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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. WANUME-KIBEDI (Uganda): Mr. President, I wish, on behalf of the Uganda delegation, to add my voice to those who have congratulated you on your having been elected to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I have no doubt that under your wise guidance the present session will be a great success, and I can assure you, Mr. President, of my delegation's full co-operation and support.

2. I wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Edvard Hambro, the distinguished Norwegian diplomat and jurist, who so ably presided over the last historic session during which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations was commemorated.

3. Allow me now to pay a special tribute to the distinguished outgoing Secretary-General, U Thant. In 1953, Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General, when handing over his post to his successor, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, described the job as "the most impossible job in the world". This, then, has been U Thant's task, which he has so ably shouldered for the last 10 years. Through the strength of his personality and selfless statesmanship, and by means of what has been described as his "quiet diplomacy", he has guided the world body through numerous critical crises, some of which were threatening the very basic principles on which our Organization is founded. I can only say that U Thant has served the world community with complete devotion and dedication and has proved to be a man of unquestionable integrity.

4. My delegation would like to seize this opportunity to welcome to membership of this Organization the States of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar.

5. This is the first time since the change of government in Uganda, in January of this year, that I have had the honour

of addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations. The main purpose of this visit, therefore, is to reaffirm the undying faith of the new Government of the Second Republic of Uganda in the purposes and principles of the United Nations as contained in its Charter.

6. On 15 March 1971 the Uganda Government issued a formal statement on the foreign policy of the Government of the Second Republic of Uganda, and with your permission, I should like to quote a passage which touches upon this Organization:

"The Government of the Second Republic of Uganda attaches great importance to Uganda's membership of the United Nations and its affiliated international organizations and will continue to work in collaboration with Uganda's brethren in the rest of Africa to ensure that the United Nations and other world bodies are employed for the promotion of international peace, justice and the prosperity of all nations.

"Uganda further believes in the universality of the United Nations and will fight for human rights the world over."

7. It is unfortunate that, 26 years after its foundation, our Organization has paid only lip-service to the principle of universality. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China has been a great set-back in the realization of the aims and aspirations of this great Organization. The Uganda Government has, since the attainment of statehood, found no difficulty whatsoever in establishing full diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China, and it is in that spirit that we should all welcome the change of heart on the part of a number of Member States, including super-Powers like the United States, and the consequent improvement in their relations with the People's Republic of China. It is in the same spirit of optimism that on 20 July of this year the President of Uganda wrote to the President of the United States of America and to the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, expressing his sincere hope that the proposed visit to Peking by the United States President will go a long way to promoting good relations, not only between the United States and the People's Republic of China, but also throughout the world.

8. Mr. President, I dare to suggest that the world is at the threshold of great things and that, like your predecessor, you will be accorded the great opportunity of presiding over yet another historic session which will mark the reunion of nations when the People's Republic of China takes its rightful seat in the United Nations.

9. My delegation is therefore opposed to those highly sophisticated and complex procedures which have been

devised to secure dual representation—a situation to which both Chinas stoutly object. It is our fervent hope and prayer as a peace-loving nation that everything will be done to resist the efforts of those who would prolong the deliberate exclusion from the international community of the great nation of the People's Republic of China, comprising one fifth of the world's population.

10. In the same policy statement the Government of the Second Republic of Uganda declared that, in accordance with article III, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, Uganda would pursue a policy of non-alignment with regard to all power blocs. Our Government further affirmed that it would continue to respect all the international obligations and commitments undertaken by the previous Government.

11. One of the cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations is: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State . . .". In strict conformity with that principle, Uganda believes that all nations should determine their own destinies as free peoples, including the projection and protection of their interests. We also believe that each country has a right to choose and remove its leaders or to follow its own system of government without external interference of any sort. In spite of that important principle, certain Member States of this Organization have taken it upon themselves to assume the role of arbiters and judges in the internal affairs of other Member States. That is a most unfortunate development which we hope will stop forthwith. Uganda strongly believes in, and will adhere to, the principles I have enunciated.

12. Having briefly touched upon the foreign policy of the Government of Uganda, I should now like to deal with a few of the issues before the General Assembly.

13. The issue of decolonization and the evil policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa are of very serious concern to us in Uganda as well as to the rest of Africa. The obligation to promote the advancement of colonial peoples towards self-government, as acknowledged by the Charter, was given added impetus in 1960 by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Furthermore, I wish to reaffirm my country's strong support of the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session on the Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Uganda fully agrees that "the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations [*is*] a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations . . . and the principles of international law" [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*]. Uganda also supports the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against those Powers which suppress their aspirations to freedom and independence.

14. Notwithstanding the fact that a large proportion of the time and energy of the General Assembly has for the last five years or so been taken up with the problems of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese

administration, no effective solution has yet been found and the future points to no brighter prospects.

15. Perhaps nothing illustrates more vividly the helplessness of this Organization and the lawlessness of certain Member States than the case of Namibia. It is tragic to conceive that economic considerations on the part of South Africa's major trading partners should have stood in the way of justice and fair play and should for so long have been the main determinant of their political policies.

16. We welcome the recent advisory opinion on Namibia by the International Court of Justice¹ and hope that it will be followed by concrete action on the part of this Organization. The intransigent attitude the South African régime continues to take should leave this Organization in no doubt of that régime's intentions. Uganda views with great concern the failure of the United Kingdom Government to solve the problem of Zimbabwe. That is a responsibility that Government must shoulder. The United Kingdom cannot, therefore, desert the people of Zimbabwe but must do all in its power—including the use of force—to bring about majority rule in that country without further delay.

17. My delegation condemns the continued defiance of international opinion by Portugal. Africa can no longer tolerate the manner in which our brothers in the so-called Portuguese Territories are being oppressed under the colonial yoke of Portugal. It is a well-known fact that Portugal is a poor country which cannot afford the expensive war now going on in its colonies in Africa. It is also a fact that Portugal gets military assistance from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*], of which it is a member. What is most disheartening is that the NATO countries held their recent meeting in Portugal, thus publicly demonstrating their support for the Portuguese colonialists in their oppression of the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). My delegation demands that the members of NATO put a stop to giving assistance to Portugal and instead use their good offices to bring about self-determination in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

18. A matter that calls for outright condemnation by all peace-loving nations is the sale of arms to South Africa. My delegation condemns the United Kingdom's decision to consider resuming the sale of arms to the minority racist régime of South Africa contrary to the embargo imposed by the United Nations. My delegation equally condemns those countries that are secretly and quietly selling arms to, and encouraging the manufacture of arms by, South Africa. The Government of the Second Republic of Uganda would at this juncture like to appeal to the big Powers to do all possible to bring about a change in southern Africa.

19. Uganda is very much concerned about what is happening in the Middle East and in South-East Asia. We support the efforts made by the big Powers and all concerned to bring about the establishment of peace in those areas. We support Security Council resolution

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

242 (1967) on the Middle East as a basis for the establishment of peace in that area. It is our hope that the good work started by Ambassador Jarring, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, will be continued and that he will receive the necessary co-operation from all parties concerned.

20. Uganda supports the decision of the last summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity² to set up a special commission of African States to mediate in the Middle East conflict and also welcomes the mission of the Committee of the four African Heads of State to visit both Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt to gather first-hand information before reaching a decision on the best means of achieving peace in the area. The fact that both Israel and Egypt have welcomed the visit of the Organization of African Unity Committee to their respective countries shows a genuine desire to end this continuing conflict. This is a most welcome development that my country wholeheartedly supports.

21. On South-East Asia, it is our hope that the Paris peace talks will soon come to a meaningful conclusion. We also welcome the decision by the United States to withdraw its forces from the area, as that will greatly ease the present situation.

22. As the country with the second largest refugee population in Africa, Uganda felt sufficiently moved by the serious refugee situation fast developing in India to contribute a sum of \$14,000 out of its meagre resources. It is the hope of the Uganda delegation that a solution will soon be found to this serious situation, which is threatening peace and security in that part of the world.

23. Like any other peace-loving State, Uganda supports the efforts of the United Nations and the big Powers to bring about disarmament. Uganda supports the positive moves already made in that direction, and prays that the present Strategic Arms Limitation Talks will come to a successful conclusion. Uganda welcomes the efforts of the four Powers to reach a draft agreement on Berlin and notes with satisfaction the break-through already made in the negotiations aimed at relaxing tension in Europe.

24. I should now like to make a few comments on social and economic matters. Uganda, as a developing nation, is striving hard to raise the social and economic conditions of its inhabitants. Unfortunately, the law of the jungle still prevails in international economics and trade, and every nation continues to fend for itself without anybody caring for the under-privileged. The terms of trade are so heavily weighted against the developing countries that, like Alice in Wonderland, they have economically got to run ever so fast just to keep where they are. On the other hand, there are numerous capital-intensive countries which increasingly enjoy favourable balances of trade and untold wealth for their people. All efforts on the part of this Organization to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor countries have proved ineffective and futile. Besides, the world is experiencing a serious crisis in its monetary system, and the third world has been the innocent and helpless victim of the

system. Economically speaking, the world is on a collision course.

25. It is the hope of my delegation that the developed countries will, in the interest of world peace and their own security, do all that is possible to liberalize their trade with the developing countries and increase their aid instead of reducing it. It is the bounden duty of this Organization to devise an economic formula that will reflect the brotherhood of mankind and the vital interdependence of nations.

26. Mr. President, as I conclude my address, I should like to wish you and the honourable representatives a productive and successful session.

27. Prince SOUVANNA PHOUMA (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your unanimous election to the presidency of this annual session of the United Nations General Assembly is a just tribute to your ability and to your merits. It is a personal honour to you, Sir, as well as an honour to your great country, whose stability and wise policies elicit our sincere admiration. My delegation is all the more pleased at your election since we have been able on several occasions to appreciate your efforts on behalf of peace and the various initiatives you have promoted in order to achieve or restore peace. We therefore congratulate you most sincerely and wish you all success in your task.

28. In congratulating you, Sir, my delegation also wishes to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, for the positive contribution which he made in the difficult task of presiding over the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

29. There is another duty which my delegation performs enthusiastically each year: that of reiterating our great respect and admiration for our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose tireless efforts for peace have been manifest throughout the ten years that he has been guiding this great Organization.

30. My delegation comes to this twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly with somewhat more hope than in past years. It is true that the great problems of the world are still far from settled. Universal peace has not yet been restored, and the clash of arms has not yet been stilled in certain parts of the world. The progress achieved during the past year, while somewhat slight, has nevertheless been encouraging and leads us to feel that new and positive developments may be achieved and that a better international climate of discussion and negotiation may come about.

31. Amongst the encouraging signs which gratify all those who aspire to peace and security and who quite often are innocent victims of the hostility of others is the prospect of a normalization of the relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China.

32. The Kingdom of Laos, an immediate neighbour of China, welcomes the visit that the President of the United States plans to make to Peking. Regardless of the subjects that may be discussed and the results that may be attained, we wish to add our humble voice in expressing the hope that those conversations will promote an international relaxation and will help to restore peace in that area.

² Eighth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 June 1971.

33. Another encouraging event which in the opinion of my delegation might well promote more positive developments is the long-awaited atmosphere of tranquillity and realism that prevails during discussion of the admission of a great country to this Organization—namely, the People's Republic of China. We believe that there is a general feeling that this debate will produce a positive result rather than an atmosphere of ostracism and confusion. Regardless of the positions that have been taken in the past, it is better not to recall points of past divergence, but rather to lay emphasis on the present relaxation of tensions and to build for the future for, indeed, this event can no longer be postponed. The main characteristic of our Organization is its universality and, as everyone is aware, that objective can never be attained so long as the 700 million people of China do not participate in its work. This gap is all the more significant, since that country and people not only have the inherent right to have a voice in international affairs, but our Organization can make great progress only if that country and people acting in respect for the Charter and Member States agree to co-operate sincerely and loyally with the United Nations. This people has a rich cultural heritage and a vast country of great possibilities. Their achievements deserve our respect and admiration. Of this my Government and delegation are firmly convinced.

34. At the appropriate time, therefore, we will state our support for the admission of the People's Republic of China to our Organization. In accordance with the considerations I have just mentioned, and in harmony with the spirit which prompts us, we would hope that that country would occupy a permanent seat in the Security Council.

35. In speaking of the universality of the United Nations, my delegation is gratified at the admission this year to the United Nations, by unanimous votes, of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. On this memorable occasion I should like to extend to those three new Member States the warm and sincere congratulations of the Royal Government of Laos, and assure their delegations that my delegation will always be ready to co-operate with them in our common task and in harmony with the spirit of our Charter.

36. It is true that violence is very often contagious, and that peace is indivisible. The sparks of one conflict may well cause conflagrations elsewhere. The settlement of one conflict always has a favourable effect on general relaxation. Bearing that in mind, the world has taken note of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, which makes it possible for a settlement to be reached on the status of the city of Berlin, whose citizens have seen their rights and hopes jeopardized for so long by the "cold war" theory. We trust that this agreement will lead to the neutralization of that sensitive point of confrontation of different blocs and different ideologies.

37. Against that positive background we might also mention the signing of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Means of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [resolution 2660 (XXV)]. The sea is an element of particular importance for life on our planet. It is for that reason that the constitutional organs of Laos have immediately proceeded to ratify that Treaty so as to expedite its entry into force and its implementation.

38. All those positive events which I have mentioned, despite their great number and importance, should not divert our attention from the vast task which remains to be accomplished. There are still armed conflicts—both open and latent—which continue to afflict the world or to threaten a delicate balance. There are the universally recognized principles whose application has been rejected or ignored by certain States for their own selfish interests. And there are also resolutions which have been adopted after ripe reflection which have not been implemented. There are still millions of people who have been denied self-determination and the fulfilment of their longing for freedom. Colonialism and *apartheid* have not disappeared, although at each session of the General Assembly these items are included in the agenda.

39. In the Middle East, despite collective persevering efforts, unfortunately it is not yet possible to see a sure way to peace and mutual tolerance. Without wishing to offend any of the parties, we would hope that this question could be settled having regard for the existence of both the old as well as the new communities of that region. So much remains to be done in that area to promote progress for the peoples who live there, that their friendly collaboration becomes a necessity. Over and above the vituperation, the pooling of technology and the harnessing of goodwill would make the region once again a land of milk and honey and cause roses to bloom again in a vale once blessed by God.

40. Our views are the same with respect to the problems that affect another area of Asia. In Laos we have followed with anxiety and compassion the massive exodus of people. We understand their misfortune, since one fifth of our own population has the status of refugees. The crisis now seems to be subsiding and it is fortunate that this is so.

41. In Indo-China the war afflicting that area for several decades is not yet near an end. It will not end as long as the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, supported materially and morally by powerful States, does not abandon its desire for expansion and hegemony. A ray of hope has just appeared; we hope that it will be followed by results and that the forthcoming Sino-American negotiations will bear fruit and prevent a return to the unfortunate historical past.

42. Regardless of the new order that may be agreed upon by the negotiators, it is important that the countries of that region be heard on any policy which involves their sovereignty, individuality, development, traditions and legitimate aspirations.

