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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

	Page
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Rawiri (Gabon) . . . . .	1
Speech by Mr. Filali (Morocco) . . . . .	3
Speech by Mr. Agústsson (Iceland) . . . . .	6
Speech by Mr. Cappelen (Norway) . . . . .	9
Speech by Mr. Mudenda (Zambia) . . . . .	12
Reply by the representative of Pakistan . . . . .	16

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

*General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. RAWIRI (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*):  
Mr. President, my delegation, which I have the honour of leading here for the first time, is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express to you the deep satisfaction we feel at your election to the Presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

2. It is a particularly agreeable task for me to associate myself with all the speakers who have preceded me to the rostrum and to address to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of the members of my delegation, our heartiest congratulations.

3. In electing you to the Presidency of the General Assembly, Sir, the Assembly wanted to show that it wished to entrust the delicate duty of directing and bringing to a successful conclusion the work of this very important twenty-sixth session to an eminent statesman and experienced diplomat such as you.

4. We are convinced that our debates, which have always been distinguished by great moderation and by the high level of the statements made, under your skilful and conciliatory direction will preserve the same characteristics of serenity and balance and will proceed in the spirit of mutual respect and confidence that is indispensable to the dignity and the success of meetings as prestigious as those of our Organization—meetings which for three months will attract the attention of the world because they hold the hopes of mankind, which is the victim of its own contradictions, torn by conflicts and obsessed by fear, but which longs for peace and happiness.

5. The experience which you have accumulated during a long and brilliant political and diplomatic career, Mr. President, constitutes in our view the guarantee of the final success of our work. Your personal qualities and proven competence will allow us, I am sure, to overcome all

the difficulties which may lie in our path. We would venture to hope that our joint efforts will assist you in fulfilling your arduous and delicate task. You may be assured of the great esteem in which we all hold you.

6. That is why I express once again the hope that all delegations aware of the importance of the role which they must play will be ready to co-operate fully and thus contribute to the success of the task you have undertaken. Those are our warmest hopes.

7. Needless to say, those wishes go to the Vice-Presidents and to all the members of the Bureau who in their capacities will be called upon to play important roles in the progress of our debates and in the success of our work.

8. I am happy to pay a well-deserved tribute to the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly for the remarkable work he accomplished during our last session, upon which the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization conferred added importance and prestige. Mr. Hambro demonstrated great skill and virtuosity throughout that unforgettable session. Thanks to his great knowledge of his role, and to his great skill and dynamism, President Hambro managed to bring a refreshing ardour to the Assembly which permitted us to complete all our work successfully within the allotted time. It was a brilliant success for a brilliant diplomat.

9. Before stating the points of view of my Government concerning the essential subjects before us, I should like to greet the new States that have been admitted to our Organization. I speak of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar. On behalf of the delegation and the people of Gabon, it is my pleasant duty to welcome those new Members to our great family of nations.

10. Last year we celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Charter of the United Nations. The commemoration of that historic event gave rise to numerous manifestations throughout the world, but it was here at Headquarters that it met with its veritable apotheosis.

11. Indeed, many heads of State and Government did not hesitate to make long trips to associate themselves personally with the activities of the commemorative session. Those heads of State and Government, the majority of whom came from countries of the third world, felt that their physical presence was not only the best contribution they could offer to the community of nations on that solemn occasion, but that it constituted also an important manifestation of their faith in the Charter and of the hopes which they themselves as well as their countries had placed in the United Nations.

12. The Chief of State of Gabon, President Albert Bernard Bongo, was one of those pilgrims who came in faith and hope. However, speaking of the United Nations since its creation in 1945, President Bongo could not help but let his bitterness be felt when he stated:

“Thus, after these 25 years of existence, the United Nations presents us with a balance sheet which is characteristic of all human endeavours; that is to say, it is both negative and sometimes positive. . . .

“On the basis of idealistic aspirations and generous intent, appreciable progress has been made, but when viewed with the results obtained, how many lost opportunities and how many bitter disillusionments there have been! . . .

“ . . .

“ . . . We still live under the influence of racism, which can be seen here and there in many phenomena of unjust discrimination. We still live under the influence of a certain past, of hegemonies and egoisms of all kinds which maintain inequality among men and various parts of the world.

“In this connexion, one can only be surprised and shocked that the United Nations should have two aspects: that which shows an interest in certain parts of the world by trying to the extent possible to restore peace, and that which shows a deliberate lack of interest in the fate of other men. . . .

“ . . .

“ . . . Rather than striving to apply the Charter which they [*the great Powers*] signed, are they not above all interested in defending their interests, in maintaining or even spreading their influence? . . .” [1867th meeting, paras. 105-111.]

13. Today as yesterday, the delegation of Gabon continues to wonder about the reasons for the contradictions which paralysed the Organization and seemed to frustrate the most generous initiatives taken here.

14. Whether it be in the field of peace and security, whether it be a question of international co-operation and the struggle against under-development, when we take up the problems relating to the restoration of the dignity and freedom of peoples under foreign domination, the situation is scarcely different from what it was 25 years ago. Bloody confrontations take place throughout the world; the armaments race continues and broadens, multiplying the risks of a general conflagration. Millions of human beings continue to suffer under the yoke and domination of foreign minorities seeking power and wealth. Thus it seems difficult to say that we are living in a world of justice and peace.

15. In such a situation it is highly desirable that greater effort should be made to overcome injustice and put an end to the bloody confrontations which ravage certain regions of the world. In this regard, and more particularly as regards the Middle East, we feel that the Jarring mission should receive the support of all of us so that it may be

carried out without hindrance. The United Nations should, consequently, reactivate that mission and issue a new appeal to the conscience of the belligerents—to their desire for peace—so as to bring them to devise new procedures and new working methods. Thus only can Ambassador Jarring fully carry out his role as mediator and make a positive contribution to bringing about an end to that extremely explosive and dangerous conflict and a return to peace in that part of the world.

16. The settlement of the Middle East conflict should be sought, need I repeat, within the framework of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). That resolution, which was unanimously supported by the General Assembly, was also officially and publicly accepted by the two camps. Thus it constitutes a basis for balanced and realistic negotiations.

17. To extinguish these hotbeds of war and to do away with all the armed conflicts which plague the world's nations is the very first objective which we must achieve on the road to peace and security.

18. The peoples of the world cannot live in peace unless they feel secure. When one thinks that the military arsenals of the great Powers are increasing every day with the addition of new, more powerful and more terrifying weapons; when we note that many small countries are also engaged in the arms race, we experience grave doubts. The great Powers, which play such a decisive role in the affairs of the world and which alone produce all those armaments and are responsible for their dissemination: are they being sincere with themselves and with others when they speak of peace and call for disarmament?

19. In any case, the attitude of these arms merchants makes us doubt that they are sincere. The production, accumulation and dissemination of armaments show us that we must work against the folly of these arms merchants. We must guarantee the security of others.

20. It is the duty of the United Nations to intensify its efforts and its actions in this field so as to bring Member States to realize and carry out an agreement leading to general and controlled disarmament.

21. Negotiations already undertaken so as to achieve agreement as to limitation, control and prohibition of certain arms, both nuclear and biological, deserve our support. We consider, however, that the measures envisaged are insufficient, since they only involve specific aspects of the problem.

22. In the opinion of our Government, disarmament should be total and general, that is to say, all production must be stopped, all stockpiles must be destroyed. If these measures are to receive and bring about their full effect, they should be provided with all adequate controls.

23. There is a long road ahead of us before we attain this ideal; that is to say, that general and complete disarmament will not occur tomorrow. However, we can hope that it will be so, and we must undertake this difficult task. That is the way men are; they always attempt the impossible.

24. The peace and security which we call for, the justice and happiness to which we aspire, are common wishes

which nature has given to all men to share. They have not been reserved for any particular category of men. They belong to all human beings. To ignore this truth leads to the very worst aberrations. That in the twentieth century foreign minorities, because they believe they belong to a superior race, should deprive of their natural rights other human beings—this is what cannot be accepted. That these minorities, coming from another age, deaf to all the other nations of the world, should refuse to restore rights and freedoms to unhappy peoples which they maintain under their domination—that is intolerable and unacceptable.

25. The policy of *apartheid* imposed by the white minorities in South Africa and Rhodesia is profoundly revolting. Such a senseless policy can only engender hatred among men and lead to violence and chaos. In such a hypothesis, the white settlers of Africa are mortgaging their future.

26. To persist in wearing blinkers, as Portugal insists on doing, is but a sign of political senility and can only lead to decadence and then to downfall. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are not Portuguese provinces; they are African lands. Soon these countries will attain their independence and will come to join their brothers countries. It is not Portugal that will be able to stop this. The wheel of history will not be stopped; it will end by crushing Portugal, if that country does not understand that its destiny is to be found in friendship and co-operation with Africa, which is ready to forget the past and to look only ahead.

