly appreciates the contribution of the United Nations to world peace, to co-operation and to development, even though the results—through no fault of our Organization—have not always been satisfactory or complete.

36. Our persistent emphasis of the inviolability of the principles of freedom, sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of others, etc., may appear monotonous. However, this repetition of these principles is only a consequence of their repeated violation throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction (A/8457-DC/234, annex).

<sup>2</sup> Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

<sup>3</sup> Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

<sup>4</sup> First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

world and in reality. We defend these principles because they defend the world to which we belong.

37. We fully appreciate that we are not entitled to expect more from this Organization than we contribute to it. It is precisely for this reason that we declare our readiness to make our utmost contribution to the United Nations.

38. Mr. BOWEN (Australia): I should like, on behalf of Australia, to extend my congratulations to Mr. Adam Malik, upon his election as President of the General Assembly. Indonesia and Australia are close, not only geographically, but also in our governmental and personal relationships. We are aware of the courageous and energetic role which the President has played both at the time of Indonesia's independence and since. We value his efforts in fostering the development of a sense of community and a pattern of co-operation in South-East Asia. He will recall our own active co-operation with his initiative in calling together the Djakarta Conference on the question of preserving peace in the Khmer Republic in May 1970.

39. We welcome the Assembly's decision this year to draw its President from Indonesia. We believe that Mr. Malik especially merited this honour. We have no doubt that he, as President, will uphold the high standards established by his illustrious predecessors, and not least by his immediate predecessor, Ambassador Hambro of Norway, who graced the office of President with such notable distinction throughout the twenty-fifth anniversary year of the United Nations.

40. We are conscious that this is the last session of the General Assembly that will be graced by the presence of our greatly respected and esteemed Secretary-General. I should like at this time to express my Government's warm regard for U Thant and its high appreciation of the dedicated service that he has given to this Organization throughout his 10 years in office.

41. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome most warmly Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar to membership in the United Nations.

42. Our President assumes the presidency at a time when the problems which face us are especially complex and troublesome. These problems are not made here; and, sadly, acceptable solutions are not found here as often as we could wish. But we believe that, by exercising patience and tolerance and by seeking to find what is in the interests of all, this Assembly can continue to do much towards increasing international understanding.

43. Because it is of special concern to my country, I should like first of all to speak about the Asian and Pacific region. There are many problems in this area that are new and pressing, and many which, with goodwill and understanding, we might well be able to bring nearer to solution.

44. It is true that in some parts of South-East Asia today situations of misery and tragedy persist. Fortunately, it is also true that in other parts of the region there exist not only peace and stability but a good prospect that this peace and stability can be preserved, in spite of the threats and challenges which are present. This is so particularly in the

case of our nearest neighbours—Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. All are well acquainted with dangers and threats. All have taken, and are taking, imaginative measures to construct political, economic and social defences not only against those dangers they have known in the past, but also against those which perceptive leaders can foresee for the future.

45. I referred a moment ago to the role of our President in the development of a sense of community in South-East Asia. The Charter itself recognizes the value that may flow from regional arrangements. There are several such arrangements that hold promise. The Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], for example, has not sought to cut a figure on the world's stage. But it has sought to cut and is cutting a swath through old prejudices and problems in South-East Asia. There is developing in the region a sense of common interest and a readiness to tackle the region's problems on the basis of that interest. The sense of community being established and the machinery that has been created to service it provide new promise of future stability and progress. Australia is not a member of that Association, but it is a sympathetic and interested observer.

46. We are ourselves a member of the Asian and Pacific Council [ASPAC], which is also making a valuable contribution towards neighbourly understanding and co-operation. We firmly believe that regional developments of this kind, together with such other organizations and programmes as the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Asian Development Bank, the Mekong Valley Scheme and the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Development in South and South-East Asia help to secure peace and to promote prosperity in the area and, indeed, help to strengthen the position of the United Nations. In saying this I have in mind that Asia and the Pacific are of increasing significance to the stability of the whole world order.

47. It is the great wish of my country to see conditions created that will remove suffering and allow people to progress to better standards of living in greater security. In Asia, as elsewhere, we know how dependent political and economic stability are upon one another. We are unlikely to achieve stable economic progress in the area while countries are subject to threats and political subversion from outside. We realize, of course, that we cannot effectively advance the welfare of the developing countries unless the world economy as a whole—including especially that of the most advanced countries—is healthy and dynamic, unless the frontiers of production and trade are constantly moving forward.

48. In Indo-China the war that has torn the area for so long still continues. There has been some decrease in the scale of fighting, but the earnest desire of the Australian Government—and most other Governments—for a peaceful and just settlement has not yet been realized. The policy of my Government has been to support every initiative genuinely designed to end the destruction and hardship this conflict has caused.

49. Unhappily, we do not yet have any indication that the leaders of North Viet-Nam are prepared to keep their troops within their own borders and to leave the other



countries of Indo-China to determine their own future, and while North Viet-Nam maintains its present policies Australia will continue to give such help as it can to the Governments and peoples of the Republic of Viet-Nam, the Khmer Republic and the Kingdom of Laos in their struggle to survive and to exercise their own choice of their system of government and their way of life. The progress that has been achieved in the security situation of the Republic of Viet-Nam has now enabled the Australian Government to announce that its combat forces will be withdrawn by the end of this year. Our aid programme will continue, and we shall continue to support genuine efforts to achieve a just and peaceful settlement.

50. I want to stress my Government's hope that once a settlement is reached it will prove possible for many nations outside Indo-China to join in a programme of reconstruction and development for the war-ravaged peoples of this area, including the people of North Viet-Nam. That is most important. The United Nations, although it has been unable to play any effective peace-keeping role in Indo-China, could then be a major channel for economic and social aid to the area.

51. As other speakers have mentioned, millions of refugees have in the last few months moved from East Pakistan into India, creating a tragic human problem so vast that no one of us single-handed can deal with the situation. I do not try to canvass the events that have caused this exodus. Views may differ on that subject. We have ourselves regarded the events in East Pakistan as essentially an internal problem to be solved by the Pakistan Government. But the refugees must be cared for and as soon as possible returned to their homes.

52. Along with many others, the Australian Government and people have already made a contribution to helping the refugees. We shall continue to watch the refugee situation with close concern and to help where we can. But we believe it calls for continuing action by the United Nations with the full backing of its Member States.

53. May I turn now to the area of the South Pacific. On many islands scattered over a vast expanse of ocean live upwards of 4 million people. Great stretches of sea have divided them and have at the same time and for centuries been the nighroad between them. We perceive in this area a growing sense of community with the modern world and a desire on the part of the peoples of this region to join together to help one another.

54. Members of the Assembly will be aware that there has been in existence for many years a South Pacific Commission comprising representatives of Governments within, and traditionally involved in, the area. This Commission meets annually to consider ways and means of promoting the economic and social welfare of the island peoples. But perhaps not all members are aware that the Governments of the South Pacific islands this year took the initiative in meeting, together with Australia and New Zealand, in a new and separate forum to discuss a wider range of common problems, including political issues. It is called the South Pacific Forum. New Zealand acted as host to its first meeting last August. Australia will have the honour of playing host to the second meeting, which is expected to take place early next year.

55. I mention this development because it furnishes another illustration of regional self-help. Also, I wish to remind Member States that special problems face these countries because of their small size and the vastness of their ocean setting.

56. It will be difficult for them to cope with these problems alone. Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France and the United States have long been engaged in providing assistance to them, and I believe that will continue. But there is a need for other Members and for the agencies of our Organization, which have indeed already become involved to some degree, to study what further help may be required in the future.

57. Papua and New Guinea, which Australia continues to administer and in which this Organization has a special interest, as half of it is a Trust Territory, stands between South-East Asia and the South Pacific. The territory is already a member of the South Pacific Commission. When it achieves nationhood it is expected to join the South Pacific Forum.

58. The Papua and New Guinea House of Assembly has now decided that internal self-government should be attained between 1972 and 1976, if it should be made clear during the elections to the House of Assembly early next year that that is what the people wish. My Government has endorsed that view and has made it clear that after full self-government it will be for the Government of Papua and New Guinea to determine when it wishes to have full independence.

59. In view of the importance of the 1972 elections, my Government is pleased that the Trusteeship Council has accepted an invitation to send a visiting mission to observe them.

60. I turn now to the question of China. We believe that there has in recent times been evidence of a change of attitude on the part of the People's Republic of China, and, as the representative of a country whose future is closely associated with the peace and progress of the Asian and Pacific region, I want to reaffirm here that we will welcome the development of a more fruitful relationship between the People's Republic of China and the international community as a whole.

61. We have ourselves been trying to increase contacts between Australia and the People's Republic of China for many years. For years we have had substantial two-way trade with it and we hope that contacts between our two countries will continue to grow to the enhancement of mutual understanding.

