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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HASSANE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*):
Mr. President, I should like to join those who preceded me on this rostrum and begin my statement by addressing my very sincere congratulations to you, who are such a dynamic servant of peace. Once again the international community, our community, has decided to draw on the rich experience of the great continent of Asia to guide our debates. The choice which has been made by our Assembly in asking you, Sir, to be in charge of our discussions, the serious problems for which our twenty-sixth session will have to attempt to find solutions, and the hopes which many of us have in this session to reach satisfactory solutions for most of the problems facing humanity, all these indicate the amplitude of the responsibilities which we have entrusted you with this year. Consequently, Sir, I should like to assure you that my delegation will do everything in its power to make your task as easy as possible. You may therefore be assured of our entire co-operation.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to Mr. Edvard Hambro, the previous President of the General Assembly for the masterly way in which he conducted our debates during the twenty-fifth session which, we should like to emphasize in passing, was honoured by the presence of a large number of eminent Heads of State and Government who came to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, to take stock of 25 years of activity by the United Nations, whose success has not been unmitigated, and also to broadly outline a certain strategy for the United Nations in the coming years.

3. Finally, in welcoming them into the Organization, I should like to express the gratification of the Government and the people of Chad in seeing the States of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar accede to independence and become

Members of the United Nations. To the peoples of these three new States I should like to convey our congratulations and our very sincere wishes for success in everything they undertake to promote peace and progress in their own countries and in their efforts to meet their international obligations.

4. Together with my congratulations to these States, I should like to pay a tribute to the United Kingdom, for this is not its first praiseworthy act of decolonization.

5. Our experience in international relations gives us some reason for anxiety and leads us to share the opinion of our Secretary-General—to whom I hasten to pay a highly deserved tribute for the political courage, exemplary devotion and objective far-sightedness which he has demonstrated during 10 years of distinguished and uninterrupted service to the United Nations—expressed in the introduction to his latest report on the work of the Organization during the previous year:

“Looking back on the past ten years, I cannot help reaching the conclusion that during that period the most powerful nations have all too seldom shown themselves able to rise above the suspicions, fears and mistrust that spring from their different ideologies, different objectives and different conceptions of the best interests of the world. By and large, the rivalry of nations continued to be the dominant factor in international life. Precisely for that reason, many promising developments have not reached fulfilment, and results still remain far below the hopes and aspirations of the world community.” [A/8401/Add.1, para. 6.]

6. The dangerously explosive situation which prevails at present in the Middle East, in South-East Asia and in southern Africa is a striking manifestation of this. All the efforts of the United Nations to find ways and means which would make it possible to apply the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) to the conflict in the Middle East to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned, have been in vain.

7. In reaffirming our support of the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of all States, and our opposition to the acquisition or occupation of the territory of other States by force, we should like to voice the hope that the United Nations will, as soon as possible, find some means of applying this resolution, or find some other solution to the problem satisfactory to all parties concerned, including the Palestinian refugees. Thus, the Organization of African Unity believes it is its duty to make a further contribution to finding a solution to this problem. The African Committee of the 10 “Wise Men” chose a sub-committee consisting

of four Heads of State who, as you all know, are to work along these lines.

8. The development of the situation in Europe, on the whole, even in the judgement of the Europeans themselves, gives us serious reason to believe that there will be a solid basis for establishing a friendly *entente* and, very shortly, lasting peace among all European States, based not merely on political relaxation of tension or peaceful coexistence, with all their accompanying distrust and doubt, but on economic, social and cultural co-operation which is of overriding importance to engender and strengthen a spirit of solidarity among peoples and nations. Thus it was with genuine pleasure that we heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Schumann, declare from this rostrum in the course of the present general debate:

“May we not hope that those three elements of a true political reconstruction in the very centre of Europe—the Berlin accord, the necessary arrangements between the German authorities, and the entry into force of the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw—will culminate in an agreement between the two German States? Nothing would contribute more effectively to guaranteeing the stability of the continent as a whole.” [1942nd meeting, para. 63.]

9. It was equally comforting to hear the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, state from this rostrum during the same meeting:

“The recently signed Quadripartite Agreement on problems concerning West Berlin will serve to eliminate one of the most dangerous sources of tension and friction and to improve the atmosphere in an unhealthy area of European politics. . . .

“ . . .

“In the Federal Republic of Germany, the forces which evaluate the situation more soberly and have declared themselves in favour of a policy of peace and a peaceful future are showing more confidence than in the past and gaining the upper hand. The objectives consistently pursued by the socialist States of Europe in their relations with the Federal Republic of Germany have thus become attainable.” [Ibid., paras. 97 and 100.]

10. Thus, it is in complete sincerity that we voice the hope that we shall see the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany and the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Germany seated among us.

11. We believe that the spirit, which has guided the Europeans and prompted them to give further thought to the need to create conditions of *entente* and co-operation among their Governments for the benefit of their peoples and in the service of international peace and security, has also inspired the American people which has succeeded in bringing its Government to agree that it is not objectively possible to convince other peoples that the United States is sincere in declaring that it is in favour of peace and international security, while it systematically refuses to allow the great Chinese people to have any voice here in the United Nations. Is it objectively possible to speak of general

and complete disarmament or a lasting solution for any other problem relating to the maintenance of international peace and security without the agreement of the People's Republic of China? This great nation, this proud people, which in all areas has full confidence in its own potential and has no reason to envy anybody else on this earth, will, if we are not careful, make us regret our hesitation by simply making use of the complete freedom which we seem to be thus giving them.

12. If we have any respect at all for this people, we should respect their choice and recognize the legal régime it has chosen to direct its affairs. We believe that this is what inspired our elders who were present at the birth of the United Nations when they seated China as a permanent member of the Security Council. It is, in fact, a right which has been recognized as belonging to the Chinese people and its power and not to a Chinese citizen and the régime which he chose. It is, therefore, for us simply a matter of respecting a very important principle of our Charter, the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

13. But the respect of this self-same principle makes it necessary for us to consider seriously the free choice of that part of the Chinese people which prefers to live in Formosa under another régime.

14. The position of my country regarding the question of the representation of China remains, therefore, as it was described last year from this rostrum by my Head of State, H.E. Mr. François Tombalbaye, who declared:

“That vast country is therefore an interlocutor that no one has the right to spurn or to exclude from the world system of co-operation and peaceful coexistence, because so long as it is shut out, no equilibrium can be anything but precarious and transient. But we cannot make good one injustice by perpetrating another, which is what the exclusion of Formosa, itself a founder Member of our Organization, would be.” [1882nd meeting, para. 105.]

15. We recognize, nevertheless, that both sides have a free choice in the way in which they intend to solve this question and to ensure the unity of China.

16. Similarly, my country believes that, in order to ensure the universality of this Organization and to enable it to meet all the necessary conditions for the preservation of international peace and security, we should recognize that all peoples, whether they be in Viet-Nam, North Korea, or South Korea, South Africa or Rhodesia, have the right to self-determination, to choose the sort of Government they wish and to be admitted to this forum in order to make their voices heard with total respect for their freedom and independence.

17. Our faith in justice and the strength of the principles to which I just referred, oblige us, however, to draw the serious attention of the United Nations to the very explosive situation which at present prevails in the southern part of the African continent.

18. It is high time that the United Nations gathered here, particularly the great Powers, those who bear the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and secu-

rity, wiping from their minds any selfishness or ideological preoccupations, to deal with the problem raised by the hateful system of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa and Namibia, racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia, and colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and elsewhere.

19. In all these segments of our continent the majority of black Africans are mocked, frustrated and oppressed by a white minority. Therefore, it is our bounden duty to intervene in order to ensure that the necessary conditions are met which will make it possible for democracy to be freely exercised. The question is, then, what sort of positive action we should adopt.

20. Should we choose violence? We Africans would be the last to wish to be responsible for unleashing the horrors of war. We would rather wait patiently and stubbornly for the results of diplomatic action, if we could be sure that those minorities, who at present hold power in southern Africa, are, in fact, wedded to the principles that all men are equal and that they should enjoy the same rights to human dignity and respect without any distinction as to colour, race, religion or sex and that they are entitled, and have the duty, to participate as equal members of society in the government of their own country.

21. History has shown us and present events confirm that violence leads peoples who indulge in it not only to ruin, but to a recrudescence of hatred, of rancour and of sorrow, which increases antagonisms and finally ends by justifying this monstrous phenomenon in the eyes of the wisest and most peace-loving of men.

22. We hope that the international community and in particular those Powers who, because of the strong influence which they can have on the way the problems of the world develop, bear the main responsibility for maintaining peace and international security, will become aware of their obligations and help us to avoid an open war on our continent, whose repercussions might well go beyond the boundaries of Africa. In reality, who would seriously dare to affirm that a conflict which we started would remain exclusively our business? We know too well how often such enterprises degenerate and are finally beyond the control of those who thought they had them in their power.

23. We believe, in all conscience, that everything should be attempted in order to make it possible for the African peoples of these countries to enjoy the rights which are granted them by the United Nations Charter, and by resolution 1514 (XV) of our Assembly and, thus, to avoid the occurrence of an armed conflict.

24. Unfortunately, the great Powers who do their utmost to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful seat in the United Nations, alleging that it would not respect the spirit of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations, are also those who demand that if the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is to make its views known, it should agree beforehand to accept any solution which is imposed by the United Nations; it is these same Powers, I say, who are unbelievably tolerant of the attitude of flagrant defiance adopted towards the resolutions of the

General Assembly and the Security Council by the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and the Rhodesia of Ian Smith.

25. We have done everything we can to convince the white minority in the southern part of our continent that they and their African brothers have a common interest which dictates that they should lay aside their prejudices in order to remove their disagreements.

26. It is precisely because they refuse to heed these appeals, and because they are unaware that their common interest lies with their black African compatriots, who, like it or not, they are condemned to live with, that the white people of South Africa and Rhodesia have brought about these outbursts of racial violence which shock mankind. The result of this is that the Africans, who are subjected to this ill treatment are using all the means in their power, including civil disobedience, boycotting and armed rebellion, to fight against a system of Government and administration which tries to deny their status as men and citizens.

27. Furthermore, we all feel acute frustration, as would any man aware of the threat to peace involved in the squalor in which most of humanity lives, the tremendous riches which are swallowed up in preparations for war, while a minute fraction of this wealth would do much to help our countries, the countries of the third world, to escape from the rut of under-development. We cannot but rise up against something which, in our eyes, constitutes a genuine waste of wealth in view of the wretchedness which is the lot of so many of our fellows.

28. For almost two years now Chad has been the President of the Assembly of Heads of State of the African, Malagasy and Mauritian Common Organization [OCAMM]. Furthermore, the Head of the State of Chad had an opportunity at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [1882nd meeting] to refer to the goals of this regional African organization which works in the spirit of the OAU, and to the results obtained in many areas and, finally, to his concern for years to come.

29. On 8 September 1970 OCAMM celebrated its tenth anniversary. This proves that despite difficult beginnings, our countries refuse to live in watertight compartments and advocate broad and complete co-operation in the fields of air transport, telecommunications, tourism, education, culture, training, education, scientific and technological research and finally in the areas of economy and development.

30. The specific conventions adopted by the members of our regional organization are at all times aimed at improving and deepening this co-operation between them, a co-operation which has been praised by all parties concerned.

31. These efforts which have been made by the 15 OCAMM countries in order to weave a vast network of solidarity have won them the sympathy of many African, European and North American countries. These efforts are also the reason for the confidence and the assistance which have been given by many international organizations such as UNDP, the ILO, UNESCO, FAO, ECA, UNIDO and the

ECE which have excellent relations with the OCAMM secretariat.

32. Aware that nowadays international assistance, whatever its volume, can never replace developmental action undertaken by the assisted countries, the States members of OCAMM intend to concentrate their attention on devising and implementing a programme of industrialization on a regional basis. The studies which have been initiated and conducted by the secretariat of our organization are just about to be completed and are to be submitted for consideration by the Heads of State at their next meeting in Togo. We believe that in adopting this programme and in working for its implementation, our countries will have taken a giant stride towards economic integration, which necessarily entails increased internal trade among the African countries.

33. The recent upheavals in the international monetary system will have been beneficial to us to the extent that they have enabled us to become aware of our individual limits as small weak countries, powerless in the face of the great Powers, and to try and put our heads together to think up solutions to our common problems, in order to improve the lot of our populations.

34. Thus OCAMM, whose activity is daily devoted to this purpose, deserves the support and assistance of the United Nations.

35. I would have been remiss in my duty had I not said something about a phenomenon which affects two thirds of humanity: under-development. It is a phenomenon which, according to His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, is closely linked with peace, and may even indeed be an essential element of peace. Under-development has, for more than a quarter of a century now, been the subject of discussion in our august Assembly. Never has an illness been so thoroughly diagnosed by its doctor. But what has been the result of this examination?

36. Perhaps now it is time for our Organization, which is the guardian of peace and co-operation among peoples, to pause for a minute and give some thought to its effectiveness. What has it done or, more precisely, what has been done by the four or five wealthy countries, which are usually called great Powers, to allay the sufferings which are felt by more than two thirds of humanity?

37. The General Assembly, for its part, often impelled by these same great Powers, has discharged its duty by voting for resolutions and recommendations advocating and demanding justice and co-operation among peoples. But what has been the result of these resolutions and recommendations which have, generally speaking, been adopted unanimously, with characteristic enthusiasm, by Members of the Organization? Deep disappointment, a disappointment which seems to say at the beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade that the poor countries can never calculate their development on the basis of generous promises made in resolutions, but rather on the will of the rich countries and the attention which they give to our just claims.

