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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RAYMOND (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me, Mr. President, to present to you the warm congratulations of the Government of Haiti and of the delegation over which I have the honour to preside on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your long experience as a statesman and the eminent service which you have rendered to the cause of peace constitute a sure guarantee for harmonious work during the present session. Be assured of the full co-operation of the Republic of Haiti which extends to you its best wishes for success.

2. Allow me also to pay a tribute to the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who carried out his delicate mission to the complete satisfaction of the Members of the United Nations, bringing into play his lofty sense of responsibility and drawing on the noble qualities which distinguish the people of Norway.

3. Although the present session opened with the usual ceremony and although at this session the General Assembly is called upon to examine questions which we might call conventional because they always appear on the agenda of our sessions, this session, nevertheless, is of special importance because of the fact that the Assembly must take decisions which will surely exercise a determining influence upon the future of our Organization itself, as well as upon the history of international relations during the latter part of this century.

4. We refer, in the first place, to the election of a new Secretary-General to replace U Thant, whose departure we greatly regret.

5. A pilgrim of peace, U Thant has devoted himself for the past 10 years with remarkable skill to reconciling antago-

nisms and has undertaken many fruitful initiatives for the benefit of all mankind.

6. Whether it was a question of the war in Viet-Nam, the fratricidal struggles in Africa, or the problems in the Middle East—and it is always with emotion that we recall the deep understanding shown by the Secretary-General and the entire Organization each time that it was necessary during these last 14 years here to debate such matters as the defence of the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Haiti. Whether it was a question of the defence of the human dignity of peoples who are victims of colonialism or racial discrimination, or whether it was a question of the economic and social development of the under-developed countries, impartial history will recall, Mr. Secretary-General, your many initiatives as a proof of manifest goodwill and devotion to the cause of international peace.

7. The delegation of Haiti would like once again to express to you its admiration for the remarkable services you have rendered to humanity and express the hope that the Secretariat of the Organization will continue to follow the road of wisdom, serenity and dynamism which you have shown it during these last 10 years.

8. Although the results of the initiatives of the Organization were not always consistent with the legitimate aspirations of peoples, the responsibility can be imputed to the imperfect structures established at its foundation, for, unfortunately, it still shows the marks of a genesis characterized by the precarious compromise among the great Powers which serves as the basis of the Organization. We are all aware of the limitations of the Organization, as we are aware of its great ability and its potential. Despite everything, the Organization remains a place where, on a footing of equality, States may discuss their problems, seek peace and progress, and lay the foundations for the co-operation which is necessary among the peoples of the world.

9. Therefore, the delegation of Haiti wishes to express its concern with regard to the election of the new Secretary-General who, in addition to the attributions laid down in the Charter in Articles 97 to 101, is invested with the high moral authority and general responsibility upon which the life and functioning of the Organization depend.

10. With the feeling of equity and equilibrium required in order to realize the fundamental objectives of the universal nature of the Organization, the Republic of Haiti, whose destiny seems to be to constitute a link and a bond between Latin America and Africa, feels that the post of Secretary-General of the Organization should be given to a personality belonging to one of these two continents. Obviously, such a candidature would enjoy from the very beginning a

prestige and a remarkable strength if it were to be supported unanimously by the African and Latin American Member States. The delegation of the Republic of Haiti, which has already begun to take initiatives along these lines, would make an urgent appeal to all nations desiring to achieve this indispensable unity so as to build a more equitable and more harmonious world.

11. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has before it a question which is more than 20 years old, but which comes up every year. It is an old question, namely, the representation of China in the United Nations, but we must examine it in the light of an international situation which is always changing; it is an old question, of course, but it must necessarily be borne in mind by all those who advocate unity in diversity, all those who are not resigned to a division of the world into two monolithic blocs, all those who reject with all their strength the difficulties which negative ideologies or the straitjacket of short-sighted policies impose upon mankind.

12. The delegation of Haiti wishes to draw the Assembly's attention to the need to give the problem of the representation of China due importance and to consider it with all the lucidity and clairvoyance necessary so as to avoid establishing a precedent which might in the near future imperil the very basis of our Organization.