43. The Kingdom of Laos, whose neutrality has been solemnly declared and guaranteed, convinced as it is of the rightness of its choice of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence, bears no part of the responsibility for the Indo-Chinese conflict. To be more precise, it has no part in the Viet-Nameese conflict, because it was in Viet-Nam that the conflagration began. But my country has undergone, and continues to suffer from, the repercussions of that conflict, not to mention the insults that have been directed at us in the slanderous propaganda which in certain countries has been raised to the status of a national institution.

44. The party responsible for the paradoxical situation in Laos is the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and that

country alone. By indoctrinating the Pathet Lao dissidents and by committing the crime of arming them, that country has turned the Pathet Lao into a group of rebels against the Royal Government and has prevented them from negotiating a settlement with our Government so long as their nefarious objectives are not achieved. When hopes for a reconciliation with the Pathet Lao appear, such hopes are immediately dashed by the dictatorial attitude of their North Viet-Nameese protectors.

45. It is North Viet-Nam which has demanded that the Pathet Lao ministers should leave their seats in our Government for fear that their integration into a national community might deprive North Viet-Nam of accomplices and means of coercion.

46. The Royal Government over which I have presided for more than 10 years sincerely wishes a reconciliation with the Pathet Lao. The seats in our Government which their ministers have abandoned are still vacant. They can reoccupy them at any time. Personally, I have never ceased to make the Pathet Lao offers of negotiation, provided such negotiations are not accompanied by pre-arranged conditions, exceptions, or declarations which border on ultimatums.

47. At this very moment I can assure the Assembly that the representatives of my Government are ready to meet representatives of the Pathet Lao anywhere in order to begin concrete negotiations.

48. To demonstrate the full extent of our sincerity I have even offered—and I reiterate this offer—to neutralize the Plaine des Jarres as soon as those negotiations begin and thus to assure the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which attaches so much importance to that area, that the Plaine des Jarres will not be used to harbour bases which may threaten its security.

49. Laos has never departed from its positive policy of strict neutrality and good neighbourliness. At the time of the onset of the Lanson 719 operation, the Royal Government, in a solemn declaration, condemned without exception all those who, exploiting its military weakness, had deliberately chosen to use its territory as a battle field. However, it must also be observed that the primary responsibility for this lies with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, for indeed, were it not for the illegal presence of its troops in Laos, the United States and South Viet-Nameese forces would, in all likelihood, never have entered the area.

50. For more than two decades the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has waged war in Laos and has fomented disturbances there. Recent events show that it has even begun an escalation of these activities.

51. In that context, the attack against Louang-Prabang last March shows the true intentions of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam with respect to Laos. It was the political régime, the constitutional foundation of Laos itself, which was the objective of the attack on the Royal City. And by threatening the life of His Majesty the King who resides there, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is trying to destroy the permanence of our kingdom and the very substance of our national existence.

52. This challenge by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has reached its high point at the present time. In February 1971 it publicly congratulated its soldiers who were fighting in Laos, which shows that it is deliberately flouting international law and international agreements.

53. It is high time to end these iniquitous acts, which undermine the very basis of international life, to end the aggression and wrongs of all kinds committed by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam against Laos.

54. It is imperative for all international bodies which are mindful of the need for peaceful coexistence and for the signatories to the Geneva agreements who are responsible for their application, to decide at last to assume their fundamental responsibility.

55. This is the wish, this is the appeal that the Royal Government and people of Laos make to the world. May these exhortations be heeded!

56. Mr. CONOMBO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation upon your election to your high post of President of the twenty-sixth session. No one here is unaware of your great experience in the international field, and we are convinced that under your presidency this Assembly will face up successfully to the delicate tasks before it.

57. I should also like to pay homage to your predecessor, Mr. Hambro, whose qualities need not be praised here. At the historic twenty-fifth session his presidency was a very positive element for our Organization. He made a very important contribution to the celebration of the anniversary when we drew up a balance of our efforts for peace, justice and progress as well as an examination of our conscience for future action.

58. I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Secretary-General U Thant the gratitude of my Government for his immense work in favour of peace and the progress of peoples.

59. We are convinced that the major problems facing our leaders today are those of peace and security, of decolonization and *apartheid*, of disarmament and international co-operation. The future of coming generations is closely connected with the solutions which our generation will find for these problems which face us today. It is for our respective States, independent and sovereign as they are, to shape the future, the basis of which can only be the legitimate aspirations of our people.

60. But we cannot deny today the primary responsibility of the United Nations for the construction of a future world where peace, the recognition of fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person and the constant search for economic, social and cultural progress must necessarily be the conditions for harmonious relations among men.

61. For this difficult task, I can assure you that the Upper Volta and its people are constantly mobilized and will make every possible contribution.

62. We celebrated last year the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and at the same time the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. This year, while celebrating the international year against racism and racial discrimination, we inaugurate at the same time the Second United Nations Development Decade.

63. Each of these opportunities allows the United Nations to draw up a balance of its efforts in the field of decolonization, its action in favour of equality among men without distinction as to race and, finally, its contribution to the economic, and social development of peoples. These various occasions have made it possible for us to halt for a moment so as to examine the process leading to peace.

64. Taking the floor for the first time in this Assembly, I have an opportunity to point out to the Assembly the present state of the process on which my country has been embarked for more than five years. Upper Volta at the beginning of this year entered a new phase of its political life, according to the freely expressed wishes of its people. I will say that there is nothing strange in this. We are at a time of great change. The life and welfare of peoples require continuous adaptation to the realities of our time, and the responsibility of governments towards the future of their peoples is considerable. Furthermore, the coming of a new régime in my country was foreseen for a long time. We only had to establish the type of régime and the practical modalities of it.

65. The population decided, by adopting a constitution on 14 June 1970, to choose a democratic and parliamentary régime based upon the principle of devotion to the nation.

66. The new Government, formed as a function of the objective realities which are the electoral results, undertook the task of national reconstruction entrusted to it by the people and drew up a plan for economic, social and cultural development, a plan drawn up with a general orientation and general objectives, and this will be effective at the beginning of 1972 and will be immediately put into action, since every provision has been made.

67. Concerning the financing of this plan, we count upon exploiting public and national resources to the maximum and we favour the participation of the private sector by practical measures of encouragement and promotion. Our code of investment is very liberal and shows that we are issuing an appeal to businessmen.

68. It goes without saying that we shall also make an appeal for external financing (United Nations Development Programme, the European Development Fund, the Fonds d'aide et de coopération, and other sources of financing). We shall seek loans from the specialized agencies, especially from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association. In a word, we have decided to follow the road of development, which will make Upper Volta a society where justice and liberty will prevail.

69. The Declaration we adopted here last year on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations [resolution 2627 (XXV)] said, *inter alia*:

“Despite the achievements of the United Nations, a grave situation of insecurity still confronts the Organiza-

tion and armed conflicts occur in various parts of the world, while at the same time the arms race and arms expenditure continue and a large part of humanity is suffering from economic under-development.”

70. In another document [resolution 2621 (XXV)] we declared that:

“... the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations [is] a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law.”

71. To those two fundamental statements I would add that a Member State of this Organization, namely, South Africa, practises in its territory *apartheid*, a system universally condemned which constitutes a shame in our time.

72. Today I can unfortunately make the same remarks, and no doubt next year at the same time we shall still be right where we are now. How strange our times are, when truth is denied and the spirit of solidarity, tolerance, peace, justice and concord is almost absent!

73. Yet, in view of the historical circumstances in which we live and in view of the current problems of our time—all of which are equally grave—we have no possibility other than to co-operate so as to build peace, to bridge the gap which separates the rich and the poor countries and to see to it that the colour of the skin, religion and other considerations should no longer be barriers between men.

74. In order to do that, each State Member of this Organization must make every effort possible and accept a certain part of responsibility; together we must feel collective responsibility and act accordingly. However, I must note with bitterness that the state of mind of certain political leaders is still quite different.

75. Thus, more than 10 years after the adoption by this Organization of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]—a decision which was an act of faith and a solemn commitment to the colonized peoples—some States, such as Portugal, continue their domination over Territories and peoples whose only wish is quite rightly to run their own affairs.

76. This Organization has requested the Portuguese Government on several occasions to revise its policy by applying without delay to the peoples in the Territories under its domination the principle of self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Last year our Assembly, in its resolution 2707 (XXV), once again asked the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and to withdraw all military and other forces employed for this purpose. Since those appeals have hardly been heeded, we must note the inability of the United Nations to meet the challenge of the Government of Portugal for many years. It is true that Portugal is

encouraged in its negative attitude by the substantial assistance of its allies of NATO and by all those who contribute to the shameful exploitation of the Territories under its domination. It is therefore not surprising that the holding of the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held in Lisbon last June should be considered as a provocation by all Africans.

77. In those conditions, Upper Volta cannot but encourage the liberation movements to pursue their struggle to the end, that is, to independence. We shall continue to give them the material and moral assistance which they need; at the same time we issue an appeal to all States to abstain from giving any assistance to Portugal and in particular to discourage their nationals and the financial groups of their countries from participating in the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam, as well as other similar colonialist projects.

78. Following the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November 1970, an invasion whose motivations and origins were duly noted by a special mission,³ the Security Council adopted resolution 290 (1970) of 8 December 1970, which

“Solemnly warns the Government of Portugal that in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council shall immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations”.

Such attacks have occurred again against the Republic of Senegal, and no serious measure has been taken to persuade Portugal to desist. We must do everything possible to prevent Portugal from harming Africa by obliging that country to grant immediate independence to the African Territories under its domination. Those Territories are first and foremost African Territories; they are not Portuguese Territories.

79. In regard to Southern Rhodesia, we must note again that the sanctions adopted by the Security Council have not put an end to the illegal and racist régime of Ian Smith; moreover, we know that that failure is essentially caused by the support which that régime continues to receive from South Africa, Portugal and other countries, in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; it is also caused by the strange passivity of the United Kingdom.

80. For us, the solution of the Rhodesian problem lies in the overthrow of the illegal régime at present there, followed by the transfer of power to the majority, which has never advocated throwing out the whites, because they also are African.

81. To bring about that transfer, it is necessary for the Government of the United Kingdom as the administering Power to put an end to the rebellion of the white settlers of Rhodesia. In any case, the struggle that the people of Zimbabwe are conducting for their freedom is a legitimate

struggle and it should have the material and moral support of all peace-loving States.

82. With regard to Namibia, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971⁴ places the problem and the responsibilities in the proper perspective: the continued presence of South Africa in that African land is illegal; South Africa is duty bound immediately to withdraw its administration from Namibia; States Members of the United Nations are also duty bound to recognize the illegality of the presence of South Africa in Namibia, whereas non-Member States must assist in the action undertaken by the United Nations.

83. As far as we are concerned, we feel that it now falls to the Security Council to take the appropriate measures in this matter in the light of the opinion of the International Court of Justice, measures which would put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. That is the object of the suggestion made by the President of Mauritania, Mr. Ould Daddah, when he spoke yesterday at the 1583rd meeting of the Security Council in his capacity as Chairman of the eighth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

84. South Africa continues to practise its policy of *apartheid*, a system universally condemned. Need I repeat that that region of Africa has become an immense prison for its true inhabitants? Voices have been raised to say that mankind would be able to put an end to the scourge that is *apartheid* if a dialogue were to begin between the African countries and the racist authorities of Pretoria.

85. We sincerely believe that we must face certain truths so as not to cheat the international community.

86. Upper Volta, both in the United Nations and in the OAU, has always spoken out against any form of government based on colour; we have always affirmed our unflinching attachment to the principle of equality among men, without distinctions of colour or religion.

87. My country has often condemned recourse to violence as a means of resolving conflicts, and oppression as a form of government. However, we think that if there is to be a dialogue it must be begun between the authorities of Pretoria and the blacks of South Africa, who are after all those most concerned. The duty of Africans today is certainly not to negotiate to the detriment of those who suffer under the régime of *apartheid*.

88. We sincerely desire and seek the restoration of the dignity of man in that part of Africa. To achieve that end, all Members of this Organization should conform to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning *apartheid*. The international community must pursue and intensify its policy of harassment against the champions of *apartheid*. We think that States which strengthen South Africa—by selling it arms in violation of Security Council resolutions 181 (1963) and

³ Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970).

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

191 (1964)—are not contributing to the solution of the problem of *apartheid*. Foreign investments, which need cheap manpower provided by the system of *apartheid*, contribute to perpetuating that system.

89. *Apartheid* is a challenge not only to our times but also to our conscience, and we must meet it before it is too late.

90. As can be seen, Africa is facing the evils of our times, namely, aggression, colonial domination, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Thus we seize this opportunity to recall that the Heads of State of the OAU have called upon this Assembly to recommend a special session of the Security Council in an African country during 1972—a session which would be devoted to measures to be taken so as to implement the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on decolonization, the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination in Africa.

91. I should like to make a few observations concerning other burning questions of the moment, but first, I must emphasize the positive fact that the journey to Peking by the President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, has been announced. The psychological effect which this historic journey will have on the great political problems of the day cannot be denied, and we must go beyond certain ideas and admit that the bi-polar world today has been changed. This could not be other than a good thing because the experience of a quarter of a century has shown us how bad the policy of political blocs is.

92. Mistrust of others is slackening. It may be possible to find a solution to the disarmament problem, for the armaments race is still a sad reality; the feeling which the developing countries have when they see billions swallowed up every year in the armaments race can only be one of sadness, and Raoul Follereau, that apostle of charity, was right when he said: "One day of war for peace."

93. Obviously, we shall be told that negotiations are under way between the principal protagonists which may lead to measures of disarmament. It is obvious that if these measures are to disarm others, then we shall not have made any progress; the trade in armaments has always flourished and flourishes even more today.

94. What we want is general and complete disarmament. We know it is a very complex problem, but it is necessary for the great Powers, who hold the most perfected armaments, to find a solution to this problem.

95. On the other hand, it is generally recognized that the question of disarmament is of vital importance for the future of humanity; that is why we must ask ourselves, as the Secretary-General mentioned in paragraph 48 of the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1], whether the United Nations should not be officially informed of the progress of the negotiations on the limitation of armaments.

96. In spite of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the situation remains very tense in the Near East. On several occasions blood has been shed in that region, and worse may happen at any moment. We condemn this escalation of violence which will lead to no

solution. It is not realistic to challenge the existence of a State, whatever it may be, because the appropriation of territories by force constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Of course, it is necessary that parties should show moderation and co-operate sincerely with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, because resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council, constitutes in my eyes the basis for a just and lasting settlement.

97. The Near East, unfortunately, does not constitute alone the only hot spot of war. The situation in South-East Asia has been present in all our minds through the whole of this year. A quarter of a century of war is too much. We dare to hope with the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos that the coming trip to Peking of the President of the United States of America will allow peace to be achieved once more in that long suffering area.

98. The People's Republic of China has for a long time been kept out of our Organization, and efforts have been made to find a solution to this great world problem. In our opinion, this diplomatic isolation of a State of more than 700 million people is more harmful than beneficial to the international community.

99. My Government has on several occasions found itself obliged to vote against the admission of the People's Republic of China to this Organization because the concepts of that country in the matter of international relations—according to the declarations of its leaders—have been contrary to the aims and principles of the Charter.

100. My Government has declared on several occasions that it was ready to co-operate with all countries, without distinction, on the condition that those countries thoroughly understand that we are sovereign, independent, and intend to remain so.