38. But the monetary crisis which at present is of such concern to the world reveals or confirms, if there were any

need to do so, that national selfishness still remains the underlying factor in our international relations. In fact, development assistance, whether bilateral or multilateral, is always *a fortiori* governed by this selfishness. Therefore there is nothing more precarious and vulnerable than this assistance, based as it is on the national interests of donor countries.

39. So what has become of these excellent and pertinent recommendations which for almost 10 years now have tantalized us with the prospect of development? They have remained, as their name indicates, simply high-sounding and hopeful language. It is high time perhaps that the few countries which govern the economy of our world should set aside their selfishness and their spirit of domination, so that finally the other two thirds of humanity can recover their right to independence and dignity.

40. It is our submission that in order to do this, those responsible for failure in these attempts at development should agree to undertake with us a fundamental rethinking of the present system of assistance, possibly with the result that it may be abandoned and replaced by another aid which would not be granted but negotiated. We have come here in order to seek justice, to ensure peace and to bring about progress for the well-being of mankind. This is, I think, the main objective of our Organization. Taken in isolation in our respective countries, all our actions are, of course, designed to bring about these objectives.

41. It was 11 years ago that we started to accumulate our own experience in international relations. However brief this period of time, it has been very enriching for us and has only strengthened our conviction in the correctness of the policy which we chose to guide our conduct both towards States individually and towards the United Nations itself. We believe that equality of States requires that their sovereignty be strictly respected as well as their integrity, thus setting aside any interventionism, any interference and *a fortiori*, any misuse of power. The relations among peoples and nations should, we believe, be based on the principle of respect for the dignity and the essential interests of each of the parties concerned, free from any attempt at economic or ideological neo-colonialism. All men, all communities and all peoples should be assured the right to enjoy free existence in the complete respect of justice and dignity.

42. The Organization of African Unity has among its other objectives and principles the defence of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the States of Africa, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and its inalienable right to independent existence.

43. The United Nations for its part has launched an appeal to all States asking them to refrain from organizing, assisting, fomenting, financing, encouraging or tolerating any subversive, armed or terrorist activities for the purpose of changing the régime of another State by violence.

44. My country, Chad, which is a member of these Organizations, respects the spirit and the letter of those principles to which I have just referred. It has always stretched out its hand to all States, without any exceptions,

in order to establish a frank and fruitful co-operation based on mutual respect between States. We have refrained from interfering in the affairs of other countries and we have practised a policy of good neighbourliness and fraternity.

45. Despite this open door policy, last August my country suffered from a mental aberration which was provoked by elements supported by a neighbouring country, with which my country, Chad, has both natural and historic ties. I am referring to the Libyan Arab Republic. The panic which was to result from this was fortunately stopped in time, thus avoiding causing grief to innocent Chad families. Newspapers devoted a great deal of space to this and it is not my intention to dwell on these facts

46. I should simply like to demonstrate how the Libyan Arab Republic is openly interfering in the internal and external affairs of my country.

47. I said a short time ago that one of the principles of the OAU is respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of each State. The Libyan Arab Republic, discarding this principle, did not hide its expansionist aims on an official road map which was published in Italy in 1970. We can see with some astonishment that quite a sizable part of our national territory was included in the Libyan Arab Republic as being national Libyan soil. But our surprise and our astonishment did not stop there. The legend on this map indicated that the international frontiers which were traced on it should not be considered as final, that they were liable to be changed. This map is readily available to everyone at the Studi Cartografici Publishing Company, via Sidoli 7, Milan, and is distributed by the Fergiani bookshop in Italy. I have a copy of this map for those who would like to refer to it.

48. Not content with having expansionist ideas, the Libyan Arab Republic has interfered and continues to interfere in the internal and external affairs of Chad. Our troubles with them began with the coming to power of the present Government. However, our country was among the first States to recognize it, although we had excellent relations with the previous régime, because Chad had given its hospitality to Libyan nationals who had fled Italian fascism. Some of these Libyans still live in our country in safety and have excellent relations with the Chad people.

49. The coming to power of the new Government was marked by a witch-hunt for Chad nationals. Trucks appeared on our frontiers and spilled out thousands of our countrymen who had refused to be press-ganged to fight against their own country. Most of them were stripped of everything that they had earned by the sweat of their brows. My Government, despite its slender resources, tried to help these repatriates to take their rightful place in the Chad nation, without requesting help from the international community, in order to preserve our fraternal relations with Libya.

50. Before this masquerade, one of our countrymen, the Derdei, the customary chief of the Toubous, one of the tribes of our peoples living in the extreme north of Chad at the Libyan border, had left the country to seek refuge in Tripoli, as a result of a misunderstanding with the administration. This is nothing unusual as this kind of discontent is

common among a section of our nomadic peoples. The Derdei is still in Tripoli, despite the efforts which have been made by my Government to have him reintegrated into his native country.

51. In order to preserve and maintain the good relations which existed between our two countries, the President of the Republic, H.E. François Tombalbaye, even had a meeting with the Libyan Chief of State, Colonel Kadhafi. The President of the National Assembly went to Tripoli accompanied by a top-level delegation in order to try to iron out the differences between Libya and Chad, if there were any such differences. The Vice-President of the National Assembly stayed in Libya for several months for the same purpose. Furthermore, the Heads of State of neighbouring countries acted along the same lines without any positive results.

52. Not satisfied with giving financial and material assistance to the Derdei and his followers, the Libyan Government did not hide its sympathies for the so-called National Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT), which it has recognized as the sole representatives of the Chad people and which uses the National Radio of Libya to spread lying propaganda, devoid of any objectivity concerning the Republic of Chad. We already knew that at any time the Tripoli Government would have to take such a decision which did not surprise us or anyone, in view of the continuing meetings in Paris of members of the Libyan Government with elements hostile to our country. Thus, last May, the Libyan Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Unity and Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mansur Kikhia, who was passing through Paris, made arrangements for the installation of FROLINAT and its leaders in Tripoli.

53. We have in our possession irrefutable documentation which proves that Chad nationals are trained in military camps in Libya near Tripoli, specifically at Habba Khadra and Fournech, under the command of Libyan officers, Roman Mokthar and Ali Mansour. The non-commissioned Libyan military instructors there are Oumbar Souhá, Aboubakar and Mahamat Khalil. They teach the use of automatic rifles, machine-guns, bazookas, revolvers, grenades, machine pistols and also combat tactics, ambushes, attacking convoys and so on.

54. It must be stressed here that of about 2,300 soldiers trained in Libya, only 57 are Chad nationals; they were recruited from Khartoum by the Libyan Ambassador and were conveyed to Tripoli at the expense of that Embassy.

55. During their stay in these Libyan military camps, these recruits are fed and clothed by Libya and receive £5 Libyan per month. Once their basic training has been completed, they are sent either to Sabbah or Al Qatrun, where vehicles and caravans are placed at their disposal in order to enter Chad, they are furnished with Libyan passports which are delivered to them by the authorities in Tripoli in order to facilitate their travel. Thus in Koufra, in Libya, arms and munitions were delivered to these outlaws as follows: 4 mortars, 300 mortar shells, 6,000 bullets for rifles of British manufacture.

56. The Libyan Government continued to give them assistance in the interior of Chad. Documents which have

been seized by our authorities make reference to the fact that Libya victuals these outlaws (rice and pasta) and supplies them with arms and munitions.

57. During an operation which took place quite recently in June 1971, specifically on 17 June north of Largeau, the main town of the Prefecture of Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti, 662 weapons were recovered. These weapons were of English, Italian, Belgian and French manufacture. Investigations carried out by our relevant services have shown that these weapons and ammunition were ordered by Libya for its own services.

58. This characteristic attitude of the Government of Colonel Kadhafi in interfering in the affairs of sovereign States can escape no one's attention.

59. Chad, my country, is not the first State to suffer from Colonel Kadhafi's impetuosity because we still have fresh in our memories the date of 10 July, when at Skirat in Morocco, a misadventure caused deaths in diplomatic families and Colonel Kadhafi flouting the United Nations Charter and that of the Organization of African Unity, hot-headedly interfered in the internal affairs of the Sherifian Kingdom. This is a flagrant case of which all are aware, and is but one among many.

60. In our constant desire to consolidate the friendly and fraternal ties which have always existed between our two peoples, my Government has still not given up doing what it can in order to find the necessary ways and means of bringing about peaceful coexistence.

61. Libya, however, is demanding that my Government break off diplomatic relations with Israel and that the French military base in Chad should be withdrawn.

62. Is this not yet further proof that the Tripoli Government is interfering in our internal and external affairs? To my knowledge, 32 African countries, including Chad, maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. Some of these countries also maintain diplomatic relations with Libya and Libya has never demanded from these countries what it is demanding of Chad. Is this because of the Middle East? Since 1967 my Government has never ceased to support unreservedly, both in the United Nations and in the OAU, the relevant resolutions on this matter. Is it because of religious problems? In Africa there are States whose populations are both Christian and Moslem. These countries live in an excellent atmosphere of understanding with other countries and at no time has the religious problem arisen. I can assure the Assembly that total religious freedom exists in Chad and that the number of my Moslem compatriots who visit Mecca, the Holy Place of Islam, every year, on pilgrimage—thanks to the assistance of the Government—is constantly increasing and this is the sole concern of the Chad Government.

63. The French base in our country is there under agreements which we signed in complete liberty and sovereignty with the French Republic. Its being there has never constituted a danger to our neighbouring countries. Its withdrawal from our national soil depends solely on the wishes of the contracting parties. It is improper for the

Republic of Libya to negotiate the final departure of this base with the French Government in our stead.

64. Our aim is simply to inform the Assembly about this dispute which has arisen between our country and Libya, and which might result in unfortunate consequences if urgent measures are not taken. The Charter of the OAU advocates the peaceful settlement of disputes by means of negotiations and mediation.

65. This brings me to the conclusion of my statement. My country has always practised a policy of peace, attached as we are to international institutions, the respect of the human person and human dignity, whatever the race and religion of the person concerned, and at no time can we go back on this commitment. All we want to do is to live in peace with our neighbours. In the case of Libya, I hope that this brother country will put a stop to its expansionist designs, which include appropriating parts of my country, which are a national heritage since this runs counter to the very philosophy of Colonel Kadhafi; the head of the Libyan State.

66. The only way in which it would be possible to put an end to this conspiracy is for the Government of Tripoli, by respecting the Charter of the OAU and the institutions of the United Nations, unequivocally to abandon its designs upon my country, and refrain from bringing irregular troops into our land, which constantly plunder our wealth, murder our people and devastate our countryside.

67. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Government and the people of Chad, to address my sincere thanks to those friendly and brotherly countries which have agreed to receive our goodwill and fact-finding missions and which gave their moral support at a time when our Republic was living through a particularly difficult situation.

68. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, it is my honour and privilege, at the outset, to convey to you and to the distinguished representatives the greetings of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Mahendra, as well as his best wishes for the success of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

69. I should like to extend, on behalf of my delegation, our most sincere congratulations to you upon your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I cannot adequately express in words the pleasure of my delegation in having a well-reputed personality like yourself as our President during this session. The delegation of Nepal has no doubt that you will bring to bear upon the work of the General Assembly the vast wisdom and wealth of experience you have gained in the course of a long and distinguished public career as an indomitable freedom fighter, an able diplomat, and an eminent statesman of a great country. We have regarded your election not only as a great honour to the country and the continent you represent, but also as a fitting recognition of your own contribution to the peace and understanding of the world. My delegation finds particular reason to be gratified at your election, because our two countries, Indonesia and Nepal, share many similar cultural traits and maintain the happiest and most cordial relations of friendship. May I offer you

the full co-operation and support of my delegation in the discharge of your heavy responsibility.

70. At the same time, I wish to put on record the deep appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Edvard Hambro for his memorable services during the last session of the General Assembly. Mr. Hambro guided the work of the twenty-fifth anniversary session with remarkable wisdom, assurance and good humour. Under his presidency, the General Assembly took several decisions of a historic character, which, I am sure, have laid the groundwork for future tasks of the United Nations in such areas of common concern as international peace and security, and international development and co-operation.

71. We are opening the second quarter century in the life of the United Nations against the background of far-reaching developments in the world. Events have moved rapidly during the past year, events with exceptionally profound repercussions in world relationships. The dominant feature of the new era promises to be change, faster and more radical than that witnessed during the first quarter century. All discernible trends point towards a new order of things and a new order of priority. The problem of coping with the new situation and harmonizing the diverging, and often conflicting, national aspirations and interests will indeed be a challenge to world statesmanship.

72. Two recent developments in international affairs show that world statesmanship is equal to this task. I refer to the developments relating to the progress achieved on the Berlin question and the steps taken towards the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

73. My Government applauds both these developments. In terms of their contribution to the relaxation of world tensions, these two developments tower far above others which have taken place in recent years.

74. The improvement in the situation of Europe, which really began last year with the conclusion of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, has continued. The basic agreement signed by the four Powers on the question of Berlin¹ is additional proof that the trend in Europe is unmistakably towards a lasting *détente*. Considering that Europe was twice the scene of devastating wars on a global scale during our lifetime and that, even after the end of the Second World War, the German problem continued to be the biggest source of friction between the major Powers for two and a half decades, we cannot help admiring the bold, constructive and far-sighted statesmanship that is responsible for the removal of that source of friction once and for all. A new era of peace has dawned in Europe. That gives us reason to believe that the *détente* will be increasingly reflected in closer co-operation between the major Powers in particular and in East-West relations in general.