62. We have welcomed the news of the forthcoming visit to Peking by the President of the United States. We hope that this visit will help to usher in a new era in international relations.

63. We want the People's Republic of China to join us here in our efforts to realize the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Our position on this has been made quite clear. We think the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations. It is also our

view that it should occupy a permanent seat in the Security Council. We have joined in co-sponsorship of a draft resolution [A/L.633], now before the Assembly, which seeks to achieve these two objectives.

64. In other words, we accept and advocate the acceptance by others of the realities of the China situation. But, of course, one of the realities is that the Republic of China is and has been since the beginning of the Organization a loyal and responsible Member. In our view there should be no question of expelling it.

65. The claims of the People's Republic of China and of the Republic of China are at present irreconcilable: each claims to be the sole Government of China; each claims jurisdiction over territory that is in fact controlled by the other. So far as *de facto* control is concerned, the reality is that the People's Republic of China controls the mainland and the Republic of China controls Taiwan. We consider that this reality should be reflected in the decisions of this Organization by providing for the representation of both.

66. We are conscious of the fact that the Republic of China governs 14.5 million people, more than the population of Australia—and, in terms of population, Australia is by no means one of the smallest Members of this Organization. We believe that any resolution which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter. We think that all Members, particularly small Members, need to reflect upon this point. In these circumstances, we have ourselves decided to co-sponsor a draft resolution before this Assembly to have such a question declared to be important [A/L.632].

67. I have spoken earlier on our efforts to assist other countries of the Asian and Pacific region, which is one of special concern to us. I do not wish to convey the impression that our efforts are now, or will be in the future, limited to that region. Members will be aware that we have, either directly or in concert with others or working with specialized agencies, tried, according to our ability, to help developing countries in other areas. Indeed, our aid has recently passed the figure of 1 per cent of our gross national product.

68. We subscribe to the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade, which contemplate a reinforcement of our efforts and the accelerated advancement of those who need advancement most. But all of our accomplishment and our hopes will be placed in jeopardy if we cannot order the world economy so that it operates smoothly and dynamically. I say this because we are now confronted with an economic situation of more gravity than we have known for decades. I do not think that there is any reason to believe that we shall not meet and deal with this situation. But we must approach our problems with care, we need to safeguard those economic blessings we have won with such effort in the past; and we need to use whatever means are available to us, including those within the United Nations system, to bring us through to calmer economic waters.

69. We all know that the developed countries have found it more difficult in recent years to maintain stability in

their domestic economies at the upper level of economic activity. The struggle with inflation has been almost as troublesome as was, in an earlier period, the struggle against deflation. These domestic troubles have inevitably had their impact on international economic relationships. The international currency system has come under strain, and some adjustments may now be needed. The great movement towards liberalization of trade has slowed; some fear that it may be reversed. I believe we have learned too much to permit those fears to be realized, but they should not be ignored. Too much depends on this.

70. Until we can achieve stability in the domestic economies of the developed countries, the risks of economic distress will be present for all of us. Until we can firmly establish a sound international currency system and a healthy and dynamic international trade, both the developed and the developing countries could suffer serious distress. Markets could shrink; capital flows could be reduced; international economic aid, which in some cases has already tended to be reduced, could fall still further.

71. Perhaps this twenty-sixth session of the Assembly might be an occasion for us to renew, however informally, our will to seek co-operative solutions to the world's economic problems. This does not mean that we should intrude into areas in which other international bodies are energetically engaged in seeking solutions, whether in the field of the currency system or the field of trade. But we should move forward in a practical way in those agencies which operate within the United Nations structure. The Australian delegation hopes that the proposals now before the Assembly to reinvigorate the Economic and Social Council will be accepted. We hope too that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, when it meets in Santiago in April next year, will address itself to major matters that can be classified as ripe for settlement.

72. I have referred to proposals to reinvigorate the Economic and Social Council. One of those proposals is to establish a new committee on science and technology. We welcome this decision.<sup>5</sup> At the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly we co-sponsored the draft resolution which became resolution 2658 (XXV), on the role of modern science and technology in development<sup>6</sup>. However, I feel bound to say that we have had some reservations about the way in which many of the United Nations organizations have become separately involved in this field. In general, the machinery seems to have grown up *ad hoc* rather than in accordance with any considered plan. The result has been a proliferation of committees and organizations with consequential problems of co-ordination. Care will obviously be needed to ensure that any new committee does not become merely an additional element of confusion and complexity, through its own round of meetings, working groups and seminars and its own weight of documentation and increased demands on an already overburdened Secretariat.

73. The General Assembly is in the midst of preparations for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environ-

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-first Session, Supplement No. 1*, resolution 1621 B (LI).

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 95, document A/8197, paras. 4 and 5.

ment, to be held in Stockholm next year, which could have far-reaching effects on man's need to use, not to abuse, the natural endowments of this planet. Although Australia is not a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference, we have followed, and to the fullest extent possible participated in, the United Nations' work on this subject. We believe there is a need to create greater awareness of our objectives. Given this recognition, it may be possible to devote a greater share of the resources produced by economic policies of growth to our common advantage.

74. We do not see attempts simply to reverse or slow down the process of economic growth as a particularly constructive or realistic approach. There is an essential need for balance in our approach. Preservation of a benign human environment in all its aspects must be a constant aim. At the same time it should be seen as an essential part of the developmental process, and not as an element inhibiting economic growth.

75. In my remarks to this Assembly today, I have given some emphasis to matters affecting the region in which we ourselves live. At the same time I am very fully aware of the other great issues that many representatives have raised.

76. None of us can ignore, for example, the grave situation in the Middle East, which continues to defy solution, or again, the serious problems of southern Africa. We are all too painfully conscious of the lack of progress towards agreement on improving the United Nations machinery for keeping the peace. I have not, in the course of this statement, referred to the complexities of disarmament or to the progress made on the question of the peaceful uses of outer space. The search for comprehensive agreements to define the law of the sea and the use of the resources of the sea-bed could command a whole chapter itself.

77. Australia is deeply conscious of these other issues. We stand ready to play our part, where it seems there is any useful part for us to play. Finally, I take the opportunity to affirm this belief: that, with all the limitations which time and circumstances have revealed, the United Nations still remains the best repository so far devised of the finest hopes and aspirations of mankind.

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

78. Mr. ELINEWINGA (United Republic of Tanzania): May I take this opportunity to convey to you, Sir, the congratulations of the Government and people of Tanzania on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that, with your great experience and wisdom, you will steer the proceedings of the Assembly to a successful completion. Our profound admiration goes to your distinguished predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, who as President of the historic twenty-fifth session guided the Assembly's deliberations with so much wisdom, talent and efficiency. We also wish to pay a special tribute to U Thant, our distinguished Secretary-General, who for the last 10 years has served our Organization with utmost diligence and dedication and has won the admiration and respect of all of us.

79. As the Organization enters its twenty-sixth year of existence, one of the many problems that confront it, and indeed all the Members, is that of ensuring that it is equipped with adequate financial and manpower resources to carry out the large number of programmes and the responsibilities now being undertaken by the Organization. No organization can exist without being provided with enough financial resources, and the Secretary-General has reminded the States Members of the United Nations of the chronic financial difficulties that the Organization is facing [*A/8401 Add.1, paras. 117-123*]. These difficulties are not the result of a lack of sound management by those whose unenviable task it is to administer the finances of the United Nations; they have been created by the Member States themselves. Therefore a solution to this problem will have to come from Member States. The question is not whether the Organization has power to tax individual Governments against their own will; rather, it is, and indeed it has always been, whether we, as Member States, are prepared to make the necessary political decisions to equip the Organization with the financial resources it needs, not merely to survive, but also to perform its many functions and responsibilities.

80. The great issues of equality and human dignity which have figured in the general debate in the past remain as pressing as ever. In spite of clear and outright condemnation by the United Nations, and by all the peoples of the world, the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination still afflict millions of people in the world. In Africa and elsewhere, racial and colonial problems are getting worse. In South Africa and Namibia, as well as in the Portuguese colonies, white régimes led by a handful of racists and fascists have intensified measures designed to perpetuate the enslavement of the African populations. And in Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom is engaged in secret negotiations with the rebel authorities, the objectives of which can only be the further betrayal of the interests of the African people, who, ironical as it may sound, the United Kingdom has sworn to defend and protect.

81. The General Assembly at its commemorative twenty-fifth session once again reaffirmed its condemnation of colonialism in all its manifestations, and unequivocally condemned the evil policy of *apartheid* as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. The adoption of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] was hailed by mankind as a further indication of the determination of the international community to engage in an all-out war against the evils of man's inhumanity to his fellow man.