101. Has anything really changed in the People's Republic of China? If it has, Upper Volta might envisage joining those States which believe that from now on the People's Republic of China should be brought into the sphere of co-operation among nations for the benefit of the peace of the world and of the United Nations.

102. However, it must be understood that our country, which cherishes friendship, is not among those countries which believe that it would be possible to solve the problems of the United Nations and of the world, whatever their importance, by expelling the Republic of China from this Organization.

103. In our eyes, all the principles and purposes proclaimed in the Charter are intimately linked; thus, international peace and security, the solution of the problems of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination condition the economic and social development of our respective States. All these factors have certainly played a considerable part in the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade. Our discouragement is the greater in that we believe that not everything was done by the international community, especially the rich countries, to make it succeed. The failure cannot be attributed only to the developing countries; the lack of determination on the

part of the developed countries, which normally should contribute to the success of this vast enterprise, was the main cause. For, what do we see? A national mobilization on the part of the developing countries in order to implement a policy of economic and social progress has been made to fail by obscure external forces, entirely escaping the control of the developing countries. It becomes clear that our policies of development cannot succeed if we cannot overcome these external forces. We have inherited economic structures which are not adaptable, based as they are on dependence upon the foreigner. It is not useless to recall the relations of a colonial type, with all the consequences which ensue, which we have suffered for so long.

104. The effects of this situation, which existed before our political independence, are still felt in all sections of our economy. The logical consequence of our independence must make it possible to achieve a progressive break with this type of relation. Of course, the structures that we have in view have built up sentimental links; nevertheless, we must see that there shall be no exploiters or exploited.

105. We believe, first of all, in the efforts undertaken on the regional level for integrated regional development. It has been said that a great number of those less advanced among the developing countries are to be found in Africa. This situation is no doubt due to the fact that, out of a total of 18 land-locked countries, 13 are in Africa. The geographical position of these countries constitutes a major obstacle to the development of their economy for basic reasons of which we are all aware: high cost of transportation, insufficient infrastructure, mediocre storage facilities, and so on. Of course, we feel that joint efforts in a regional sphere can rationalize development policies, particularly in Africa, and allow them to open up the land-locked countries to commercial trade. It is in this process that my country has been engaged in the regional framework of West Africa, where so many links bind us to our neighbours yet where so many possibilities have not been exploited. On the other hand, we believe that the international community must make a special effort on behalf of these less advanced developing countries so as to assist them to accelerate the rhythm of their development. Such a programme could find its place in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Roads, air and water are the irreducible trilogy of the development of Upper Volta in particular.

106. At another level, we think that the industrialized countries can contribute, with a little more goodwill and less egotism, to the acceleration of the economic and social development of the developing countries. The first thing which comes to mind when we think of the contribution of the industrialized countries to the development of the poor countries is the comparison which is often made between the standard of living of the rich countries and that of the developing countries. After making that comparison, a matter of desperation for poor countries, we must ask why, in a world of abundance and of scientific and technical progress, the international community is powerless to deal with the problems of under-development.

107. We have often enough said that the gap has not ceased to widen between the rich and the poor countries;

we must now ask ourselves objectively why that gap cannot be filled, why adequate measures cannot be found.

108. The rich countries should not be deceived: they will never be able to go back and find the historic situations that favoured their development. The colonial system which favoured the economic expansion of certain among them is today a concept that is out of date, and its vestiges, in Africa and elsewhere, cannot solve the problems of States, such as Portugal, which still practise it, for it cannot resist the test of time, just as today, no country can profit economically from a generalized war the way certain States did during the Second World War.

109. Thus, these industrialized countries must discard the idea that they can live and prosper indefinitely while deliberately disregarding the wretchedness of the poor countries. The recent disturbance of the world monetary balance and the feeling of insecurity that followed thereon show to what extent disparity in progress among States, together with national selfishness, can represent a source of tension and discord.

110. That is what we must fear between the poor and the rich countries in the very near future, if the present trend continues.

111. We must recognize, however, and we must appreciate the efforts made by certain States and international institutions to assist the developing countries. And here I wish to pay tribute to all the States and institutions such as the European Economic Community and the United Nations Development Programme that are contributing to the economic, social and cultural development of my country, complementing most effectively our own national effort. We must express our great appreciation and satisfaction for the assistance rendered by the French Republic to Upper Volta and the developing countries in general, in as much as that country devotes 1 per cent of its national income to assistance in general. There is one aspect of the assistance policy that I would like to bring up here. Generally, States are asked to participate, to the extent of about 25 per cent of the cost of the projects, in the financing of projects. Now obviously, we have no intention of challenging the principle of that participation, which symbolizes the desire for co-operation among States. We think, however, that, in view of the scope and the cost of certain vital projects, such participation becomes extremely burdensome for underdeveloped countries which cannot afford the cost because of the low level of their income.

112. If this system favours certain developing countries which can thus draw full benefit from international assistance, it inevitably penalizes the less favoured among them by holding back their investments. It thus would be desirable if a more flexible formula could be found, for both bilateral and multilateral actions, so that assistance might attain its true significance.

113. This then is the modest contribution my delegation wished to make in the general debate at this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

114. I have drawn the attention of this Assembly to the grave questions of the hour which concern us all and which

endanger peace. Their solution depends upon the devotion of each of us to rigorous respect for the principles enunciated in the Charter, in a spirit of understanding and mutual respect. Although I cannot cherish any hope of seeing these problems resolved during the course of this session, I at least can hope that a new spirit will emerge from our Assembly, a ray of hope for a better world.

115. Mr. RAMPHAL (Guyana): Mr. President, may I join with all those who at this early stage in the general debate have already extended to you and to Indonesia congratulations on your appointment to the presidency of this Assembly. As representatives of a country of the third world, my delegation cannot but identify with the aspirations of your people and share in their elation at your appointment. I pledge to you our unswerving support as you discharge the high responsibilities of your office with that skill and that integrity for which you are so renowned.

116. Let me join also with those who have paid tribute to your distinguished predecessor for his having presided so successfully over the twenty-fifth session. That session, including as it did our special anniversary proceedings, imposed unusual burdens on the presidency; we are all indebted to Mr. Hambro for his having borne them with such urbanity and with such fortitude.

117. This happens to be the fifth successive year in which I have had the honour to address the Assembly in general debate. In terms of the statistics of tenure of Foreign Ministers, I daresay that this makes me a veteran. But the concomitant of service is experience; and the experience of five sessions of the General Assembly—including, as they do, the procedures of reappraisal and self-examination with which we commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations—imposes an inevitable reflectiveness upon a present contribution. It is out of this personal experience, therefore, no less than out of the experience of my country during these same early years of our national existence, that I speak. And it is on this experience and about the lessons it has taught us in the area of international relations that I venture to address this Assembly. I hope that there may be added justification for doing so if, as I believe to be the case, those lessons have relevance for all States and for all peoples, but, more especially, for our work here on the bank of the East River.

118. The first lesson is how essential it is to secure universality of membership in the United Nations. It is a lesson that should have needed no urging upon us; for was it not explicit in that act of commitment made on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, that, through the unity of all the peoples of the world, symbolized in and made effective through this Organization, we would save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and bring justice and progress to a world of equal men and women? Today, 26 years later, this Organization still does not represent all the peoples of the world. It represents in fact less than two thirds of all mankind. Is it surprising, therefore, that that unity to which the Charter looked remains elusive, and that the global objectives of the Charter remain beyond our reach? Is there a delegation here that has not learned out of its own experience, here in New York and indeed elsewhere on the international circuit, that if we are to have a realistic chance of achieving the objectives of the Charter

in our time, we must have among us in the United Nations all those who truly represent the people of all States?

119. When the first session of this Assembly was held, in 1946, its membership numbered a mere 51 States. Today, due in no small measure to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, that membership stands at 130 with the admission at this session of the new Member States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, whom we welcome to this Organization. Many of these, although by no means all, are, like our newest Members, small States—new to freedom and, therefore, new to the international scene. But both separately and as a group they are among the Members most mindful of the value of this Organization and most committed to its effectiveness. Speaking, as I do, for one such Member State, it is reassuring to have the confirming testimony of the Secretary-General himself when he places on record, in the introduction to his report to this session on the work of the Organization, his strong belief that those new nations “have made an important contribution to a more representative and balanced view of the world in the United Nations” [A/8401/Add.1, para. 53]. Yet more remains to be done if we are to make that view fully representative and truly balanced.

120. As this twenty-sixth session of the Assembly begins, the world's most populous State, the People's Republic of China, whose Government speaks for one third of mankind, is not represented in this Organization. Let us resolve that it shall be ere this session ends. And let us ensure—as my delegation shall strive to ensure it—that by eschewing sterile debate and by rejecting procedural devices which either seek—or, indeed, without seeking it have as their result—the frustration of that purpose. It is time, in the view of my delegation, that the People's Republic of China should occupy its seat in the General Assembly and take its place among the permanent members of the Security Council. We believe it to be in the interest of this Organization that that be done at this session—if necessary leaving to the future, and by such procedures as may be most appropriate, settlement of such other issues as may arise from that result, but which must not impede its achievement.

121. But the seating of the People's Republic, while advancing greatly the universality of the membership of the United Nations, will not in itself achieve it. It is, therefore, not too early for the Assembly to issue a call at this session for arrangements that will ensure that those peoples of the divided nations not now represented in this Assembly will no longer suffer this disability and that their Governments may make their contributions to the international community within this Organization, whether or not a solution to the problem of division is immediately attainable. If we thus ensure that the only impediments to our realization of the goal of universality of membership of the United Nations are the last halting steps in the process of decolonization, we shall have provided new incentives for quickening that process and for making this Organization the forum of the world it was designed to be. When that goal is reached, when a resolution carried in this Assembly truly speaks in the name of mankind, we shall have come closer to fulfilling those ennobling purposes of the Charter to which we all stand committed.

122. Universality of membership will indeed bring us closer to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter, but

it will not, of course, in itself secure that fulfilment. What is needed, what all our experience all too painfully underlines as the primary need of our time, is a will on the part of all Member States to live by the precepts and the principles of the Charter. An enlarged membership of the United Nations may do little more than enlarge the area of semantic confrontation and widen the scope of inconclusive dialogue unless it is accompanied by what a past President of this Assembly described as "a return to the spirit of the Charter"—a return, that is, to the collective commitments enshrined in the Charter as the basic obligations of every Member State.

123. It is a sad commentary on the failure of Member States to live up to those commitments and to those obligations that the Secretary-General, in surveying the work of the Organization over the last 10 years, should feel constrained to report to this Assembly:

"... 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 interest of the world. By and large, the rivalry of nations continued to be the dominant factor in international life" [*ibid.*, *para.* 6].

That is a severe indictment of the major Powers and of the super-Powers in particular. Yet it is an indictment that is unanswerable, for the chronicles of this Assembly and the events of each passing year are testimony to its truth, and in no respect more so than the primary commitment under the Charter—the maintenance of international peace and security.

124. Pledged under the Charter to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours", Member States, and others now outside the membership of the Organization, have continued the race to outstrip each other in stockpiling the hardware of war and in developing their capability for destruction in ever more sophisticated ways and to ever spiralling levels of annihilation. Some progress has, of course, been made in the dialogue of disarmament, but almost none in disarmament itself. Indeed, it is a sobering commentary on this record of failure that the growth rate of the world's weaponry of destruction is now higher than it ever has been, and that the volume of arms, including nuclear arms, held in armouries around the world is now greater than ever before in the history of the human race. Driven forward by fear and suspicion—but also, not infrequently, by ambitions of dominion—the world's annual expenditure on military equipment has now reached the staggering figure of \$200 billion. Compare that figure with the approximately \$7 billion which the developed countries state as their annual contribution by way of official development assistance. The world spends more on arms in every single fortnight than flows in an entire year as official assistance from developed to developing countries. And each year, as we discuss disarmament and place on record our asseverations of peace, that annual withdrawal from the budget of peace grows ever larger.

125. Pledged, similarly, under the Charter "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security", we

fail to advance beyond the piety of declarations and, in particular, fail dismally to come to grips with the essentials of international peace-keeping. Even on so limited a subject as United Nations military observers, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has failed to make any significant progress, largely as a result of continuing disagreements between the major Powers. And yet international peace-keeping in all its aspects must be the very corner-stone of any system for the maintenance of international security.

126. My delegation has raised its voice repeatedly in this Assembly, as we do again, in calling for a bold and imaginative approach to the question of peace-keeping—for arrangements that at the very least can be relied upon to preserve the peace in advance of conflict. Preventive peace-keeping operations do not raise issues of the same complexity as do peace enforcement measures undertaken after the peace has been transgressed; but they can deter transgression. The right so to guarantee the peace of the world by preventing its violation can no longer be denied this Organization if international security is to be preserved.

127. If it continues to be so denied at the instance of the major Powers, is it not time that a system of collective security be agreed upon by those Member States not inhibited by considerations of power based upon a system of preventive peace-keeping administered on their behalf, and without the involvement of non-participating States, through this Organization?

128. My delegation, however, shares the view expressed in the Secretary-General's report that it is surely

"... not beyond the capabilities of the Members of the Organization to devise a system that is both realistic and flexible and that takes account both the susceptibilities of sovereignty and national policies and of the urgent demands and challenges of conflict situations" [*ibid.*, *para.* 174].

We urge Member States to postpone no further the establishment of such a world-wide system or, at the very least, to begin discussions during the twenty-sixth session on the lines of the more limited scheme I have suggested.

129. Pledged, as we are, under the Charter to ensure "that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest", the pages of contemporary history continue to be filled with the record of armed conflict: of the war in Indo-China, which has now extended from Viet-Nam into Laos and Cambodia and which will not end unless foreign intervention of all kinds has ended and an environment secured in which incentives for reconciliation and peaceful solutions replace present incentives for obduracy and for war; of the convulsive conflicts of the Middle East, where differences over interpretation of Security Council resolutions for peace provide new bases for continuing tensions, while territory occupied by force remains a prize of war; of a miscellany of situations around the globe where armed force or the threat of it is made to serve a national, rather than the common, interest.

130. But to focus upon these particular failures—whether in disarmament or in peace-keeping or in the avoidance of

armed conflict—is surely to mistake the symptom for the cause; for the cause of failure lies in the malady itself, which is the absence of an ethos of collective responsibility for international peace and security. In the idiom of contemporary surgery, what the world needs is an international heart-transplant so that that “collective weakness and collective impotence” which the Secretary-General diagnoses in his report could be replaced by collective strength and collective effectiveness and the world body given a new chance of performing its primary function, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

131. It may be said that there is little that most States can do to advance this change; that the realities of our time condemn international peace and security to being held in pawn to power, and that it is futile to raise our voices in protest, in anguish or even in exhortation.

132. My delegation does not accept so hopeless a prognosis. In the first place, we believe that if we refuse to relapse into cynicism and despair progress can be made by patient persistence in the cause of peace, by raising the principles and precepts of the Charter to the level of an international ideology and by pursuing every practical possibility of advancing collective security through collective responsibility and action.