75. Let us hope that this will ultimately lead to the divided countries being admitted to the United Nations on equal terms, so that the world Organization may be better equipped to deal with world problems on a practical and realistic basis.

¹ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

76. My Government has heartily welcomed the joint China-United States communiqué of last July announcing the visit of the President of the United States to Peking in the near future. It would be premature to make guesses about the outcome of a summit meeting between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai, but it goes without saying that the announcement of the meeting itself has brought about a sense of relief and generated tremendous hope for peace. The absence of relations—or, if I may say so, the existence of a *de facto* state of belligerency—between these two great Powers, which were war-time allies and traditional good friends, had not only hampered the development of international co-operation in several areas, but also severely weakened the capacity of the world Organization, as well as that of individual Powers, to tackle most world problems realistically and with any chance of success. It is the fervent hope of my Government that the incipient thaw in Washington-Peking relations will be a prelude to the establishment of a genuine peace through the settlement, in the first instance, of all outstanding problems in the Pacific region. Good normal relations between all major Powers are of fundamental importance to world peace.

77. My delegation has repeatedly expressed our strong feelings about the need for China's full and rightful participation in international affairs. The first step in this direction is, of course, the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We are happy that more and more countries are coming to accept the basic fact that, without China's presence and participation in the United Nations, the world Organization cannot be as strong and purposeful as the Charter intended it to be. We recognize that many of the disappointments, frustrations and failures of the United Nations during the past two decades are directly attributable to the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the Organization. As the United Nations enters into a new era, we cannot let this state of affairs continue.

78. In our view, the first priority in the new order of things should be the unconditional restoration of China's rights in the United Nations. In this way, not only will we be making a significant stride towards the universality of the Organization, but we will also be putting the United Nations in a better position to play the role which the Charter has set for it, namely, the pursuit of world peace.

79. With this end in view, my delegation has joined with several other delegations in submitting to the General Assembly a draft proposal [A/L.630] designed to restore to the People's Republic of China all its rights which are inherent in the Charter. The proposal is based on the fact of only one China and on the simple proposition that the Government which effectively governs the people of a State should be allowed to represent that State in the United Nations and all related agencies. We are confident that the General Assembly will approve our proposal. My delegation is determined to oppose any move or proposal which would have the effect of either delaying or obstructing the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We believe that the Assembly will reject all distracting tactics and that good counsel will prevail this year.

80. The development which has taken place in Korea in recent days also gives us some hope. As is evident from the

bilateral Red Cross talks, authorities in both Koreas seem to be shifting away from a rigid position of intolerance and confrontation to one of accommodation and coexistence. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that these talks will eventually evolve into an open and effective machinery for dialogue between South and North Korea at the governmental level.

81. When we turn away from these welcome developments towards other problem areas of the world, the emerging hopes for a better and more peaceful life on earth are almost dashed.

82. The war in Viet-Nam is continuing. It is one of the most glaring examples of the consequence of failure on the part of States to observe the principles of non-interference and self-determination. The prolonged war and its extension to the whole region of Indo-China has brought home the truth that no military solution to a basically political problem can be possible. What we regret more than anything in this tragic situation is that the lesson of the past few years has not been bitter enough for some who should know enough to shun the impossible goal of a total military victory.

83. The solution of this problem should be sought and found at the peace table. The peace talks, however, have reached a deadlock despite a wealth of concrete proposals, the most comprehensive of them being the recent seven-point proposal. What is lacking is a definite commitment to an early withdrawal of foreign troops. Outside interference should cease in that region and the Viet-Nameese and other Indo-Chinese people should be left free to chart their ways of life by themselves in peace and independence.

84. The Middle East situation carries the risk of a war involving major Powers directly. We have the régime of a fragile cease-fire there, thanks mainly to the efforts of the United States over a year ago. But developments, including the growing arms build-up on both sides, threaten the outbreak of fresh conflicts. The efforts of the Security Council have been virtually stalemated, and the situation is fast worsening.

85. It is almost four years since the adoption of resolution 242 (1967) by the Security Council. Despite the fact that the resolution commands almost universal support and contains the most practical framework for a peaceful settlement, the prospects for peace remain as bleak as ever. In our view, resolution 242 (1967) presupposes a willingness on the part of both sides to abide by the principles and the conditions laid down in it, including those concerning withdrawal and security guarantees, as well as a willingness to work out a solution by themselves on the basis of that resolution, with the help and assistance of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Jarring. It has established a mechanism for negotiations.

86. The tool of the United Nations—in the person of Ambassador Jarring—was, and still is, at the disposal of the parties. His services have not so far been fruitfully utilized. It is in this context that my delegation welcomes the recent initiative of the Organization of African Unity which is designed to supplement the efforts of the Security Council. The four African Heads of State carry with them the best

wishes of my Government for the success of their peace mission.

87. A critical situation arising out of the recent domestic events in East Pakistan has developed in another part of Asia. The people and the Government of Nepal have been deeply moved by the great human tragedy taking place in our neighbourhood. The tragedy is of an unprecedented magnitude, and it has reopened old problems and generated new ones. We share the view expressed by the Secretary-General that those problems, in their totality, are of common concern to the international community [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 177*]. The containment and amelioration of the situation require understanding and compassion and, above all, statesmanship of the highest order.

88. My Government is aware of the social and economic implications to India of having to confront the problems of the millions of refugees who have crossed the border. In meeting the burdens imposed by these problems, India, true to its humanitarian tradition, has been valiant and generous. The economic and other strains on India are indeed very heavy.

89. The Secretary-General has initiated and mounted relief measures to bring humanitarian assistance to the refugees in India and the affected people in East Pakistan. We welcome and support these measures, which deserve wider support by the membership of the United Nations. At the same time, my Government recognizes the need to create conditions for the return of the refugees to their homes.

90. The situation in southern Africa continues to be a source of potential world conflict. In recent years, the pace of decolonization has not only slowed down, it has come to a halt. The worst forms of colonialism and racial discrimination prevail in southern Africa. The situation in Namibia, in the Territories under Portuguese administration, in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa make a mockery of the principles of self-determination and human rights and fundamental freedoms. They generate intolerable racial tension.

91. So far, most of the major Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council have either failed or refused to comprehend their special responsibility as regards this situation. But we deem it essential that the interests of the major Powers be fully engaged if the problem of southern Africa is to be peacefully resolved. Only at our own peril will we continue to overlook the grave threat to peace arising out of colonial and racial repression in the African continent.

92. The existence of acute crises and critical situations in many areas of the world emphasizes the necessity of strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance and preservation of world peace, and in ensuring the full operational capacity of the Organization. We in Nepal view the United Nations both as an ideal of peace and as an instrument for peace. My delegation has given constant support to all measures aimed at promoting the United Nations both as an ideal and as an instrument. We regard the adoption at the last session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] to be one of those measures, and gave it our full support.

93. However, it seems that we have not been as forthcoming in our financial support of the Organization. An insolvent organization cannot function on a day-to-day basis, let alone perform its central task which is, in our case, the maintenance of peace. The Secretary-General has sounded the warning that, unless some serious measures are taken by Member States to solve the financial crisis, the viability of the Organization would come to an end in the not too distant future. My delegation is looking for a significant breakthrough in this regard. It is also equally important that an agreement be reached soon on the guidelines for future United Nations peace-keeping operations.

94. In the great human endeavour to keep the peace, disarmament is first and foremost. Indeed, disarmament is an inevitable condition for a lasting peace. The progress towards disarmament, however, has been slow and arduous.

95. Last February, my Government signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [*resolution 2660 (XXV), annex*]. We have been encouraged by the progress achieved at Geneva concerning a draft convention banning biological and toxin weapons, but we consider that this should be coupled with, or followed very soon by, an agreement banning chemical weapons as well. We fully support the recent agreements signed by the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States on the modernization of the existing hot-line link between Moscow and Washington² and on a common procedure for the prevention of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war between the two nuclear giants.³ The importance of these measures is that they create an atmosphere of confidence which, in turn, will lead to more substantive agreement or agreements on the limitation of strategic arms.

96. To our great disappointment, no agreement on the banning of underground nuclear tests has been possible, despite the fact that there is no technical obstacle in the way of such an agreement. Regardless of world public opinion, major nuclear Powers persist in the qualitative development of their nuclear weapons.

97. The arms race continues. Not only does it consume hundreds of billions of dollars each year, but it poses an inherent danger to all nations, nuclear and non-nuclear, rich and poor, large and small. It is a matter affecting one and all. We should all continue, without exception, in our efforts to remove this basic threat to the very survival of mankind. To that end, my delegation has always urged the convening of a world disarmament conference, a conference in which all nations of the world, including the divided ones, should be invited to participate. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that my Government supports the spirit of the Soviet proposal in this regard [*A/L.631*].

98. At the last session of the General Assembly, we adopted the International Development Strategy for the

Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. The Strategy provides a broad indication of the scope of international co-operation during the Decade. It calls on the developing countries to approach the problems of development in a planned way, and at the same time it defines the obligations of the developed industrial countries in the matter of international development. In keeping with the spirit of the International Strategy, and as a matter of national economic policy, my Government has proclaimed the 1970s to be a development decade of Nepal. Our current five-year plan envisages a high growth rate in terms of industrial and agricultural productivity and the expansion and diversification of our trade. We have also concentrated our efforts on the development of human resources in such a way as to secure a balance between the social and economic development of the country.

99. The International Development Strategy recognizes the vital link between international peace and international development and social justice. This Strategy cannot be an unrelated endeavour of the United Nations. But despite the adoption of the Strategy last year, developing countries in general continue to face difficulties in the way of their planned economic development, because of the prospects of an over-all decrease in external assistance and the growing tendency towards tougher trade barriers. In this situation, the problems of the developing land-locked countries, which are, by and large, the least developed among the developing ones, are compounded by their physical distance from the sea. These countries cannot meaningfully participate in international trade and development if they do not receive adequate guarantees for their right of free access to the sea and unrestricted overland transit in international practice and conventions. In their review and appraisal of the progress achieved in the attainment of the goals set out in the International Strategy, the General Assembly, and any machinery to be created for that purpose, should not overlook the problems of the least developed countries.

100. The interdependence of the world has been dramatically emphasized by the recent world monetary crisis. We do not wish to ascribe blame for this crisis to any country, but we feel that the recent events have not only had a damaging impact on world production and international trade, but also have created a crisis of confidence among nations by tearing down the long-established system.

101. The national measures which have led to the present crisis are, in addition, severely hampering the growth process of several developing countries. Any prolongation of monetary instability will impose more serious hardship on the developing countries than on the developed ones, because the capacity of the latter to withstand and adjust to occasional constraints is greater than that of the former. Only co-operative endeavours, coupled with the lifting of restrictive national measures and the realignment of currencies, will enable the world to overcome this crisis. Any new arrangement for a steadier world monetary system should be geared to a more dynamic concept of world trade and development.

102. In our cautious, often methodical, but always slow approach to world problems—problems of peace and security, development and social justice, and the preserva-

² Agreement on Communications Link, signed at Washington on 30 September 1971.

³ Agreement on Averting Nuclear War, signed at Washington on 30 September 1971.

tion and exploration of the physical and marine environment—we run the risk of being outstripped by events, whether caused by unilateral national action or by scientific and technological breakthroughs. In this world of interdependence and instant communication, these problems cannot be confined either to national boundaries or to ideological barriers, nor can they be tackled successfully at the national level. The projected United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and the conference on the law of the sea are timely responses on the part of the United Nations to the problem of reconciling the development needs of mankind with the need for preserving our physical and marine environment. The outcome of the conferences will show how far we have learned to harness the forces of science and technology for our common good. These conferences might build up new forms of international co-operation. The United Nations should always remain capable of dealing with such problems swiftly and decisively, always taking into consideration the interests and views of all Member States. However important these questions are, we must never lose sight of the fact that the primary and central task of the United Nations is the maintenance of peace. This Organization is the only political and diplomatic instrument available to the family of nations for that purpose. We in Nepal therefore feel that our overriding concern should be the preserving and strengthening of the United Nations as a viable instrument for peace.

103. As I come to the close of my statement, I should like, on behalf of my Government, to pay a special tribute to U Thant for his service to the United Nations during the last particularly trying and difficult 10 years. He has served the United Nations with unmatched devotion and at great personal sacrifice. He has given the United Nations a leadership which has been the source of pride to my Government. As our Secretary-General he is involved in the cause of peace so deeply that in my country, as I am sure in other countries, he has come to be identified completely with the United Nations itself. By behaviour and deed and by thought and action, he has symbolized in his person the lofty aims and objectives of the Charter. A devout Buddhist, he has lived up fully to the message of peace, compassion and tolerance, the message given to the world by the Prince of Peace, Gautama Siddhartha, over 2,500 years ago. Although he has denied the role himself, U Thant has nevertheless become the symbol of the moral conscience of mankind. We have all read his personal reflections on the 10 years of his service to the international community and have been greatly moved by the profound dedication which he has brought to his task. Indeed, no one can fail to be so moved by the deep personal commitment of U Thant to the cause of peace and justice in the world. My Government respects his wish to retire at the end of his current term, but we in Nepal are all confident that, should his services be needed in the cause of peace, he will not hesitate to place the welfare and well-being of the international community above his own. My Government would very much like him to stay for the time being as Secretary-General, but in whatever capacity he remains he will always be a moral guide and a source of inspiration to us.