82. Yet, all those who have been guilty of these crimes continue to practise their tyranny and oppression of millions of innocent people. South Africa, in spite of its energetic protestations that it is willing to live in peace with other African countries, has actually refined its oppressive apparatus against its own black population. In that unhappy land, more people are hanged yearly than anywhere else in the world. The prison population is the highest in the world in proportion to the entire population of the country. Mass arrests, demolition of houses, evictions, torture of the worst kind, have become the South African way of life. Indeed, we can only say that members of the racist South African régime no longer are rational human beings.

83. By their actions of organized violence against the human person they have in fact turned themselves into despicable monsters. For, let it be clearly understood, rational beings are endowed with certain characteristics, among them those of compassion, love and respect for the sacredness and dignity of all human beings. This is what binds us all, and it is a bond that cuts across all barriers of language, race and colour. The South African white racists, by their actions and their warped belief, do not share in those characteristics. Their political creed is based on the philosophy of hate; their economic system is supported by a system of slavery; and their religious creed has been distorted so as to support and give credence to their philosophy of hatred and organized violence against the human person, his spirit and his mind. That, in brief, is the nature of the racist régime in South Africa.

84. It should be realized, then, that when that régime's leaders talk about the black man in that land being unable to govern, it is in fact they who have lost their ability to lead other people. That is why the people in South Africa have been fighting and protesting all along; that is why countries like Tanzania have supported this struggle; and that is why the United Nations and all its Members should redouble their efforts to deal with South Africa. For in opposing and condemning the South African system we are doing justice to our sacred duty, and we are true human beings, recognizing that all of us are inseparably bound together on the small earth we rightly call ours. If we hesitate, we will bring upon ourselves the kind of destructive evil that the world not long ago so heroically fought against—Hitlerite fascism.

85. It is in that context that we have viewed the recent pronouncements in South Africa and elsewhere about that country's willingness to live in peace with other African countries. To us in Tanzania the issue is clear. The white racists of South Africa have come to terms with the majority of the people in that country. It is the people of South Africa who must have righted the wrongs done to them. Yet South Africa has not shown any signs that it is prepared to treat its black people as human beings. Indeed, what South Africa is asking is that the outside world should leave it alone to pursue with impunity its diabolical programme of violence and oppression of millions of defenceless African people. There is no other motive.

86. The obligation of the rest of the world is therefore clear. We must not relax our vigilance nor fail to take measures which must end the human tragedy in South Africa. South Africa should be completely outlawed from the community of nations—for it must not be allowed to behave as an outlaw at the same time as it enjoys the rights and privileges of a law-abiding nation. That would make a sad mockery of the Charter of this Organization and would place in jeopardy the principles on which all humanity operates and co-operates. South Africa cares very little about those principles, or about the Charter of the United Nations and what it embodies.

87. South Africa's attitude to the United Nations can be seen in the manner in which it has refused to comply with the Assembly's decision to terminate the Mandate over Namibia. In that country South Africa has moved systematically to introduce the same rule of tyranny and

repression which already exists within its own borders, in spite of the clear and outright protest and condemnation by the entire world community. And now the International Court of Justice in its recent ruling has confirmed, in an advisory opinion,<sup>7</sup> the illegality of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia.

88. But it is not South Africa alone which is guilty in this matter, for some of those who have publicly condemned South Africa's actions are the very ones who continue to honour, respect and recognize in principle South Africa's illegal rule in Namibia.

89. A tremendous impetus to the development of the rule of law in the international community has been given by the Court's elaboration of the rules regarding the responsibility of international tribunals and those governing the conduct of States when faced with an illegal act or a series of illegal acts committed by a State of the international community. What should be the attitude of the international tribunal? Should it turn a blind eye to the illegal act? Should it wink at it, ignore it, or flinch from it? No, said the International Court of Justice. No court of justice worthy of the name can flinch from pronouncing upon a State which has committed an illegal act the doom or fate which its consequences legally entail.

90. And what about other States, members of the international community? May they ignore the illegal act of the delinquent State? May they feign indifference to the violation of law and justice, or even become parties to it—aiders and abettors, so to speak, of the illegal act? Not in the least, replies the International Court of Justice. It is the duty of all other States members of the international community to refuse to live with the illegality; to refuse to tolerate the continuing violation of legality; and to insist that the recognized culprit return to the course of action which peace, honour and justice in international relations demand.

91. I shall not burden this discourse with further analysis of, and comment on, the significance of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in elaborating those basic rules of international conduct. I would, however, particularly refer the attention of representatives to those parts of the opinion in which the right of self-determination is placed clearly and incontestably among those which must be respected by all States members of the international community. It is the hope of my delegation that the international community will apply those rules in dealing with the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia.

92. The same kind of senseless inhumanity continues to be practised in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and the United Kingdom colony of Rhodesia. Indeed, the white minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists are determined to work and co-operate together so that the rule of terror and the enslavement of the African populations under their control will never cease. It is a tragic

<sup>7</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*



situation—the more so when one realizes that those minority régimes have managed to do what they are doing only because of the strong support given them by powerful allies.

93. Even at the risk of repetition it should be noted that Portugal is a small impoverished European Power, and if it were not for the backing of its allies, Portugal would have granted freedom to its colonial peoples a long time ago—not willingly, but because of complete defeat by those who have been fighting against Portuguese oppression for more than ten years. That that has not happened is not because the freedom-fighters are less determined than they need to be; it is because, instead of fighting Portugal alone, they have now to contend with the formidable resources placed at the disposal of the Lisbon authorities by their NATO allies.

94. Let me add, in particular, that France, contrary to its rich national tradition of championing the cause of liberty, equality and fraternity, has continued to demonstrate its contempt for the rights of the black man. It has now decided that the arms it has been selling South Africa should be augmented by allowing that country to manufacture, under licence, Mirage fighter planes. In that respect France has now distinguished itself as one of the freedom-fighters' most dangerous enemies.

95. In Rhodesia too the racist oppression of the African majority continues and, indeed, intensifies month by month. And now, once again, "talks about talks" are taking place in Salisbury between the representatives of the United Kingdom Government and the administration of the minority Smith régime. The United Nations cannot remain uninterested in those developments, and Africa at least cannot fail to be worried by them.

96. For the Rhodesian issue is not just a matter of legal niceties; it is a question of fundamental importance to the daily lives of something like 5 million inhabitants of Rhodesia. The real issue at stake is whether, and if so when, the principles of human equality, human dignity and human freedom are to prevail in that Territory. Rhodesia is governed by a white minority. Its black population is denied political, economic and social rights, which are possessed by its white population. Further, it is a colony of the United Kingdom—even though one which is in rebellion against the British Crown. For many years—that is, since before Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of Rhodesia's independence—Tanzania has been demanding that the United Kingdom should accept in the case of Rhodesia the principle which it applied in virtually all its other colonies which were advancing to independent nationhood, that is, the principle of independence based on majority rule.

97. The logic of this demand is unassailable. It is no use saying that you are committed to the principle of majority rule if you concede independence before it is achieved. For once a country is independent its Government can do what it likes, quite regardless of any promises it has made beforehand. That is the meaning of sovereignty. The Government of an independent country is constrained in its actions only by the power its people have over it and by its assessment of the response, in power terms, which other nations will make to any of its decisions. It is not restrained

by anything else, not even by promises it made before independence. And in Rhodesia at this time it is not only political power which is concentrated in the hands of the white people; that minority also controls the economy of the nation and, for all practical purposes, its military force as well.

98. To concede independence to the present régime in Rhodesia is therefore to accept a Government over which the majority of the population has no effective power, and in circumstances where that majority is not even equipped to defend itself by economic or other peaceful action. Nor would an independent Rhodesia under minority control have much reason to fear an effective adverse international response to the perpetuation of its racial tyranny. For not only does it have the impotence of the international community in relation to South Africa as an example to inspire it, but it may also reasonably assume that a Government which would not enforce its own legal authority is unlikely to do more than make sad noises about developments after that legal authority has been relinquished.

99. But successive British Governments have refused to accept the principle of NIBMAR, that is, No Independence Before Majority Rule. Instead they have taken their stand on what they call the "five principles". On those principles they have stated that they would be willing to come to a "settlement" with Ian Smith and his supporters. They involve guaranteed, unimpeded progress to majority rule; guarantees against retrogressive amendments to the Constitution; an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; progress towards ending racial discrimination; and the British Government's satisfaction that any proposed basis for independence was "acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole".