133. But, beyond this, we are not without hope, because the people of the world—and, more especially, the young people of the world, whose inheritance we hold in balance—are mindful of our derelictions and are everywhere asserting that they cease. When we are tempted to be intolerant of the protests of the young—in any of the forms those protests take—it would be well for us to pause and reflect that theirs is the true spirit of the Charter, that theirs, not ours, are the authentic voices of peace, not just because they will be tomorrow’s leaders, but because what they assert today is right and they must prevail. We would do well to match our actions to their mood and avoid, while there is still time, the condemnation of history for having failed to secure that better world which was, after all, our dream at San Francisco.

134. And there are other respects, beyond international peace and security, in which that dream has remained unfulfilled; for international peace and security conceived of in terms of relations between States will mean little to the people of the world if they remain everywhere in chains. That is why in the Charter we reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women everywhere. That is why one of the early acts of the new world Organization was the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have made notable advances since that time, and the record of international action in advancing the processes of decolonization and in securing recognition of and protection for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual is one of which this Organization may rightly be proud. But while pride is justified, complacency is not; for tragic failures mar that record, both with respect to decolonization and the advancement of the dignity and worth of the human person.

135. Colonialism and discrimination are still with us, and from their vestigial outposts in southern Africa rise up in blatant challenge to this Organization and to the conscience of mankind. The triadic evil which the régimes in South Africa, in Southern Rhodesia and in the Portuguese-controlled Territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) represent must be confronted by a righteous and united world community if we are not to make the Charter a mask for hypocrisy. Yet there are all too few indications of that righteousness and of that unity. Struggles of liberation being waged in southern Africa receive tangible support from all too few of the countries of the world. We are ready to condemn, but reluctant to redress. Some Governments, like my own, make no apology for the assistance we give in this cause and it is heartening to see a major section of the world’s religious community lending assistance to the liberation movements in their effort to cleanse these remaining enclaves of racial bigotry and oppression.

136. But it is one thing to abstain from a just struggle; it is quite another to give help and comfort and practical assistance to those on the side of injustice; and this is precisely what is happening in southern Africa. The Secretary-General has reported that, notably with the help of South Africa and Portugal, Southern Rhodesia has so effectively surmounted the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council that it has managed actually to increase the annual volume of its external trade. Meanwhile, South Africa’s trading partners, unwilling to make sacrifices at the national level for the international cause of human dignity, continue to make an investment in *apartheid* and to bolster the moral and physical strength of the régime by sustaining and strengthening relationships in trade, commerce, investment and diplomacy, and by a variety of mutually beneficial endeavours, including the supply of arms or of the patents for their manufacture.

137. My delegation repeats the call we made at the twenty-fifth session for the acceptance by other Members of this Organization of the commitment already undertaken by the countries of the non-aligned group to impose an embargo on trade with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia and by every other means open to them to make these régimes responsive to the will of this Organization [*1876th meeting, para. 47*]. How can we fail to take up the challenge which they have thrown down to humanity in general and to this Organization in particular?

138. South Africa has elevated the creed of racial discrimination to the level of a social philosophy and has made it the corner-stone of national policy. The illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia shows every indication of moving in the same direction. South Africa continues to defy the decisions of this Organization on Namibia, despite the recent confirmation of their binding authority by the International Court of Justice. The régimes in the Portuguese-controlled Territories flout the mandate of the Assembly for decolonization and use colonialism both as a shield and a sword against this Organization in its efforts to put an end to human degradation in Africa.

139. Once again, as in the field of international peace and security, what we lack is not international machinery for implementing the provisions of the Charter but the will to

take the necessary decisions and, having taken them, to ensure their implementation and effectiveness. To foster that will, let us acknowledge as axiomatic the universality of human dignity; that human rights are not divisible; that they cannot be apportioned among States and peoples; that the dignity of man is everywhere affronted when the human personality is anywhere degraded; that justice must be given the world-wide dimension for which the Secretary-General has called if injustice is not to debase our civilization and threaten the peace of the world. And let it be acknowledged, therefore, that gross violations of human rights wherever they occur in the world are the legitimate concern of the international community; that matters cease to be essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State when they give rise to humanitarian issues of such magnitude that the international community must of necessity grapple with them.

140. But just as the international community must legitimately be concerned with the debasement of human dignity, so the international community has an obligation to secure conditions in the world which are propitious to the advancement of human dignity and, more particularly, to the enjoyment of those fundamental human rights which are affected by forces beyond the control of the domestic jurisdiction. We have made great advances at the national and international levels in textual guarantees of human rights and we have made great practical advances in the effective protection of civil and political rights in most, even if not in all, parts of the world. The efforts that remain to be exerted in this area are essentially at the national level.

141. In the field of economic, social and cultural rights the picture is entirely different, and for the developing countries in particular the matter does not end with national action, for their enjoyment depends at least as much upon an international economic system that is conducive to the elimination of the development differential and is favourable to economic and social reform in the developing countries. Thus it is hypocritical in conditions of chronic unemployment resulting from under-development to give assurances of the right to work; it is provocative in those circumstances to talk of the right to leisure. Yet, until more equitable economic arrangements can be established between the developed and the developing world, this distinction will remain between sentiment and reality, between promise and performance, between expectation and achievement. If added incentive be needed for more effective international action in the economic and social spheres, let the developed countries which are parties to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognize an additional responsibility extending beyond their national jurisdictions to all those whose lives are affected by their economic policies and the policies of the economic institutions they control.

142. In that same context of the interrelationship between development and the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights we have looked with sadness and concern on the recent movement of millions of refugees across international frontiers from Pakistan into India and have shared as a brother with those countries the anguish of that great human tragedy. We have noted the Secretary-General's statement in his report to this Assembly that the basic

problem can only be solved if a political solution based on reconciliation and a respect for humanitarian principles is achieved [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 191*], and we acknowledge with him that in a disaster of such vast proportions the international community has a clear obligation to help the peoples and Governments concerned in every way. Mindful of all the many dangers with which this situation is fraught, but conscious of the deep desire of both Governments for a lowering of the tensions which it has generated, we pray that the occasion of this Assembly might provide new opportunities for the pursuit of early, effective and satisfactory solutions.

143. As I indicated in my address to the twenty-fifth session [*1876th meeting*], the Government and people of Guyana recognize fully that national sacrifice and national effort by the developing countries are prerequisites for progress and we stand pledged with our colleagues in the non-aligned countries to make the doctrine of self-reliance the principal instrument of national development. On that same occasion, I suggested that in pursuing such a programme of national development the primary efforts of the developing countries would have to be directed to control and ownership of their own resources in conformity with the spirit and principles of the Charter and with the more specific resolutions of this Assembly; and I invited an assurance from the developed countries that in relation to this effort they would refrain from imposing an economic imperialism to take the place of the passing political dominion and that they would pledge as part of their commitment to international development positive assistance to those developing countries which seek to help themselves by exercising effective sovereignty over the development of their natural resources.

144. Not merely was that assurance not forthcoming, but the months between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth sessions have demonstrated that, whatever may be the restraint shown by the Governments of some of the developed countries in relation to the implementation of such policies, multinational corporations and even international financial institutions are as yet unready to concede their legitimacy.

145. Indeed, developing countries, such as mine, which have sought to pursue such policies have been the recipients from these quarters, not of encouragement and assistance, nor even of a benign acquiescence, but of a whole range of subtle and not-so-subtle pressures to desist. We invite this Assembly to reiterate the right of all peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources for the purpose of enhancing their national development and the well-being of their peoples and to call again upon the capital-exporting countries to refrain from any action which would hinder the exercise of this right, whether directly or through those international financial institutions whose policies they so greatly influence.

146. However, the movement of international development capital is only one facet of a complex international economic system which has produced the present disparities of wealth and development and which remains resistant to their removal despite the protests of the developing countries and the efforts of this Organization. Bolstering the system is an international legal order which

must itself be re-examined in the context of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] and with a view to ensuring that the work of the United Nations Development Programme and such organizations as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization makes an effective and permanent impact on the development gap. Thus, we need to reappraise, in the context of a critical examination of the economic issues involved, the law relating to international shipping, with particular reference to the establishment of international freight rates, which can have such devastating effects on the economies of developing countries, and the law relating to international air transport, to international sale of goods, to international payments, to international monetary transactions, to international commercial arbitration—to mention only a few. My delegation, therefore, welcomes the establishment of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law as a move in this direction, and we trust that the Commission will see its task in terms of the progressive and equitable development of the law relating to international trade rather than the mere unification and harmonization of inherited norms. As a member of that Commission, Guyana will endeavour to ensure that the Commission so proceeds.

147. For like reasons, my delegation welcomes the enlargement of the composition and mandate of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction and its transformation into the committee preparing the conference on the law of the sea now scheduled for 1973 [*resolution 2750 C (XXV)*]. The enlargement of the international community since the Geneva Conferences on the Law of the Sea of 1958 and 1960 and developments both in technology and in understanding of the issues at stake will make it necessary for the 1973 conference to re-examine a variety of matters which the four 1958 Conventions crystallized at too formative a stage of their development. My delegation will lend its support both in the enlarged Sea-bed Committee and in this Assembly to all measures designed to ensure that the 1973 conference meets squarely the challenge posed by the existing unevenness in global economic and technological development and establishes a régime on the law of the sea which is genuinely equitable to all States.

148. If all Member States can approach the conference in this spirit it might yet provide an almost unique occasion for agreement on the distribution of at least one part of the world's resources based on the just needs and entitlements of all peoples rather than on the vicissitudes of self-interested exploitation. If that can be achieved and if, in like manner, the spirit of internationalism can pervade the deliberations and condition the results of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, we may indeed commence a new and more glorious chapter in the conduct of human relations. Certainly we shall come closer than ever before to demonstrating that determination which we proclaim in the Charter "to employ international machinery for the economic and social advancement of all peoples".

149. In the context of internationalism and a world legal order, I should like to say a word about the International

Court of Justice. It is, regrettably, the case that the United Nations has created as its principal judicial organ a Court which its Member States are reluctant to use. That the International Court of Justice should have no disputes submitted to it for decision would be a matter for satisfaction to the international community were it not the case that disputes abound which are within the jurisdiction of the Court but which States either submit for settlement to more expensive and protracted *ad hoc* arbitration or allow to remain unresolved. The International Court of Justice ought to be one of the more effective stabilizing and unifying influences in the international community. Its influence is sorely needed if we are to evolve a common law of mankind and substitute an effective international legal order for the arbitrations of power.

150. Within recent years a variety of proposals has been advanced for promoting more frequent recourse to the Court. Most of these proposals deserve serious and sympathetic examination with a view to making the Court an institution acceptable to all States as a tribunal for the settlement of those disputes between States which are amenable to the judicial process. If, after such examination, it proves to be necessary to amend the Statute in order to achieve such a result, we should not hesitate to embark upon that course. Just over a year ago, I suggested to this Assembly that there was much in the jurisprudence of the Court to justify optimism about the result of the Security Council's request to the Court for an advisory opinion on Namibia [*Security Council resolution 284 (1970)*]. That that confidence, which would have been shared by many Member States, proved to have been fully justified may, I trust, still further advance the authority of the Court and, therefore, of a régime of legality in international affairs.

151. Finally, let me say a word which must not at this Assembly be left unsaid. It is a word of tribute, of gratitude, of appreciation to the Secretary-General of this Organization who has served it and us, its Member States, with such constancy, such integrity and such devotion to the cause of internationalism over these last 10 years. I come from a small country whose people are now neither of the East nor of the West, who have our present and our future in Latin America, whose recent links were with Europe but whose origins lay mainly in Africa and in Asia. We are, to some degree, a microcosm of the world, and this Organization and what it stands for under its Charter are of pre-eminent importance to us in our national and our international existence. The Secretary-General is at once both the symbol of the aims and the objectives of the Organization and its chief administrative officer to whom the world, sometimes quite wrongly, looks for their continuous attainment.

152. No one who has read the Secretary-General's reflections on his decade of service as set down in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/8401/Add.1, paras. 124-137*] can fail to be moved by the deep personal commitment that has characterized his service to this Organization. In like manner, no one who has read his personal testimony on "The role of the Secretary-General" delivered to the United Nations Correspondents' Association on the eve of the twenty-sixth session can fail to be convinced that, when the full record can be written, his continuous and discreet activity over the entire spec-

trum of international affairs during the last 10 years will, indeed, be seen as an effective and tangible contribution to the cause of international peace and understanding in our time. However, the best tribute we can pay him and his officers of the Secretariat who labour so resolutely and with such sustained commitment in that cause is to ensure by our own efforts in the decision-making processes of the Organization that they do not labour in vain.

153. Mr. GHALIB (Somalia): Mr. President, it is my happy task to congratulate you, on behalf of the Somali Government, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly—an office which you are eminently qualified to fill. We know that you will bring to the conduct of this session of the General Assembly the high qualities of learning and statesmanship which have been evident in your service to your country. The General Assembly will benefit also from the valuable experience which you have acquired in the field of international affairs.

154. My delegation also wishes to express to your predecessor, Mr. Hambro, its appreciation of his efficient and skilful handling of the arduous twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly.

155. It is appropriate at this point that I should extend to the delegations of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar the felicitations of my delegation on their admission to this Organization. They represent freedom-loving peoples with a rich cultural heritage and a determination to utilize to the maximum their generous talents and energies. We can be sure that they will make their just contributions to the furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations.

156. Perhaps I am more fortunate than many representatives here in that I have had the privilege, in the past few months, of visiting many of the States of the Persian Gulf, including Qatar and Bahrain. I was deeply impressed by the skill with which all those States are tackling the problems of national development. It will not be long, I trust, before we shall also be able to welcome in our midst the representatives of the six remaining Gulf States which have recently formed a federal political unit. My Government has also been following with interest the political developments in Oman, and it is our hope that it will not be long before its people, too, are represented in the United Nations.

157. One of the factors that brought about the creation of this Organization was the threat which Hitler and his allies posed to the peace and security of the major Powers during the Second World War. With his defeat, threats to international peace and security are supposed to have dwindled, particularly since the situations that are potential sources of conflict do not threaten directly the interests of the major Powers. If those Powers do occasionally feel threatened, they are able to exercise their influence in the Security Council so that their interests can be defended.

158. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the less powerful or developing countries. Many of them continue to face serious threats to their peace and security. Yet, despite repeated protests to the Security Council, despite the strongest evidence, backed by international law, there

exists within the Council a group of powerful States which are indifferent to the predicament of the developing nations. The dangerous situation created in South Africa by the application of *apartheid* policies, the ruthless colonial wars of Portugal, the dangerous and ambitious designs of the Smith régime in Rhodesia, the expansionist policies of Israel in the Middle East—all those situations affect the welfare and the security of many developing countries and the millions of people who inhabit them.

159. Are we to understand that a threat to international peace exists only when it involves directly the security and the interests of the major Powers? Are we to understand that resolutions on international peace and security which are supported only by the developing countries carry no weight despite the fact that collectively those countries represent over three quarters of the people of the world and of the membership of the United Nations? Is there a correlation between credibility and wealth?

160. If a majority of the Member States cannot find in the Security Council or in the General Assembly effective solutions to problems of international peace and security; if the United Nations cannot provide adequate protection for developing countries against lawless acts of aggression and against the consuming greed of racist, colonial and pseudo-colonial régimes, then I fear that international law and order will be compromised and Member States will turn away from the world Organization. The United Nations, with all its faults, is still mankind's best hope for the realization of a new world order. It would be a great blow to that hope if the Organization were to be undermined by the self-interest of the few and by the denial to the many of the protection and justice which they seek.