104. Mr. THORN (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): In addressing the General Assembly today, I am

especially happy to tell you how gratified we are to see you presiding over our deliberations this year. In electing you, the world Organization has chosen the eminent Minister for Foreign Affairs of a great Asian country, whose Government advocates, wisely and with circumspection, international *entente* and understanding. We follow with interest the manner in which the Indonesian people have resolutely embarked on the path of continued economic and social development and progress.

105. At the same time I should like to convey to the outgoing President the expression of our highest regard and appreciation for the remarkably impartial manner and the firm yet smiling authority with which he conducted the debates of the session that commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

106. When, on this occasion, I reiterate to Secretary-General U Thant our tribute of gratitude for his persevering efforts in favour of peace over a period of more than 10 years, I do so with all the regrets I feel at his intention not to continue in his duties beyond the end of his present term, in the event that his decision were to be inflexible.

107. If, at the beginning of an Assembly session, we were to seek to determine the true meaning that should surround our debate, we should, first of all, take into account the recent evolution of the international situation.

108. Our discussions, last year, were largely dominated by the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. At the time, we took a long look at all that had happened since the entry into force of the Charter signed at San Francisco. While noting the fundamental changes that had taken place throughout the world since that time, which may already appear remote, it was impossible to ignore the enormous difference that still exists between our acts and our aspirations based on the reign of peace and understanding between peoples.

109. The declarations of principle adopted almost a year ago with an eye to the future, the initiatives taken at the time, were marked with the need for a dialogue. The settlement of disputes—and there were many who emphasized this point strongly—must be the result of constructive negotiations and persevering efforts at conciliation, in keeping with the spirit of the Charter and respect for its principles.

110. While the texts approved in 1945 do not spell this out, such an approach requires that our Organization should have a representative character that is as close as possible to universality, in other words, that all countries, and especially those which by reason of their importance, are in duty bound to assume the greatest responsibilities, should take part in the settlement of disputes of major importance for the survival of mankind.

111. The events of this year have unhappily brought a succession of unexpected misfortunes and setbacks to millions of men; the hand of man has added to the cataclysms produced by the forces of nature and has conjured up again the spectre of war. On the other hand, we have witnessed the opening up of new horizons, unexplored thus far, in the fruitful rapprochement between

peoples, even though the chances for a final normalization of relations between them have not always been either rapid or easy.

112. Contacts have been established between great Powers which previously ignored each other: in the Middle East guns have been silenced thanks to the cease-fire which, however precarious, is none the less real and which, it is to be hoped, will endure until peace is finally achieved; and in Viet-Nam the possibility of a peaceful settlement is beginning to materialize.

113. It is the duty of our Organization to make the adaptations required by this changing situation. The need for a dialogue requires, firstly—as I pointed out almost a year ago from this rostrum [1878th meeting]—that the 750 million inhabitants of continental China be effectively represented here by their governing authorities, it being understood, therefore, that the permanent seat reserved in the Security Council for China should be occupied by the Government of the People's Republic of China. Since it is imperative for that Government to break out of its political isolation, we regard the progress achieved recently in this direction as encouraging.

114. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the progressive application of the principle of universality within the United Nations can only be achieved through the prior expulsion of a Member State which has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties imposed upon it by the Charter.

115. We are unable to see how the United Nations could, *a priori*, dislodge by expulsion, a Government which effectively governs a people of 14 million inhabitants, and which, to date, has at all times shown a constructive and loyal attitude. Such an action by the United Nations would be tantamount to denying its principles and encouraging, if not openly at least tacitly, the settlement of a conflict through means other than open and constructive dialogue, whereas its role is to serve as an intermediary, to go beyond the passions aroused by events, to build bridges over the abyss of differences which divide the two parties.

116. The expulsion of a Member could only create a new tension, whereas, on the other hand—and without prejudging possible solutions—it should be possible to find a peaceful solution to the entry of the People's Republic of China within the framework of the United Nations.

117. Still within the context of the dialogue, we have, in these past months, witnessed the progress achieved in the field of co-operation in Europe. The success of talks with a view to enlarging the European communities will undoubtedly make it possible to achieve and expand the understanding between these countries, whose rivalry has already dominated history far too long. By a joint attempt to create forms of solidarity enabling them to settle, on a much broader scale, questions which they cannot solve by remaining in isolation, the European States which take part in the process of integration will not only bring about a stabilizing effect in that area of the world, but will, moreover, exert a beneficial influence on the development of profitable relations between our continent and the rest of the universe.

118. For the consolidation of Europe's structure has undeniably always facilitated a *détente*. That *détente* was made manifest recently on the occasion of the signature of an agreement solving the thorny Berlin problem by the four Powers who have special responsibilities in Germany.⁴ That agreement brings us considerably closer to the day when it will be possible to explore the possibilities of discussion of the other present-day European problems within a multi-lateral framework. The result will be improved political relations, accompanied by an expansion in trade exchanges with third world countries, as well as a freer circulation of men, ideas and information.

119. We sincerely hope that all the countries of the European continent will make a contribution of equal value to the creation of that *détente*. Our wish is to see the final establishment of co-operation between all States in Europe, based on mutual confidence and respect.

120. The advantages that have progressively grown out of the regional policy followed thus far illustrate the extent to which it is urgent for all peoples to transcend considerations arising from an excessive and outmoded concept of nationalism or the most traditional kind of sovereignty.

121. This is true, in particular, of the efforts made by all people without distinction to achieve economic and social progress. It is true, moreover, of actions to be undertaken jointly to maintain peace. It is also true of measures to be taken with a view to ensuring the universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is true, finally, of the settlement of disputes through arbitration or legal institutions.

122. In all of these fields the implementation of co-ordinated action, even of institutional joint mechanisms, appears to be more essential with each passing day. Progressively, problems of this kind go beyond the narrow framework of national frontiers and impose on the world community a need to act under concerted decisions. States for this reason must give up exercising an ever increasing amount of prerogatives for the benefit of international institutions or organs vested with true competence.

123. In the course of the Second United Nations Development Decade the implementation of procedures for the examination and assessment of the International Development Strategy is liable in the coming years to make public opinion more aware of the duties deriving therefrom for all countries involved in this global, unprecedented task of solidarity. As the years of the Decade go by, this enterprise, based for the most part on bilateral relations between States, must assume the nature of an essentially multilateral action.

124. The institution of a system of generalized preferences, established by the European Economic Community for industrial products from all the developing countries without discrimination, has enabled us this year to take an important step towards that objective. That scheme is in keeping with the main concern that was manifested at

⁴ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in its desire to arrive at an over-all scheme of preferences, without reciprocity or discrimination, acceptable both to the developed and to the developing countries. Its adoption enabled us optimistically to envisage the next stage—the third session of the Conference, to be held in April 1972 in Santiago, Chile, in the hope that converging measures will derive from the discussion.

125. The recent international monetary crisis, however, has made us fear that we shall go back to protectionism, to the closing of world trade (the results of which would be felt by the whole of the third world) and a reduction of over-all aid to the developing countries, as well as a serious depreciation of their exports. It is therefore essential to call on the perspicacity of responsible statesmen in order to face up to these serious threats.

126. International public opinion follows the work of our Organization with unveiled scepticism, and that same public opinion is losing some of its faith in the political efficacy of the United Nations. This is due in part to the fact that a valid arrangement has not yet been arrived at concerning the establishment, in time of crisis, of joint operations for the maintenance of peace.

127. We are aware of the multiple aspects of this problem. We know of its particular importance for the medium-sized and small countries that have been the victims of acts of aggression, expansion or conquest. Only a true participation by all the great Powers along the lines recognized in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations set up by the Assembly will enable our Organization to become what we expected it to be from the very outset—in other words, an irreplaceable instrument for peace and security.

128. In fact, whenever and as often as the United Nations has intervened, even by sending mere observers, in a dispute which had degenerated or ran the risk of degenerating into a military conflict, the worst has been avoided. Moreover, despite its shortcomings, the Organization proved to be effective in situations where we decided to make it play a useful role. The Security Council, in particular, functioned efficiently as soon as the permanent members were in agreement. Consequently, it would be in the interest of the great Powers to draw inspiration from these experiences, in order to expedite the current talks, to which many member States attach particular importance.

129. A series of Articles in the Charter emphasize the need to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms, while imposing on Member States the obligations to respect them. The duties of the Organization as such stem directly from these Articles. Here, too, the commitments undertaken limit a sovereignty which may not be exercised at the expense of the legitimate concern of the world community.

130. In order to fulfil its mission, the United Nations, through a High Commissioner for Human Rights, should make its voice felt impartially and effectively.

131. Despite the improvement we have noted in the international situation recently at different levels, despite the relaxing of tension in certain areas, we cannot still the anguish inspired in an impartial observer by the continu-

ance of old conflicts and the possible appearance on the horizon of new tragedies.

132. We have eagerly followed the actions of the Secretary-General when, through his Special Representative, he has attempted to bring the opposing parties in the Middle East to an understanding on the basis of a common interpretation and application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) sketching the broad outlines of a just and lasting settlement.

133. We have paid special attention to the attempts made in the course of the talks between the four great Powers and the exploratory mission of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Rogers, who took the initiative in this field. None of these initiatives, even when they sought a simply partial and provisional solution, thus far, has been successful—as we know only too well.

134. If we want to break out of the deadlock, criticism and mutual accusations will not help us in any way. The escalation of words finally leads to an escalation of violence. And in such conditions the parties involved, whose responsible leaders have confirmed their will to make peace, must realize with objectivity that they are compelled to live together for ever in the same region. Neither the use of military force nor the tracing of frontiers have in the past constituted, nor will they in future constitute, a step forward or a panacea.

135. We must show a true spirit of understanding, abandon attitudes which are only obstacles to an agreement worthy of the name, and avoid a resumption of hostilities which would serve the true interests of no one.

136. As for the bodies in which our Organization has put its faith for a rapprochement between the parties concerned, they should not neglect any possible chance of exploring all possible means which may lead to the expected results. Let the permanent members of the Security Council, on whom devolves so important a role in the search for a peaceful solution, spare no effort with a view to ensuring an agreement which must be reached by the parties concerned. But time is of the essence and it does not work in favour of peace.

137. While the Middle East conflict has again this year been of great concern to us, we cannot—while not interfering in the affairs within the internal competence of Member States—keep silent before the regrettable events that have taken place on the Asian continent.

138. Can we close our eyes to what the Secretary-General has described in the course of a recent press conference as “one of the most tragic episodes in the history of mankind”?

139. When in one region of the world the numbers of refugees leaving their homes and their lands in conditions of misery and extreme suffering reach several million, is the United Nations truly living up to its vocation by confining its action to a timorous undertaking of a humanitarian character?

140. Are considerations of national sovereignty or of security still valid when before our eyes we see the untold

suffering of millions of human beings, sacrificed in the name of respect of principles that are valid in themselves, but which in this case are in conflict with elementary rights recognized by all civilized societies to the humblest of their citizens? It becomes each day more obvious that no country represented in this Organization can alone win acceptance for a solution which could be immediately applied to this situation which is fraught with future peril. Far be it from me to question the right of a country to settle its internal affairs independently. Valid solutions at the regional or national level are always infinitely preferable to the need to raise a problem in this Organization, but in the face of the impotence of the countries directly concerned, can we really remain silent?

141. Thus, to the extent that our general debate is supposed to reflect our major preoccupations in respect of problems that we see in the international arena now, we must look at the southern part of the Asian continent, where the safety of so many human beings depends on the pacifying action of the United Nations. Let the countries directly concerned understand that the outside world cannot indefinitely conceal its apprehensions in the face of what is going on in that area. Let them show proof of moderation and the kind of wisdom that their great men have taught in the past to the whole of mankind.

142. More than ever, the events that we are witnessing, the new possibilities that are appearing, remind the world of the need to strive for a better balance. Nothing fundamental has been changed but—and the many contacts that have occurred at the highest levels or that are about to occur are proof of this—we see here and there a growing desire for strengthened stability in international relations.

143. Although wars previously led to victory and sometimes even to peace, it is clear that today they can lead neither to one nor the other. Hence there is a growing need to substitute peaceful dialogue for the confrontation of weapons, to recognize a state of mutual interdependence between peoples and to arrive at true co-operation for the benefit of all.

144. The main objective of our work should be to let this trend gain more ground each day in a climate of confidence and to add other tangible results to those which have already been achieved, especially in our political debates in this Assembly.

145. Mr. TACK (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my Government, may I tender to you, Mr. President, our most heartfelt congratulations upon your election to preside over the deliberations of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I also wish to extend my warmest greetings to the new Members of the Organization: Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar.

146. The Republic of Panama is a country that is fully aware of its role and its place in the contemporary world, and as such, when speaking as its representative from this high rostrum, I shall not presume to dictate norms of behaviour nor to give any guidelines for the conduct of world affairs. My country admires and respects the great work done by the United Nations for the preservation of peace, for the rapprochement of peoples and the economic

and social development of the underprivileged in order to ensure respect for human rights and, finally, for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and the remaining vestiges of colonialism throughout the world. We also appreciate the limitations and shortcomings of this world Organization which, being a human endeavour, has its failings, although we believe that some are imposed from outside and are not the product of congenital defects. The important thing is that in the face of this reality, the nations of the world, irrespective of their size, should become clearly aware of their collective personality and strengthen it while becoming increasingly more capable of playing a decisive part in the evolution of the international community.