27. For centuries colonial Powers have used the resources of these countries, and these riches were destined for distant metropolitan cities. At the same time, the unfortunate overseas countries which were sometimes called colonies were abandoned to their own destiny.

28. It is in this context of under-development that many third-world countries, especially in black Africa, were given their independence. They had insufficient means, and thus the leaders of these young States had to work prodigies, to construct the nation, to equip the country and to educate and feed the people and at the same time assume their international obligations.

29. In order to face up to such an overwhelming burden, they had to develop means of action so as to increase trade, to produce more so as to increase foreign income and to favour foreign investments. This was something which they had to do if they were to achieve their development.

30. In view of such great problems and so as to bring about, as far as possible, some improvement in the grave situation of these under-developed countries, the international community launched in 1961 the First United Nations Development Decade, which at that time gave rise to great hopes.

31. Then the years passed. In the opinion of most of the countries concerned, the First Development Decade failed to attain the objectives which it had established. The measures envisaged in the field of international trade, which were to bring to those countries producing raw materials supplementary income, were not fully implemented. These countries, which expected a substantial increase in their

incomes because of an increase in their exports and because of stability of prices, had to trim their sails quickly. The export products met with tariff obstacles everywhere. At the same time, they were getting further and further into debt.

32. For their part, very few developed countries agree to make the capital outlays necessary to meet the target setting 1 per cent of their gross national product as the yearly amount to be transferred from their resources for the benefit of the under-developed countries.

33. The First Development Decade, therefore, was considered by many countries as a partial failure.

34. The General Assembly, during its last session, in resolution 2626 (XXV), proclaimed the Second United Nations Development Decade beginning on 1 January 1971. That resolution defines the international strategy for development during the 10 coming years and establishes the goals and objectives and advocates the measures to be taken. Once again it is an action programme which will maintain the trade of the developing countries and favour their industrialization so as to overcome their backwardness and raise their standard of living.

35. The measures to be taken are identical to those advocated under the First Development Decade, without forgetting the rate of transfer of resources of 1 per cent of their gross national product of the developed countries to the developing countries.

36. Just as in the First Decade, the promises in this new Strategy have given rise to great hopes, but, in considering the past, we cannot help experiencing a certain amount of fear. The Strategy which has just been adopted is still quite Utopian and will be so if it is not rapidly and completely translated into facts.

37. In this connexion, the disturbance in the monetary system, certain protectionist measures, certain restrictions in assistance to the third world seem to contain serious threats for us. For our part, we have sincere hope that the nations of the world will desist from their egotism and devote themselves to attaining the objectives of the Second Development Decade. The success of the Strategy depends upon the will and sincerity of our actions. If all the clauses are honestly implemented, then we can hope for a complete success. Otherwise the failure might be heavy with consequences.

38. The world then will find it difficult to achieve peace, so long as the minority holds most of the wealth while the majority continues to suffer from hunger and live in poverty.

39. Peace cannot be established until a minimum of justice exists, and justice does not consist alone of granting to individuals the enjoyment of their civil and political rights. It is also the right of every man to be able to have food, health and education.

40. Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (*translation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to address to you my sincere congratulations, personally and on behalf of the

Moroccan delegation, upon your brilliant election to the Presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your important responsibilities in the Indonesian Government and your extensive experience, as well as the prestige which you enjoy through your unstinting work both in your own country and internationally in the interests of freedom, right and justice will enable you, we are sure, to carry out the delicate functions of the Presidency which the General Assembly has unanimously entrusted to you. We have no doubt that under your wise and enlightened direction our work will be conducted in the best conditions, which will enable us to attain fruitful results. To this end my delegation offers you its closest co-operation.

41. I also take this opportunity of paying a particular tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who made a most valuable contribution to the work of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the Assembly, which distinguished itself by an important contribution to the cause of peace and international co-operation.

42. May I also be permitted, on behalf of my delegation, to express again the esteem and admiration we bear the Secretary-General for the sustained and positive efforts he has constantly deployed throughout his term of office for the respect and strengthening of our Organization, as well as for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity throughout the world.

43. My delegation is also deeply gratified at the entry into the United Nations of three new Members: Bahrain, Qatar and Bhutan. We offer them on this occasion our sincere congratulations and wish their peoples, now that they are free and independent, much happiness and prosperity. My delegation is convinced that these three countries will make their full contribution to the peaceful and constructive work of the United Nations family.

44. During the session commemorating the founding of our Organization we adopted a number of fundamental recommendations whose essential purpose was peace, justice and progress. Today, we must ask ourselves whether during the past year we have really done everything necessary for the attainment of these objectives. One need not review all the activities of the Organization to conclude that the results obtained have unfortunately not been everywhere satisfactory, and it cannot be said that we have been wholly successful.

45. Of course, we must not overlook some of the various steps along the road towards improved *détente* among the great Powers. We all have in our minds the recent Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin,<sup>1</sup> which opens great hopes for the final elimination of this hot spot on our globe.

46. Similarly, we noted with the greatest satisfaction the advent of better days in the relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. We have seen in this the augury of a final normalization of relations between that great State and a number of States Members of the United Nations, so that the representatives of the

People's Republic of China may at last occupy its rightful place in this Assembly and in the Security Council as the sole representatives of that great people.

47. Lastly, another step leads us to see the future in an optimistic light; I refer to the recent agreement in the field of strategic arms, which is an encouraging way of putting the brake on what seemed to be an uncontrollable race.

48. These are perhaps only portents, but for our part we hope that this may indeed be the beginning of the final elimination of the aftermath of the grave crises we have lived with since the end of the Second World War.

49. Nevertheless, despite these signs of *détente*, we cannot forget that in many parts of the world the international community still faces dramatic situations with no end in sight. The use of violence in international disputes is still too frequent. The arms race has not yet eased in a manner and to an extent commensurate with our hopes. There is also the illegal and unjust military occupation of the territories of others in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and of all our Organization's appeals to reason. Then there is still the open war in Indo-China against the will of martyred peoples which wish above all to be able to settle their own affairs after the departure of all foreign troops. There is still colonialism in its most archaic or pernicious forms; finally, there is the poverty and suffering which under-development and the incomprehension of the developed countries still impose upon the destitute peoples of the third world.

50. Those are the disturbing aspects which we believe characterize our community today to which my delegation wishes to draw the attention of the Assembly by expressing its deepest misgivings and fears.

51. The situation in the Middle East appears to us most alarming, fraught with threats to international peace and, above all, most dangerously deadlocked.

52. It is not necessary today to go into the history of this drama, nor to trace the complex path this question has followed in the various organs of the United Nations. Suffice it to say that our Organization has at various times taken appropriate positions and outlined the wisest course for the rapid elimination of the causes of the conflict, thereby opening the way to just and humane solutions. These international initiatives were in accordance with the broadest consensus among the Members of this Organization.

53. Nevertheless, we have seen Israel consistently defy the international will by refusing all co-operation with the competent organs of the United Nations, with the avowed purpose of illegally appropriating the fruits of its aggression of June 1967 and continuing to ignore the rights of the people of Palestine.

54. Moreover, the Zionist leaders are taking new steps daily in the unlawful course they have set themselves, multiplying the acts of arrogance and provocation, both vis-à-vis the populations of the territories which they occupy and vis-à-vis the Arab world, of hundreds of millions of Moslems and Christians and of the whole

<sup>1</sup> Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

international community. All proposals for a peaceful solution, no matter how comprehensive, have been contemptuously rejected, for the purpose of maintaining the Israeli *fait accompli*, which is the manifestation of an unbridled expansionist appetite.

55. I am in duty bound to draw the attention of this Assembly to the special fate of the city of Jerusalem, which not only continues to endure an endless foreign military occupation but also must face an out-and-out campaign to subvert human values and desecrate the Islamic and Christian Holy Places, with a view to a complete Judaization of the City.

56. The summit conference of the Moslem Heads of State, held at Rabat in December 1969, and the subsequent Islamic conferences at Djedda and Karachi gave the world a clear idea of the depth of apprehension and anguish of 600 million Moslems faced with a criminal enterprise that offends their religious convictions and their dignity. There can be no question of their accepting in any context whatsoever any solution that does not restore to the Arab city of Jerusalem the status it enjoyed before the aggression of 1967.

57. And then there is the people of Palestine, expelled several times from its land and its homes, wandering among refugee camps in indescribable misery, living on charity that is increasingly grudging and pushed into dangerous despair. When and how will so hateful an injustice be redressed? How and by what means will this people, plundered and thwarted, be able to return home and obtain just reparation from the harm done it for more than 20 years?

58. It is for the entire international community to answer. It is for the Security Council and the great Powers to assume their responsibilities, to adopt the necessary measures and see that they are applied.