13. The title "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", under which certain delegations have raised the problem of the representation of China, suggests the idea of the pre-existence of rights of which China has been frustrated. In any case, the Government of the Republic of Haiti, while accepting the principle of the representation of the People's Republic of China, is resolutely opposed to any draft resolution which would expel the Republic of China.

14. It is true that, in view of the universal nature of the United Nations, it would be desirable to open our doors to the People's Republic of China with the assurance that the latter would profess respect for the principles in the name of which we are met here in this Assembly.

15. But, we must also recognize that the Republic of China is a real entity, an independent and sovereign State, a founding Member of the Organization and in that capacity the Republic of China fulfils all its obligations under the Charter. Legally, to what can one refer to justify its expulsion from the Organization, to which it has always made such a positive and effective contribution?

16. These are, in the understanding of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, the principles and facts which should guide the work of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly if it is to arrive at fruitful conclusions which will give rise to progress in concord among men from every corner of the world.

17. Faithful to its most distant origins, and to its political philosophy of the dignity of the black man, as well as to the destiny of Latin America, which is also our destiny, the Republic of Haiti from the Caribbean Sea associates itself with the words of Africa expressed at the twenty-sixth session [1938th meeting] so eloquently by the President of

the Organization of African Unity H.E. Moktar Ould Daddah, in condemning, once again, the policy of *apartheid* and the policy of racial segregation which are carried out by the Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia to the detriment of the inalienable rights of the great majority of the population of black people.

18. In this second half of the twentieth century, when almost everywhere economically weak countries are mobilizing their material and human resources so as to give a new impulse to their development, it is disturbing that a minority of the population of South Africa and Rhodesia should by coercion force the great majority into a disgraceful situation in the name of an anachronistic philosophy of racial superiority in order to maintain their privileges and economic power indefinitely.

19. For eight years the United Nations has been adopting more and more resolutions and recommendations but these two countries continue to be indifferent to and scornful of them.

20. At its twenty-fourth session, the General Assembly proclaimed 1971 the "International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination" [resolution 2544 (XXIV)]. In all sincerity, what list of failures could we now draw up and must we not recognize that most of the responsibility for this failure rests upon the shoulders of Member States which refuse to implement coercive resolutions providing for measures such as the embargo, the prohibition of arms sales and the breaking off of diplomatic relations? We must give economic questions their due and everyone must realize that the same trade exchanges, especially trade in precious metals, could be continued and even expanded with a Government representing the great majority of the black population.

21. With the same feeling of indignation, the Government of the Republic of Haiti energetically condemns colonialism, which continues to keep large communities of our Africa in a sub-human situation. *Apartheid* and the policy of racial discrimination are unmistakably reminiscent of *Mein Kampf*, which the world unanimously rejected after the sufferings, the slaughter and the destruction of the last war.

22. The Constitutional Government of the Republic of Haiti quite rightly believes that, following a pragmatic philosophy, the United Nations should associate its action closely with that of the Organization of African Unity in bringing to the resolutions of the latter its prestige, influence and the weight of its moral authority. We exhort each Member of the United Nations to do everything possible to put an end to the humiliating situation in which these peoples of Africa find themselves, so as to grasp and understand the inexorable progress of history and to ensure respect for human dignity in every man without distinction as to race or colour.

23. With regard to *apartheid*, the terrible fate imposed on the African peoples under Portuguese domination and Namibia, we must remind the Governments which conduct themselves as if the earth and its inhabitants had been created to satisfy the interests of a single nation, race, class or particular group, that they are infringing upon the

fundamental principles of the Charter, threatening the security of all Members and hindering international co-operation. None of these problems can be solved within the framework of the United Nations so long as there persist, either through political calculation or in order to satisfy economic interests, attitudes and conduct which encourage the exploitation of those courageous peoples.

24. Such attitudes and conduct create doubt as to the essential principles of the Organization and undermine the confidence of people in it. If a common intention to work for the physical and moral well-being of humanity has brought us here, then it is time for us to cease to invoke abstract equality and freedom.