147. The third world, which can be identified because of the similarity of its problems while struggling for political and economic independence, brought together in Lusaka the representatives of 65 countries and was able to prevail upon the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session to adopt the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security on 17 December 1971 by a vote of 121 members in favour, with 1 against and 1 abstention [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. The United Nations thus firmly endorsed the idea of collective and universal security, without military alliances, for the establishment of peace throughout the world. This significant reply from the countries that are not involved in the cold war among the great Powers indicated a means of ensuring independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity outside the traditional framework of military pacts and subjugation imposed through the force of arms or by economic pressure.

148. However, there are still some remnants of the distribution of the world among the great Powers who act without taking into account the legitimate interests of small Powers. Let us speak candidly and confess that the latter take part in the arena of world problems as mere spectators or as actors playing a minor part. However, we are comforted to some degree by the promising move, both national and regional, of self-assertion that has been at play in Latin America in these past years. A new attitude and a very definite resolve is asserting the purpose of the Latin American peoples to overcome traditional frustrations brought about by international dependency and the lack of capacity of local oligarchies to draw up and execute policies designed to promote the economic growth of the Latin American countries while creating conditions for the social well-being of national majorities.

149. A united Latin America, the dream of Bolívar, can become a decisive force in the international community while preserving its cultural identity and making its presence felt, not in order to divide the world, but rather to unite it through links, each of which retains its own personality. It is for that reason that we view with satisfaction certain positive developments in our region, based on coexistence and co-operation quite outside our ideological and political differences.

150. The solution of the economic and social problems of the peoples of the third world, and particularly of Latin America, will not be achieved through magic or dogmatic formulae, but rather lies in planned development as called for by the reform of the traditional structure to bring it into line with the complex demands of contemporary life.

151. The Republic of Panama aspires to the achievement of that development and to the strengthening of its position in its relations with larger and more powerful countries. Prompted by this purpose, on 11 October 1968, under the leadership of General Omar Torrijos Herrera, we began three years ago to pave the way for national revolution. A true revolution is all important, positive, and cannot be improvised, less still can it be carried out unless the protagonists are the people.

152. The October movement in my country has deep roots and its only aim is to achieve true justice and responsible freedom for all the citizens of Panama. On the basis of our particular national conditions, we seek to change Panama's reality through our own endeavours and with the co-operation of peoples which have achieved greater progress than our own, while resolutely rejecting any measure that runs counter to our right to self-determination and to make the best possible use of our natural resources, of which the first and foremost is our geographic position in the world.

153. Panama's revolutionary process has assumed the historic responsibility of tackling one of the vital problems of our Republic, a problem that is raised by the special contractual relations which bind Panama and the United States of America and which stem from the existence and operation of the Canal on Panamanian territory.

154. Following instructions from my Government, on 4 October 1971, I addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a document giving a detailed account of the background and permanent aspirations of the people of Panama for the current negotiations of a new treaty on the Canal between the Governments of Panama and the United States of America. I have requested the Secretary-General to have that statement made known to all Member States,⁵ since it is our belief that the problem of the Panama Canal affects not only the two nations that built it, but, rather, is of concern to all the others by virtue of the international character and function of the Canal. We believe that we are complying with the duty of solidarity and coexistence when we inform the Assembly of Panama's aspirations, in order that we may achieve a just and equitable agreement that will govern the operation of the Canal in the future. This attests to the fact that we are consistent in our adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to solidarity, co-operation and peaceful coexistence among all States, as stated by the President of Panama. Mr. Demetrio Lakas, at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [1875th meeting]. We do so because we trust that, in a spirit of equity and harmony, relations that are more consonant with the new international morality between a small country and a great Power will be concluded, thus enabling my country to free itself of the aforementioned treaty which offends the feelings and dignity of the people of Panama.

155. In 1903, the treaty that gave rise to the building of the Canal between the two oceans was imposed on Panama, a treaty that is prejudicial to my country in almost all its provisions, a treaty that affects the essence of the Panaman-

ian nation, and which has brought untold and unjustifiable suffering to the people of Panama. That treaty links us forever to a situation that is now intolerable, since, as a result thereof, one of the parties increased its economic and military power and hegemony as a world Power, whereas the other saw its status as a sovereign and independent State diminished. By virtue of that treaty, an extraneous body called the "Canal Zone" was grafted on to the heart of our Republic and it has subsisted as an entity alien to Panamanian sovereignty and jurisdiction, having its own Government, its own laws, dictated from abroad. This was a *de facto* situation imposed on Panama.

156. My country hopes that the current negotiations will lead to the conclusion of a new, just and equitable agreement that will eliminate the causes of conflict between the two countries, and which, by abrogating the 1903 Treaty, and consequently the onerous perpetuity clause, will ensure that the Republic of Panama fully recovers its jurisdiction over the present Canal Zone, which is an inalienable part of its territory. Panama, in due time, will inform the Assembly of the outcome of those negotiations.

157. The United Nations must become truly universal, and to this end all States, regardless of their size or ideological or geographic position, provided they are sovereign, must have permanent representation in this Organization.

158. In the most dramatic case which the General Assembly must face this year, the possible entry of the People's Republic of China into this Organization, the small countries cannot fail to remember with bitterness the recent past, in which, manipulated by the unjust domino theory, we were moved, like mere pawns, in the game of world politics. We cannot fail to feel a certain amount of frustration at seeing that, apparently, there are those who still seek to treat us as such. The small countries are still excluded from contributing to the solution of many important questions. We always knew—because we were not blind—that the People's Republic of China has a population of over 700 million inhabitants whose existence cannot be disregarded by a world Organization. Can we only now say this when it has become commonplace? We are convinced that the presence of the People's Republic of China in this Organization would contribute to the strengthening of world peace.

159. Our relations with the nations of the world, to whose representatives I tender my sincere and heartfelt greetings, is conceived by us in the context of two pluralisms in which the right of each people freely to establish its own internal régime is not an illusion but a fact.

160. We reiterate our solidarity with all peoples that are struggling against the remnants and vestiges of colonialism, and who, as we have always done, express their repudiation of all forms of racial discrimination.

161. It is the irrevocable objective of our policy of defence of our natural resources to claim national jurisdiction over the whole of our territory up to 200 miles of territorial sea and continental shelf. In the new international order of the seas which will emerge from the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea to be held by the United Nations, Panama will maintain unchanged these

⁵ This communication was transmitted to Member States by a note verbale dated 7 October 1971.

principles of maritime sovereignty, which are not subject to negotiation.

162. We greatly deplore learning of the decision by the Secretary-General, U Thant, to abandon the high office to which he was elected at a crucial moment for the Organization and a decisive moment for the state of mankind. He has worked in an irreproachable and fruitful manner. The Organization today has a truly universal and positive personality and functions as such. His efforts, his intelligence and his moral conduct provide an example to the Governments and administrations of nations and a reason for pride for the human race. We sincerely thank the Secretary-General for the kindness with which he so courteously received our permanent delegation, and may we express our sincere wishes for his happiness and peace which, no doubt, he must be sure of, because he has done his duty.

163. If we can help in any way towards the development and progress of the peoples of the world, peaceful coexistence among peoples, we will always be found in the forefront of such enterprises, for the achievement of which we offer the United Nations guarantees of free transit and the neutrality of our Canal.

164. Mr. MULDOON (New Zealand): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure to congratulate the new President of this Assembly. You come to us, Sir, as one of the most distinguished statesmen of South-East Asia, from a great country of that region, and with qualities that will serve us admirably during one of the most important assemblies in the history of this Organization. It is also a pleasure for me to pay a tribute to the previous President of the Assembly, Mr. Hambro of Norway, who presided so well over a session marking another significant juncture in the lifetime of the United Nations.

165. This session of the General Assembly, meeting under the guidance of an Asian President, is one which will be marked by a degree of preoccupation with matters relating to that most populous of regions which has not always been characteristic of this Organization. For New Zealand, a country of the South Pacific on the fringes of Asia but a full partner, for all that, in many aspects of the increasingly intensive co-operation among the great majority of countries in this region, this will be welcome.

166. It means that in the first instance the Assembly will, as we hope, at last come to grips in a realistic manner with the position which the People's Republic of China should occupy in the Organization. My Government, along with most of those Governments represented here today, has welcomed the hopeful developments which have taken place in relationships with Peking since the Assembly last met, and particularly during the last few months. The announcement of President Nixon's intention to visit China at some time before May of next year and the preliminary talks which preceded that announcement, no less than the actual visit when it eventuates, have the quality of events which leave their mark on the history of human affairs. They portend the end of an era. Whether it is the beginning of a new order depends on the efforts which will be made by all concerned. For the present we are in a period of transition and of adjustment of relationships which calls for

difficult decisions on the part of Governments, but particularly on the part of those whose future is intimately bound up with the destinies of Asia.

167. For many years my Government, which in 1961 proposed the inclusion in the Assembly's agenda of an item on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations,⁶ has been concerned with the achievement of a solution to the problem of Chinese representation that would be both just and reasonable. We have spoken in favour of the seating in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China. We have also wished to see fair recognition of the reality of the situation, which is the existence of two Governments in full control of their respective territories. Here there is a separation of authority as distinct as there is in the case of what are known as the "divided States", but with the essential difference that the entity, China, is already a Member of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has argued strongly in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that the admission of the divided countries should not be linked to the problems resulting from their division [A/8401/Add.1, para. 104]. My delegation may not be entirely convinced that that is so, but since the argument has been advanced, *a fortiori* it must apply in the case of two Governments, in control for two full decades of different parts of the territory of what was a founding Member of the United Nations. The legitimacy of either Government is not a matter for the Assembly to determine in the circumstances of the case, where both Governments enjoy wide recognition among United Nations Members. It is for the Assembly rather to make clear that a resolution of the basic conflict lies with the parties concerned, while providing for the seating of both in the Organization.

168. This is fair; this is reasonable; this is, above all, common sense. That is why my Government, which shares with many others the desire to see the representatives of Peking seated in the Assembly and exercising the powers which should fall to them in the Security Council, has joined in sponsoring a proposal to this effect [A/L.633].

169. Great Powers have great capacity to achieve good, or equally to inflict damage. Rapprochements involving great Powers must always be welcomed for the relaxation of tension which should accompany them. Yet it is important, and it is the responsibility of this Organization to ensure, that the rights of the less powerful should not be ignored or swept away in the interests of an accommodation among super-States, or between a super-State and the rest of the world community. My delegation believes that this consideration is one to which due weight should be given when the Assembly embarks upon the substantive discussion of this problem.

170. It is, indeed, the peculiar quality of the General Assembly that, as the Secretary-General stated in paragraph 95 of his introduction, it "offers the smaller and the medium Powers not only a voice, but also a way of influencing the course of events far in excess of what was previously available to them". This is a significant statement, like a number of others made in this year's

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 90 and 91, document A/4873.

introduction, particularly in part one, to which I wish to pay a warm tribute.

171. My Government believes that the smaller Powers, into whose ranks we have the pleasure of welcoming Bahrain, Bhutan, Qatar and soon Oman, have a special role to play both within the United Nations and outside. They bring a different perspective to world affairs which can serve as a useful balance to the interests of larger Powers, while in many cases they enjoy relationships with such Powers which enable them both to understand the objectives of the latter and to exercise some influence upon them.

172. The necessity for this three-way relationship between the great Powers, small countries and international institutions has been dramatically evident in recent weeks in the international monetary situation. It is a fact of life we recognize, that the economic weight of the great industrial Powers has a major impact on moulding the character of the international monetary system. In the present unstable situation it is the major Powers that must undergo the restructuring needed to restore equilibrium. Naturally it is those Powers that will have a major role in the negotiations that are necessary to lead to long-term international monetary stability.

173. At the same time, it is essential that the great Powers recognize that their economic decisions can profoundly affect the economic stability of the smaller nations, many of which do not have sophisticated monetary systems and the resilience to ride out major upheavals. I repeat what I said at the meetings in Washington last week that it is an unfortunate fact that recent measures taken by major countries—which to them seemed reasonable and legitimate—may have damaging repercussions on the economies of small nations whose problems were neither perceived nor discussed.

174. New Zealand welcomes the improvement in the climate for constructive discussion. While we understand the reasons for the actions of the United States Administration, we firmly believe that all nations, large and small, that are intimately concerned with these events should consider each other's difficulties. We are confident that they will recognize the duty each has to the international community to reach a reasonable compromise before further serious damage is done—not only to international trade—but also to the institutions that have served us well since Bretton Woods. We are encouraged, therefore, that the International Monetary Fund unanimously recognized that, whereas the present international monetary situation contains the dangers of instability and disorder in currency and trade relationships, it also offers the opportunity for constructive changes in the international monetary system, and in particular it called upon its members to collaborate with the Fund and with each other in order, as promptly as possible, to establish a satisfactory structure of exchange rates, together with the reduction of restrictive trade and exchange practices.⁷

175. Among other problems confronting small countries is their position in world trade and in relation to large economic groupings, which may so easily develop marked protectionist characteristics. In this debate last year, the leader of the New Zealand delegation spoke of the threat which hung over New Zealand's economic future as negotiations were engaged on the entry of the United Kingdom, its largest export market, into the European Economic Community [1853rd meeting, para. 197]. He said that in a very real sense the role of regional groupings in world trade was on trial in this test case. He also said that it would be tragic if, as a result of enlarging the European Economic Community, one of the world's most efficient agricultural producers were to be driven to the wall.

176. I owe it to this Assembly, and to the countries of the Community, as well as to the Government of the United Kingdom, to record on this occasion the satisfactory outcome of these negotiations from New Zealand's point of view. Having disposed of this area of uncertainty in its immediate trading future, New Zealand is now in a better position to plan ahead, to move forward on the basis of sound economic growth and to play its full part in world trade and development and, with it, in the Second Development Decade.