59. Finally, there are the Arab territories occupied since the aggression of June 1967 despite efforts made both through the United Nations and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Gunnar Jarring, and through initiatives taken directly by a number of Member States, jointly or separately; despite the offers and numerous formulas for peaceful arrangements that have been proposed, not once has Israel agreed even in principle to the evacuation of the occupied territories. Not once has Israel announced its acceptance of the rule of the non-acquisition of territories through military conquest.

60. Mr. Jarring's most recent proposals have gone unanswered, despite the clearly demonstrated goodwill of the Egyptian Arab Republic, which on that account enjoys the sympathy, consideration and esteem of the majority of States Members of the United Nations.

61. Instead, we have seen Israel strengthen its hold on the occupied territories by carrying out transfers of population and setting up improved military works in all the sectors, and this while devoting the bulk of its resources, and of the ample external aid it receives, to the acquisition of ever more sophisticated and deadly weaponry.

62. We urgently appeal to the suppliers of Israel to refrain from supporting an aggressor that continues illegally to

occupy the territories of others by giving it the increased aid for which it constantly clamours and frequently obtains in the name of some alleged balance of forces that is largely favourable to it and which it in any case does not deserve so long as it has not returned the conquered regions.

63. The withdrawal of their military support from Israel would not only accord with the principles of peace and justice to which we all subscribe but would in the final analysis be more effective than all the diplomatic activity that has been carried on in vain for more than four years.

64. Some 10 years ago we thought that the colonial era was gone for ever and that the last vestiges of an epoch that did no honour to mankind were about to disappear, opening the way to cultural, technical and economic progress for hundreds of millions of human beings who had until then been excluded from the advancement of the world.

65. Valiant Africa had emerged triumphant from this ordeal in a spectacular mass movement towards freedom and independence, and there was a powerful thrust towards co-operation, harmonization and unity in every field, both regionally and in the continent as a whole. In particular, the Organization of African Unity was created and continues to be the vehicle of our hopes and our determination to attain the objectives and the ideals of Africa, which are also those of the United Nations.

66. But in a reflex of self-preservation and survival, colonialism has pulled itself together, and is still fighting stubbornly to defend itself in its last bastions. Our brothers of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea, in particular, have been waging a heroic struggle for years, with success, of course, which arouses our admiration—but also with sacrifices and suffering, which will long be their lot unless the international community goes to their rescue.

67. Indeed, Portugal, which is pursuing a blind and costly policy, given the means available to that country, could not so long continue to ignore the rights of the peoples it has enslaved if it did not enjoy the effective support of forces which in the name of defence are aiding the work of colonialism and continuous aggression in Africa.

68. In Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe people is still subject to the law of the racist minority, and even the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations, frequently by-passed as they are, have proven discouragingly ineffective. There again, our Organization, and the United Kingdom in particular, will have to use energetic measures of the only kind that will be understood by the unlawful régime of Ian Smith, which is based on violence and the *fait accompli*.

69. We shall never tire of denouncing the discrimination and racial segregation practised on our brothers in South Africa. No glimmer of hope has ever come from that part of our continent to suggest that there is even the beginning of any move to put an end to a policy unanimously rejected by the international community. On the contrary, the repression is growing harsher and the refusal to engage in dialogue with the African majority is total. Moreover, the Pretoria Government is unlawfully extending its nefarious

policies to Namibia, in defiance of our Organization and its decisions on the subject. There again, the indulgence and understanding—indeed, the co-operation and military support—enjoyed by South Africa from many countries enable it to continue with ease a course of action we have so often unanimously condemned.

70. As for the Sahara under Spanish administration, I should like to recall that the General Assembly has repeatedly reaffirmed that the populations must be consulted by referendum as soon as possible so that they may freely decide their future. The Government of His Majesty the King considers that to be the most appropriate way of speeding up the decolonization of the region and thereby enabling the local populations, and the Governments concerned, including the Spanish Government, at last to go beyond a largely outmoded phase of their common history. We believe this anachronism must be eliminated as soon as possible so as to open wider still the road to more intelligent and more extensive co-operation with Spain, a country with which Morocco already has many common traditions and interests.

71. Without an improvement in international relations and liberation from the increasing burden of armaments the world community cannot genuinely devote itself to economic and social development. My Government is profoundly convinced that without genuine general and complete disarmament and the consequent release of substantial resources and their transfer to development, this last field will always be beset by great problems. Without mentioning the recent monetary crisis and the extent of its unfortunate consequences, one need only glance at the international scene to note that the picture is far from reassuring: a great gap between industrialized and developing countries, exploding populations, deteriorating terms of trade, insufficiency and rigidity of financial, technical and scientific assistance.

72. It is true that our Organization has attempted to react against this acceleration of under-development and to set targets for a programme of economic and social progress. Unfortunately, the efforts in this common enterprise have not met with the encouragement and support hoped for on the part of the affluent countries. However, despite the disappointments and doubts caused by the revision of commitments, our Organization took the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary solemnly to adopt the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. That Strategy, which has been called a charter for development, illustrates the awareness and resolve of the world community to achieve the objectives of the Second Decade.

73. My Government, which has fully subscribed to all the options of the Strategy, can only hope that this awareness and resolve will be given practical effect without delay, and that all the commitments will be honoured. We do not at all forget that it is first and foremost the developing countries themselves that bear the principal responsibility for ensuring their own development. But what we want and ask is that the efforts undertaken by those countries should not, as is unfortunately often the case, be continuously limited or set at nought by restrictive measures taken by the industrialized countries.

74. On the eve of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is to take place in Santiago, Chile, in April and May 1972 and on the eve of other similar conferences, we repeat our appeal that all development problems should be studied and approached with the sole objective of relating them to the targets of the Strategy.

75. Meanwhile—and here we have in mind the forthcoming conference in Lima—the countries of the third world will have to get together and reach agreement first, so that they may make their voice heard and demand that their rights and interests be taken into consideration. It seems to us useful on this occasion to point to the example of the oil-producing countries whose solidarity won better terms for the sale of their products. It is certain that any move towards the conclusion of similar compromises in other fields will be likely to safeguard the interests of all.

76. In any case, it remains our hope that it will be recognized and agreed that the job of development is an urgent and general one incumbent on all countries, whatever their situation or level of development. This, in our view, is the principal course to be followed if we wish to attain the goals of harmonious and generalized development throughout the international community.

77. I should have liked to deal today with other important problems on our agenda, for example those concerning the sea-bed and the ocean floor, the environment, and outer space, but I shall leave that task to the members of my delegation who will be taking part in the work of the various Committees of the Assembly.

78. It has been suggested that the world has passed from an era of confrontation into one of negotiation and decisive change. Wisdom and realism dictate that we continue to see the international community as it is, not as we would like to see it. Great efforts and great sacrifices are still required, and the contribution of all, large and small, is essential if we genuinely want decisive change.

79. My delegation will, for its part, spare no effort in that direction, so that for all peoples of the world the United Nations Charter may have meaning and purpose.

80. Mr. AGUSTSSON (Iceland): Mr. President, at the outset of my statement I want to extend to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation upon your election as President of the General Assembly. The complete confidence which the General Assembly has placed in you provides a happy augury for success in your extremely important task. Your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro of Norway, has indeed set a high standard in his tenure of this office, for which he deserves great credit. We pledge our support to you, Mr. President, as you uphold that high standard.

81. I would also like to pay a tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, whose departure is imminent. The world community is greatly indebted to him, and his contribution to mankind will be kept in the records of human history. Also in his case a tremendous void has to be filled, and it is our fervent hope that the United Nations will be fortunate enough to show the same kind of

overwhelming support for the election of the new Secretary-General as was shown in your election, Mr. President. Various worthy candidates have been mentioned during the last few weeks for the post of Secretary-General. We must find and elect another able man dedicated to the tradition of strong and independent leadership, a man who can help to make this Organization into a more effective instrument for peace, justice and progress.

82. My Government believes that Ambassador Max Jakobson of Finland would be eminently qualified for the post of Secretary-General, and it reiterates its support for his candidacy.

83. On behalf of my delegation, I want to use this opportunity to extend our congratulations to the three new Members of the United Nations. Iceland has now been a Member of the United Nations for a period of 25 years, and we cherish that membership as we know these three new Member States will also do.

84. Like all nations, not least the small ones, the people of Iceland have from the beginning placed high hopes and expectations in the United Nations. It has to be admitted that our expectations have not altogether been realized. My delegation therefore looks favourably on various suggestions put forward for organizational improvements in the work of the United Nations, aiming at increased authority and executive power.

85. Since the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations over a quarter of a century ago, the world has undergone some fundamental changes and important experience has been gained in the application of the Charter in promoting international peace and security. We should draw on this experience in an attempt to make our Organization more effective in meeting its responsibilities. In this re-evaluation of our purposes it may be necessary to amend the Charter, just as individual States find it necessary from time to time to change constitutions and laws in conformity with changed requirements.

86. My Government will support all attempts aiming at the relaxation of tension in the world and the strengthening of peace and reconciliation between nations. We shall contribute to the recognition of the legitimate aspirations of all nations to freedom and the right to self-determination and to representation in the United Nations.