25. Dr. François Duvalier wrote in 1968:

“The great hope which the dynamic peoples of the third world have nourished since the last meeting of the General Assembly are far from being realized. The price of raw materials, above all the price of coffee, sugar and sisal, continues to drop in the international market while at the same time the cost of manufactured goods goes up and up. The assistance granted by international banking institutions is insufficient in face of the urgent development problems that confront the Governments and peoples of the under-developed countries.”

26. Since then the situation has not improved but has deteriorated even more. Caught in an inflationary phenomenon, the world economy is suffering from a permanent imbalance with even more disastrous consequences for the countries of the third world, because, whereas the price of manufactured goods rises sharply, that of raw materials remains stationary, provoking a constant deterioration in terms of trade. No responsible nation can fail to realize the terrible consequences of such a situation to the international community, and the feeling of frustration and disillusionment which it entails.

27. In such a situation, it is illusory to speak of peace, since, as Pope Paul VI said, “Peace is achieved by general development.” Such a situation can be remedied only by a broader concept of social justice and equity, not only among the wealthy classes and the poor classes within a country, but also among the rich industrialized countries and the great number of poor countries whose peoples are still faced with the difficulties of stone-age men. This development strategy could very well be set up through the specialized agencies of our Organization, and through a more genuine and more effective co-operation on the part of the great Powers.

28. To that effect the leaders of the peoples of the third world must become newly aware of their responsibility so as to strengthen their solidarity and present a united front for the defence of the legitimate economic interests of these millions of men who are suffering from physical and moral wretchedness.

29. Let us remember that no matter how difficult the situation, we men of the third world must be the prime movers of this effort to bring about the economic and social development of our countries. Not only does our action lead to positive results, but it also has value as an

uplifting example and becomes a catalyst for the national effort.

30. Such was the deliberate choice made by the Government of the President for Life of the Republic of Haiti, H.E. Jean-Claude Duvalier, who, in his desire to contribute to world peace, has drawn up a strategy based on a national economic policy and upon the search for international co-operation.

31. At this moment it is right to say how comforting for the Government and people of Haiti were the expressions of sympathy upon the death of our leader, Dr. François Duvalier, who had, for 14 years, directed the destiny of our nation.

32. In spite of the Machiavellian calculations of those who expected to see the first independent black republic of the world founder in civil war and subsequently constitute a threat to inter-American and world peace, the people were able to find within their history and the reserves of its race the necessary strength to ensure fundamental unity and pursue its great destiny.

33. After the 1960 and 1963 hurricanes which severely affected the already precarious economy of Haiti, recovery was begun in 1968 thanks to the efforts of the Haitian Government concentrated in those sectors where accelerated development could be brought about and thus lead the general economy into better days, such as assembly and processing plants, the tourist industry, and fruit and vegetable crops for export. Along with these activities leading to a rapid recovery in the general situation, the Haitian Government strengthened and expanded the economic infrastructure so as to stimulate private initiative.

34. The results were not long in manifesting themselves in a notable increase in the gross national product. Agricultural production continued to have a yearly growth rate of 2.5 per cent due in great part to an increase in the volume of exports, principally sugar and food-stuffs. The industrial sector showed an annual growth rate during the same period of 5.5 per cent thanks to the encouragement given to the processing industry for re-export.

35. In the field of the economic infrastructure, the Haitian Government has just made an extremely important leap forward with the operation of the François Duvalier Hydroelectric Plant at Peligre, which is now producing 180 million kilowatt hours a year. The production of energy is presently 100 per cent higher than it was last year.

36. The noticeable improvement in the living conditions of the masses of Haiti, along with the determination of President Jean-Claude Duvalier to pursue the revolution by progressively strengthening political democracy in response to the aspirations of the Haitian people, has permitted stability and the maintenance of an atmosphere of internal peace propitious to fruitful work.

37. The number of visitors and tourists has tripled, whereas the great international enterprises have undertaken the construction of new hotels along our sunny shores.