177. Regional economic groupings are a fact of international life. They have much to offer to smaller countries by providing the advantages of a market-place of new dimensions. The development of wider opportunities for trade and development throughout many of the countries and territories of the South Pacific is one of the important goals sought by the Heads of State or Government of Western Samoa, Nauru, Fiji, Tonga and the Cook Islands, who joined with the representatives of Australia and New Zealand in the South Pacific Forum held in Wellington in August this year. A second such meeting will be held in Canberra in the first half of 1972, and preparatory work is under way among officials. Co-operation is envisaged over a wide range of fields of practical interest. Combined with the continuing work of the South Pacific Commission and the welcome and increasing commitment of United Nations agencies to the area, we believe these activities should have a significant impact at the development level.

178. There was another aspect of the growing sense of South Pacific awareness at the recent meeting. This was the unanimous feeling of concern expressed by this group of small countries that, despite the opposition voiced over the years, they should still be faced with the intrusion, as they saw it, of a great Power into the area for the purpose of conducting atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons. Why, they asked, if the hazards are as slight as France claims, should it not test nearer home?

179. In this and in other ways in recent months a growing impatience has been revealed among countries in and bordering the Pacific. An even wider range of concern has been shown in recent discussions in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. While we welcome the fact that this year's test series has been cut short after five explosions, this is apparently only a temporary relief. What we wait to hear is that this will have been the last series to be conducted in our Pacific area. In saying this, my

⁷ International Monetary Fund, *Summary Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors, September 27-October 1, 1971* (Washington, D.C.), p. 331.

delegation is not unmindful of the arguments that France is not a party to the partial test-ban treaty;⁸ that it is, after all, only following the path of other nuclear Powers which continue to develop their potential through underground testing; that there is no agreement on measures of nuclear disarmament; and that the People's Republic of China also continues to test in the atmosphere. My delegation will advocate at this session, as it has done in the past, the ending of all nuclear testing, including underground testing. But meanwhile no atmospheric test can escape the condemnation of those who have signed the partial test-ban treaty and who constitute a great majority of this Assembly.

180. The meeting of the South Pacific Forum to which I have referred brought together all the independent or self-governing countries of the South Pacific. Apart from Australia and New Zealand, none has a population of much more than half a million or a land area greater than 7,000 square miles, and the majority are decidedly smaller. Yet in every case, whether the country concerned had been a Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territory, the right to self-determination had been recognized and freely exercised, and the transition had been a peaceful one in what we like to think is the Pacific way. Nor, so far as New Zealand's remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories of Niue and the Tokelau Islands are concerned, will that right of free choice be denied when the peoples concerned wish to exercise it. The problems which remain, unlike those in some other parts of the world and notably southern Africa, do not relate to this principle: they are simply, in these tiny islands, the problems of size, resources and general viability. It has been a matter of disappointment to my delegation that the bodies concerned with questions of decolonization have not as yet fully studied the special problems inherent in such small Territories. Rather, they have been understandably anxious to assert the basic principles to which my delegation, having voted in favour of resolution 1514 (XV), also subscribes. My delegation has nevertheless been encouraged by the trend of the constructive discussion which took place this year in Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

181. The Assembly will be interested to know that the New Zealand Government, which has long expressed its willingness in principle to receive a visiting mission, has during this year's consideration of Niue and the Tokelau, invited the Special Committee to send a small mission to both Territories in 1972. It thus continues a pattern of co-operation with the United Nations in the field of decolonization which at different times has involved United Nations presence both in the former Trust Territory of Western Samoa and in the Cook Islands. It is confident that, when a mission of the Special Committee visits Niue and the Tokelau Islands next year, this will be an important element not only in ascertaining the attitudes of the local populations but also in deepening understanding in the United Nations of the conditions in these small Pacific islands. The Secretary-General has provided an excellent summary of the question in paragraph 304 of his introduction where, speaking of small Territories, he says:

⁸ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

“... the problems involved in their decolonization are nevertheless complex and call for individual solutions which must stem from the full and freely expressed wishes of their peoples and, at the same time, take account of realities.”

182. Once the right to self-determination has been recognized, the search for a realistic solution to the problems of Non-Self-Governing Territories can begin and the United Nations can assist in the process. But there remain those Territories, in particular Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, in respect of which that right continues to be denied; and in Southern Rhodesia the problem is overlaid with racial discrimination and *apartheid*-type policies which deprive large segments of the population of their most elementary human rights. Here, as on the even more arduous question of South Africa itself, the approach in the United Nations must of necessity be a consistent one: no doubt must be left as to where the international community stands on the principles involved, and its condemnation must be firmly stated where these principles are denied.

183. In determining its position on the various draft resolutions on questions relating to southern Africa which will be before the present session, the New Zealand delegation will wish to give full weight to this moral imperative. It was for this reason that New Zealand recorded an affirmative vote earlier this year in the Economic and Social Council on its resolution 1591 (L) on *apartheid*, on which it had previously found it necessary to abstain in the voting on draft resolution V in the Commission on Human Rights. It is at the same time impressed by the view expressed by the Secretary-General in the section of his introduction entitled “Concluding Remarks” where, in the light of his long experience, he states in paragraph 143:

“It is however a weakness when resolutions are adopted which have no prospect of implementation, and the authority and prestige of the world's greatest deliberative body is thereby eroded.”

It will be our endeavour in our discussions with the sponsors of resolutions on this topic and during the formal deliberations on them, to ensure that these wise words are given full weight.

184. New Zealand's view on the questions of *apartheid* and racial discrimination will be set out more fully under the appropriate items on the agenda. I should wish to place on record during this debate, however, my Government's stated intention to proceed to the ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)] as its major contribution to the International Year. For this purpose, the Government has introduced into the legislature a Race Relations Bill which is currently at the committee stage. We hope it will be enacted in time to allow ratification to take place before the end of this year. Our examination of the situation in New Zealand showed that, in practice as in law, substantial conformity with the provisions of the Convention already exists. A Race Relations Act, which establishes complete legislative compliance with this key international instrument, will never-

theless constitute an important landmark in the evolution of New Zealand's multiracial society, as well as an unequivocal rejection of all doctrines or political systems based on concepts of racial superiority.

185. Racial discrimination is but one aspect, although a highly important one, of the broader problem of the defence and promotion of human rights. As New Zealand completes two successive terms of membership in the Commission on Human Rights, we can reflect on the gradual but definite progress which has been made. Looking back over the range of human rights instruments which the United Nations has developed over a longer period, we see legitimate grounds for satisfaction with the development of a substantial legal framework in this field. My delegation has considered for some years that what is now required is an institution which can assist in the promotion of human rights in order to enable the Organization and its Members to give effect to the commitments entered into under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. The proposed office of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights is, in the view of my Government, well conceived to meet this need. This office would provide, moreover, the means of exerting a positive influence on human rights questions, free from political considerations. Let us at this session finally come to grips with this issue. Let us discuss amendments to the terms of reference set out in resolution 1237 (XLII) of the Economic and Social Council so as to enable broad agreement to be reached. Let us strive to remove the doubts which a number of delegations have felt about this proposal. Agreement on this issue would represent an important achievement for this session and for the furtherance of respect for human rights everywhere.

186. A major item involving human rights in the highest degree has not been separately included on the agenda of the present session, although the Secretary-General has dealt with it in cogent and eloquent terms in paragraphs 177 to 191 of the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization. I refer to the situation in East Pakistan.

187. The upheaval that has taken place there, causing perhaps the largest refugee problem in modern times, cannot simply be ignored by the Assembly. The consequences that continue to flow from that tragedy have been beyond the resources of both India and Pakistan to cope with and still demand urgent international attention. The United Nations has therefore been called upon to assume an important role in focusing attention on the human desperation involved and in co-ordinating and channelling aid to alleviate the distress.

188. New Zealanders have been concerned most at the human aspects of the problem—the bloodshed and suffering and the far-reaching dislocation which the crisis has caused to the livelihood of both India and Pakistan. But we are also increasingly worried about its implications for the peace of the sub-continent. We have some understanding of the intensity of feelings that have led to this situation and that threaten to increase the human misery if a solution is not found soon, and we have some appreciation of the difficulties that have so far prevented a political solution from being achieved.

189. We have therefore been anxious to see that the United Nations should bring its influence to bear fully on

the problem. The humanitarian aspects were considered on two occasions this year in the Economic and Social Council. New Zealand took a part in having the question raised, because of the responsibility which we felt that body owed to the refugees themselves and to a shocked public opinion throughout the world. Those discussions served to emphasize, however, that in the absence of a durable political settlement very little can be achieved beyond meeting the immediate day-to-day needs of the refugees.

190. Shortly after the discussion in the Economic and Social Council the Secretary-General drew the attention of members of the Security Council to the situation in East Pakistan and its implications for international peace and security. That action, in our view, was both timely and a proper exercise of the powers of initiative of the Secretary-General. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to him for having taken this step and for having set forth at length in paragraphs 124 to 137 of his introduction a concept of the role and powers of the Secretary-General which my delegation takes this opportunity to endorse.

191. In welcoming the Secretary-General's initiative in a public statement, the New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Keith Holyoake, observed:

“The essential problem of reaching a political settlement in East Pakistan is one that only Pakistan's own leaders can solve. . . . But if one is to be reached a climate of confidence must be established, and this requires the co-operation of the Government of India. The Governments of India and Pakistan have so far acted with caution and restraint towards each other. Statements are, however, being made by political figures on both sides that cannot but undermine the positions of the two Governments and add to the tensions between them.”

192. This deteriorating situation was described graphically by the Secretary-General in his message to the President of the Security Council when he said:

“. . . I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the time is past when the international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster”.

193. A durable solution can be arrived at only by negotiation and compromise between all the parties directly concerned, and not by further assertions of force. Substantial progress towards a settlement has so far not been achieved largely because of the tension that has developed in the area. That tension, in turn, has arisen in part from desperation at the apparent absence of any hopeful sign of a political settlement being reached in consultation with the elected representatives of East Pakistan. This is the crucial problem the Secretary-General was referring to when he spoke of “a series of vicious circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved” [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 184*].

194. The United Nations has a heavy responsibility for maintaining international peace and security in the area. It

will not have fulfilled that responsibility simply by attending to the daily physical needs of the refugees, immense though these problems alone have become. As the New Zealand delegation said in the Economic and Social Council on 16 July, "the dictates of humanitarianism do not cease with the provision of food and shelter. They extend to the long-term future of the unfortunate refugees and particularly their right to return of their own free will to their homes in conditions which promise them a normal life as citizens participating fully in their society."⁹ It is in this area of the problem that the United Nations can exercise a beneficial restraining influence, encouraging the leaders on either side to seek an acceptable accommodation and to act out of a sense of broad humanitarian concern for the interests of the refugees themselves, on whom the greatest burden of all has fallen.

195. I do not wish to labour, in connexion with the question of East Pakistan any more than in relation to the war in Viet-Nam and the widened Indo-China conflict, the failure of the United Nations to play any real part at the political level. The shortcomings of the Organization in the area of peace and security were widely discussed during the twenty-fifth anniversary session. There are a variety of reasons for this state of affairs, residing mainly in the will of Member States to use the Organization and their concept of their interests outside it.

196. One element, however, which it should lie within our power in this Assembly to rectify, is the state of the Organization's finances. This problem, arising from its involvement in peace-keeping activities, is intimately related to its future capacity in that area.

197. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his frankness in stating that "there exists no real basis for optimism or for the expectation that an over-all and comprehensive solution is imminent or likely to be found in the foreseeable future" [*ibid.*, para. 119]. I submit, however, that we should nevertheless, during this session, face up to this complex of problems with all the seriousness that we can muster. My delegation, for one, is willing to see negotiations engaged on the basis put forward by the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [A/8497]. More specifically, New Zealand, as a bond-holder, is prepared to see its bonds included in a negotiated package on the basis of a reduced face value, as well as to see waived such credits as might stand to it in the peace-keeping accounts of the Organization. It is New Zealand's expectation and hope that all other Members will join, in their various ways, in a united effort to save the Organization from the bankruptcy which is so clear and present a danger to it. This is surely a year when the United Nations is at the cross roads of history. Let us equip it for a vigorous future.

198. I would like to join previous speakers in expressing our very high regard for the Secretary-General, U Thant, as he completes his final term of office. It was indeed a difficult inheritance to which he succeeded many years ago and he has performed with unexampled steadfastness,

honour and devotion the essential task of holding this Organization together over the ensuing period. We have all expected much of, as well as imposed much on, our Secretary-General. May I say for New Zealand that our debt of gratitude to him is very high indeed.

199. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my Government, it is my pleasant duty to tender to you most cordial and sincere congratulations both for the honour done to you and the responsibilities entrusted to you by the General Assembly of the United Nations in electing you to preside over its twenty-sixth regular session. May I assure you, moreover, that you will find in my delegation, all the co-operation that you may need in the performance of your lofty functions.

200. At the same time, I would ask you to convey to your predecessor in the Chair, Mr. Edvard Hambro of Norway, the testimony of Paraguay's deep recognition of the brilliant manner in which he presided over the previous session.

201. With the remembrance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations—the commemoration of which gave rise, within and outside the Organization, to a recapitulation and evaluation of its accomplishments in the quarter century of its existence, to the examination of its current situation and the quantitative assessment of prospects for action in the near and distant future—still fresh in our memories, my first words are aimed at reiterating, without reticence or reservation, the unswerving faith of the Republic of Paraguay in the United Nations.