161. The establishment of international peace and security through international co-operation is, of course, a fundamental objective of the United Nations. The development of regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity has been an important contribution to this goal. The OAU, for example, has been a stabilizing force in Africa. Its influence has worked for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter, and for negotiation rather than confrontation. There have been no major wars between African States and the process of forging links between them continues steadily, if unspectacularly, in political, social, economic, legal and cultural spheres in spite of the inevitable differences that arise.

162. It is my belief that Africa will remain a force for peace so long as its neutrality is not threatened by big-Power rivalries or by the economic or military pressures of neo-colonialism or by the racism of southern Africa. The members of the OAU are all non-aligned nations and in that capacity have served to provide a balancing force in international affairs. My Government reaffirms its determination to work through the OAU for the maintenance of peace in Africa, and for the application to the world beyond of the principles of the Charter, which the OAU has repeatedly endorsed.

163. Internally, the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic will continue to work for the well-being of all the Somali people through the application of the

principles of socialism. Socialism has its unique political, social and economic philosophy, but in applying it to our own conditions we have adapted it to suit our environment and traditions. It recognizes, above all, that our socialist revolution was not an end in itself but that the revolution is for the people.

164. It has recently been my pleasant and instructive task to visit a number of countries where I saw the great advances and achievements that had been made through the application of socialist principles—principles which in every case were adapted to the particular needs and circumstances of the country. An additional aim of my visits was to improve and reinforce relations with those countries. In that context I should like to say that my Government places a high value on the maintenance of friendly contacts, not only with States which share our political philosophy but also with all States which are prepared to conduct friendly relations with us on the basis of respect for each other's integrity and sovereign independence.

165. One of Somalia's main concerns as a Member of the United Nations, and more particularly as an African State, is the continuation of racism and colonialism in southern Africa. The failure of the United Nations to come to grips with these twin evils remains a source of grave concern and disappointment to the Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic. These evils have long been denounced by the world community. And yet, within the United Nations, there is a tendency in some quarters to belittle the efforts of those States which continue to insist that the struggle against racism and colonialism must continue without diminution. We hear, for example, that it is unrealistic to adopt resolutions which are unlikely to be carried out, or that the concern of African nations over southern Africa might be directed equally to other problems or to problems nearer home. It is significant that such criticisms usually emanate from those States whose economic and other ties with the southern African minority régimes are a contributory cause of the ineffectiveness of United Nations resolutions on southern African problems.

166. The other main cause, of course, is the continued intransigence of the minority régimes.

167. What, then, can be done about southern Africa? In this situation I think we must always ask these questions: what is the alternative to a constant laying down of the principles which must gain acceptance if justice for all is to obtain in southern Africa? What is the alternative to the firm and constant denunciation of the clearly perceived evils of southern Africa so that they are kept before the conscience of the world? What is the alternative to calling for the coercive powers of the world Organization—short of the use of force—to be directed against the intransigent régimes?

168. The United Nations could perhaps remain silent and inactive and thereby nullify whatever moral or practical initiatives it has so far undertaken, but one supposes that not even those States which would profit most from such a course would openly advocate a policy of indifference and cynicism. An alternative that has been advocated of late is that of dialogue with South Africa. Somalia joined the majority of States which rejected this approach at the

recent Organization of African Unity conference of Heads of State in Addis Ababa. It is easy to see how the idea of dialogue, which has a certain surface charm, has come to be considered by a few States as a legitimate means of dealing with South Africa. But those who advocate this policy, however well-meaning they may be, are deluding themselves and are doing great harm to the cause of the liberation of the indigenous African peoples in South Africa, and in those neighbouring States which South Africa supports and inspires.

169. South Africa wants dialogue for two reasons only. One reason is the hope that the dialogue question will cause disunity in Africa and will deflect or undermine the international campaign against racism and colonialism which has begun to gain momentum, particularly among ordinary people and non-governmental organizations in various parts of the world. African disunity would obviously weaken effective opposition to *apartheid*; and the grass-roots movement within the international campaign presents a danger that is appreciated by the southern African régimes. The other reason for the dialogue policy is that it would provide the basis for the establishment or expansion of African markets for South Africa's manufactured goods. Since *apartheid* keeps the majority of the people of South Africa poor, the Pretoria régime needs to find new outlets for the country's increasing industrial output. Dialogue would, therefore, be another means of entrenching *apartheid*, and in addition it would be a step towards bringing independent Africa under the economic sway of South Africa. The type of trade agreements likely to be set up externally under the dialogue umbrella would be typically colonial arrangements. They would encourage the production and export of low-priced raw materials in exchange for higher-priced manufactured goods. The betrayal of the millions of Africans under colonial and racist domination should not be undertaken for any price. It would be tragic if it were to be undertaken in exchange for benefits which would at best be short-range and which in the long run would foster the cause of racism and colonialism in South Africa.

170. It is not only about the possible economic outcome of dialogue that some States are deluding themselves. It is contended in some quarters that dialogue, particularly with independent black African States, will somehow serve to undermine and crack the *apartheid* structure. But can it seriously be believed that dialogue will serve to end the Terrorism Act and the police-State trials and persecution of those who oppose injustice and oppression? Will it end the mass deportation of Africans from their established homes to areas where they cannot make a living? Most important, will it restore their political rights to the African masses of South Africa? Let us not be taken in by the over-optimistic reports of the communications media whose aim is instant sensation rather than sober assessment. The wall of *apartheid* has not been breached and will not be breached by a show of friendship between Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and a few African leaders. The United Nations, then, is still faced with the problem of what it can do, effectively, to bring about justice in southern Africa.

171. The economic interests of the Western Powers have so far ensured that the Security Council would not call for

economic sanctions. And what are the results now of the limited actions taken by the Security Council, or of the General Assembly resolutions aimed at bringing about change in southern Africa? Some of the major Powers continue to supply a long list of arms to South Africa under the pretext that there is a distinction between arms for external defence and arms for internal repression. The NATO powers decline to bring moral or material pressure to bear on Portugal to end its colonial domination in Africa and its aggressions against the neighbouring independent African States of Guinea and Senegal.

172. The pattern of capitulation to the racist régimes is being repeated in the case of Rhodesia. With the promulgation of the 1970 constitution, the rebel régime confirmed its determination to ensure white domination and the denial of political and other rights to the native people. The steady adoption of *apartheid* policies further illustrates that determination. The response of the United Kingdom, the Administering Authority, has been to hold talks with the Smith Government in an effort towards rapprochement with the rebel régime. In the meanwhile, the economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by the Security Council are being effectively by-passed for want of a determined and effective naval blockade; for want of the kind of leadership that should be provided by the Administering Authority.

173. All these capitulations and evasions of responsibility by Governments are in contrast to the actions of a growing number of people who are finding ways to oppose racism and colonialism in southern Africa. One of the most hopeful aspects of the international campaign is the part being played by non-governmental organizations in various countries. Whatever stirrings of consciousness exist in South Africa about the South African image abroad have been brought about not by friendly overtures, but by the pressure of ostracism in sport and in other fields. How much more effective would the ostracism of South Africa be if it had the full force of the international community behind it, and if it operated in all the fields and in all the ways that have been recommended in various General Assembly resolutions.

174. The label of "irresponsible majority" has often been attached to those States which continue to call on South Africa's main trading partners to give substance to their verbal condemnations of racism and colonialism in southern Africa. If it is irresponsible to have a deep and abiding concern that a crime against humanity is being perpetrated in southern Africa, if it is irresponsible to refuse to meet that criminal situation with inaction and indifference, then we must take pride in the label of "irresponsible majority". As for South Africa's main trading partners, those countries can make United Nations resolutions on southern Africa effective. The onus of bringing about change in that area of the world is on them alone.

175. A continuing threat to the peace and security of Africa has been the unfortunate—indeed the tragic—consequences of the colonial legacy of unnaturally divided peoples and territories. This factor is of particular relevance for the Somali people, for never in African history has a people of such homogeneity been divided between so many foreign rulers. Since those fateful years when the colonial Powers entered our region and divided up the land as if the

people on it had no rights and no claim to justice, the Somali people have never ceased their quest for unity. This is a part of those realities which must be faced in Africa. Recently my President, Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, emphasized the necessity of coming to grips with these realities when he said:

"We should not be slaves to the colonial barriers created to suit the imperialist designs at a time when the wishes of the African people were not taken into consideration. We should have the courage to tear ourselves away from this bondage and resolve problems with sincerity and seriousness."

176. The position of my Government towards the question of French Somaliland is shaped not only by the fact that we are neighbouring countries with strong historical and ethnic links, but also by Somalia's membership in the United Nations and in the Organization of African Unity. As a Member of those two Organizations my country is totally committed to supporting non-independent peoples in the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. These obligations arise from the Charters of the two Organizations and from the relevant resolutions adopted by those two bodies.

177. Notwithstanding its obligations, the Somali Government is also cognizant of the fact that, in the case of French Somaliland, the Government of France, the administering Power, naturally has a special and important role to play in promoting the political evolution of the inhabitants of the Territory. The French people regained their freedom and dignity following the French Revolution by establishing their government on three principles that are now universally acknowledged: liberty, equality and fraternity. These must be applied with equal force to the situation in French Somaliland. There must be equality of rights for all the people of French Somaliland; and a spirit of co-operation and understanding must be fostered and promoted among the people of French Somaliland, without any emphasis on ethnical, ideological or other differences that are actually of little relevance to the aspirations of the people as a whole. Finally, measures should be taken to ascertain the true wishes of the people of the Territory so that progress can be made towards the state of independence and liberty which they obviously desire.

178. I am glad to report that, since the birth of our national revolution, relations between France and my country have been most cordial, and the bases for co-operation and better understanding on this problem and others have been firmly established.

179. The Charter necessarily remains the reference point of all our deliberations. Both the wisdom and the utility of its provisions have been established by the experience of the past 25 years. There has been little need for change, but there certainly has been a great deal of development of the principles implicit in the Charter. One of the most important of the achievements of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly was the adoption of resolution 2734 (XXV) containing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. That resolution, adopted almost unanimously, summarizes the development of the thought of the international community on the most

essential aims and functions of the United Nations. In doing so, it reaffirms and strengthens the validity of the provisions of the Charter. Every issue on the agenda of the General Assembly can profitably be debated in the light of the relevant provision of resolution 2734 (XXV). My delegation believes that one of the most valuable tasks this session could perform would be to consider the question of the implementation of that most important resolution, as has been proposed by the Soviet Union [A/L.631].

180. In our interrelated world the easing of international tensions in any one area is of great significance to all States. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September was a welcome sign of realism in world affairs, and it points to the fact that in an atmosphere of goodwill, patient negotiations can result in progress toward the solution of seemingly intractable problems. The way has perhaps now been cleared for direct agreements between East and West Germany and, it is hoped, for the political reality of the two Germanys to be expressed in the representation of both those States in the United Nations.

181. Assuring permanent peace in Europe is an essential step towards the strengthening of international security and towards the goal of universal peace. A start has now been made in this direction. My Government believes that all these interests will be further served by a general acceptance of the Soviet Union's proposal for a European security conference which would include representatives of the United States and Canada. The heart of such a meeting would no doubt be negotiations on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe by the countries members of NATO and the countries signatories of the Warsaw Pact, but valuable co-operative efforts in other fields, such as the economic, scientific and cultural, would also be given attention. The outcome of a European security conference on the lines proposed by the Soviet Union could be only to increase the prospect of bringing about a new world order.

182. The conflicts and tensions raised by the existence of countries divided since the Second World War continue to drag on, but the *détente* on Berlin gives rise to the hope that similar approaches based on political realities will be made in the cases of the two Koreas and the two Viet-Nams. Both in Korea and in Viet-Nam the question of reunification is a domestic matter which can be decided satisfactorily only by the peoples concerned. Their problems must be solved eventually by negotiations between the Governments of the divided countries.

183. It is a matter of grave concern to my delegation that the General Assembly has decided, on the recommendation of the General Committee, to postpone examination of the question of Korea until the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Twenty years ago this Organization lent its name to a highly questionable operation in Korea. What is clear today is that there is no justification whatsoever for that operation to continue. It should have ended immediately after the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed. Unfortunately, the United Nations flag is still flown over the headquarters of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. I will not discuss the work of the Commission, since it stands condemned by its own reports. I wish to speak, however, about the fact

that the United Nations flag provides a cover for the presence in South Korea of over 50,000 foreign troops. I cannot help thinking that if the flag was composed of a mosaic of United Nations flags, my Government would have no hesitation in removing the Somali flag from its midst. It is indeed a regrettable state of affairs that our Organization has so far failed to take action to withdraw the flag and dissolve the Commission.

184. My Government believes that it is time for this Organization to break the rigid mould in which its thinking on the Korean question has been set for the past 18 years. A bold initiative is required to improve the Korean situation, an initiative based on the realities of the present and free from the fears and policies of the past.

185. Within that context my Government was deeply impressed by the constructive and positive nature of the recent set of proposals which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has advanced as a basis for securing a solution to the Korean problem. This is a problem that must be settled by the Korean people themselves, and it is our hope that the proposals will pave the way for a final and happy settlement.

186. Most certainly on the debit side of the international balance-sheet is the continuation of the war in Viet-Nam. The whole world welcomes the United States troop withdrawals and other developments that seem to herald the beginning of the end of the ordeal of the Viet-Namese people. But the very accessibility of peace makes each day the war continues seem more unacceptable and each life lost on either side more tragically futile.

187. The farce of the supposedly democratic elections held recently in Saigon should be the final evidence, if more evidence were needed, that a long and vicious war has been fought for purposes as unreal as they were unworthy. It is obvious that the war has become a burden on the conscience of the people of the United States and that this great tragedy is compounded by the failure of the United States leaders to set a specific date for a complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet-Nam. My Government joins the consensus of world opinion in calling for an immediate end to the war so that the people of that ravaged land can return to the task of peace and can decide their future on their own terms.

188. The recent thaw in relations between the United States and China is a development to be welcomed. My Government hopes that this easing of tension between these two great Powers heralds a new wind of change in international affairs, a new realization that national rivalries and conflicts of interest must be seen for what they are—secondary considerations compared with the challenges inherent in the new conditions that have been created by advancements in science and technology.

189. It is our earnest hope, however, that the friendly overtures made towards the People's Republic of China by the United States will not be negated by a policy on the representation question that would in effect be yet another device for keeping the representatives of the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations.

190. My Government will support without reservations the restoration to the Government of the People's Republic of China its rights as sole representative of China in the Security Council, in the General Assembly and in the specialized agencies of the United Nations. We have always rejected the legal fictions, the procedural devices and the semantics that have been used to keep the true representatives of China from their rightful places in the United Nations. The current fictions about China's representation are no better than past ones. The "two Chinas" policy is completely unrealistic since both the Government of the People's Republic and the ruling authorities of Taiwan maintain there is only one China. The dual representation proposal is illegal because the Charter does not provide for such an arrangement.