38. Foreign policy being but the reflection of internal policy, we shall reply to the interest shown by this

Assembly by stressing that the great step forward was only possible thanks to the constant policy of equity, justice and public welfare pursued by the Government of the Republic of Haiti. It is understandable that these courageous choices in favour of the great masses of the poor should have upset the ancestral interests of an "oligarchy which was Haitian only in name".¹

39. It is the same oligarchy which, deaf to the voice of reason, indifferent and hostile to the higher interests of the country, fills certain large cities with its weeping and wailing.

40. But the policy of reconciliation, *entente* and peace of the Government of the Republic of Haiti has given rise to unexpected results: former diplomats, members of parliament, secretaries of state, ex-members of the office of the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Haiti, not to mention a number of compatriots who had not realized the humanitarian nature of the Haitian Revolution have come back to their native shores, where they are now freely pursuing their activities, under the protection of the law and the administrative authority.

41. The latest grave events which occurred in the Middle East on the very eve of the inauguration of this twenty-sixth session and which have provoked stormy debates in the Security Council show once again the precarious nature of the peace prevailing in that disturbed region. The Powers directly or indirectly involved in that explosive situation must place their own interests in the background and renounce their policy of escalating the arms race between the belligerents and must make a positive contribution to the action of this Organization.

42. As early as 22 November 1967, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) entrusted to the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the authority necessary to seek a formula for a viable peace between the parties to spare the civilian populace and war prisoners from any additional suffering. Would it not be a good idea to avail ourselves of these cease-fire periods in order to strengthen the role of the United Nations and, under its supervision, lead the parties not to a sterile and vain confrontation, but to positive and fruitful meetings?

43. The burden of hostility and hatred accumulated over the centuries among the peoples of that region necessitates an approach to the problem which would not be confined to an endless enumeration of complaints and counter-complaints; and we must note in this respect the new spirit of coexistence which today animates certain peoples of that region which only yesterday had been violently opposed.

44. The search for a wise solution does not consist in drawing up a long list of charges against Israel or the Arab States while pursuing a systematic policy of arming one party or the other with the ultimate goal of satisfying the desire for power and political hegemony on the part of the great Powers. More than vicissitudes and passing incidents,

these considerations, which arise from the confrontation of ideologies, are situated at the very basis of any serious attempt to restore peace to the Middle East. Would it not be a good idea, then—and this is the wish of the Republic of Haiti, which in these days when the wretched peoples of the Middle East, who have known the horrors of war, are binding their wounds and thinking perhaps of a better future—would it not be a good idea, I say, for the United Nations to intervene at this psychological moment to appeal to the conscience of those in authority to give new impetus to the mission of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring and advance the cause of peace by ensuring the political and economic security of all States of the Middle East?

45. Although the General Assembly reaffirmed once again, in its resolution 2661 (XXV), the responsibility of the United Nations in the attainment of general and complete disarmament, which is the most important question facing the world today, the armaments race, with all the potential destruction which it implies, has not been halted.

46. Every day new chemical and bacteriological weapons are developed. The atomic Powers constantly reinforce their arsenals, while others undertake nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests in the atmosphere and underground the better to penetrate the destructive power of the atom. Resolutions, counter-resolutions and declarations of intent proliferate, while peoples witness the impotence of the Organization as the arsenals grow. For what purpose, we might ask, if the peoples of the third world are not regularly confronting threats to their security and their future? An infernal cycle seems to be continuing with the regularity of the seasons: the manufacture of atomic, thermo-nuclear, biological and chemical weapons; the destruction of stockpiles; then the manufacture of new, even more deadly, weapons, and so forth.

47. The United Nations must intervene decisively to stop the terrible effects of this policy of armament, the consequences of which are incalculable, and of which pollution is only one aspect. We must mobilize all possible resources so as to achieve that supreme objective, on which hinges the future of mankind.

48. Thus the considerable amounts of money invested for some two decades now in the manufacture and production of those horrible weapons of destruction could be used for the creation of hospitals and educational centres and for the implementation of sweeping economic and social programmes for improving the living conditions of the two thirds of all mankind on our planet who are suffering from all sorts of physical and moral wretchedness.