202. In the opinion of my Government, the tenets, the principles and the purposes of the United Nations, as enunciated in the Charter, are today as valid as they were in 1945. These tenets, principles and purposes define norms of national and international conduct, the scrupulous and universal observance of which is and will continue to be the best guarantee for the maintenance of a just international peace and security; for the regulation of relations between States, through mutually agreed, accepted and respected norms, in which each enjoys full sovereignty, in which each and all nations, regardless of their political, economic or geographical size, is juridically equal and in which the international community, acting harmoniously, promote social progress, economic development and man's well being, irrespective of the land in which he was born, the place in which he lives, the colour of his skin, or the religion he professes.

203. We know full well that in the time that has elapsed regrettable weaknesses have become apparent in our Organization; that there have been many frustrations and even, in given circumstances, a demonstration of the complete inability of the Organization to act, although the actions we expected of the United Nations were essential and urgent. This realistic recognition of the fact does not imply that we have lost the courage or the faith to which I have referred. It is indicative, on the other hand, of the differences that exist between our aspirations and what is feasible at present. It shows, too, the need to redouble our efforts to ensure universal respect for the Charter and to move

⁹ This statement was made at the 1783rd meeting of the Economic and Social Council, the official records of which are published in summary form.

forward decisively in our endeavour to make the world we live in perfect.

Mr. Nakagawa (Japan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

204. Peace is the corner-stone on which the structure of international security rests. Its preservation is thus the first of the obligations of its Member States. It is almost unnecessary to emphasize that in speaking of peace we do not give this word or the concept it defines the narrow and limiting meaning of the absence of wars, but rather a dynamic and fruitful meaning that is inseparable from justice.

205. On the other hand, the preservation of peace and the consolidation of the structure on which international security must rest is necessarily a collective task in which each and every one must make a contribution. We are fully aware of the extraordinary value for the maintenance of international peace and security, of the nature of relations between the great Powers and, in particular, between the two super-Powers; but that importance, however great, does not mean, nor can it mean, that it is exclusive. The active and dynamic peace we have in mind, that we hope to see reigning in the world, can only be real and effective if all the members of the international community make their contribution, even though the contribution of countries whose political, economic and demographic potential is very limited by comparison with that of other States having much greater resources and having achieved a different stage of development and whose contribution therefore may appear to be small.

206. It is this conviction that impelled us in 1970, when the General Assembly considered the item on its agenda relating to measures for the strengthening of international security, to join with other States in the geographic region to which my country belongs, to give our support in order to imbue the Declaration that was in the process of preparation with the true character of a historic discussion of singular importance. The result of that contribution, added to that of other Members of the United Nations, was the relevant resolution contained in document 2734 (XXV), which was adopted with a single dissident vote and a single abstention. Needless to say, it embodied ideas and principles that reflect the common thinking of Latin America. May we incidentally point out, without boasting but without false modesty, that we consider it an honour to have co-sponsored that resolution.

207. It would be improper at this time and on this occasion to make a lengthy quotation of the provisions of the aforesaid Declaration. But as I come from and represent a developing country, I would be failing in an elementary duty were I not to express, or rather to reiterate, the view we have been upholding that there is a relationship, which is not merely close but indissoluble and inseparable, between international security, disarmament and the development of countries, so that, and here I quote the words of the Declaration: "... any progress made towards any of these objectives will constitute progress towards all of them". The aforesaid reference does not merely seek to recall the past. Were it so, it would be unwarranted. The aim it pursues is quite different.

208. The preservation of peace, as I have said, is a collective responsibility. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security represents the will of the community of Members gathered in the United Nations. Its provisions range from a solemn reiteration, with a clear sense of rededication, of the cardinal principles of the Charter to pressing exhortations. We adopted the Declaration in good faith. In so doing, we undertook individually and collectively the obligation to abide by its letter and its spirit. Further, we assumed a duty to ensure its universal and strict implementation. It is this latter obligation that determines the need for a periodic and impartial examination of the degree of observance of its provisions. Let us do this each year, without hesitation or fear, conscious of the fact that the stricter we are in this examination, the better we shall preserve peace in justice and the better we shall serve both the collective interests of all and our own national interests.

209. I have mentioned one of the most important resolutions of the twenty-fifth session. I must now mention another decision that is also truly historic. I am referring to the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, unanimously adopted in 1970 by acclamation [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*].

210. The 89 co-sponsors of the document submitted to the General Assembly, after protracted and difficult negotiations with the representatives of the industrialized States, knew full well that the Strategy that had been prepared so arduously did not constitute "an adequate expression of the aspirations of the developing countries. Nor does it contain an assurance that the policy measures contained in it constitute even the minimum that should be done in order to realize the goals and objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade." But at the same time we were fully aware of the fact that the Strategy was and is "the best possible reflection of the present stage of the collective conscience of mankind in one of the most crucial areas of organizing human society."¹⁰

211. The Strategy, which seeks to regulate relations between industrial States and developing States during the decade that has just opened, although it does not truly contemplate the legitimate aspirations of the latter, does constitute the first organic and systematic plan at the world level to establish principles and norms for international co-operation and effective mechanisms that will make it possible to reduce and eventually eliminate the great disparities that exist in our time in the two parts into which the world has been divided, taken from the standpoint of the degree of development and distribution of wealth as well as the living standards of the people and prosperity.

212. Nothing would have pleased us more than to come to this Assembly, on this first anniversary of the adoption of the Strategy, with the specific hope that the dawn of better days had arrived for most of the Members of the Organization and, of course, for most of the world population; in other words, for those of us who constitute the great mass of underprivileged peoples; for those of us who aspire to break the artificial barriers that have been raised and that

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 42, document A/8124/Add.1, p. 15.*

separate the world into two fundamentally different groups of countries, those which have too much and those which have too little. We would have wished to find in this world panorama the signs of a reduction in those great differences which separate the States of the North from the States of the South; we would have wished to see the hope of better days in the development of relations between both sectors of the world; we would also have been happy to point out that, as political colonialism disappears, conditions had become propitious to eliminate from the face of the earth the economic colonialism to which our countries are subjected whether they have an essentially agricultural economy or produce primary products. All these countries are in the incipient process of industrialization, but lack the essential national capital for their economic and social development, and all of them suffer the consequences of an unfair system of trade exchange which makes it impossible to improve their living standards.

213. But we come to this rostrum on the first anniversary with the profound and understandable concern, which stems from the recent events that we have witnessed in the international monetary field, and in the field of trade. On this point I refer specifically to the 10 per cent tax on imports, wherever they may come from, that is to say, from the industrial or the developing world, which was initiated a while ago by the United States Government.

214. We understand the reasons that determined this measure, in other words, the deterioration in that country's balance of payments. But we must point out immediately that our developing countries, and particularly those of Latin America, have no responsibility for that deterioration. To the contrary, our trade, individual or collective, with the great Power to the north has been characterized by a chronic unfavourable balance of payments. In other words, the Government of the United States, by imposing that surtax on manufactured goods and not taking into account considerations relating to the origin of such imports, has placed on an equal footing the developing countries and the industrialized countries. At a recent meeting held in Panama,¹¹ the Foreign Minister of my country, in referring to this 10 per cent surcharge, said that the worst injustice that could have been done was to put on an equal footing those who did not have the same possibilities, and that under such a policy the powerful became ever more powerful and the poor became even poorer. Moreover, he said that it is essential to seek solutions which while being effective and legitimate were not harmful under the guise of a non-existent equality since the absence of discrimination among unequal States—in terms of economic power—was simply unfair.

215. In the face of this dangerous situation for our economies which in themselves are so weak, the States of Latin America have found that their only possible strength lies in unity of thought and action; a unity that had its first important manifestations in the Consensus at Viña del Mar of May 1969 and which recently was reiterated unanimously in Bogotá¹² and Panama.¹¹ Our only strength lies

in our unity; we must recognize that individually we are too weak and that the possibility of our being heard and heeded lies in speaking with a single voice in the great international assemblies.

216. These reflections apply especially to the new opportunity for dialogue between the industrialized and the developing countries which will take place next year in Santiago, on the occasion of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We attach the greatest importance to the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 to be held in Lima at the end of this month, at which time the developing countries will seek mutually acceptable formalities which will enable them in turn to speak with a single voice in Santiago. Perhaps, as at no other time, this is the right time to say that in union there is strength. For us, the Latin American States, the meeting to be held also in Lima which will precede the meeting of the Group of 77¹³ will also be of paramount importance.

217. I believe at this juncture I can speak with authority. To achieve that unity of action, on more than one occasion we have had to renounce legitimate aspirations. I must recall that my country is not only one of the developing countries, but also at the same time it is one of the only ones on this continent which, apart from its development problems and its lack of financial capacity or foreign aid, must suffer problems derived from its situation as a land-locked country. Throughout our national history our unswerving determination and our unceasing efforts in all organizations and in all assemblies have been directed towards our obtaining the establishment and recognition of certain principles of international law, in particular those which relate to the unfavourable geographic situation of States that do not have a coastline. We must recognize with regret that in this connexion international co-operation has not given the expected results. We do not of course want a system of this kind to continue and for that reason we continue to lay claim to certain rights for legal, historic and political reasons.

218. In expressing these thoughts I have in mind too the special participation of land-locked countries in the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, which we believe would be fair compensation, which would in no way affect the interests of the coastal States.

219. I have referred thus far to some of the items to be considered by the General Assembly under your guidance, Mr. President. I have not mentioned others because the position of my country has been spelt out repeatedly and is well known, and also because in the debate on each of these questions we shall have an opportunity to reiterate our views.

220. I must point out that decisions adopted by the General Assembly have not always commanded our support. When we have had dissident views we have expressed them. But we wish to state that in our capacity as a loyal

¹¹ Seventh annual meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held at Panama City from 10 to 20 September 1971.

¹² Tenth Extraordinary Meeting of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, held at Bogotá from 2 to 7 August 1971.

¹³ Twelfth meeting of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination.

Member of the United Nations in the past we have accepted and we continue to accept in the present the decisions adopted by the majority of the Members of the international community in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

221. Our Organization has been enriched by the admission of three new Members whose presence in this Assembly of free nations of the world we welcome joyfully: Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, to which Oman will be added shortly. My country extends to them the most cordial greetings and we offer them our most brotherly co-operation.

222. I have only very little to add.

223. U Thant has stated repeatedly in the past months and in categorical terms his firm decision not to continue in his lofty functions as Secretary-General after the expiration of his present mandate. We respect his decision and, although the time has not yet come for the tributes that this great man of universal stature deserves, I should like in a very few and sincere words to express to him the gratitude, recognition and appreciation of my Government and my delegation for the great task accomplished by him over a period of 10 years at the head of one of the most important organizations in the world, for his outstanding services in favour of the preservation of international peace and security and for his efforts in favour of developing countries.

224. In conclusion, and following the usual practice adopted by my delegation, I should like in summary to give an idea of the efforts made by my country in the domestic field. We are continuing our great task of consolidating our economic infrastructure, of improving social conditions and living standards and perfecting national institutions that are characterized by the free play of political parties in a climate of peace, order and respect under the rule of justice. There is obvious progress being made at all levels of our national life, and this progress is undoubtedly the result of a healthy government policy carried out by that great statesman who presides over the destiny of Paraguay.

225. Mr. ICKONGA (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the speakers who have spoken before me from this rostrum, and convey to you, on behalf of my Government and my country, my sincere congratulations on your being elected to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. I am very pleased that you were chosen to conduct our debates since your qualities are an earnest for the success of the work of the twenty-sixth session, of which each of us expects that it will mark a decisive turning point in the unrelenting struggle being waged in the United Nations to preserve peace throughout the world.

226. It is with equal pleasure that I address to Mr. Hambro my warmest congratulations for the remarkable way in which he conducted the discussions of the previous session.

227. It is also my delegation's duty to pay a particular tribute to the Secretary-General for the tremendous work he accomplished during his term of office. Summoned to this office, as he was, at a tragic moment in history,

U Thant was able to discharge his functions admirably thanks to his outstanding qualities as a great diplomat and, why should we not say it, as a man, by shedding light on the international situation, which at that time was so confused.

228. In view of his refusal to accept a third term of office, a refusal the reasons for which we fully understand, may we express the hope that the problem of his succession will be considered by the Assembly with due calm and realism. We believe that in view of the incalculable services which have been rendered the Organization by the Secretary-General, in view of the fact that very shortly a certain number of objectives will be realized, for which he personally fought, it is our duty to see to it that his succession will, above all and exclusively, take account of the major interest of the international community.

229. In other words, whether this succession be taken over by U Thant himself or by anyone else in whom we have placed our confidence, our hope is that the tremendous work that has to be done to serve world peace, and which has been started by the present Secretary-General, will be continued.

230. Finally, the Government and the people of the Congo are gratified that the United Nations family has admitted the States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, whose presence among us eloquently reflects the universal character which should remain one of the essential features of our Organization.

231. Despite certain changes that have occurred in the relations among the great Powers since our last session, the essential problems which we referred to at that time still remain before us in their entirety. Throughout the world, unfortunately, we cannot fail to note that the aggressive trend of the world system of imperialism continues to be accentuated. With the new characteristics of contemporary imperialism, which has taken on a collective form, we are witnessing every day, in various places, the regrouping of imperialist forces as soon as the interests of international monopolies are threatened by the legitimate struggle for the national liberation of oppressed peoples. On every occasion, the machinery of the world system of imperialism is set in motion in order to thwart those régimes which have decided to concentrate their efforts on bringing about their total liberation and safeguarding and consolidating their dignity, their personality and their sovereignty. It is precisely through military blocs and through diplomatic coalitions or by the combined action of sabotage and economic blockade, through these aggressive attitudes, which are subtle and perfidious, that these agents of evil attempt to quell the resolve of the exploited peoples to struggle.