87. True to its policy of equal rights for all nations, my Government will at this session of the General Assembly support the membership of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In the opinion of my Government it is not conducive to world peace, besides being an injustice, to deny a nation of over 700 million people representation in this Organization. We are therefore strongly in favour of the principle that the People's Republic of China should be admitted to membership in the United Nations with all the rights and obligations involved.

88. We have profound sympathy for the struggle of the poorer nations of the world for equality and economic self-sufficiency, and feel that it is the responsibility of the international community to make renewed efforts to help

them to attain those goals in the shortest possible time. The economic and human inequalities between nations and within nations is a constant source of national and international conflicts which must be eliminated in order to attain a just and durable peace.

89. The Icelandic people continue to look to the United Nations as the best hope of mankind for international peace and justice. We consider this Organization a guarantor of our own national independence and we seek its support in safeguarding our economic viability. When we survey the record of achievements, however, we are bound to admit that much remains to be done and many disappointments are only too evident. Our distinguished Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report to this session on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1], has eloquently stated his views on the subject.

90. I am not going to deal with the whole range of issues, but I should like to mention a few positive signs of achievements as my Government sees them.

91. As we look at recent developments in international affairs there is reason to welcome in particular the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September. That agreement raises real hope for improved relations in Europe. Negotiations have started between the two German States on the implementation of that agreement and on their bilateral relations in general. With perseverance and the goodwill of both parties it can reasonably be expected that they will resolve their differences, paving the way for a new era in East-West relations and assuring them their rightful place in international organizations. For the first time since the end of the Second World War the German problem appears on the verge of solution. Assuming that an accommodation can be reached between the two German States, we can look forward to the convening of a conference on European security, which my Government hopes could remove one of the last vestiges of the Second World War—the German problem—which, for far too long, has remained one of the principal sources of tension in Europe and in the world.

92. In spite of prolonged and determined work by this Organization in attempting to promote peace, the world is constantly living in the shadow of war. Suspicion and mistrust, fed by social, cultural and economic inequalities, are a continuous source of friction. With rapid technological progress the consequences of war assume frightening proportions. We can therefore look with some satisfaction at the progress which has been made in Geneva in the field of disarmament. It is true that disarmament does not cure the basic, underlying causes of war, but it is hoped that it will give added time for finding solutions to them.

93. Even more significant and encouraging is the progress registered in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. We can only hope that those talks will result in an agreement putting a halt to the race in the production and perfection of nuclear weapons. An agreement, even on a limited scale to begin with, could contribute in no small measure to mutual trust and understanding and the lessening of tension in the world in general.

94. It is appropriate in this context to mention the speedy implementation of the resolution on assistance in cases of natural disaster adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2717 (XXV)*]. This is indeed a most timely and necessary action which will help to alleviate the consequences of major disasters wherever they may take place. But we should continue, as has been suggested, and establish as soon as possible an office for assistance in cases of unnatural disasters. The experience in Pakistan has grimly emphasized the need for such an organization.

95. We should also like to commend highly the excellent work done by the United Nations technical organizations, such as the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. Only by strengthening the activities of the United Nations in this field will we be able to narrow the widening gap between the rich nations and the needy nations.

96. It is a much-too-frequent practice in many quarters to criticize the United Nations for failing to maintain law and order in the international community. Some go so far as to blame the United Nations for most if not all of the things that bother a troubled world. Those who are more reasonable realize that what hampers the United Nations is insufficient powers to deal with major problems of war and peace and a lack of will by some Member States to back up the United Nations. In any case, it is extremely important that public opinion should be aware of the fact that, although armed conflicts rage beyond the reach of the United Nations, extremely useful and constructive work in the interest of peace and lawful co-operation is constantly being carried out by the United Nations and under its auspices. And it is only fair that attention should be drawn to those positive assets in the balance-sheet.

97. I should like to dwell briefly on one such matter today—a matter which for centuries has had in it the seeds of struggle, conflict and even war, but which is now, with patience and hard work, being dealt with in the spirit of international co-operation for the benefit of mankind. I am referring here to the valuable efforts to prepare the third United Nations conference on the law of the sea, which is scheduled for 1973. At present the representatives of 86 States are engaged in this preparatory work; but since the problems involved are of great and even vital interest to all the Members of the United Nations, they are an appropriate subject in this general debate. They will of course also attract the attention of the First Committee when the report on the preparatory work done this year is dealt with there in due course.

98. The preparatory work for the third conference on the law of the sea has in effect been going on for more than 20 years. The General Assembly in 1949 instructed the International Law Commission to deal with the law of the sea in its entirety [*resolution 374 (IV)*], and the First and Second United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva in 1958 and 1960 respectively, used the work of the International Law Commission as a basis for their efforts. A large number of the problems were successfully dealt with in that way, but the fundamental questions of the text of the territorial sea and fishery limits were not solved. Those two questions, together with other

fundamental issues—such as the international sea-bed area, pollution, archipelagoes, fishing on the high seas and problems of the land-locked States—still remain unsolved and are now being studied in preparation for the third conference. It is of course clear that the solution of these remaining problems would greatly contribute to peace and stability instead of the present dangerous conflicts and uncertainty.

99. The Government of Iceland welcomes this opportunity to thank the Committee preparing the Conference<sup>2</sup> for its valuable efforts during the meetings of the Committee in March and again in July and August of this year. Progress has seemed rather slow in the initial stages, but it is hoped that next year further accomplishments will be facilitated by the extremely valuable groundwork already done, although many complicated problems are involved. I am not going to discuss further the work of that Committee here; but since, as I said, the issues involved are also important to a large number of States which are represented in this Assembly but not on the Committee, I should like to make a few additional remarks concerning the views of my Government in this field.

100. We fully support the endeavours to establish an appropriate régime for the international sea-bed area and will do our utmost to contribute to the accomplishment of the task outlined by the adoption of the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction by the General Assembly last year [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*]. The wealth of material already available in this field is being studied by the appropriate authorities in my country with the utmost attention. The same applies to the questions of pollution and scientific research.

101. Since jurisdiction and control over coastal fisheries is a matter of fundamental importance to Iceland and forms an inseparable part of the problem of coastal jurisdiction in its entirety, I should like to take this opportunity to summarize in just a few words the position of the Government of Iceland in this field.

102. A great development is taking place as regards the problem of coastal fisheries. It is generally admitted that the system of narrow fishery limits on the one hand and the so-called freedom of fishing—subject to minimal agreed conservation measures equally applicable to all beyond that area—on the other hand, was heavily weighted in favour of the countries that want to fish as close as possible to the coasts of other nations. This obsolete system is now being replaced by a new pragmatic approach. This new progressive international law is based on two fundamental propositions. The first is that the interest of the international community in the freedom of the seas for purposes of navigation and commerce should be protected. The other fundamental proposition is that the coastal fisheries are a part of the natural resources of the coastal State up to a reasonable distance from the coast and that this problem is entirely different from the concept of the territorial sea. The distance required for this specialized jurisdiction over fisheries would vary in different countries and regions, but

<sup>2</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.



it would be determined on the basis of the relevant local considerations—geographical, biological, economic and others. The task is now to ascertain the claims of the various States in this field as regards exclusive fishery limits, preferential and conservation zones. Such a pragmatic approach will provide the necessary foundation for a realistic and reasonable system.

103. My Government is convinced that this new system already has the support of the international community and is preparing the extension of the Icelandic fishery limits in conformity with these views so as to cover the waters of the continental shelf of Iceland. That criterion is clearly indicated in Iceland; that is an area which, for example at the depth of 400 metres, would extend to approximately 50 to 70 miles from the coast. The outlines of this platform on which the country rests follow those of the coast itself, and in these shallow underwater terraces ideal conditions are found for spawning areas and nursery grounds for the fish stocks upon whose preservation and utilization the livelihood of the Icelandic nation depends. That environment is an integral part of the natural resources of the country. Indeed the coastal fisheries in Iceland have always been the foundation of the country's economy. The country itself is barren—there are no minerals or forests—and most of the necessities of life have to be imported and financed through the export of fisheries products which have constituted approximately 90 per cent of total exports. The coastal fisheries are the *conditio sine qua non* for the Icelandic economy. Without them the country would not have been habitable. It is indeed as if nature had intended to compensate for the barrenness of the country itself by surrounding it with rich fishing grounds. The continental shelf area in our case constitutes the natural fishery limits and the Icelandic Government has announced that it will issue new regulations in conformity with these considerations before 1 September 1972.