191. The Government of the People's Republic of China was prevented from representing China as its *de facto* and *de jure* Government because of the intense cold-war rivalries of the 1950s. It is unrealistic for this situation to continue in the age of peaceful coexistence. The United Nations must not continue to accept a situation in which the provisions of the Charter are twisted or ignored in the interest of expediency.

192. The Somali delegation will join with those who seek a truly realistic and equitable outcome to the question of the representation of China.

193. The dangerous and tragic conflict in the Middle East continues to plague that area and to threaten world peace. And yet ever since the Security Council formulated and approved resolution 242 (1967) a reasoned and practical formula for peace in the Middle East has existed. That formula takes into account the basic positions of the parties to the conflict and makes clear the steps which have to be taken by each party so that a peace settlement can be achieved. In addition, it has the support of the majority of the United Nations membership. There was widespread hope earlier this year that the Jarring mission would succeed in its aim of enabling the provisions of resolution 242 (1967) to be translated into political reality. The positive response of Egypt and Jordan to that mission created the most favourable opportunity for a just and honourable settlement that has existed in the history of the Middle East conflict. Israel's failure to match the response of the Arab States disappointed even that country's staunchest supporters and has ensured that the shadow of violent conflict will remain over the Middle East and continue to threaten world peace.

194. In February 1971 the difficult, long drawn-out and complex Middle East problem resolved itself into one question only: does Israel want peace or not? The answer to that question has since been made clear through Israel's stated policy and through its actions in occupied Arab territory. Israel has shown a complete disregard of United Nations resolutions on the Middle East and in all areas of occupied territory there have been operations deliberately aimed at changing the status of those areas—at turning occupation into permanent control. This is not a matter of conjecture, and the details are not in question. They have been widely reported by the international press and proudly described by the Israelis themselves.

195. The central issue of the Middle East conflict is, of course, the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Israeli leaders have claimed that it is wrong to expect Israel to accept that principle—on the grounds that it has never been accepted before in human history. That is a debatable point. But more pertinent is the consideration that there has never before been a United Nations Charter; there has never before been a basis for the development of an international legal system aimed at outlawing aggression and the enjoyment of the fruits of aggression. Obviously, armed aggression as a means of settling disputes has not been eliminated from the international scene. Differences between States continue to result in armed conflict. But where else in the past 20 years has there been such a blatant and large-scale example of an aggressor holding on to the fruits of aggression as in the Middle East since the Israeli armed forces launched a surprise attack against Egypt in June 1967? The political situation in the Middle East today is the same as that which existed immediately after the Israeli aggression and conquest of 1956. Then, as now, Israel demanded firm guarantees as a condition for withdrawing its forces of invasion. And what was the consensus of international opinion at that time? It can be summed up in these words of the late General Eisenhower: "If we agree that armed attack can properly achieve the purposes of the assailant then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order".

196. In proclaiming that they have acquired rights through conquest, Israel's leaders are indeed turning back the clock of international order. More immediately, Israel's attitude closes the door to peace in the Middle East. That door can be opened again at any time, since resolution 242 (1967) remains the consensus of the United Nations on the Middle East question and since its provisions remain acceptable to Egypt and Jordan. My Government will support any initiative aimed at bringing about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of resolution 242 (1967).

197. The question of disarmament is, of course, the most pressing of those problems of a universal scale which call for courageous and revolutionary thinking. Because we have grown used to the awesome knowledge that the push of a button can release nuclear energies capable of wiping out life on earth does not mean that the danger has lessened. And now it seems to have become equally commonplace that the social and economic problems of individual societies, and the problem of reducing the gap between the rich and the poor nations, have lesser priority than the arms race in both nuclear and conventional weapons.

198. It has been estimated that \$215,000 million are spent each year by the nations of the world on armaments, while it has to be conceded that the first United Nations Development Decade was a failure and the prospects for the Second Development Decade are not particularly hopeful. However, some progress towards disarmament goals has been made and must be welcomed, even though it sometimes seems that the less immediately pressing questions are given priority over the more immediately dangerous ones.

199. The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on a draft convention that would outlaw

biological weapons is a meaningful achievement. At the same time, it was regrettable that it was not possible to gain the support needed for the inclusion in the treaty of a ban on chemical weapons. Bacteriological warfare is a horrible possibility, but it is not in current use. Chemical weapons, on the other hand, are being used against people in Africa and Asia.

200. The need for a complete ban on nuclear tests in all environments is one that seems particularly urgent to non-nuclear States. We should like to see our initiative on the renunciation of nuclear weapons matched by some truly significant advance towards nuclear disarmament—such as an agreement on a complete test ban would be. There seems to be no obstacle now in the way of the achievement of such an agreement. As the Canadians have pointed out, the stumbling-block of the question of on-site inspections has been removed by the development of instruments which can detect underground blasts of any significance in distant countries.

201. One of the hopeful signs of a movement towards nuclear disarmament is the agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union to concentrate this year on curbing antiballistic missiles and to agree on certain measures to limit offensive weapons. Strategic weapons systems are inherently dangerous to world peace, since the development of missiles, antimissiles and counter-antimissiles seems to be a frighteningly irreversible process. The curbing of strategic weapons systems is an issue which should have the highest priority. One hopes that the escalation of these systems will not continue while the big Powers jockey for the most advantageous position from which to agree on their limitation.

202. In the view of my Government, a great opportunity for truly significant progress towards disarmament is afforded by the initiative of the Soviet Union in calling for a world disarmament conference on both nuclear and conventional weapons. My Government will give its full support to the proposal that such a conference should be convened by the General Assembly. Disarmament, like other major questions of survival, must be approached with a global view, and can be resolved only by the agreement of the world community.

203. The United Nations has lived through several crises and dire predictions of failure but has survived to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary. We might ask ourselves at this time: what important influence is likely to dominate the international scene now and in the near future? I believe that present-day realities demand that the predominant feature of international affairs should be thinking and planning on a global scale.

204. The proliferation of weapons, the proliferation of people, and the proliferation of machines are probably the three basic considerations which are well on the way to determining the character of all other aspects of human society. Because these problems concern all peoples and are of a scale and complexity unprecedented in the history of civilization, it is essential that nations do not allow themselves to drift into the future with the naive hope that everything will turn out right in the end.

205. The United Nations already views a large number of fields with a global perspective. The work of the specialized agencies bears reassuring witness to this fact, and in the sphere of development we speak of a global strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. If performance has not always matched the plan in some areas of United Nations global activity, at least the vision is there; the goals have been set and the work has begun.

206. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in 1972; the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction; the work of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction; and the findings of the Committee on Natural Resources and of the Population Commission: all these deal with or will deal with problems of universal application and pressing urgency. The United Nations alone can provide the global perspective and the global organization to tackle these problems. Only the wisdom of governments can ensure that global action will be taken.

207. The most ardent supporter of a global concept of the problems we all face is, of course, the Secretary-General. U Thant is about to leave the United Nations after having served as the world's chief steward for the past 10 years. He will leave behind an outstanding record of achievement in the field of international co-operation and understanding. His great humanism, his devotion to peace and justice, his deep concern for human dignity have endeared him to the hearts of the Somali people. Many of his words of wisdom and inspiration will be echoed in current and future debates of this Organization. I can think of no better way of paying tribute to him, and of ending this statement, than by quoting some of those words. In his address to the fifty-first session of the Economic and Social Council held in Geneva this year he wrote:

“I look forward to the day when students will read about the trying period of the 1960s and 1970s, when human existence and civilization stood in the balance, and when the vision and energy of men and women, acting as the bearers of great responsibilities, or just as the world's first servants, succeeded in making these two decades a period of peaceful transition.”⁵

U Thant's words hold a challenge to which every Member of the United Nations must respond if a new world order is to come into being.

208. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is with genuine pleasure that, on behalf of the Republic of Guinea, I welcome your election to the Presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are all the more gratified by your election since, through you and your country, we are welcoming here a true representative of our great Afro-Asian family. This means that, as a representative of the third world to which we belong and whose firm will it is to put an end to all foreign domination, you, Sir, for many

⁵ This statement was made at the 1773rd meeting of the Economic and Social Council, the official records of which are published in summary form.

reasons are in a favourable position to understand the urgent appeal made by representatives of almost three quarters of the world's population. We also take this opportunity to congratulate the Vice-Presidents who will be at your side and will work to ensure the complete success of this session of the General Assembly.

209. The Republic of Guinea is very happy to extend its warm congratulations to the delegations of the fraternal States of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar, and to wish all progress and prosperity to their courageous peoples.

210. Despite all the efforts of our Organization to promote peace, progress and justice, my delegation is compelled to state that the international situation presents a very grave picture, and this is all the more disturbing because of the persistence of colonial oppression and the many imperialist-colonial aggressions that have gained ground everywhere.

211. Only one year ago, through me, my delegation from this very rostrum [*1859th meeting*] warned international public opinion of Portuguese preparations for aggression, aggression that was to be launched against our country from the territory of Guinea (Bissau), with the complicity of NATO forces. Despite the many warnings of my country to the Lisbon Fascists and despite our urgent appeals to the United Nations, precisely during the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, 50 days later, on 22 November 1970, my country became the victim of a barbarous aggression.

212. Allow me today, 28 September—the thirteenth anniversary of the historic vote by which my people rejected all forms of subjection and domination and achieved full sovereignty—to extend to the representatives present here and to the valiant peoples which they represent the fraternal greetings of the people of Guinea and of their enlightened leader, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, Supreme Authority of the Revolution, Commander-in-Chief of the People's Revolutionary Army, whose firm faith, indomitable courage, clairvoyance, lucidity, political wisdom and high moral virtues have made it possible for our people to frustrate all the Machiavellian plans hatched by the imperialists and to make our Republic a bastion of the anti-imperialist front in Africa.

213. Since 22 November 1970 the people of Guinea has been confronted by a very serious situation. The imperialist-colonialist aggression perpetrated on 22 November 1970 against Guinea by the Portuguese colonialist forces, supported by the NATO Powers, bears witness to the implementation by the imperialist camp of a plan for neo-colonialist reconquest of those zones of liberty which had freed themselves from the fetters placed on Africa by capitalist Europe. That brutal and brazen aggression, which was in violation of all rules of international law including the right of our people to live under its political and social régime, is evidence that imperialism recognizes only one law—the law of force, the law of arbitrary violence, which it uses to oppose the legitimate cause of peoples struggling for independence, sovereignty and peace, namely, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

214. I have already stated that today is the thirteenth anniversary of the historic decision of the people of Guinea

to free themselves from colonialism and to recover their own personality and sovereignty. In so doing, my Government undertook the solemn commitment to adhere to Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations, to develop with all countries of the world friendly relations based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

215. The international community will agree with me that it took only a few years for my country to achieve full political independence, to embark upon a full non-capitalist economic development and to achieve a genuinely African anti-imperialist régime. In Africa and in the world, it has been shown today that Guinea, thanks to its judicious political choice and to the efficiency of its organic structures, has ever-greater prestige among the forces of progress and peace.

216. Thus, the creation of a national currency, the nationalization of banks and insurance companies, foreign trade, transportation and power; refusal to grant permission for foreign military bases on our territory; the absence of all foreign technical assistance in our administration; the control by the State over our natural resources, as well as the integration of the entire Army within our civil service with all political rights and career guarantees that are granted to all citizens; the promulgation of a single social security code, which makes no distinction whatever on grounds of sex or profession; the reform of the school system; the reduction of the salary spectrum; the effective exercise by our people of all the attributes of sovereignty by means of the 8,000 committees which have been set up as local revolutionary authorities in our country; and the permanent mobilization of our people for the purpose of ensuring our defence—all this has made our country a strong anti-imperialist force in Africa and has placed our country irrevocably on the side of those peoples who have always refused to bow down before imperialism.

217. By the reconversion of its structures and thinking, therefore, our country has refused to accept any foreign influence or ideology, be it military, economic, political or cultural.

218. The great progress achieved by my country in the field of social democracy has impelled international imperialism and its henchmen to undertake a policy of political and military aggression against our people and its freely chosen régime.

219. Thus, operating from certain neighbouring African States, some expatriates—after having served the French colonial army in operations aimed at the colonial reconquest of Indo-China and Algeria—are now serving the cause of the Portuguese enemy.

220. The perfidious aggression of 22 November 1970 was carried out by Fascist Portugal; however, it is quite clear today that this aggression was planned, prepared and directed by a French network, namely, the Foccard group, acting in co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany and other NATO countries.

221. The attacks of the Portuguese hordes against the Republic of Guinea are not of recent date, and our

Organization bears witness to this, because, mindful of its international commitments with respect to the Charter, my Government has informed the United Nations, through the Security Council, of political and military aggressions that have been directed against our sovereignty and our existence.

222. The Security Council of the United Nations will recall that in July 1961, in February 1962, in April and October 1965, as well as in October 1966 and in June 1967, through letters sent to the President of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General, my Government notified that body of the United Nations, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security of the following: first, constant violations of Guinean air space by Portuguese military aircraft; and secondly, bombardments of our villages by Portuguese aircraft and by Portuguese artillery, causing much loss of life and considerable property damage.

223. The Security Council members will recall the communication sent by the Republic of Guinea dated 27 August 1968, on which date a Guinean civil aircraft, after having made a navigation error, was compelled to make a forced landing in Guinea (Bissau) because it ran out of fuel and was confiscated, while its two-man crew was detained by the Portuguese authorities.

224. Our Assembly will also recall the appeal sent out by all the Heads of African States at a summit meeting held in Addis Ababa⁶ after the aggression of 27 August 1969 which was perpetrated in the Boké area of Guinea by five Portuguese patrol boats against the Guinean trawler *Patrice Lumumba*, which was loaded with cargo and passengers. In this open aggression a school teacher was killed and three civilians were wounded.

225. On 15 December 1969 the Security Council, acting on the request of my Government, met after a new, cowardly aggression had been perpetrated by the Portuguese colonial army against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

226. The violations of our air space continued and are still continuing. On 21 September 1971 two Portuguese aircraft of West German manufacture flew over the zone of Foulamory, which is located in the region of Gaoual, in the north-western part of our country.

227. One year ago the delegation of which I am the head informed the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on 2 October 1970 of preparations for an aggression against my country by Portugal, supported by its NATO allies, an aggression which was to be launched from occupied Guinea (Bissau).

228. Despite the various appeals of my Government to the United Nations to force the Portuguese Government to put an end to this long series of misdeeds and infamous crimes, an astonished world was to learn that on 22 November 1970, operating from Guinea (Bissau), a Portuguese fleet

disembarked on the shores of the Guinean capital, and several hundred Portuguese commandos and mercenaries attempted to repeat, in the twentieth century, the gunboat policy by which Europe conquered Africa, Asia and Latin America.

229. The Security Council, which met in emergency session on the very day of the aggression at the request of my Government, decided in its resolution 289 (1970), to send a fact-finding mission to Conakry to study the situation on the spot.

230. Allow me to recall the conclusions of the report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea:

“From the information received and the observations made by the Special Mission during its visit to Guinea an outline of the events of 22 and 23 November 1970 clearly emerges.

“During the night between 21 and 22 November a naval force appeared off the coast of Conakry. It consisted of two troop-carrying ships described as being of the type known as LST during the Second World War, as well as three or four smaller patrol boats.