232. Do I need to cite examples of this on-going aggression of imperialism, its callous and savage violence against the third world? The scandalous and shameful complicity which benefits the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, the criminal support which is so lavishly accorded to Portugal—Portugal which is both atavistic and colonialist—the threat which from day to day hangs like a sword of Damocles over the régimes in Asia, Latin America and Africa which are subjected to the basest forms of

blackmail, the conspiracy of silence which cynically surrounds the crimes perpetrated by American imperialism and its by-products in Viet-Nam, in Cambodia, in Laos, all these constitute eloquent examples of Machiavellian machinations which each of us has a duty to unmask and to denounce.

233. During the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, with its accompanying euphoria, when the flow of oratory ran unchecked, we were promised a world of peace, of freedom, of prosperity, a world would be cast in the mould of brotherhood and international co-operation. If we take a closer look, we catch ourselves suspecting the tremendous credulity which at that time appeared to affect the international community. The same problems, the same danger spots, the same aggressors, who are just as favoured and unpunished as they were then, the same victims—such is the harsh reality of facts, the rude awakening of the world of today.

234. It is really distressing to note that 11 years after the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and notwithstanding the numerous appeals that have been made to it both by the United Nations and the OAU, Portugal continues to wage a war which is as barbarous as it is stupid, as unjust as it is devastating, in order, they believe, to ensure the survival of a system of domination and oppression which is the greatest anachronism of our time and, consequently, an intolerable affront to man's conscience.

235. Unfortunately, it appears that in its refusal to believe in the irreversibility of the historical process the most backward country in Europe is enjoying the complicity of the NATO Powers, which make available to it their military, financial, diplomatic and political machinery.

236. The numerous discussions which have been held on this matter in all the bodies of the United Nations have proved abundantly that, were it not for the connivance of the imperialist Powers at the Lisbon régime in its criminal enterprise in Africa, Portugal, a small country, would long ago have suffered the verdict of history. However, the truth is that the heroic and resolute struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to recover their inalienable rights to freedom and independence will triumph, certainly sooner than the assassins of Africa and the other traitors in our continent can imagine.

237. The People's Republic of the Congo, once again this year, has been confirmed in its fears, which we have frequently had occasion to express from this rostrum, regarding the dangers with which the war of extermination waged by the Portuguese in Africa overshadows the entire continent, more particularly those countries which border on the combat areas.

238. After having desperately practised a systematic scorched earth policy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), Portugal, which is a bridgehead of imperialism in Africa, is indulging in overt acts of aggression against independent countries in Africa.

239. Who can be unaware of the flagrant and persistent violations of the frontier regions of Zambia, the United

Republic of Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo, Guinea and Senegal carried out by Portugal, which have been the object of numerous complaints brought before various bodies of the United Nations? Is not the aggression perpetrated by Portugal last November against the sister Republic of Guinea still fresh in our memories? Everyone knows that since March of this year, Portugal has declared a blockade against Zambia by refusing to allow transit through the ports of Mozambique, for commodities going to or coming from that country.

240. For all African countries—particularly those bordering on territories under colonial domination—it is an imperative duty to help those peoples throw off the yoke of oppression. The People's Republic of the Congo, faithful to its ideals and commitments, has continually carried out this noble duty, and because of that now finds itself up against a campaign of systematic defamation marshalled against it by Portugal and its NATO allies by posing a permanent threat of aggression to our country. In fact, Portugal and its NATO mentors are still openly recruiting mercenaries in European capitals to consummate their heinous crime and to plunge our country into wretchedness.

241. In the meantime, those of our towns that are situated near the theatre of war are pillaged by Portuguese hordes and our peaceful citizens and even their children are abducted from their homes by Portuguese commandos. We no longer bring these serious and repeated facts before bodies of the United Nations as we have done in the past. A country like the People's Republic of the Congo, attached to peace and placing its hopes in the United Nations, wishes above all to rely on its own strength by mobilizing its entire people in order to check aggression wherever it may originate.

242. We have always said and frequently repeated that the problems in southern Africa are the result of the continuing colonial domination imposed on millions of Africans by minority and racist régimes and because of the existence of an illegal régime in Rhodesia in total contempt of the legitimate aspirations of those peoples, in violation of the provisions of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

243. In addition to this we see the denial of fundamental human rights to the majority of Africans as the result of the criminal and inhuman policy of *apartheid* and the continued occupation by force of the international Territory of Namibia by the Pretoria régime, which still refuses to apply the pertinent General Assembly resolutions and Security Council decisions which withdrew its mandate over this territory.

244. Faced with such a situation, the United Nations has—we are unfortunately forced to admit—displayed a manifest inability to act. We know that this regrettable failure cannot be ascribed to a lack of goodwill on the part of most of the Member States but rather to the attitude of certain Powers, which, in order to safeguard their selfish economic interests, have continually refused to discharge the obligations which are incumbent upon them under the Charter. These same Powers, applying the theory of divide

and conquer, have initiated the idea of a so-called dialogue which is nothing but a red herring designed to distract the attention of world public opinion at a time when the international campaign against racism and racial discrimination is beginning to gain ground.

245. Practically all of Africa has rejected this idea of dialogue because the African leaders and peoples refuse to bargain with the freedom of their brothers who are waging a pitiless struggle against the forces of foreign domination so that justice and liberty may triumph.

246. Need we recall that the year 1971 was proclaimed the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2544 (XXIV)*] in order to incite the United Nations to redouble its efforts in the field of decolonization?

247. We venture to express the hope that the moving appeal which Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and President of the Organization for African Unity addressed to the Security Council at its 1583rd meeting and to the international conscience on behalf of the African peoples and Governments has been heard, and it is our profound hope that justice will be done.

248. The Congolese people, its Party and Government, faithful to the sacred principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, has always unstintingly supported national liberation movements and all those progressive forces which are struggling throughout the world against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and for independence, justice and peace.

249. It is in this spirit that we give unconditional support to the valiant peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos who are heroically resisting the barbarous aggression of American imperialism and its allies. In Viet-Nam and Cambodia, despite the use of mechanized warfare to an extent equalled only by its stubborn relentlessness, American imperialists are going from defeat to defeat. The People's Republic of the Congo condemns outright the acts of aggression perpetrated by American imperialism in Viet-Nam, and demands settlement of the Viet-Namese problem on the basis of the proposals enunciated by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam. My delegation believes that these proposals constitute a reasonable basis for negotiation.

250. The Korean problem, whose consideration has been deferred to the next session of the General Assembly following a lengthy discussion, also claims the attention of my delegation. By that decision, our Organization once again has associated itself with an imperialist enterprise, the object of which is to perpetuate the division of Korea.

251. In fact, after more than 20 years, by using various stratagems and delaying tactics, the Government of the United States of America and its allies are perpetrating a gross and dangerous fiction in the United Nations whereby it is made to underwrite their criminal aggressions against the people of Korea. For some years now, various delegations, including that of the People's Republic of the Congo,

have denounced this scandalous use of the United Nations, to counter the legitimate rights of the Korean people. In the past we demanded and we continue to demand now that an end be put to this bizarre connivance which exists between the United Nations and the occupation troops of the United States so that favourable conditions may be created to ensure the peaceful unification of Korea.

252. I am gratified to be able to say that today, after more than 20 years of errors and mystification, that the Organization has reverted to wisdom and common sense in the matter of restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in our Organization. This is a victory for the oppressed peoples.

253. The historic debate on this important issue which will open this year will henceforth be clear, without any ambiguity, at any rate devoid of the subterfuges which have hitherto been employed by the Government in Washington whenever it has been a question of redressing the serious injustice committed against the largest nation on earth.

254. The entire world now realizes that there is but one China. The island of Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China and has arrogated to itself the status of a pseudo-State, thanks to international imperialist conspiracies, following the crushing defeat inflicted by the Chinese national liberation army on the Chiang Kai-shek clique. This clique has so far been able to maintain itself artificially on the Chinese island of Taiwan because of the support of the United States army of aggression.

255. Today the entire world understands the emptiness of the claims advanced by this clique in Formosa that it will reconquer the continent.

256. Finally, the entire world, if it is not yet aware of it, should henceforth realize that all those accusations which have been levelled against China by imperialism are vile manoeuvres intended to mask the truth.

257. Today, this truth shines forth in its burning reality to teach those who have been won over by the imperialist campaign of distortion that the Chinese people, guided by its outstanding leader, Mao Tse-tung, desires only one thing: to draw closer to the other peoples of the world, to co-operate with them in all sincerity, in a completely disinterested spirit, strictly observing the sacred principles of equality among States, great or small, mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

258. In so far as the Congolese people is concerned, we are gratified by the degree of fruitful co-operation and the sincere friendship which have bound us with the Chinese people for over seven years now. In the context of these extremely friendly relations, we have learned to know the Chinese people, whose modesty and creative capacity need no praise and should serve as an example to more than one Government which, undoubtedly through ignorance, but in any case erroneously, believes that the greatness of a country can only be measured by the number of its inhabitants, forgetting in so doing that the will to build itself up in peace with all nations and the capacity to create its own independent existence also serve to increase the strength and greatness of a people.

259. It is for all these reasons that the People's Republic of the Congo has always demanded that our Organization immediately rectify the grave injustice committed by the international community against the People's Republic of China, the great and peace-loving people of China, and thus benefit from its numerous valuable experiences.

260. Turning now to the situation in the Near East, I should like to affirm once again that the People's Republic of the Congo has always been in favour of a peaceful settlement of any conflict. Hence, we support the mission recently entrusted by the OAU to 10 heads of States members of that organization. In looking for ways and means which would be likely to lead to a lasting solution to this conflict, however, the fundamental interests of the people of Palestine should under no circumstances be misinterpreted or sacrificed. Our thoughts should be turned towards these people who have been driven from their lands and who have been reduced to international beggary and condemned to endless wandering. This heroic people has known the most cruel of all fates. It is time that each of us becomes fully aware of the extent of the Palestinian tragedy.

261. The purposes which the founders of the United Nations sought to pursue in the vital areas of economic, social and humanitarian development, have become the vehicles for the expression of national egoisms, watching jealously from the battlements of their ivory towers. How far removed we are from the principles defined in the Preamble and in Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter, which record the overriding importance of economic and social development in the world, on which international peace and security depend. The threefold objective of solidarity in the face of aggression, solidarity in the face of poverty and solidarity in the face of the violation of those human rights and freedoms which are fundamental for all, which are the corner-stone of the United Nations, is constantly scorned by those who dream of domesticating the Organization. Instead of observing, as recommended by the Charter, the universal and effective respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, imperialism in its unassuaged thirst for the domination of small nations, is only concerned with greedily exploiting the soil and the subsoil of the developing peoples, guided exclusively by the ambition to continue realizing even greater profits.

262. One can understand in these circumstances why the frenzied imperialist monopolies are attempting to oppose in every way, as they have always done and are still doing, the institution in their zones of influence of régimes that are resolved to break away from the inertia of the colonial condition and to build up an independent national economy. With the taste of defeat in its mouth imperialism continually threatens our still fragile independence in a desperate desire to reconquer the positions which it knows it has lost. Coups d'état, attempted coups d'état, blackmail, manoeuvres to perpetuate socio-political differences between the African States in order to better divide them, to dominate them, to daunt their fighting spirit in order to exploit them—these are some of the harsh aspects of this

monopolistic and exploiting system which is a serious threat to peace and co-operation among peoples.

263. The first United Nations Development Decade which ended in failure has shown that the international economic order suffers from a lack which is more fundamental than the simple shortage of capital and skilled labour which affects the poor countries. We can affirm that, far from favouring the process of development in the poor countries, the attitude of the rich nations simply hampers it, precisely because, since they previously exercised authority in the colonies, the imperialist Powers have taken decisions concerning infrastructure, trade flows, training of labour and import preferences which have resulted in confining development solely to the types of primary commodities which served to meet the needs of their own industries.

264. Hence, it is clear that whatever efforts are made, no tangible or satisfactory progress can ever be made unless the industrialized Powers revise the selfish and outmoded conception of the structure of international trade they have so far had.

265. Since we are beginning the Second Development Decade proclaimed by the United Nations [resolution 2626 (XXV)] it is therefore imperative that the countries of the third world react swiftly to create the necessary psychological impact. Indeed, the time is at hand for the poor countries to become acutely aware of the need to organize themselves, so that they may contribute positively to finding solutions to their development problems.

266. I could not complete my present statement without warmly commending the goodwill shown by international institutions, which is so well known. But objectivity obliges me to state that the capacity of these institutions to change present conditions remains under par.

267. I have just set forth the views of my Government on the major problems of the hour, whose solution could undoubtedly bring States Members of the Organization to understanding, co-operation and international peace.

268. By working patiently, assiduously and with perseverance and accepting the full measure of our responsibilities and our duties, we will be able to look forward with optimism to the settlement of these problems.

269. History will judge us by the way in which we prepare the future for the generations of tomorrow, the way in which we understand the aspirations and the wishes of our peoples and the way in which we promote the cause of peace.

270. This is what the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, H.E. Marien Ngouabi, has always taught us and this is also the message which he instructed me to transmit to the General Assembly on behalf of the Congolese Labour Party and the Council of State.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