100. The "five principles" are not what Africa and this Assembly have been calling for. But Tanzania is now worried as to whether the United Kingdom Government is really going to insist even upon those principles. For it appears that the United Kingdom Government's "talks" with the Smith régime are intended to work out some camouflage for an entirely new definition of the words "majority rule", or "the people of Rhodesia as a whole", or "guarantees". Certainly it is difficult to imagine what else this continual return of the representative of the United Kingdom to Salisbury could mean other than a search for impediments to majority rule which would satisfy Ian Smith while allowing the United Kingdom Government to pretend they did not exist.

101. Let me make it quite clear, therefore, that to us "majority rule" can only mean the majority of all the people of that country, regardless of colour, race, education, income, sex, tribe, or any other distinction between human beings which the ingenuity of man is able to devise. And the opinion of the "people of Rhodesia as a whole" must mean the opinion of all the people of the country after they have had a direct and free opportunity to judge the issue and speak for themselves.

102. If the situation in southern Africa is painfully tragic and explosive, the state of affairs in the Middle East and Indo-China is no more consoling.

103. This is the fifth year since the territories of three States Members of this Organization were forcibly occupied by foreign forces. And in spite of the urgings and the appeals of the international community, there has been no visible sign that the aggressor is prepared to abandon the fruits of its aggression. The continued occupation of Arab lands by Israeli military forces not only is a brutal injustice to the Arab States concerned but, above all, also constitutes a contemptuous disregard for the principles and the purposes for which our Organization stands.

104. If peace and justice are to reign in that area, it is absolutely imperative that territorial expansionism should not be condoned and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians should be recognized and respected. In the interest of international peace and security, this Organization must attempt new initiatives in its efforts to see to it that justice is done in the Middle East.

105. The misery and suffering of the people of Indo-China, and more particularly of Viet-Nam, continue unabated. It is very deplorable that, notwithstanding a number of public pronouncements that the war in that area was being de-escalated, the Viet-Nameese people continue to be subjected to systematic killings by the United States and allied forces.

106. It should now be clear to all that heroic Viet-Nam will not succumb to the dictates of foreign designs. The resistance and tenacity of the Viet-Nameese are a matter of pride to the third world and indeed to all those who value freedom and human dignity. Is it not now time that those who thought they could subdue Viet-Nam by military might took serious and concrete measures to rectify their errors? How many more innocent lives are to be sacrificed before the Viet-Nameese are allowed to decide their own destiny? The Tanzanian Government is convinced that the solution to the Viet-Nam war lies in the legitimate and serious proposals made by the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam—proposals which we fully support. For generations the Viet-Nameese have never known peace. Is it too much to ask that these people be now allowed to enjoy that peace which we all cherish and which it is the basic purpose of the United Nations to uphold? Only the total withdrawal of foreign forces from the land will give the Viet-Nameese that opportunity. Yet peace and freedom in Viet-Nam are, and must be, interlinked with the peace and freedom of the whole area of South-East Asia. If there is to be a durable peace in Indo-China, it is absolutely essential that the people of Cambodia and Laos also be left alone to decide their own destiny. It is an intolerable anachronism that in this day and age there should be nations which still arrogate to themselves the role of international policemen.

107. We find that anachronism also in Korea, where the United States and its allies continue to have military forces in the southern part of the country. However, the Korean situation is disturbing in another way also; for there the name of this Organization is being misused to further imperialist interests. In demanding the total withdrawal of foreign military forces from South Korea, Tanzania is not only supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people for national unification, which aspirations are definitely frustrated by the presence of those forces. Equally important, we are demanding that the name of this

Organization should not be abused or misused to serve the selfish interests of certain Powers. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to reiterate its disappointment at the unfortunate decision taken by this Assembly at its 1939th meeting to postpone to the twenty-seventh session consideration of the items related to the withdrawal of foreign forces now occupying South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

108. The conscience of the world has been stirred by the tragic events affecting the people of the eastern part of Pakistan. To the miseries of flood have been added those of civil disruption, mass exodus and epidemics of dread diseases. Any of these misfortunes by itself would have been enough to try the spirit and tax the resources of the people and Government. Coming as they have done, one after the other, within a harrowingly short period of time, they have caused untold grief and suffering to millions. We sincerely hope that the international community will not relax its efforts to relieve the suffering of those people and that their return to their homeland will be speedily ensured.

109. Progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament continues to be disappointingly slow. The treaty concluded last year, concerning the non-emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed,<sup>8</sup> is the latest in a series of partial disarmament measures which began with the 1963 test-ban treaty.<sup>9</sup> A common characteristic of these measures is that they nibble at the edges of the problem rather than going straight to the centre. Another characteristic is that the measures prohibit all States from pursuing courses of action which the major Powers no longer consider necessary in order to develop or maintain their military domination. Always these measures, when presented to the smaller nations for acceptance, are accompanied by promises from the major Powers to continue efforts to attain the more lasting and desired goal of general and complete disarmament.

110. What progress has been achieved towards that goal since the last session of the General Assembly? There has been agreement among the major powers on a draft convention prohibiting only biological or bacteriological weapons in warfare,<sup>10</sup> despite the insistence of an overwhelming majority of smaller States during two successive years' discussion that such a prohibition should be extended also to chemical weapons. This leaves States free to continue to use the napalm and pesticides which cause mass destruction of the lives and crops of Viet-Nameese peasants and of villagers in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau).

111. Also there has been, we are told, a "breakthrough" in bilateral talks between the major Powers towards the limitation of intercontinental ballistic weapons, that is, in

<sup>8</sup> Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (resolution 2660 (XXV), annex).

<sup>9</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

<sup>10</sup> Draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction (A/8457-DC/234, annex A).

the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. What this means to the major Powers is disputed: the parties themselves apparently attach different significance to the event. What it will mean to most of the smaller States is likely to be in the nature of symbol or gesture, since we have not the capacity—even had we the will—to manufacture or deploy such weapons in the near future.

112. I must confess that my Government felt some alarm when we had a recent proposal for a conference of select participation to discuss general and complete disarmament [A/8328]. The participants at such a conference would apparently be limited to five Powers. The rationale for such a proposal one could appreciate, namely, that the five Powers possess in themselves the capacity to destroy the world completely in a nuclear holocaust. However, general and complete disarmament involves more than the prohibition or reduction of nuclear weapons; and it involves all States, not only a handful of major Powers.

113. My Government has therefore been relieved to hear the latest proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It indicates a moving away from the stage in which it was assumed that whatever was good for the major Powers was good for the rest of the world. If a conference to discuss general and complete disarmament is to be convened, it should have the participation of all States. Its chances for success would thereby be greatly enhanced but, what is more, the chances for implementation of any agreements resulting from such a conference on disarmament would be even greater.

114. The economic situation in the developing countries is not getting better. The slow and declining rate of economic growth of the developing countries, on the one hand, and the rapid increase in the economic growth rate of the developed countries, on the other, continues to enlarge the disparity between these two groups of countries. Last year at its commemorative session, the General Assembly launched the Second United Nations Development Decade. Like the first Development Decade, the Second Development Decade seeks to redress the ever-widening disparity between nations.

115. Yet, it is also true that what is facing the developing nations is not so much a problem of lack of planning, nor is it a lack of development decades. The problem, as we see it, is one of lack of meaningful political commitment to world development by the developed countries. For if the developed countries were serious, they would work to change the existing pattern of international trade and development, which favours developed countries very much more than the developing countries. Only if this is done will the developing nations be able to reap the benefits of their efforts and ensure a self-sustaining growth of their economies.

116. It is a sad fact—but still a fact—that the problems which led to the proclamation of the first United Nations Development Decade have not been effectively solved, nor have the various recommendations and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly been fully implemented. It is the hope of my delegation that, during the period of the Second Development Decade, the developed nations will exhibit a new spirit of co-operation. By means of such

co-operation, appropriate solutions could be found to the problems of world trade and development in the interest of all peoples; but this depends on a recognition of the need to solve immediately the urgent trade and development problems of developing countries.

117. It is also the hope of my delegation that these and other issues will be discussed adequately at the forthcoming third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held in Santiago, Chile, in 1972.

118. Last year a majority decision to restore all the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was again frustrated by procedural manoeuvres on the part of those who kept on insisting that, before the representatives of that country could sit in all the organs of the United Nations, a two-thirds majority would have to be obtained. The events of the past few months vindicate the position taken by Tanzania as well as by the majority of the members of the Assembly. We believe, as we have believed all along, that the General Assembly has no alternative but to restore to the representatives of the People's Republic of China their seat in the Organization. It is gratifying to note that even some of the opponents of the People's Republic of China have now accepted the realities of the legality of the Government of the Chinese people. It is ridiculous that this should have taken 21 years.

119. It is, therefore, the hope of my delegation that the issue of restoring to the People's Republic of China all its rights will be decided once and for all at this General Assembly. May I take this opportunity to make it clear that my Government rejects categorically the so-called two-China policy. The issue which is before the Assembly remains, as it has always been, the question of who should represent the 800 million Chinese people in the United Nations.