“In the early hours of 22 November troops were taken ashore in a number of motor-boats. The strength of the invading force seems to have been between 350 to 400 men. They wore uniforms resembling those used by the army of the Republic of Guinea, without any insignia, except green armbands. They were armed with infantry weapons, including bazookas and mortars.

“The force split into several groups. Some of the groups were assigned to strategic points in Conakry, such as army camps, the airport and the electric power station. One group demolished the summer residence of the President of the Republic of Guinea, while another made an abortive attempt to assault the presidential palace. The headquarters of the PAIGC⁷ was also attacked. The invaders occupied an army camp in which Guineans imprisoned for activities directed against the Government, as well as the Portuguese captured in the fighting with the PAIGC, were being held; the [Portuguese] prisoners were released and some of them . . . were apparently taken back to the ships. The motor-boats were seen to make frequent trips between the ships and the shore.

“Fighting continued at various points in the city until the morning of 23 November, after which the raiders withdrew to their ships and departed. The number of casualties is not known to the Special Mission with any degree of certainty. According to the Guinean authorities, over 100 attackers are being held as prisoners.

“The operation seems to have been well planned and carried out with professional skill and precision. . . . The attack against the residence of the President of the Republic of Guinea, coupled with the freeing of the Guinean prisoners, supports the belief expressed by the representatives of the Government of the Republic of

⁶ Sixth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 10 September 1969.

⁷ Partido Africano para la Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

Guinea that one purpose of the attack was to overthrow the Government and replace it with dissident elements. . . .

“Regarding the origin of the invasion, the use of naval ships indicated that an external power was involved. The representatives of the Government of the Republic of Guinea had no doubt that this power was Portugal. This view was supported by information from other sources, including the prisoners interviewed by the Special Mission, as well as eye-witness accounts of independent observers and material evidence.

“After a thorough analysis of all the material it has gathered concerning the external armed attack launched from the sea against the Republic of Guinea, the Special Mission has reached the considered opinion that:

“(a) The ships used to transfer the invading force to Guinean waters were manned by predominantly white Portuguese troops and commanded by white Portuguese officers,

“(b) The force consisted of units of Portuguese armed forces . . . under the command of the regular white Portuguese officers, as well as of a contingent composed of dissident Guineans trained and armed on the territory of Guinea (Bissau).

“In the best judgement of the Special Mission, the invading force was assembled in Guinea (Bissau). The invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea.”⁸

231. Those are facts which prove that that aggression was by no means an accident and that it was—as we have repeatedly stressed—the result of an operation that was organized at great cost to wrest from free Africa one of its regions most committed to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle.

232. However, the enemy—who thought that the firing of cannons and machine-guns would suffice to cause the downfall of an African régime—underestimated the ability of our people to defend itself. Thus it was convinced that the Guinean people supported its cause and that it would suffice to land in order to elicit sympathetic demonstrations of support. Events showed that he had grossly miscalculated, because not a single man, woman or youth among the valiant people of Guinea came out in its favour. The fifth column, which was camouflaged in our ranks, was immediately neutralized by the people bearing arms.

233. The report of the Security Council’s Special Mission stresses, in paragraph 38, that “The operation seems to have been well planned and carried out with professional skill and precision”. Indeed, according to documents taken from the prisoners, the plan of aggression of 22 November 1970

was called “operation 553-554-70-71”, the text, of which follows:

“First phase: logistic and tactical support. First by sea: Units 105-223, throughout the entire first phase, will follow the routes for landing, furnishing protection and assistance if necessary. Once the objectives are attained by each group, two BA 12 landing-craft will take to the port area of Conakry 500 men to obtain and strengthen control of strategic points.

“By land: points of departure”—two neighbouring territories—“Ranger units 56-70 stationed in the areas will give all necessary support to the transport and infiltration group. . . . 300 men aboard camouflaged helicopters will be ready to assist the northern group”—starting from the same accomplice territories.

“Second phase: . . . elements of the 1st and 3rd ‘Mediterranean’ parachute regiments will proceed at the request of the new government established immediately after the occupation of the various targets indicated in the preceding plans. Fifteen minutes later a plane will arrive at the Conakry airport with the members of the new government, who will ask certain Powers . . . for military assistance to disguise the external military intervention. The new government will immediately be recognized . . . thus conferring a legal character on the operation.

“ . . .

“Composition: 2 naval groups, 3 land groups from outside, and staff group will take part in the operation. First phase: . . . 2 land transport convoys from outside, 5 automobile transport convoys from within. . . . the general mission: internal opposition to the régime established by Sékou Touré, bound up with the interests of the free world, has given hope to the NSA . . . regarding the possibility of setting up in place of the present Government a nationalist government favourable to the interests of the Western world.

“This plan was drawn up through the special services of Portugal and with the full co-operation of friendly countries.

“ . . . Bases of support as well as economic resources called for by the forces of political opposition in Guinea were planned to facilitate the work of certain officers and the acquisition on the spot of additional means of action requested in note 638-70, which was received through Senegal.

“The general missions are as follows:

“(a) Transport groups: stationed in landing and frontier areas;

“(b) Reception groups: setting up a radio and protective unit to assure maximum safeguards for frontier crossings and landings;

“(c) Action groups: group A: occupation and control of Boké and Labé, together with the airports and public

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Special Supplement No. 2 (S/10009 and Add.1)*, paras. 33-41.

services; after the arrival of the naval group; defence of the points indicated on the detailed maps must be guaranteed not only during the occupation of the targets at Conakry, but until such time as complete and total mastery of the situation in the country is achieved. Group B: occupation, control and defence of the civilian and military targets indicated on the pertinent maps. The principal objective is control of the airports and public services at Kankan, N'Zérékoré and Kissidougou—in Lower Guinea and in Upper Guinea—"Group C: landing points: Dubreka, Boffa and Forecariah. Immediately thereafter, organization of various commandos in a pincer movement towards the capital. For achieving the objectives assigned to each group, priority is given to the occupation of public establishments and local airports with immediate neutralization of local police and military forces and the arrest of prominent persons, in accordance with document No. 11. Point of departure for the naval unit: Guinea (Bissau) Orange Naval Base.

"For Group A, point X-2, . . . Mobile command post 5375 on the general operations map prepared by Eduardo da Silva, approved by Watson."⁹

234. The new plan against the life of our people is as follows:

"First: infantry to operate in coastal Guinea, starting from Buba—that is an island in Guinea (Bissau)—by motorized transport through Kandiafara, Kaluka, to reach Boké and occupy it, taking any action necessary. (Boké is the bauxite area, with large companies operating there.) They were to occupy Boké, for further action, first against Kindia, operating from Diaka, Dirota, Linguinal, Fria and Tondon cutting off Kindia and preventing the troops from the interior from reinforcing Conakry.

"Second, an attack on Conakry, along the Boké line, by air and sea—Boké, Boffa, Dubréka, kilometre 36—to cut off the special area of Conakry up to kilometre 36 and to occupy the city in collaboration with parachute elements in the Gbessia sector and with naval forces.

"...when Conakry is occupied, these troops are to occupy the north and act as reinforcements. These troops from Senegal leave a part of Beli (Guinea (Bissau)) by motorized vehicle, and by way of Lagui, Koumbia, Gaoual, Sériba, Tianguel-Bory, reach Labé and occupy it with a view to further actions, principally against Conakry and then against Kankan. These troops are to link up with elements from Kadara, on the frontier with Guinea (Bissau).

"Thirdly, infantry operating in Upper Guinea, coming from Somotou in Guinea, and by motorized vehicle to Kankan through Saladou, Tiriru, Mandiana, occupying it and linking up with the occupation troops in Middle Guinea (at Labé) through Kankan, Kouroussa, Banko, etc.

"Naval forces: three groups of ships to sail from Bissau, in close formation. Arriving at Río Nuñez (near Boké),

two groups to continue out at sea southward in the area of latitude 9-20 North and longitude 15-10 West. The third group skirts the coast at a distance of about 40 or 50 kilometres and heads towards Conakry. This third group will consist of light warships and landing-craft carrying troops and material. The first two groups, with the above-mentioned co-ordinates, set their course for Conakry. Arriving at a point about 60 kilometres from Conakry, they separate. The first continues on to Conakry, and the second heads for the southern frontier to break up any counter-attack coming from Sierra Leone or from the southern frontier. This group could, if there were no intervention troops, give support to the groups attacking Conakry. The group going directly to Conakry could provide support or reinforcement.

"Air forces: two groups, one for reprisals, to go about attacking various points and towns and creating havoc—a group for reprisals and intimidation; the other group, for airborne troops, transported by air from Kthio Guinea (Bissau), to head for Conakry on the line of Boffa, co-ordinates 9-40 latitude North, 14-20 longitude West. The reprisal group continues on to Conakry to carry out its mission. The second group, airborne and air-lifted, occupies the airport at Gbessia and cuts off the Conakry airport and the Alpha Yaya camp, and isolates the Conakry peninsula by surrounding it."

From a certain border—"(*a*) with airborne and air-lifted troops, take the Faranah airport and occupy it for logistic purposes; (*b*) counter any operations from Sierra Leone and Liberia and provide any support that might be needed for the troops at Kindia and Conakry."¹⁰

235. On 3 August 1971, the authorities of my country intercepted a number of messages which were exchanged between two staff headquarters of the Portuguese colonial army relating to the implementation of the new plan. The Guinean delegation to the United Nations reported this matter immediately to the Security Council, which decided to send a mission to Conakry in order to consult the Guinean Government on its complaint.

236. In the view of my delegation, this conflict between Portugal, a Member of the United Nations, and Guinea, another Member of the United Nations, involves a very broad field of considerations which include the fundamental question of decolonization and the overt policy of aggression of Portugal against the neighbouring African States committed to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

237. The role of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and, under Article 1 of the Charter, "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".

238. My Government has stated its faith in the United Nations, and it expects the United Nations to use the powers available to it under the Charter in order to thwart the threat of aggression which is at present facing our

⁹ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 4 (S/10309), pp. 16-17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

country. The provisions of Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter call for the adoption of measures against States which have undertaken acts of aggression. These provisions are clearly relevant to this subject. Furthermore, in accordance with the wish expressed by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, the United Nations must take appropriate measures within the framework of the application of sanctions, in particular measures designed to prevent delivery to Portugal of all types of weapons.

239. Our country states solemnly that it is ready—as it was on 22 November 1970—to crush any aggression no matter whence it comes and to defend on its own soil the dignity and personality of Africa to the last Guinean.

240. By inflicting on the mercenaries a well-deserved lesson, the Guinean people implemented, on 22 November 1970, this important statement of President Ahmed Sékou Touré:

“Let the enemies of Guinea make their plans; let them sharpen their weapons of destruction; let them place their rockets, their bombs, their ships and their ill-gotten gains at the disposal of those who are against Guinea, not one inch of the sovereignty of our country will be yielded to them.

“From now on, the independence of Guinea is a fact and will remain so. Having now become a nation, a people, a conscience, a personality and hence a force, the democratic people's Republic of Guinea, which has irreversibly committed itself to the revolution, has totally and definitively reconquered the right to life and to freedom and the capacity to take part, with an ever increasing power of action, in the building of a new world.”

241. The decolonization of vast territories in the world, and especially in Africa; the strengthening of the policies of white supremacy in southern Africa, linked to the growing development of the inhuman practices of *apartheid* in the South African Republic; and the tension which prevails in the Middle East, and the war imposed on the peoples of Asia by imperialism, the questions relating to the universality of our Organization, the preparations for complete and general disarmament, the question of the human environment, the codification of the law of the sea, the implementation of the International Development Strategy—all these matters are part of mankind's concerns today.

242. Africa is the only continent where the worst type of colonialism still exists. Indeed, for more than 10 years the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have suffered from barbarous colonialism, the colonialism of Fascist Portugal, which henceforth owes its survival only to the massive assistance provided by its NATO allies.

243. However, the freedom fighters, thanks to their determination to free themselves from the Portuguese colonial yoke, are winning victories every day, victories leading to the goal of national liberation. At this time, therefore, the world's conscience is asking how Portugal, which is so under-developed, can carry out such a policy of military aggression against so many African States in

systematic violation of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. And it is here, in the view of my delegation, that the full responsibility of NATO is involved since the maintenance of Portuguese colonialist domination in Africa is due to the aid given by NATO to the Lisbon Government.

244. This is why Guinea is convinced that the efforts of our Organization in the matter of decolonization will be futile as long as the NATO Powers are not made to face their responsibility by the United Nations.

245. The dispute which pits our continent against South Africa and the Rhodesia of Ian Smith is a conflict the dimensions of which are as well known as its objectives.

246. It suffices merely to recall the true context of this conflict, for it represents a new form of imperialism which some are seeking to impose on the southern part of Africa.

247. While the era of colonialist expansion was marked by confrontations between colonial empires as a result of which certain possessions simply changed hands and names, today, on the other hand, in the southern part of Africa, the former colonial Powers, having lost their empires, are resolved to keep their hold on South Africa so that they can integrate it into the Western defence system for the purpose of maintaining white supremacy in the southern part of Africa.

248. For this purpose, the imperialists have found, even in Africa itself, agents who advocate some kind of a dialogue with the South African enemy.

249. My Government has taken a clear, precise and unambiguous position in this regard. We reject any policy that involves a rapprochement with South Africa, that would tolerate its policy of racial discrimination, even if such policy is that of a country of the African continent. The democratic and popular Government of Guinea considers that to be a policy of high treason against Africa and against the South African freedom fighters. We regard as treason any dialogue with the illegitimate Pretoria Government for the obvious reason that the heroic struggle being carried on by the African peoples in that country falls within the framework of Africa's battle to recover its dignity, justice and its own personality.

250. With respect to Rhodesia, we have always asserted, and we assert now, that only armed force can put an end to Ian Smith's revolt, all the more so since the British Government, through its complicity, is no longer able to bring about the adoption of constitutional measures for transferring the power in Southern Rhodesia into the hands of the majority population of that country.

251. We deplore the farce that has been called an “economic blockade of Rhodesia”. In this connexion, my delegation decries, denounces and condemns all forms of economic, military and other aid afforded to the colonialist and racist régime of Ian Smith. We likewise regard any sale of arms to South Africa as an anti-African act and we urgently appeal to France to refrain from building factories that would make possible the manufacture of Mirage aircraft in that country.

252. The International Court, requested by the Security Council in its resolution 284 (1970) to give an advisory opinion on the legal consequences of South Africa's presence in Namibia, by 13 votes to 2 rendered its Judgment by declaring South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal. As a result of that decision, the United Nations must assume its responsibilities—all its responsibilities—as regards this problem. It goes without saying, what is more, that all diplomatic and other missions to Namibia should deal with the authorities of that country and not with the Pretoria Government.

253. The Middle East is another source of deep concern for my delegation. On 5 June 1967, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, a State, Israel, committed one more treacherous aggression in its long list of aggressions against three Arab States. The consequences of that aggression have not yet been eliminated, despite the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) formulated, decided and imposed by those who are commonly called the "guardians of the world's conscience" in matters of international peace and security by virtue of the Charter. Those consequences are the cause of the grave and dangerous tension that prevails in that region.

254. The fact is that today the State of Israel in seeking to bring into being plans that have been contemplated ever since 1919 by the world Zionist organization. As events have since shown, the invasion and the refusal to evacuate the occupied territories fit perfectly into those plans.