104. The Icelandic Government considers that as far as Iceland is concerned we have to protect our interests now. It is quite clear that at any time the highly developed fishing fleets of distant-water fishing countries will be increasingly directed to the Iceland area. These fleets have now for some time had huge catches from the Barents Sea. Fishing there is no longer as profitable as it was, and they are directing their attention to the Iceland area. And the existence of highly developed fishing techniques and fishing capacity with huge factory trawlers, electronic equipment, and so on could very well cause irreparable harm to the Iceland area. I might mention in this connexion that the three nations mostly concerned in the Barents Sea area have for some time tried to establish some kind of quota system for that area, but as far as we know those efforts have not met with success. In any case we cannot afford to take the risk of just doing nothing and we sincerely hope that our actions will be understood in that light by other delegations in this Assembly.

105. We are hopeful that the forthcoming conference will eventually provide a system that would consider the measures which we are going to take, and must take, to be entirely lawful, just and equitable. Our action is in conformity with that spirit. It is in conformity with the strong conviction that progressive international law will replace the system which for far too long has been

tolerated. Indeed, more than 20 nations have already proclaimed rules and regulations for their increased protection in this field.

106. A matter which is clearly related to the problems of the conservation and utilization of fishery resources is the protection of the marine environment. That matter is also receiving the attention of the Committee preparing the third United Nations conference on the law of the sea. The Committee had before it a valuable report from the Secretary-General on the prevention and control of marine pollution.<sup>3</sup>

107. We are now faced with the ominous fact that ocean pollution presents a very serious danger to marine life, and even to man's activities in this environment. Scientific studies have indeed made it clear that in time all oceans will be threatened with pollution. It is therefore high time that the United Nations should undertake effective and speedy action to reverse these developments and preserve the oceans for rational exploitation of their valuable resources.

108. The delegation of Iceland joined hands with other delegations at both the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth sessions of the General Assembly in urging that those problems be given priority attention by the relevant United Nations bodies.

109. We are gratified to observe the progress that has since been made in this field in the preparations for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm next year, as well as by the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization and other agencies, and also on a regional basis.

110. The question is how we can best obtain early and effective results in our endeavours in this important field. We believe that all Member States should as soon as possible take the necessary steps to stop the growing pollution of the oceans caused by their citizens. This should include effective prohibition against dumping poisonous or radioactive waste in the oceans.

111. Global and regional agreements must be negotiated to these ends, establishing the obligation of all States to desist from destroying marine resources and the marine environment by pollution and defining pollution standards, liability and damages.

112. Only by such early and concerted action can we hope to avert the present threat to ocean resources and thereby protect alike the interests of the coastal State and the international community as a whole.

113. Mr. CAPPELEN (Norway): Mr. President, on behalf of the Norwegian Government I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I can assure you that the Norwegian delegation will extend its full co-operation to you in your efforts to make this session successful.

114. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, for

his dedicated service to the United Nations during the last decade.

115. The world has lately witnessed two developments which could lead to a positive evolution in international politics. I have in mind the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and the new development in Chinese-American relations. The Norwegian Government welcomes these developments, which could lead to solution of many of the problems of Europe and Asia. At the same time we regretfully note again that no significant progress has been made in the Middle East; nor is there any change in the situation in southern Africa.

116. One of the problems that have tended to freeze old positions in post-war Europe has now, to a great extent, been removed. We trust that the agreement on Berlin reflects a genuine will to establish more normal conditions in that vital part of Europe. We also feel that the main obstacle to a conference on security and co-operation in Europe has been overcome. My Government attaches great importance to such a conference.

117. Since the end of the Second World War Europe has lived in a state of tension. Money and energy have been spent to avoid armed conflicts rather than to promote co-operation and development. It is our fervent hope that we are now at the threshold of a new era in inter-European relations. A Europe no longer harassed by wars and disunity should be able to make a larger and more constructive contribution to world-wide co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.

118. The lack of normal relations between two of the greatest world Powers—the United States and the People's Republic of China—for more than two decades has been an unnatural state of affairs. We hope that the steps now taken will lead to the elimination of distrust between those Powers and contribute to a peaceful future in South-East Asia. We are aware that this is not achieved overnight, but we have the feeling that a vicious circle of long standing has finally been broken.

119. We hope that the General Assembly now will finally decide to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization. We look forward to the active and constructive participation of the People's Republic in the work of the United Nations. This will add new strength and authority to the Security Council.

120. Further efforts must be made to find a solution to the tragic conflicts in Indo-China. Lasting peace in that area can be achieved only through a political solution based on the rights of the peoples of Indo-China to determine freely their own future.

121. Man is too often a slave of the past. Remnants of the cold war distort the perception of the present and prevent us from having a clear picture of the problems of today. The battles of yesterday keep us from moving forward with imagination and courage when conditions are ready for new policies. We are now in a period when the frozen positions of the past are breaking up. In this situation we must take care that new alignments do not create new antagonisms.

122. Due to the lack of political will among Member States, the United Nations has not succeeded as we had

hoped and wanted. Political circumstances might now be more favourable to a better use of the world Organization. At the same time there is a growing recognition that certain problems can be approached and solved only in a multi-lateral framework and in a pragmatic way. The very nature of these problems will in our view necessitate closer international co-operation. The United Nations family of organizations is the best framework for this development. Norway is ready to offer its full participation in this process and to share the responsibilities.

123. Some of the problems on our agenda can be solved only through multilateral action. Prominent among these is the threat to our environment. In the course of this decade we will have to decide whether humanity is willing to take effective action to meet this challenge or let nature, and thereby the basis for life on this planet, be gradually destroyed. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm offers a great opportunity to launch the first massive attack on this vital problem. Norway is determined to take an active part in that work.

124. My Government has noted with concern the ever-increasing danger of maritime pollution. Together with the other Nordic countries, we are convening next month in Oslo a conference of the countries bordering on the North Sea and the North-East Atlantic, for the specific purpose of preventing pollution of the oceans. The recent dumping of poisonous waste in that marine area has made it imperative to develop stricter international rules in this field.

125. At the August session in Geneva of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, Norway presented a draft resolution on preliminary measures to prevent and control maritime pollution [A/8421, annex V, sect. 2]. My Government proposes that the General Assembly make an earnest appeal to Member States to take appropriate preliminary steps to prevent and control marine pollution emanating from sources within their national jurisdiction. We deem such preliminary steps necessary and useful until adequate international instruments have been worked out in Stockholm in 1972 or at the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea. It is our intent to work for the adoption of a resolution along these lines during the present session of the General Assembly.

126. The problems related to the régime of the ocean floor and to the preparations for the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea are of vital importance. We must seek practical ways to ensure that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction will in fact be the common heritage of mankind.

127. Norway is committed to the task of finding equitable solutions to the other outstanding issues of the law of the sea. We hope that the third United Nations conference on the law of the sea will be convened at an early date, if possible during the spring or summer of 1973.

128. Another important problem is the pollution of the human mind caused by the abuse of narcotic drugs. This problem has become of particular concern to an increasing number of nations. Vigorous and concerted international

action to combat the illicit production of, traffic in, and abuse of, narcotic drugs is essential and the only effective way to cope with this social evil of steadily increasing proportions.

129. My Government attaches great importance to the question of human rights in armed conflicts. The primary purpose of our Organization is the prevention of armed conflicts. Nevertheless, once such conflicts do break out we must have the rules and the machinery to ensure that basic human rights are safeguarded. This also applies to types of conflicts not traditionally covered by the Geneva Conventions. Developments have shown that the distinction between international and other armed conflicts is no longer relevant. This fact should be reflected in the elaboration of new rules of international law for the protection of war victims.

130. However, rules and machinery are not enough. Equally important is the will to assume the financial burden to alleviate the sufferings of the civilian victims of armed conflicts. For years we have lived with a problem of that kind. I have in mind the work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [UNRWA]. Last year the General Assembly unanimously decided to establish a working group to look into the financial crisis of that Agency [resolution 2656 (XXV)]. We note with concern that, in spite of the dedicated work of the group and its able chairman, only a limited number of Member Governments have responded positively to the appeal for contributions. The Agency needs a more solid financial basis in order to continue its important humanitarian work.

131. It is of paramount importance to find a just and lasting political solution to the problems of the Middle East. That is not possible unless due regard is paid to the rights of the Palestinians.

132. It is the duty of humanity to alleviate the hardships of the East Pakistani refugees in India. This is a problem of such magnitude that it cannot but affect the international community. The Indian Government deserves credit and respect for the way in which it has handled the refugee situation. A political solution to the problem must be found. Other nations may ease the burdens of the refugees, but it is important that such conditions be established that the flow of refugees be stopped and the refugees return home.

133. The Norwegian Government has contributed substantially to the United Nations relief programme for East Pakistani refugees in India. My Government gives full support to the programme now being undertaken by the Secretary-General for East Pakistan. It is imperative that sufficient financial resources be made available for these programmes.

134. Decolonization has in most instances taken the form of peaceful and orderly transition of power. Freedom and independence have been restored to formerly dependent peoples. But hard-core colonial problems remain. The peoples of southern Africa are still oppressed by colonialism and *apartheid*.