120. It has never been an issue of admitting a Member to or expelling a Member from the United Nations. Taiwan is a province of China, and once the rightful representatives of the people of China take their seat in the organs of the United Nations, there can be no room for those who hitherto have pretended to represent China.

121. In conclusion may I express the warmest congratulations of my Government to the three new Member States, Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar. We have no doubt that the presence of these three countries, with their rich traditions and ancient civilizations, will enrich the deliberations of our Organization and contribute to the continuing search for international peace and security.

122. Mr. SALAH (Jordan): Mr. President, it is my privilege to address this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly on behalf of the Government and people of Jordan, and to convey a solemn message of salutation and hope from our people on both banks of the river Jordan, a river whose meandering flow reflects the chequered fortunes, and misfortunes, of the people living astride its historic water-bed, from the dawn of history.

123. My message is, of necessity, mute, but none the less sober and deep-felt. For half our people, on whose behalf I have the honour to address this august gathering, have been

suffering the indignity and ordeal of bondage for well over four years since the cataclysm of 1967 and its aftermath.

124. Allow me, Mr. President, to associate myself with all the other delegations in extending to you heartiest congratulations on your highly deserved election to the pinnacle of our universal Organization as President of the General Assembly. Your illustrious career in the service of your great country, your wisdom and dedication, will be invaluable in steering the work of our Assembly to fulfilment of the high expectations which humanity at large cherishes, and which is its only alternative to an appalling and irrevocable course of self-annihilation.

125. My delegation takes joyful pride in welcoming to the fold of the United Nations the three new Member States of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar. We are firmly convinced that their membership will be a positive and most worthy contribution to the goals of universal representation, which goals have all along represented the United Nations aspirations, striving and accomplishments. As they are sisterly countries with which Jordan is inextricably tied by nothing less than national identity, it is particularly my unbounded happiness to welcome to our fold the States of Bahrain and Qatar, and to express the firm conviction that they will, in conjunction with the larger Arab family of people, always be in the forefront in furthering the common ideals of the United Nations.

126. The Jordan delegation has studied with utmost attention the report of our esteemed Secretary-General U Thant [*A/8401 and Add.1*] concerning the present state of affairs of the world. Its panoramic and incisive analysis of the deepening world crisis is an ominous warning of what lies ahead if the individual and collective will of the United Nations remains lulled into a state of masterly inaction in the face of mortal challenge.

127. In certain areas of conflict partial progress has been achieved. In other and more serious arenas of conflict little or no progress has been attained. In the forefront of such explosive and unresolved situations loom the dark shadows that envelop the Middle East.

128. The mortal threat inherent in the situation is not confined to the peace, stability and even survival of this cradle of civilization and its people, for it has all the elements of overflowing to encompass the whole world.

129. My delegation is not oblivious of the dangers inherent in other areas and in other situations of conflict. We should have liked to follow the usual pattern of running through the long catalogue of the items with which the agenda of this year's session abounds. We are fully aware that our fortunes and our fate are inextricably bound to the fortunes and the fate of the world community as a whole, of which we are but a part—an integral part.

130. But there are overriding considerations that impel my address to this august gathering to focus on the so-called crisis of the Middle East, even at the risk of appearing self-centered and limited—though, I assure you, we are by no means unconcerned.

131. There are unique features in the Middle East crisis that make the use of the term "crisis" a misnomer, if not

downright misleading. A crisis situation invariably involves a conflict between two or more ideologies, Governments and varying patterns of national or international modes of existence.

132. It is a sad and tragic fact that what is commonly referred to as the Middle East crisis should in fact be nothing less than a total reversal of everything the collective will of the United Nations has painstakingly and proudly pursued over the past quarter-century.

133. The Assembly is fully aware that one of the cardinal corner-stones of the United Nations Charter is that no country large or small—under whatever pretext—should be allowed to conquer and despoil the territories and enslave the peoples of other States, let alone Members of the United Nations. The territorial integrity and inviolability of every Member State is sacrosanct under the Charter, and forcible conquest is the very antithesis of its being and its rationale.

134. Forgive me for repeating platitudes, but when platitudes describe a present, continuing and blatant state of affairs then those platitudes become a stark novelty deserving of our most serious attention.

135. I represent a Member State half of whose people and territory have been the victims of aggression and occupation for more than four consecutive years, and the end is by no means in sight. The situation is as novel as it is tragic, yet who can dispute its existence?

136. We solemnly, and in the name of our aggrieved people, request this General Assembly to assert in the strongest and most unequivocal terms its determined stand against this unprecedented and unashamed violation of everything the United Nations has been set up to safeguard. We all realize that the United Nations as originally constituted was specifically intended before all else to safeguard peace and to preserve the independence and sovereignty of its Member States. We appreciate full well that Members of this Organization abhor and condemn the flagrant Israeli disregard for those principles of the United Nations, a disregard demonstrated by Israel's continued occupation of its neighbours' territory and its loud and deliberate defiance of United Nations resolutions and pronouncements on the issue.

137. Yet the question that imposes itself upon all of us should be this: is the role of the United Nations one of observing, disapproving, condemning and, by inaction, acquiescing in situations that run so blatantly counter to its fundamental premises and innermost fabric?

138. What is commonly referred to as the Middle East crisis represents in plain and forthright talk an openly declared and very-much-boasted-of aggression by Israel on the dawn of 5 June 1967 against three States Members of the United Nations: the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic. The so-called pre-emptive strike against us occurred with cold and deliberate calculation at a crucial moment when the United Nations and all the Powers, big and small alike, were frantically exerting every effort to arrest the awesome drift to war in consequence of Israeli threats against Syria and



inevitable Arab precautionary measures to attempt at least to stem such a threat.

139. The sequence and unfolding of events since the 1967 aggression and the resulting occupation up to this day are even more telling and more ominous. By words as well as by deeds Israel has made no secret of its penchant to retain and possess the territories it acquired by aggression and by conquest.

140. For, as Members all know, shortly after the war the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967). That resolution was intended to define a just and lasting solution to the problem. Its points were clear, its intent specific. It reaffirmed the established principle that the acquisition of territory by military force is inadmissible and called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territory they had occupied. It called for an end to belligerency in the area, it guaranteed the right of all States in the area to live in peace and security within recognized boundaries and it guaranteed freedom of passage for all ships through international waterways. It also called for a just solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees. It struck a balance between the obligations of both sides. It met the natural Arab demand that Israeli occupation of our territory be decisively ended. It provided the guarantees for future peace and security in the area, which the Israelis alleged were the only aim of their policies, and conditions for ending a temporary military occupation.

141. Two principal Arab parties, Jordan and Egypt, accepted the resolution and the obligations devolving upon them therefrom. My Government was repeatedly assured by major Powers in the Council, and especially the United States, that, were the resolution accepted, its implementation by Israel would be ensured and their full weight would be thrown behind it to assure Israel's compliance. The Arab Republic of Egypt was given similar assurances pertaining to implementation. And that was done even before the resolution was adopted by the Security Council in an attempt to guarantee Arab acceptance of its terms.

142. It hardly occurred to our Governments that the process of implementation was to be subverted and even sabotaged by a game in semantics and procrastination which continues up to this day. The game went so far as to overtax the patience and hope of even the United Nations representative, Ambassador Jarring, an indomitable and patient diplomat by the most stringent standards.

143. My Government co-operated fully with Ambassador Jarring, whose terms of reference were defined in the Security Council resolution. Like the Governments of Egypt and Lebanon, it received him repeatedly and responded positively and sincerely to all his questions and efforts. Without hesitation we announced our acceptance of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and expressed readiness to implement our part of it. Israel continued to equivocate about the resolution, sometimes referring only to its "spirit", sometimes only to one element in it, sometimes fully ignoring it. Two whole years were spent in this tragic game.

144. In the second round of Dr. Jarring's efforts, which climaxed in his series of questions addressed to the parties

in March 1969, my Government displayed an equally positive attitude. Reaffirming its commitment to an ultimate just peace, it replied in writing:<sup>11</sup> "Jordan accepts the right of every State in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force". Furthermore, "Jordan agrees to pledge termination of all claims or states of belligerency". To another question my Government replied that Jordan would not oppose the establishment of demilitarized zones. And in reply to yet another question by Ambassador Jarring, we stated that in case demilitarized zones are established, Jordan accepts that such zones be supervised and maintained by the United Nations. The Arab Republic of Egypt gave equally clear commitments to peace. In addition, it gave assurances on freedom of navigation in international waterways in the area.

145. This explicit Arab commitment to the obligations defined in the Security Council resolution was certainly not matched by Israel. Ambassador Jarring could not get any commitment from Israel on an ultimate total withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, even in the context of complete implementation of the Security Council resolution and the achievement of peace.