255. The area of the territories at present occupied is four times as great as that envisaged in 1947 by the United Nations plan [resolution 181 (II)] and the plan of expansion. The territorial area occupied today is several times larger than the territory envisaged in the Zionist plan of 1919.

256. My delegation is convinced that the plot hatched by international imperialism acting in concert with Zionism is to impose on the Arab nation the reality of Israel, with all that entails of usurpation, arbitrary action and violation of human rights.

257. Israel's stubborn refusal to evacuate the illegally occupied Arab territories that it seized in its aggression of 5 June 1967 shows how unstable is the peace in the Middle East area.

258. Thus, in the view of my delegation, any effective solution of this crisis must take into account the Palestinian element.

259. The Republic of Guinea, true to its anti-imperialist policy, reaffirmed before this Assembly its full support for the Arab peoples in their just and legitimate claims for a Palestine with all its legitimate and inalienable rights to freedom and independence restored.

260. With regard to Viet-Nam, how can we refrain from expressing our deep concern over the dirty war imposed by imperialism on the valiant Viet-Nameese people? We hail with respect and admiration the heroic peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos, who every day are inflicting crushing defeats on the American forces and their allies.

261. Our delegation supports and approves without reservation the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam.

262. We do hope that the United States will finally come to understand the necessity of unconditionally and totally withdrawing its forces of aggression so that the Viet-Nameese people may settle their own problems among themselves.

263. The same applies to the question of Korea. It is high time indeed that the United Nations troops were withdrawn from that territory and the courageous people of that divided country be allowed to settle their own internal problems with no outside interference.

264. This year too, even more than in preceding years, my delegation is deeply concerned over the absence from the United Nations of the powerful and peaceful People's Republic of China.

265. That great Power, the most populous in the world with its 750 million inhabitants—about a quarter of all mankind—a founding Member of the United Nations, owing to systematic manoeuvres has, since 1949, been denied the seat to which it is fully entitled. To try to entrust to the Chiang Kai-shek clique the representation of the Chinese people is nothing less than stubbornly and deliberately to disregard, in absurd and dangerous fashion, historic realities.

266. For years my Government has constantly denounced the hostile, discriminatory policy adopted towards the legitimate Government of China, the only true representative of the great Chinese people, which has on so many occasions given concrete proof of its love for peace and its desire to contribute to the political, economic, social and cultural development of the world of today.

267. The United Nations has a duty to put an end to this inadmissible and dangerous situation, which some wish to foist on the world in unprincipled fashion in order to implement a policy that has been disavowed by the peoples concerned.

268. My Government hopes that this year the General Assembly will decide to restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights as the sole representative of China in the United Nations and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the seat they have been illegally occupying in the United Nations for over 20 years.

269. My country is deeply committed to the effective achievement of general universal disarmament, and we feel that only that form of disarmament will make it possible to achieve true peace—not peace that can best be described as a state of non-war. Thus my delegation will support any proposals aimed at ensuring the participation of all countries in the solution to this problem.

270. The question of the human environment, that is, of the quality of life on the planet, is also a matter of deep concern to my delegation. We believe the gravity of the problem of the environment results from the difficulties

encountered by the developing countries in proceeding towards their rapid industrialization. Consequently, any useful dialogue among the developed and developing countries aimed at averting this danger should take full account of the responsibility devolving upon the more favoured countries.

271. International co-operation is a historic necessity today. Therefore it should lead nations to assist each other in improving their material situation. However, this co-operation if it is to benefit all concerned must be based on the principles of equality and respect for the dignity and worth of all parties.

272. Today, no nation and no people, however developed it may be, can do without such co-operation without harming its own future, for the will to co-operate broadens the possibilities for economic, intellectual, moral and political development. And the natural consequence of this trend is to strengthen the ties of brotherhood amongst men. My delegation feels that, after the adoption of an International Development Strategy and the approval of a general preferential system, the activities of United Nations development machinery should be aimed at the adoption of practical measures to implement decisions taken on the subject.

273. In this respect, at its twenty-sixth session the General Assembly should set forth guidelines for the use of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

274. In my delegation's view, resolution 2749 (XXV) of the General Assembly, concerning the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-bed and Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, represents a step forward within the framework of efforts being undertaken by the international community to achieve harmonious development of the law of the sea and the sea-bed.

275. A number of delegations rightly considered the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly to be a session for the evaluation of problems still facing our international Organization. For that reason the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly should be one of bold decisions taken with the purpose of enhancing the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations.

276. For, indeed, if the purpose of this Organization is to reflect trends in the world of today it also has the responsibility of promoting continued progress. Therefore, in my Government's view, the Assembly at its twenty-sixth session should aim at the following:

(a) Strengthening the role of the United Nations with regard to the solution of international problems;

(b) Achieving universality for the Organization, having regard for the urgent need to restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations;

(c) Strengthening the roles of the General Assembly and the Security Council, at the same time fostering close co-operation between these bodies in order to safeguard peace and security;

(d) Ensuring the greatest possible participation of Member States on a basis of equality and equitable geographical representation with respect to the adoption of decisions dealing with the achievement of the purposes and principles of the international Organization.

277. Those are the general considerations that guide our delegation in its study of the important items on the agenda of this twenty-sixth session.

278. I should like now to perform a very pleasant duty. I have been authorized by the President of the Republic of Guinea, Ahmed Sékou Touré, to extend, on behalf of the people and Government of Guinea, deepest thanks and warmest congratulations to Secretary-General U Thant, whose high moral and human qualities and whose lofty sense of human dignity and justice have won for him the admiration and respect of the entire international community.

279. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

280. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Last evening, as I was listening to the statement made in exercise of the right of reply by the Pakistan delegation [1941st meeting], I wondered how many times that delegation would have interrupted me, had I made the same statement, on the ground that I was discussing its country's internal affairs. You, Mr. President, had allowed that delegation 10 minutes; the statement lasted 28 minutes and was in reply to my statement on East Pakistan, which would have taken no more than 15 minutes but for the interruption. I leave the Assembly to decide whether that was a proper exercise of the right of reply, particularly as some additional subjects were raised. I therefore feel that I should answer some of Pakistan's allegations.

281. Among the calumnies uttered on behalf of Pakistan was an attack on the Indian press and broadcasting system. I quite appreciate the difficulty Pakistan has in understanding freedom of the press. In India we do not control the press or radio commentators, and they are free to write and comment what they like. Our Government is constantly facing criticism by the press. We rejoice in it and take pride in it; that is as it should be.

282. In the context of the civil war in Pakistan, when all deliberate attempts were made to hide what was happening, is it unusual that the Indian press, or the press elsewhere, should occasionally go wrong on details? The broad picture is clear enough, and if we were to depend on newspaper cuttings for fortifying our point of view in this Assembly, I could produce any number of excerpts for that purpose. In fact, we have circulated to different delegations a thick book of over 700 pages containing documents and excerpts from newspapers. Even that is but a fraction of what is available to us. It is extraordinary that the much-maligned press of India should be quoted by Pakistan in an attempt to support some of the statements made here.

283. Yesterday I stated:

"If these measures are not taken, and if attempts are made to divert attention by false analysis or wrong

accusations, then the prospect is indeed gloomy" [1940th meeting, para. 76].

I regret to say that the statement by Pakistan last night was nothing but a series of false accusations and a complex of wrong analyses.

284. It is usual for the Pakistan delegation to express irritation whenever truth is made known on developments in East Pakistan. Everyone is aware that after an election in 1950 in East Bengal, when Mr. Fazlul Huq came to power, he was imprisoned in a few months' time and the army took over. At long last, some sort of a constitution was passed in Pakistan in 1956, and a general election was declared to be held in 1958, but before any such election could be held the democratic aspirations were again crushed. Governments were dismissed, legislatures were dissolved and President Ayub Khan seized power in October 1958. Since then, there has been army rule. As a result of popular demand, a Constitution Commission, headed by the then Chief Justice, was formed, but its recommendations were not accepted. These are the broad facts on the crushing of the legitimate aspirations of the people for a democratic way of life. That army rule made the more populous part of the country, East Pakistan, an inferior partner. As a result of the popular upsurge in 1969, President Yahya Khan felt compelled to declare a general election, which ultimately took place in December 1970. That Assembly was summoned on 3 March 1971, and was suddenly cancelled when it was found that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had obtained 167 seats out of 169. As a result of the cancellation of that National Assembly the people of East Bengal rose up.

285. It was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who decided to hold the first-ever national election in Pakistan, on the basis of adult franchise and proportional representation between the two wings. Again it was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who had permitted the Awami League to fight the elections on the basis of its six-point programme, which was a programme for greater autonomy, and not for secession.

286. It was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who undertook protracted negotiations with the political parties. It was, again, not India, but the President of Pakistan, who postponed elections twice and did not call the National Assembly into session, even after the election results had been declared and the date for the convening of the Assembly fixed. It was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who broke off the negotiations and asked the army to crush the will of the people. Can it be seriously suggested that the resistance to that armed terror and brutality was foreseen and organized by India in co-operation and consultation with President Yahya Khan?

287. At the time of the election, relations between the two countries were filled with difficulties: there was no trade, very little travel, and many other difficulties. In these circumstances, to accuse India of having influenced 75 million people in East Pakistan on the way they express their will through elections is indeed flattering, but wholly absurd.

288. But we are not interested in these turns and twists of Pakistani politics. What we are interested in is that as a

result of the action of the armed forces, with its attendant inhuman cruelties and repression, a situation was created in which the people of East Bengal had no option but to resist that repression and declare independence. We are not only interested but greatly concerned by the massive influx of refugees into our territory and by the problems this enormous foreign population in India has created for us.

289. As I have already said, we have had the most meticulous registration of the refugees, the total figure of whom has been the basis of all international action. We have been giving these figures regularly over the months and no one had questioned them, not even Pakistan. Suddenly, on 2 September, a letter was sent to the Secretary-General and released to the press, giving the refugee figures which, according to Pakistan, came to only over 2 million. No explanation was given as to when those statistics were collected or who collected them, or how. There has been no census in East Pakistan in recent years, but it seems that it was possible to count people who are claimed to have fled but who do not exist. That requires extraordinary skill. It is well-known that the countryside of East Bengal is not under military control; and yet, on a rough examination of the figures sent to the Secretary-General, we find that Patuakhali District has sent only 2 refugees—if Pakistani figures are to be accepted—and Chittagong Hill Tracts District exactly 6,000. These figures and statistics speak for themselves.

290. It is also not to be forgotten that in the middle of July Pakistan sent some relief estimates to the Secretary-General, and the demands were based on a total refugee population of 2 million. Now, of course, the so-called meticulous investigation has established the figure at exactly 2,002,623. Even "eye wash" can have a margin of 1 per cent error.

291. But there is a deeper purpose behind all this, and that purpose is to involve India in some way or other. Even Pakistan has been concerned by the reaction of the international community to what has been happening in East Pakistan, and it was essential for it to divert attention and to try to turn this problem into an Indo-Pakistani dispute. I must firmly and categorically state that this is not—I repeat, not—an India-Pakistan problem and we have no intention of turning it into one. The problem has been created by the military régime of Pakistan alone, and it must be solved by that régime. That régime has two courses open to it: either, by military methods, to inflict further death and devastation on the people of East Bengal; or, by peaceful political means, to find a political solution. Military means are foredoomed to failure and even peaceful political means will not succeed unless the wishes of the people, as expressed through their elected representatives, are fully accommodated. That is the sum and substance of our position.

292. No one wishes the break-up of Pakistan, but no one wishes to see East Bengal turned into a colony to be held by military means. And if the present policy of the Pakistan Government continues, that break-up seems to us inevitable. Such a situation would not only affect the 75 million people of East Pakistan but many others in addition. It is to avoid that situation that we have urged a political solution; we have no wish to interfere in the internal politics of

Pakistan. We have enough problems of our own. Furthermore, if the present trend is not reversed the refugees will continue to come to India in ever-larger numbers, and if famine overtakes that unhappy land of East Pakistan the situation will get entirely out of control.

293. Much has been said about Indian co-operation in bringing normalcy to East Pakistan. India has nothing to do with the conditions there, and if indeed normalcy is desired it is entirely open to President Yahya Khan to enter into negotiations with the Awami League, and particularly with its leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

294. The Pakistani delegation has suggested a dialogue between President Yahya Khan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Apart from the fact that India cannot speak on behalf of the Awami League or the people of East Bengal, I wonder why the President does not wish to speak to their leader himself. On the one hand, Pakistan falsely accuses us of interference in East Pakistani affairs; and, on the other, it invites us to do exactly the same thing. The purpose behind all this is, of course, to turn the problem into an India-Pakistan dispute, divert world attention from what is happening in East Pakistan and try to rule that area by force of arms.

295. It is in that context that gimmicks such as the Pakistani suggestion for a good offices committee to go to both countries should be viewed. What would such a commission do in India? If there is any function such a commission could perform, it would be to bring about negotiations between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We shall certainly not have any objection to a commission of that type going to Pakistan.

296. Similarly, the proposal to have a few additional United Nations men on our side is not comprehensible to us. As many as over 2,000 foreigners—including many international civil servants, politicians, members of parliaments, journalists and public figures—have visited the refugee areas; several United Nations agencies visit the areas regularly. Here, now, I invite any of the representatives present to come and see those areas for themselves. But what we will not accept is an equation with Pakistan. The argument that our taking a few more men will persuade Pakistan to accept a larger number of men is unrealistic and ineffective. It would be wrong for India to be a party to any measure which gives the illusion of action in full knowledge that it will not have the slightest impact either

on the flow of refugees still coming into India or on the return of those who are already with us.

297. Lastly, the movement which has built up in East Pakistan, by the Pakistanis themselves, in their own country, is a force to be reckoned with. Neither India nor Pakistan can effectively seal the border. In any event, most of the resistance is taking place in the interior of East Pakistan. After the massive massacre and the extinction of all human rights, we have undoubtedly expressed sympathy and support for the people of East Bengal.

298. We have always been in the forefront of liberation struggles everywhere, and is it possible for a country like India to be indifferent to what has been happening to the repressed 75 million people at India's very doorstep and to the increasing number of people fleeing from terror and violence? It is not merely the armed resistance in the countryside which is significant: one has to look also at the massive support which the Awami League enjoyed just before the military crack-down. Civil servants, police, bankers, judges, shopkeepers, tax collectors—all gave allegiance to the non-violent movement undertaken by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in March last year. The Chief Justice of East Pakistan refused to administer the oath of office to the Governor, General Tikka Khan. Hundreds of people have defected, including ambassadors, civil servants and diplomats. Law and order has broken down. In these circumstances, is there any hope of the refugees going back in conditions of safety and honour unless a political solution is found and normalcy returned?

299. Since we see no signs of such a solution being worked out in the immediate future by the Pakistanis themselves, it is our hope that persuasion, bilateral or international, will prevent any worsening of the conditions in East Pakistan. It is with this background that we should examine some of the quotations cited out of context by the delegation of Pakistan.

300. We do not speak in anger or even in sorrow; we speak in utter despair. On whether this Assembly can or cannot find in time a just and peaceful solution to this problem depends the future of millions and millions of people. But perhaps there is still time to pursue a wiser course and reverse further genocidal activities.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