135. We have presented our views on the question of Portuguese colonialism in the United Nations. We also

raised this question at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Lisbon on 3 and 4 June of this year. Our position has been and remains the following: the Portuguese Government must bring an end to its colonial rule.

136. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>4</sup> has confirmed the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia. We now have a new point of departure for our efforts to make freedom and independence realities in the life of the Namibian people.

137. A solution must be found to the problem of compensation to those independent countries in southern Africa which are suffering economically or in other ways burdened by the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and by the racial and colonial situation in southern Africa. Our major concern must, however, continue to be the dependent peoples in that area. They are struggling to attain the rights which have been established and confirmed in international declarations and countless United Nations resolutions. My Government will provide the peoples of southern Africa that are struggling for national liberation with humanitarian and other forms of economic assistance. The Norwegian Government will increase its efforts in that respect both through the United Nations and through direct contacts with national liberation movements in southern Africa.

138. The financial crisis of the United Nations is even more acute today than when we last met. It is clear that this crisis is in its essence political. The budget of the United Nations is very small indeed compared with the enormous sums spent on armaments in the world of today. It is tragic that the nations do not attach a greater priority to our Organization. My Government sincerely hopes that the Members during this session will find means to place the finances on a sound footing. Also in this respect we must look forward instead of losing ourselves in debates about the past. We must show our faith in the political future of the United Nations.

139. Structural changes and innovations are also called for in the world organization, especially in the context of the Second United Nations Development Decade. An appropriate evaluation machinery to review progress and performance during the Decade is essential. Adequate machinery to deal with the scientific and technological challenge facing us in the process of implementing the provisions of the International Development Strategy is of great importance.

140. These development issues should be considered under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council, in accordance with the role accorded to that Council in the Charter. The Norwegian Government recognizes, however, that the present size of the Council does not make it adequately representative of a total United Nations membership of 130 countries. Consequently, Norway supports the enlargement of the Council and would express the hope that the so-called "package" resolution that was adopted by

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

the Council last July [*resolution 1621 A (LI)*] will serve as a useful basis for the Assembly's deliberations.

141. In this Organization we are accustomed to think in multilateral terms. This will be even more so as the process towards multilateral action in international affairs develops. Let us not forget, however, that bilateral contacts have not lost their importance in the relations between States. But the instrument ought to be adjusted to the needs of modern times. Many of the rules guiding traditional diplomacy are inherited from another era and seem pompous and out of date in the modern world. Very often they tend to emphasize ceremony at the expense of efficiency and reality. Is it not a task for the United Nations to break new ground in this field?

142. Many of the questions I have mentioned have in common that they all call for international action. They can only be dealt with in a realistic and constructive way if nations are willing to co-operate and act together, sometimes by surrendering part of their formal and traditional sovereignty. It is true that the United Nations is based on the sovereign equality of all Members. It should be remembered, however, that the most constructive use of sovereignty in this age is to pool national sovereignty in a steadily increasing effort to solve common problems, be it on a global or a regional basis. Thereby we can gain real control of developments.

143. Mr. MUDENDA (Zambia): Mr. President, my delegation congratulates you whole-heartedly on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We see in it a recognition on both of your high personal attributes and of the contribution and positive role which your great country has made in the United Nations and in the non-aligned movement. Your credentials give my delegation complete confidence that you are eminently qualified to guide the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly. You can count on the unstinting support and co-operation of my delegation to make your tenure of office a success.

144. Permit me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, who presided over the deliberations of the momentous twenty-fifth anniversary session with firmness and fairness. The success which crowned our last session is attributable in no small measure to his able and wise leadership. Our Secretary General, U Thant, as always, deserves our gratitude, support and encouragement. We are indebted to him for his tireless efforts in the cause of peace and justice. His is an immeasurable service to mankind; and we wish him well.

145. We extend a cordial welcome to the three new Members of the United Nations family—Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. We are confident that they will contribute positively to the work of the United Nations.

146. On a sombre note, allow me also to pay a tribute to one of Africa's elder and outstanding statesmen, William Tubman, the late President of Liberia, who spent his last 28 years in the service of humanity. The Government and people of Zambia deeply mourn his loss. His efforts and his contribution towards the cause of peace and justice cannot be erased from the minds of those who knew him and what he stood for. May his soul rest in peace.

147. The colonial situation in southern Africa continues to be a grave threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity, and many other international forums have adopted numerous resolutions calling for an unconditional end to the colonial situation which exists in southern Africa and other parts of the world. The Secretary-General of our Organization has recently described the failure of millions of people to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the Charter of the United Nations "as a direct challenge to the Charter and an anachronism unacceptable to the membership of this Organization" [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 55*].

148. I should now like to address myself to the question of Portuguese colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Portugal's refusal to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the granting of freedom and independence to all people under Portuguese colonial domination cuts across the very spirit of the United Nations Charter. This arrogant attitude on the part of Portugal reduces the United Nations to virtual impotence. Membership of the United Nations calls for more responsibility than has so far been demonstrated by the fascist colonial régime in Lisbon.

149. The Government and people of Zambia salute the achievements of our brothers and sisters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) for the heroic struggle they are currently waging. We note with pride and satisfaction that since the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly they have registered even greater victories. We salute these patriotic sons and daughters of Africa because we are beginning to see a ray of hope—a hope of regaining a personality that has for many years been brutally crushed and destroyed by a colonial Power. It is also a reaffirmation of our knowledge that Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are an integral part of Africa and not part of the dreamland of the Iberian Peninsula. We in Zambia will be among the first to extend a fraternal hand to Portugal as soon as it has granted the right of self-determination to its colonial peoples in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We believe that this step will lead to cessation of wars of attrition, massacres and hostilities.

150. Colonialism cannot coexist with freedom, and our claim for a free Africa is incomplete if any parts of the African continent are still tormented and exploited. The patience of the African people is not unlimited, and if the colonial authorities in Lisbon cannot come out of their shell of illusion and reconcile themselves to the facts of modern change and development the people of Africa have no alternative but to intensify the struggle by providing moral and material assistance to enable the people under Portuguese oppression to rid themselves of foreign domination.

151. We know that there are some Western countries within and outside the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] which have continued to support Portugal in its criminal wars against the people under its domination and also against independent African countries. We have glaring

examples of Portuguese aggression against the sister countries of Senegal, the Republic of Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and our own country, Zambia.

152. Portugal's position as an ally of NATO in Europe is particularly anomalous. However much the Western Powers may protest that they accept no responsibility for Portuguese actions outside the NATO perimeter we do not believe that alliance politics play no part in the Western attitude towards Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) or that NATO assistance to Portugal does not directly further its war effort in Africa. Despite frequent denials to the contrary, it is common knowledge that the NATO allies have since the 1950s consulted regularly on developments in Africa. We condemn Portuguese colonialism in the strongest terms, and we also condemn its criminal acts of aggression directed against independent African States whose only crime is that they support the just cause of the peoples under Portuguese colonial domination.

153. Since the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority régime in Salisbury several unrealistic attempts have been made by the United Kingdom Government to find a settlement. The rebel régime has continued to drift at an unabated pace along the path to *apartheid* and to a certain extent has been aided by the administering Power. The Smith régime has consolidated its political, military and economic position. It has embarked on a systematic campaign of extermination directed against the African people and their leaders, who are being held in detention camps without trial. It is important that we reaffirm our condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence by the Smith régime.

154. In 1965, after the unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith régime, we called on the United Kingdom Government to use force to crush the rebellion, which they officially acknowledged to be illegal and unconstitutional. We called for the use of force—not because we were blood-thirsty but because we were convinced that force would have averted bloodshed. Today force is the order of the day in Rhodesia, because the United Kingdom Government refused to accept our advice and instead embarked on a gradual policy of sanctions that were applied selectively and enforced half-heartedly. It was incredibly naive for the United Kingdom Government to expect selective sanctions to be effective in converting the white settlers to non-racialism. Nevertheless we supported the implementation of sanctions against the rebel colony because we did not want to give the United Kingdom Government cause for blaming their lamentable failure to crush the Smith régime on us. Although the Security Council has in paragraph 15 of its resolution 253 (1968) and in paragraph 16 of its resolution 277 (1970) recognized our unenviable geographical proximity, we have continued to implement Security Council and General Assembly resolutions to the maximum extent possible. Our letter dated 10 July 1970 to the Secretary-General in response to the above-mentioned resolutions clearly stated that between November 1965 and 30 June 1970 we had reduced our imports from the rebel colony by 96 per cent. We shall continue our efforts to implement the decisions of the Security Council despite our geographical position.

155. Zambia has been the object of economic blackmail, mounted by its hostile neighbours, in an effort to influence the policies of the Government. We in Zambia never succumb to any kind of intimidation or blackmail, irrespective of its source. We wish to record our appreciation to the various Governments, church organizations and others in various parts of the world who have joined and are intensifying the struggle against *apartheid*, colonialism and racialism.