146. To forestall a breakdown in the peace efforts, the four big Powers initiated, in the spring of that year, consultations aimed at breaking the deadlock by getting the Security Council to exercise its responsibilities in the matter. Again we welcomed this move in the Council. We regarded it as natural and necessary. Israel vehemently opposed this initiative and opened a violent propaganda campaign against it. It realized that the intervention of the Council was bound to lead to an agreed position that, while peace in the area was the ultimate objective, Israeli evacuation of the occupied territories was a natural prerequisite.

147. The following year witnessed a deterioration in the situation in the area and frequent resumption of hostilities. It also witnessed a crystallization of a public posture by Israel confirming what we had always warned against: that, peace or no peace, Israel intended to keep the territory it occupied.

148. It was this position that led to Israel's clumsy and nervous reaction to the United States initiative in June 1970 to revive the efforts of Ambassador Jarring on the basis of the Security Council resolution. Israel hesitated, resisted, made angry noises about the prospects of revival of United Nations peace efforts, and finally managed to sabotage the initiative and the renewed Jarring mission. Not before it stated explicitly, however, that total withdrawal was out of the question.

149. The Israeli position has become clear to all by now. The Foreign Minister of Israel in his statement before this Assembly [1946th meeting] made it even clearer. Rhetoric and diplomatic language apart, let us see what the implications of Mr. Eban's statement are.

150. He went to considerable lengths in his thinly disguised attempt to sell and rationalize expansion. During the

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1971*, document S/10070, annex I.

past quarter-century the Israelis claimed that Israel harboured no territorial ambitions and that its only aim was to arrive at a lasting peace. Reading Mr. Eban's statement, this is something which belongs to the past and has no relevance to the present or the future. The basic Israeli thesis is now undisguisedly that, peace or no peace, negotiation or no negotiation, territories acquired in 1967 will not be relinquished. This thesis runs through the whole of Mr. Eban's speech, in which he attempts to soften up the world Organization to accept it.

151. Where would negotiation lead to when the official Israeli position is that, at the minimum, Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and Sharm El Sheikh are not negotiable and that in the rest of the occupied areas more would be annexed on the pretext of security or sentimental reasons? Yet, the Israeli spokesman speaks of negotiations without preconditions.

152. Negotiations, direct or indirect, are a procedure that must lead to a goal. So are arbitration and adjudication and resort to the Security Council. Negotiation is not an end in itself. Mr. Eban makes it an end in itself, and the exclusively legitimate end. But in his preconceived and prejudged position on the substantive issues of withdrawal and territorial inviolability he destroys the very goal of negotiation. Come to the table, he says, with no right to question our decisions to acquire your territory but with the full duty to give our acquisition your seal of approval. This position deprives negotiation of any meaning and renders Mr. Eban's call for negotiation most deceptive and cynical.

153. But if Mr. Eban's statement extolling the virtues of negotiation is meant to underscore his claim that the world Organization has confined its role to public debate, then the whole General Assembly would be more than justified in taking strong exception to his statement.

154. For over four years, as I have stated earlier, the United Nations has attempted to promote settlement of the Middle East problem through the various avenues at its disposal.

155. Ambassador Jarring could hardly be accused of engaging in public debate in his thankless task of working to achieve a settlement by quiet negotiation. His mission, as we all recognize, and, as Mr. Eban admitted in his statement, is stalled and in abeyance. He is still awaiting an Israeli reply to his specific questions of last February.

156. The four major Powers, over an extended period, attempted to promote a settlement, only to give up in despair because of Israel's adamant refusal to comply with the United Nations resolutions and the dictates of law and justice. They were as tight-lipped as Ambassador Jarring, and the only thing that came out of their endless meetings was an announcement informing the world of the date of their next meeting. Has the work of the four major Powers been a world debate of issues rather than quiet deliberation to resolve the crisis?

157. Mr. Rogers, the United States Secretary of State, and his assistants likewise engaged in efforts to resolve the crisis. The motto of their efforts was quiet diplomacy, to the

point where it almost ran counter to the United States practice of public disclosures on major issues. Has anything come out of these efforts? The General Assembly, I am sure, is entitled to know.

158. Mr. Eban has openly disparaged and disdained United Nations resolutions, including those of the Security Council. To use his own words:

"...majorities [have] no moral value, little practical effect and a very short life in the world's memory" [1946th meeting, para. 64].

If other Members of the United Nations share Mr. Eban's assessment of its role, then there is little else for it to do but to wind up its business and abdicate its responsibilities under the Charter.

159. Mr. Eban was less than discreet when he referred to what he called "automatic majorities" in the United Nations [*ibid*]. What automatic majorities do the Arabs possess other than a rightful cause and an indefensible Israeli position?

160. The Security Council recently adopted resolution 298 (1971), regarding Jerusalem, with no dissenting voice. Does Mr. Eban wish to tell us that we have a magic formula by means of which we have succeeded in harnessing the support of all member States of the Council: the aligned, the non-aligned, the European, the American, the African and the Asian, the major Powers and the non-permanent members, respected statesmen representing every colour, race and creed? Has it not occurred to Mr. Eban that there must be a reason much more fundamental than the myth of an automatic majority which has caused the Council to act with such unanimity? Perhaps if the Israeli Foreign Minister examined things introspectively for once, he would find the answer and thereby make it easier for all concerned to achieve a fair and equitable solution.

161. As I have already said, Israel's position has become very clear. Israel will accept peace only if peace is defined as an Arab formal declaration that their territories under occupation be ceded to Israel; that the people in the occupied lands are not their concern; that the rights of the Palestinians recognized in repeated United Nations resolutions are forfeited, and that Israeli hegemony in the area and a privileged economic and political position are submissively recognized.

162. What kind of peace is that? Which of you would accept this definition in theory, let alone making his own country a field for its application?

163. If what Israel wants is peace and security, then the guarantees for peace and security have been amply articulated in the United Nations documents during the last four years and in the United Nations machinery which we all respect and agree to co-operate with. But security cannot be achieved by continuous incursions into the territories of neighbours and the reliance upon a military machine devouring and feeding on rich foreign sources and increasingly becoming the idol of Israel's society and its ultimate goal. The United Nations cannot accept this concept of security. The Arab countries adjacent to Israel—with their own security and rights—reject such a concept.

164. Foreign occupation of the territories of other States is abhorrent in itself by every internationally recognized standard. But when such an occupation is accompanied by the dispersal and expulsion of the victims from their ancestral homeland, the plundering of their lands and means of livelihood, and the undisguised and openly declared intent to take over that territory irrevocably, sooner or later, then the time has clearly come for the international order and those who wish to be its guardian to take stock of themselves and of the system which they purport to uphold. Has the world reverted again to the jungle status from which it has sought and fought to extricate itself? Does not the world community realize that peace and justice are indivisible; that, if Israel is permitted to reap the bitter harvest of its aggression, then which country in the world, apart from the super-Powers, could feel safe about its future and its security? Those are questions—very real questions—which must seriously be pondered by all peoples who have a stake in world peace with justice.

165. There are three aspects of Israeli occupation which deserve to be highlighted in this context. They are not by any means the only obnoxious ones, but they are the most flagrant.

166. First, may I draw the attention of this Assembly to the plight and agony of the half a million of our brethren in the Gaza Strip. Twice or possibly more in a lifetime, they have been condemned to a life of refuge and squalor, herded in refugee camps. For 20 years they had survived their suffering in the hope that they would eventually be repatriated, to their homes in their homeland.

167. And now the Israeli forces of occupation are expelling the people of Gaza from their homes, blowing up their houses and forcing them to find shelter in the wilderness of the Sinai peninsula. This is part of a planned depopulation programme that will eventually lead to Gaza's being incorporated into the Israeli State. What happens to the people is no concern of the Israelis. It is the land they covet. There is nothing more certain in our minds than that. But if it is the land they want, they will have to struggle for ever to maintain it. As we have said many times, they may choose land or peace. They can never have both.

168. The second aspect of the occupation has been the ruthless and inhuman treatment meted out to our brethren in all the occupied territories, in flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the various Geneva conventions governing the basic rights of civilians under occupation and, above all, the inherent and natural rights of the indigenous inhabitants in their own homeland. Thousands of homes in towns and villages have been obliterated on the flimsiest pretext that they had been harbouring resistance. Many thousands of youths, young boys and girls, have been languishing in prisons, in numerous instances subjected to torture, off and on for years. Even United Nations investigation of the plight of civilians under occupation was arrogantly rejected by the forces of occupation.

169. But the peak of the tragedy in the Middle East and its greatest manifestation is the tragedy of Jerusalem. Tragedies can and do befall individuals. But individuals are

transient and finite creatures whose suffering passes with their passing away.

170. But such is not the case with historic cities whose structures, stones, alleys, sacred sights, memories and associations symbolize a soul, immutable and indestructible. The agony of such souls is all the more infinite because it does not perish no matter what the magnitude of the aberration inflicted upon it. And so it is with immortal Jerusalem whose fate has so often been to suffer agony commensurate with its undying glory. It is a city, beautiful, sad and serene. The burden of history left an indelible mark upon its landscape and its people; the cataclysmic past, the uncertainty of the present and the dread fear for the future.

171. Where does Jerusalem stand today? It is being defaced and dismantled gradually but persistently beyond recognition. Ugly concrete structures are ringing the city in all directions in violation of the norms which govern the status of ancient and historic cities. The occupied city is being ruthlessly and systematically swallowed by the Israeli State. Its Arab inhabitants, who lived in it for centuries, are being drowned in a flood of imported Israelis, who are demolishing the ethnic, cultural and national character of the city. Through legislation, administrative regulations, transfer of population, and crude physical action, the Israeli authorities are contriving the demise of the occupied Arab city.

172. The Israelis call their annexation "unification". There can be no unification in bondage, where one community tramples upon the human dignity, the soul and the lands of other communities.

173. The Israelis claim that Jerusalem was never in history the capital of any nation. Would the Israelis deny that Jerusalem has, throughout history, been the object of infinite veneration, worship and hope for countless millions in the Moslem and Christian worlds? For 1,400 years we have been the proud custodians of Jerusalem; centuries before that—even before the days of Abraham—our ancestors founded and inhabited the city and all the land around it. It is the roots of our religious and historical past that bind us to Jerusalem; and we shall never let them be cut off, despite the present occupation of the Holy City by the military and political forces of Israel.

174. The Israeli objective is clearly designed to stifle the soul of the remnant of the Arab city and the remnant of its Arab inhabitants. Indeed, the real aim of the so-called Israeli development plan is to cut off Arab Jerusalem altogether from the rest of the West Bank of Jordan and the Arab world, Moslem and Christian, by means of massive intervening structures, and turn it thereby into a virtual ghetto, which the Israelis hope will wither as the years go by.

175. At its recent emergency meeting, the Security Council adopted resolution 298 (1971) with no dissenting vote, which once again categorically condemned the Israeli aggression in Jerusalem. The resolution reaffirmed previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Jerusalem; it repeated that all Israeli actions in the city are totally invalid and called on Israel to rescind all those actions and measures; it also requested the Secretary-

General, in consultation with the President of the Security Council and using such instrumentalities as he deem appropriate, including the dispatching of a representative or a mission, to report on Israel's compliance with the Security Council decision. Israel immediately declared, as it has always done, its rejection of the resolution and its defiance of the will of this Organization. Jordan will await the report of the Secretary-General on his efforts, and if Israel persists in its intransigence, then the Security Council and the General Assembly will have to take the necessary action to enforce their will and to reappraise their relationship with that recalcitrant Member.

176. I must pause here to say, in as quiet and unemotional a way as I can, that there will be no peace in the Middle East so long as the Holy City of Jerusalem remains under the domination of Israel. I do not say this empty; I say it because it is an accepted truth in the mind and heart of every Arab—Moslem and Christian. The liberation of Jerusalem is the corner-stone of peace in the Middle East; it is the essential prerequisite for any move towards the final solution of the problem.

177. In conclusion, Jordan would like to put its position on record once again. Believing that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is the right basis for an immediate and just peace in the Middle East, Jordan once again pledges itself to its full acceptance. It subscribes to every one of its principles and it agrees to implement its specific provisions. We accept the call for a just and lasting peace contained in that resolution. We are ready to fulfil our peace obligations as defined in it.

178. Let Israel declare its acceptance of the obligations required of it and contained in the resolution—that it end its occupation and withdraw its forces from the Arab territories it occupied in June 1967. Let the Israeli Foreign Minister come up to this rostrum and declare in unequivocal terms that, in the context of a peace solution, Israel will withdraw from the west bank of the Jordan, from Arab Jerusalem, from the Gaza Strip, from the Sinai Peninsula, from Sharm El Sheikh, and from the occupied Syrian heights. Let the Israeli spokesman and his Government declare that Israel wants to live in peace with its neighbours and not to live at our expense, by annexing our Jerusalem, occupying our land and enslaving our people. Let Israel declare all that, and the road to peace in the Middle East will be opened.

179. For almost 25 years Israel has played the theme of peace and peaceful intentions. Now the challenge and the test of intentions are available. It is Israel which has the answer to the question whether there will be war or peace in the Middle East.

180. The world Organization is, without doubt, at a most crucial cross-roads in the stupendous challenges which confront it, particularly over the Middle East. It is my country's hope and prayer that it will succeed in surmounting the crisis, thereby ensuring not only its own survival but also the survival of a world based on justice, freedom and the rule of law.

181. Mr. SIKIVOU (Fiji): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of my delegation and the Government and people of Fiji

congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly; and in so doing I should like to assure you, Sir, of the full co-operation of my delegation. Your election is well deserved and my delegation is confident that under your presidency the affairs of this august body will be conducted in the same able, wise, efficient and pleasant manner which has characterized your outstanding career.

182. I should like to express our appreciation for the great contribution made by your immediate predecessor, Ambassador Hambro of Norway, whose qualities as President of the General Assembly last year and as a leader of high repute and integrity are well known to all of us.

183. My delegation would also wish to join previous speakers in expressing high regard and appreciation for the services loyally and faithfully rendered by our Secretary-General, U Thant, to the United Nations and to the countries and peoples all over the world. Amongst the patient, sincere and honest toilers for world peace and international understanding his name must rank very high.

184. Fiji attained its independence almost exactly a year ago today. One of its first acts as a sovereign State was to become a Member of the United Nations. So it is that—as with many of the other newer nations in the world—our experience of independence and our experience as a Member of the United Nations are of equal duration.

185. Our acceptance into the world body gave us an immediate opportunity to exercise the independence we had achieved, to attempt to gauge the role we might be able or expected to play and to try to ascertain the directions in which we might move and the contribution we might make. It has also brought us face to face with the reality of our situation and we have had equally to recognize the roles that we cannot or must not play, the directions in which we cannot move and the contributions that we cannot make. It has been a rewarding experience—at times exhilarating, at others sobering.

186. It has been no easy task for a nation as small and as new as Fiji to grapple with the complexities of many of the issues with which we have been confronted—some of which have been exercising this Assembly almost from its inception—but we have been sustained by the unfailing encouragement and the understanding attitude which we have encountered from our friends, both old and new, within the world Organization. I should like to take this opportunity to thank them all for their help and forbearance.

187. This Assembly has welcomed in its midst a number of small nations in the past few years, including Fiji. We have already had the opportunity at this session of welcoming three new Members, Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar, which, by the areas of their territories and the numbers of their populations, must also be classed among the small nations of the world. Fiji had the very great honour and pleasure of co-sponsoring the candidature of one of them, Bhutan, and of supporting the candidatures of them all.

188. The question has often been raised whether there is truly a place in this Assembly for us, the small nations. In



spite of the difficulties--some of which I have mentioned--which confront us in participating fully in the activities of the Organization, the answer from the small nations and, we are pleased and encouraged to note, from many of the major Powers as well must emphatically be that there is a place for us and that there is a role which we can play.

189. The great virtue of this Organization, from the point of view of the small nations, is that it is the one international forum in which our voice can be raised on terms of equality with all others. The great strength of this Assembly must reside in the esteem in which it is held and in the respect which its resolutions command, an esteem and a respect which it is in the interests of us all, both great and small, to strengthen and preserve. In a world where many of the great international issues can be expressed in their most simple terms as conflicts of interest between just two or three of the great Powers, the opportunity which this Assembly gives to small nations to speak on these issues in the course of debate, the need of the main protagonists to pay heed to the equal voice which the Charter of the United Nations accords to each Member regardless of size and the moderating influence which even small nations can thus bring to bear to minimize the possibility of these conflicts of interest degenerating into open hostilities--those are all factors which point to the small nations as being an important element in the preservation of international stability.

190. With the object of better acquainting this Assembly with the role which appears to be emerging for Fiji after just one year of independence and of membership in the United Nations, I should like to dwell briefly on some of the issues where my country feels it might have a small contribution to offer and on some where it feels it has a definite interest to pursue.

191. Fiji is very conscious of being not only a small nation but also one of the smallest States Members of the United Nations. It is conscious too of being among those countries commonly referred to as "developing countries" whose constant preoccupation must be the development of their economies, a task often complicated by rising population and the rising expectations of their people.