156. Although sanctions have been of doubtful political value, they should be maintained and tightened, because any abandonment of sanctions against the Smith régime would signal a general collapse of efforts to exert international pressure on it. The morale of the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe is boosted by the awareness that the international community supports their legitimate struggle. We are aware that since June this year there have been sell-out talks between the Smith régime and Lord Goodman, a representative of the United Kingdom Government. We wish to remind the world that at one time the policy of "No Independence Before Majority Rule" (NIBMAR) was accepted by the then United Kingdom Government. However, it would now appear that the Conservative government is willing and ready to accept a so-called settlement that would indefinitely leave the African majority under the ruthless control of the white minority. We wish to warn the Conservative government that that approach will have unacceptable political and economic consequences.

157. My Head of State, H.E. Kenneth Kaunda, has already called *apartheid* a threat to international peace and security and an indescribable crime against humanity. *Apartheid* is a policy based on racial segregation and racial discrimination. It is pursued in a most rigorous and brutal manner by a minority of whites against the large majority of Africans, Eurafricans and Asians. In order to pursue such a policy a cruel régime has been established, supported by a police State and the most wicked "legal" system imaginable. South Africa is the only country in the world that proclaims the inequality of its citizens and its laws. I repeat that: South Africa is the only country in the world that proclaims the inequality of its citizens and its laws. The fact that South Africa has managed to defy the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the decisions of the Security Council has led us to believe that that defiance is the result of the strong economic ties that exist between South Africa and parts of the Western world, whose citizens and corporations are benefiting by trade and economic transactions.

158. The inhuman actions of the Government of South Africa have aroused the feelings of nearly every country in the world in a manner unknown to exist towards any other people or any other régime. World opposition to the tyranny of *apartheid* has probably expressed itself most effectively in the field of sport. It is certainly within sport that the international campaign against white supremacy in South Africa has recently met with the most dramatic series of successes. Gradually but relentlessly, South Africa's racist sports structure has been forced into isolation as one by one its white sports teams have been thrown out of international sports organizations of the world. It is significant that in the process public opinion has been

focused not merely on *apartheid* in sport but on *apartheid* as a whole. The white South Africans obviously consider it important to see their teams accepted on the sports fields of the world in competition with countries theoretically hostile to *apartheid*. And that is why international opposition to *apartheid* in sport has had such a devastating impact on South Africa.

159. We appeal to the nations of the world to continue pressure against the inclusion of racist South Africa in international sport. That is a particularly sensitive nerve within South Africans. The special role of sport in South Africa makes it particularly vulnerable to world pressure. There is strong evidence that this pressure is having an important effect in opening up some of the cracks beginning to appear in *apartheid*. Within South Africa unprecedented calls are now coming from white sportsmen and sports bodies for more integrated sport in opposition to the Government's policies. Those calls may not be based on principled grounds, but at least the flame of non-racialism in sport is beginning to flicker on the horizon. It is as yet tenuous, and if we are to see concrete moves towards non-racialism it is important that world pressure be uncompromisingly maintained. It is equally important that white South Africa's few remaining avenues for sports participation be closed.

160. If the world is genuine in its expression of horror at the systematic denial of human dignity and freedom to non-whites in South Africa, then it must refuse to play with *apartheid*. And in the process of refusing to play with *apartheid* we can build an international consciousness capable of genuinely confronting the *apartheid* system as a whole.

161. South Africa has begun to feel the mounting pressures of the liberation movement, which is constantly gaining strength every single day. In a desperate attempt to counter the effects of the liberation movement, it has embarked on a policy promoting what has popularly come to be known as "dialogue" with certain independent African States. It is indeed gratifying to record that at the last OAU summit meeting,<sup>5</sup> the forces of dialogue suffered a resounding defeat by the outright rejection by the OAU of dialogue with South African racists. They had hoped to divide Africa, but thanks to the political awareness of Africa they failed dismally.

162. Our position is, and has always been, that if the white racists in South Africa are interested in genuinely discussing the question of self-determination for the black majority, they should do it with the people's representatives inside South Africa. The Prime Minister of South Africa has often stated that the purpose of the so-called dialogue with African Heads of State is to tell them how good *apartheid* is. This would, for all practical purposes and intents, be a monologue as opposed to a dialogue.

163. The sale of arms to South Africa by certain Western countries, particularly the United Kingdom and France, continues to be a source of great concern to us. We deplore the fact that, despite numerous Security Council resolu-

tions concerning the arms embargo against South Africa, the United Kingdom and France continue to be the largest suppliers of deadly weapons to the racist régime of South Africa. We maintain that no distinction can be drawn between weapons supplied for internal repression and those supplied for external defence. If we were to take to its logical conclusion the argument being used by the suppliers of military hardware to South Africa, that these arms are meant for external defence, it would become clear that Zambia, because of its uncompromising opposition to *apartheid* and racial discrimination, is the nearest external enemy of South Africa. This means that United Kingdom and French weapons will continue to be used to kill Zambian citizens.

164. We wish to state that we shall hold these countries responsible in the event of such attack. We reiterate our opposition to the sale of arms to South Africa for the following reasons:

(a) The sale of arms to South Africa, however limited, has the effect of increasing the intransigence of South Africa.

(b) The sale of arms to South Africa, be they for so-called naval purposes or otherwise, will enable the *apartheid* régime to release some of its present military resources for aggression against its independent African neighbours.

(c) The sale of arms to South Africa will act as a great morale-booster to the abominable policy of *apartheid*.

(d) The sale of arms to South Africa will enable it to get more and more involved in fighting Portugal's colonial wars in Angola and Mozambique.

(e) It will make it impossible for the United Nations to establish its authority in Namibia.

(f) It will automatically drive the final nail into the coffin of majority rule.

(g) It will put the arms-suppliers in direct confrontation with independent Africa.

(h) And above all, the arms will be used to suppress the liberation movements in South Africa.

165. In a world where the boundaries of race and poverty coincide so directly, the non-white world is increasingly likely to determine its attitude to white Western countries on the basis of their record in matters of race and colour. The greatest long-term threat which southern Africa poses to world stability is the possibility that freedom-fighters will one day be near success only to have the West intervene on the side of the white minority. My President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, warned about the real possibility of racial war in southern Africa as far back as 1966. It is not the liberation movement which seeks a racial war; it is the white rulers and their supporters, who are represented here in the United Nations, who will bring about a bitter racial conflict because of their continued denial of even the most elementary political and human rights to the majority of the people in South Africa. The African liberation struggle

<sup>5</sup> 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.

is not a narrow, racial struggle, but one intended to bring about a democratic South Africa in which all the people of South Africa will be able to live in harmony, free of racial superiority, free of *apartheid*. It is in our interest as members of the human race to fight for the fulfilment of that goal.

166. Namibia is another Territory requiring the special attention of the United Nations. On 21 June 1971 the International Court of Justice delivered a very important advisory opinion on the status of Namibia.<sup>6</sup> The Court confirmed in no uncertain terms what we have always believed since 1966, that South Africa has no *locus standi* to administer Namibia. Namibia has the dubious distinction of being the oldest unresolved colonial problem on the agenda of the United Nations. Following this advisory opinion of the Court, we now expect the Security Council to adopt measures that will compel South Africa to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia. The current Chairman of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity, Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, has already addressed the Security Council at its 1583rd meeting on this all-important question on behalf of the African continent, and we fully support the proposals he outlined.

167. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is still a matter of top priority. We hope that the United Nations will this year restore those rights and pay the debt of injustice which has been inflicted upon the people of China for more than 21 years. There is only one China, and for this reason, we shall oppose most energetically any attempts by the United States and its allies to introduce a two-China policy in the United Nations under the guise of so-called dual representation. We submit that the United States procedural draft resolution seeking to classify the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as an important question [A/L.632] is a remarkably shameless manoeuvre designed further to postpone the participation of China in the work of our Organization. We wish to give notice that, should the United States and its allies succeed in classifying the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as an important question, then we shall move that the other United States draft resolution [A/L.633] which seeks to seat two delegations from one country be classified as an important question because it would create a new precedent of far-reaching proportions. The United States "two-China" draft resolution does not reflect the realities of the situation in the world today.

168. The Middle East continues to preoccupy our minds. We are disappointed that, despite the tireless efforts of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, no progress has been made to resolve this long-standing problem. We welcome the initiative of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, aimed at contributing to a resolution of that conflict. May we express the hope that the mission of African heads of State that is due to visit both the Arab Republic of Egypt and Israel will yield positive results? We continue to believe

that the best chances for a settlement of this problem can be found in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Our delegation will have more to say about this when the Middle East comes up for debate in the plenary Assembly.