192. Fiji's view must also spring, of course, from the two inescapable elements of its geography and history. Comparatively speaking, we are an isolated nation, a group of islands set in mid-Pacific. Although we are not so poor in land resources as are some of our Pacific neighbours, our more than 300 islands comprise but 7,000 square miles. The ocean which surrounds us therefore exerts a dominating influence on our environment and our outlook.

193. Our recent history is one of more than 90 years as a colony of the British Crown. That has left many legacies, one of which is a society composed of several races. Besides the indigenous Fijians and Rotumans, there are Indians, Europeans, Chinese and people from other Pacific Islands. All live together harmoniously despite differences of race, religion and culture, and it was this happy state which was responsible for our peaceful transition from our colonial status to independence some 12 months ago.

194. In wishing to make a positive contribution to the work of the United Nations, we have therefore been glad of

the opportunity to take part, as a member, in the work of the Special Committee on colonialism.<sup>12</sup> With our recent direct experience as a colony and as a small nation ourselves, we feel that we may have some little insight into the problems of the remaining colonial Territories, many of which are even smaller than us and have populations which are already placing a great strain on their meagre natural resources. In addition, a considerable number of them are situated in our own part of the world. Whatever may be the inherent evils of the colonial system, and whilst it must be the duty of this Organization continually to remind the metropolitan countries of their obligations and responsibilities towards the Territories under their control, the solution to the problems of these remaining Territories will not be easily found. They must be approached with the understanding of their very special and peculiar problems, and the pace of constitutional change must be in accordance with the wishes of the people themselves. That has been, and will continue to be, the burden of Fiji's submissions to the Special Committee whose deliberations on these problems, we venture to hope, we may have been able to assist in some small way during the past year of our membership.

195. Another issue which underlies many of the questions which come before this Assembly is that of racialism. As we have all seen in its manifestations in many different parts of the world, it is an issue capable of arousing the deepest and--it must be said--the most sincere of emotions. It is unfortunate, however, that these emotions, however sincere, often lead to a situation where it is impossible for any communication to take place between the two sides in the issue.

196. It is our firm belief that progress towards an amelioration of racial divisions and racial strife in the world can only come to pass when every effort is made to maintain contact and communication and to resolve differences on a basis of mutual understanding.

197. We in Fiji, with our multiracial society comprising two major races and a number of substantial minorities, feel that we have some practical experience in this field and by virtue of this may well have a useful contribution to make. We have attempted to make such a contribution and will continue to do so whenever a suitable occasion offers.

198. I have already mentioned the very special position of the sea in determining Fiji's outlook. We are an oceanic people dwelling in an oceanic archipelago. The sea and the land of Fiji are entirely interdependent. Our people look to the one as much as to the other as elements of their environment. The sea is conceived, not as separating the many islands of our archipelago, but as joining them. It is our roadway. It has ever been a source of sustenance to our people, and to many of them it is the major one. As increasing population puts more and more pressure on our limited resources on land, we must look more and more to the development of marine resources, including submarine mineral resources, for the support of our people.

<sup>12</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

199. Fiji has accordingly been most interested in the preparations being undertaken by the sea-bed Committee<sup>13</sup> for an international conference on the law of the sea which it is proposed to hold in 1973. Fiji attended the recent meeting of the sea-bed Committee in Geneva as an observer. Our representative addressed the Committee at its 62nd meeting and presented a statement setting out Fiji's aims and aspirations. Fiji hopes that the international community, through the 1973 conference, will at last give full consideration to the position of oceanic archipelagos, of which there are a considerable number, and will make adequate provision for them in the law of the sea. Fiji hopes that the moderate claims it is making in regard to territorial waters and to exclusive fishing rights will be sympathetically viewed in the light of their importance to it as a developing country.

200. In all these matters it is Fiji's earnest hope that the greater developed nations will strive to achieve a true understanding and appreciation of the needs of countries such as Fiji and will not take advantage of their size and power to deny to the smaller developing countries the opportunity to make use of the marine resources which surround them. To do so would seriously prejudice the likelihood of these developing countries improving their lot by their own efforts and would perpetuate their dependence for aid on the developed countries, a situation which can be desired neither by the one side nor the other.

201. A natural consequence of the importance of the sea to Fiji's people has been our deep concern—in common with many other Pacific nations and indeed with other United Nations Member States, great and small, whose representatives have spoken before me during this session on this vital subject—at the renewal by France in 1971 of atmospheric nuclear testing on Mururoa Atoll. On this occasion our independent status enabled us for the first time to protest in our own right at the contamination of the atmosphere and of the sea which these tests must cause and at the subjection of the peoples of the South Pacific, against their will, to increases in the levels of radio-activity which, no matter how small, must be regarded as potentially hazardous to health. Fiji also associated itself with a joint protest made by our New Zealand friends on behalf of all independent South Pacific countries following a resolution at a meeting of Pacific Heads of Government, the South Pacific Forum held at Wellington from 5 to 7 August. We are, therefore, gratified that the French Government has now seen fit to call a halt to these tests. We are confident that France, which has in so many ways demonstrated its concern for the less privileged nations, will be sufficiently sensitive to the feelings which the tests have aroused that it will make this halt permanent and final. At a time when problems of pollution and environmental management are increasingly occupying the attention of the world, and when the vast majority of States have subscribed to the partial test-ban treaty of 1963,<sup>14</sup> we are sure that the Members of this Assembly will not wish to see our confidence misplaced.

202. One of the most significant functions of the United Nations from the point of view of the developing countries must obviously be its role as a source of multilateral aid. Fiji has of course been receiving assistance from the United Nations developmental organs for a number of years. Through the agency of the United Nations Development Programme, a number of activities are being undertaken in Fiji. We are deeply grateful for this assistance, which is making a solid contribution to the solution of our problems as a developing country. We would, however, sound one note of warning. While we fully understand the need for such bodies to ensure that their funds are expended to the best advantage, nevertheless they should guard against a tendency to try to impose conditions which are incompatible with the independent sovereign position of even the smallest country.

203. Fiji has welcomed the growing tendency of late for a number of United Nations Development Programme projects, besides catering to Fiji's own needs, to be designed as regional ones, aimed at meeting the common needs of several South Pacific territories. Regional co-operation in the South Pacific is very close to our hearts in Fiji and it is a subject to which I should like to return later in these remarks.

204. The past year has seen the doors of many great international organizations, both inside and outside the United Nations family, opened to membership by Fiji. Because of our limited resources, one of our tasks has been to try to distinguish those which are relevant to us and in which we can usefully participate. It is no easy task, and it is one which must continue to occupy us for some time to come. Important as our membership in some of these organizations may be, our sense of geographical identity has led us to place great emphasis on the development of our relations with our immediate island neighbours. We have close relationships with some of these territories dating back many centuries before European entry into the Pacific. It has been deeply satisfying for us to renew these relationships as independent modern States and to rediscover our common heritage and the community of interest that we share. Regional co-operation is not new in the South Pacific; the South Pacific Commission has been in existence since shortly after the Second World War and is developing more and more as an institution representative of the interests of the Pacific territories rather than those of the founder metropolitan Powers, namely, Australia, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, which none the less continue generously to bear the main burden of its budget.

205. We are pursuing the aim of regional co-operation in other fields also. We have in Fiji the regional University of the South Pacific serving 10 English-speaking countries in the region. There is the Pacific Islands Producers' Association, which is concerned with fostering commercial co-operation and in solving joint inter-island shipping and transportation problems.

206. A most significant development was the meeting in August this year in Wellington of the South Pacific Forum. The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, as members know, referred to this body in his statement earlier this afternoon. This was an inaugural meeting of the leaders of

<sup>13</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

<sup>14</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

independent South Pacific countries, and it was kindly hosted, at the request of the Pacific countries, by New Zealand. This was the first meeting of its kind, but was so successful and revealed so many new avenues for consultation and co-operation, that it will be repeated next year when Australia has kindly offered to be the host. The Pacific voice in world affairs will always be a small one, but there are encouraging signs that it will become increasingly harmonious and at least distinctly audible. These endeavours are all directed towards solving our problems by self-help and mutual assistance through a process of consultation and discussion. We, and those of our neighbours which have emerged as sovereign States, have all achieved our independence through this process.

207. Our Prime Minister, Sir Kamisese Mara, when addressing the Assembly at the commemorative session last year, referred to the philosophy underlying the process as the "Pacific way" [1876th meeting, para. 205]. I humbly commend the "Pacific way" as a philosophy deserving of wider application. It is one which distils into a simple phrase the ideals upon which the United Nations was founded. It is the main contribution which we in the South Pacific have to offer to the world at large, and it is the main contribution which my delegation will be offering to the deliberations of this Assembly during this twenty-sixth session.

*The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.*