169. One of the world's super-Powers, the United States of America, continues to fight one of the smallest nations in South-East Asia, Viet-Nam, in a war of attrition which it cannot win. It is regrettable to note that this war has now extended to Laos and Cambodia. The Viet-Nam peace talks in Paris have been at an impasse for a long time now, but we believe that the latest seven-point plan, presented by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, provides the best opportunity for a just solution of this cruel war which has cost so many lives. The road to peace in Viet-Nam is the complete withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops to enable the Viet-Nameese people to determine their own destiny.

170. The presence of United States troops in South Korea presents by far the greatest obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea. We call for the immediate withdrawal of all United States troops in order to allow the Korean people to work out their own peace terms. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has long outlived its usefulness and must be dissolved forthwith.

171. The problem of millions of refugees in India has presented the world with a humanitarian problem of immense magnitude. That problem is not only a problem for India, which has to shoulder the enormous burden of looking after them, but a problem also for the international community as a whole. In recognition of our own responsibility as members of the human family, we have made a modest financial contribution through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to help alleviate this great human tragedy. It is our hope that a solution will be found to this problem.

172. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction remains one of the biggest problems of our time. If the arms race is to be arrested, there is need to convene a world disarmament conference at which all nuclear Powers should be invited to participate without any preconditions. We believe that such a conference would contribute significantly to international peace and security. Our goal must remain general and complete disarmament, not just one-sided measures, like the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXXII), annex], which are intended to maintain the *status quo*.

173. It is important that the programme for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which was adopted during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, be implemented. It is therefore necessary that the reservations which were entered by the developed countries<sup>7</sup> be withdrawn in order to help the developing countries achieve a higher degree of accelerated growth. My delegation therefore welcomes the forthcoming third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], to be held in Santiago, Chile, in 1972. We

<sup>6</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970). Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 42, document A/8124/Add.1.

hope that the General Assembly will provide the third session of UNCTAD with practical guidelines aimed at restructuring the world economic order. We further welcome the forthcoming meeting of the Group of 77, which is due to meet in Lima, Peru, next month. We are confident that it will constitute an important milestone in the evolution of international co-operation for development.

174. The role of the non-aligned countries in trying to strengthen the United Nations is praiseworthy. The co-operation among non-aligned countries which was amply demonstrated on a variety of world issues during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly contributed in no small measure to the adoption of many important resolutions. We are confident that this co-operation will bear more fruit during the current session of the General Assembly.

175. In conclusion, I should like once again to emphasize our firm conviction in the principles of the United Nations Charter. We reiterate our belief in the equality and the sovereignty of all States, as well as the right of self-determination and equality of all men, regardless of race, colour, sex, language or religion. We believe that unless all nations of the world respect those important principles the peace and the security of the world will be permanently threatened. We on our part pledge our fullest co-operation in the pursuit of those noble objectives.

176. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Pakistan in exercise of the right of reply.

177. Mr. MAHMUD ALI (Pakistan): It is with the utmost reluctance that I have asked to be allowed to speak again in the Assembly. I sincerely hope that we can put an end to polemics and concentrate instead on practical aspects of the issue, namely, how to bring the refugees back to their homes.

178. We had expected that in his reply [1943rd meeting] the Honourable Foreign Minister of India would give us the benefit of his Government's views on how best to achieve this end. Instead, he thought it helpful to give the Assembly a lecture on Pakistan's failings. We all have our shortcomings, and the history of my country's attempts to find a lasting and just solution of its constitutional problems is no secret. Our aim has always been to establish a system of government which would be based on the will of the people and would reconcile the various geographical, political and cultural factors prevailing in the country. We are determined to proceed along that road. If I may say so, the benefit to India also lies in the success and not in the failure of our efforts.

179. The Foreign Minister of India questioned the accuracy of the number of refugees estimated by Pakistan. He thought it strange that two persons had left from one district and 6,000 from another. It was precisely because such questions were bound to be raised that my Government has proposed that the Secretary-General of the United Nations might arrange an independent verification of our count. But the representative of India did not offer to submit his country's meticulous registration of the refugee influx to a similar scrutiny.

180. Why should the Indian Government expect everyone to accept without question its figure—a figure which is constantly spiralling without reference to reality? I do wish to suggest that, while the international community has a moral responsibility to alleviate the suffering of the refugees until their return is effected, it is also its duty to make sure that the aid provided for them is not misused for other purposes.

181. India objects to the stationing of United Nations observers on its side of the border for the following reasons. It claims that it is unnecessary because so many individuals have visited the area and have seen the refugee camps. This is a specious argument. On the Pakistan side, too, we have had visitors. Furthermore, there has been for the last two months and more no censorship whatsoever in any part of Pakistan. Nor do restrictions of any kind exist on the movement of press representatives within Pakistan. None the less, Pakistan did not hesitate to accept the stationing of observers. The international community to which India has appealed is entitled to receive a similar token of confidence from India.

182. It is indeed shocking that the Foreign Minister of India should call the proposal for a good offices committee of the Security Council to bring about a reduction of tension between India and Pakistan a "gimmick". Is it not true that on 20 July the Secretary-General addressed a confidential memorandum to the members of the Security Council, bringing to their attention the deteriorating situation between India and Pakistan? Did he not draw their attention to "border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage that appeared to be becoming more frequent"? Did he not warn that a major conflict on the sub-continent could all too easily expand?

183. It was in that context that Pakistan expressed its readiness to co-operate with the Security Council to avert the threat to peace in the sub-continent and the danger of a wider war. And yet the Foreign Minister of India sees fit to call the proposal for a good offices committee a "gimmick".

184. The Foreign Minister of India said that his country would not accept an "equation" with Pakistan in this matter. Now what does that mean? The expression is either meaningless or based on the assumption that India in some sense enjoys a status superior to that of Pakistan as a State Member of this Organization. That is an untenable argument. The representative of even so great a Power as the Soviet Union reminded this Assembly yesterday [1942nd meeting] that all States Members of this Organization enjoy equal status.

185. I would ask my colleague from India to put aside false pride and come down to the earth of reality. Surely, no one will think the less of India for accepting the stationing of United Nations observers within its territory.

186. The Foreign Minister of India was equally cavalier with Pakistan's offer to sit down with representatives of his Government to work out ways of bringing the refugees back. I am quite sure that neither he nor his Government has misunderstood what Pakistan has offered. We have not asked India to help Pakistan in solving its internal political



problems. Whether we negotiate with this or that person or this or that party in Pakistan is the concern of Pakistan alone. The only matter which concerns India is the presence of a large number of Pakistani citizens on its soil and how to send them back home. It is to discuss this problem that, in my Government's view, representatives of the two countries should meet either by themselves or under some impartial auspices.

187. The Foreign Minister of India said Pakistan is trying to turn its internal difficulties into an Indo-Pakistan problem. Things have taken this turn only because of the presence of Pakistani refugees on Indian soil and the help and assistance which India is giving to secessionist elements.

188. I stated the other day [1941st meeting] that this help included the arming and training of secessionist elements and also the participation of India's own forces in operations across the Pakistan borders. This august Assembly must have noted that the Foreign Minister of India passed over this charge in silence. In fact, he said that borders between India and Pakistan cannot be effectively sealed, and I take that as a reaffirmation of the pledge which he gave in the Indian Parliament that his Government would give every possible help to what India describes as "liberation forces". I am not aware of any borders which are closed by the actual raising of barbed-wire fences. Borders are kept peaceful by the policies and the actions of the Governments concerned. I would ask the Foreign Minister of India to reflect upon the implications of stating that the borders between India and Pakistan are to be treated as an exception to the general rules of international conduct and whether that is the best way to promote peace and stability between our two countries

189. I have not come here to score debating points. The situation in the sub-continent has become tense as a result

of happenings on the borders of the eastern part of Pakistan and India. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has drawn attention to the danger to peace if the situation is not remedied quickly. My Government has given proof of its desire to find a settlement with India not—let me repeat—over Pakistan's internal problems, but over the only problem which is a concern and a burden to the Indian people, namely, the refugee problem.

190. Yesterday there was a call by the Foreign Minister of the USSR for proceeding with caution and statesmanship in dealing with the present situation. We welcome that appeal and hope that the Government of India will pay heed to it. Yesterday also I heard well-intentioned advice from a number of friendly countries on the need to find a political settlement to the problem. If they will permit me to answer them from this rostrum, that is precisely the objective and the goal towards which the President of Pakistan is moving and which he is determined to attain, notwithstanding all obstacles and difficulties.

191. The Foreign Minister of India himself recounted the steps the President of Pakistan, Mr. Yahya Khan, has taken to this end, namely, the holding of general elections, acceptance of basic demands of the people and negotiations with leaders of political parties. The process has been interrupted, but not terminated. Its culmination will be a free and democratic and united Pakistan, willing to live in peace and friendship with all countries. Peace and stability in the sub-continent would be strengthened and the sufferings of the refugees would be more quickly ended if the Government of India could reconcile itself to this prospect instead of seeking to create, as the Defence Minister of India said in New Delhi last week, a situation in which Pakistan would have no alternative but to break up.

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*