49. In that way the United Nations would be in a position to strengthen the role of its agencies responsible for the development of the peoples of the third world and to adopt specific programmes to ensure continued growth in the developing countries. That, in the view of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, should be the very first objective which the United Nations should set for itself at this time—the end of the twentieth century—for the full development of the immense potential of mankind.

50. His Excellency Jean-Claude Duvalier, the youngest President in the world, declared recently:

"Out of faithfulness to the doctrine of our revolution and out of personal conviction, I believe that the

¹ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Bases pour une planification agricole — Rapport au Gouvernement d'Haiti*, FAO No. AT 2957 (Rome, 1971), p. 4.

principles of non-intervention on the part of one State or group of States in the internal affairs of another, and the right of peoples freely to decide their own destiny remain the basis of international law and the primary condition for harmonious relations among the various members of the international community.”

Those two principles, together with that of the development of economic and financial relations through international co-operation and the peaceful solution of conflicts, form the pillars on which the Government of Haiti has built an active policy of rapprochement and co-operation with the States of the Caribbean area and of all America.

51. Within this framework the delegation of Haiti would like to appeal for the economic integration of the Caribbean area, the strengthening of its economic structures and the establishment of a realistic development strategy; because we remain convinced that the economic progress of the countries of that region should not be stated in terms of confrontation and antagonism, but in terms of solidarity and co-operation. Thus we invite the Governments of the Caribbean area, that cross-road of races, civilizations and cultures, to seek, in a common effort and fully aware of current-day economic imperatives, a form of co-operation that would solve such problems as their restricted national markets, permit horizontal specialization at the regional level and ensure their development in peace and in mutual respect.

52. When we consider the wonderful course followed by some peoples of the world we can express our satisfaction and feel proud to tackle our problems with enthusiasm and confidence. Furthermore, the international situation is propitious. A spirit of *détente* can be seen on the horizon. The struggles in Viet-Nam in the past few years have abated and the people of Viet-Nam will soon be able to make their choice and choose their destiny freely.

53. Europe, which twice during the course of this century led the world into war, is building new and powerful economic structures. The Germano-Soviet treaty,² due to a great extent to the peaceful spirit of the Federal Republic of Germany, reinforced by the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971, constitutes a great contribution to the maintenance of peace.

54. Throughout the world men of goodwill are enthusiastically taking initiatives rich in promise, such as cultural and technical co-operation agencies which unite peoples of the French language and culture, and there is also town-twinning and many other ideas which should enjoy the firm support of the United Nations.

55. The roads of economic freedom to which respect for the dignity of man is so closely connected are as difficult as the roads of political freedom. The questioning of our traditional values, called the crisis of our civilization, offers perhaps a great opportunity to build a more just and better balanced world which would satisfy the essential needs of all men. We must—and this is a heroic resolution, of course,

but very decisive for the future of humanity—devote the technical resources and the considerable sums invested in the policy of armament to development and the progress of the peoples of the third world and also the improvement of the living conditions of the poorer classes in the industrialized countries: in other terms and more simply, generalized and equitable development, social justice, the sharing by all men of the wealth of the world.

56. There exists a great force for peace which can be got under way, and men with great ideals have decided to transform this force into a veritable crusade to build the fraternal world of the future to which the new generations aspire with all their strength.

57. The Haitian delegation thanks the members of the Assembly for the attention with which they listened to this address and expresses the hope that at this twenty-sixth session, which bears the hopes of all mankind, reason and practical sense will triumph so that the General Assembly may reach practical conclusions in the examination of the problems on its agenda.

58. Mr. MAHMUD ALI (Pakistan): Mr. President, the Pakistan delegation is exceedingly happy to see you in the Chair. Your election to that high office is the General Assembly's tribute alike to Indonesia and to you personally for your remarkable statesmanship and dedication. Our gratification at it, of course, also derives from the fraternal relations which Pakistan enjoys with Indonesia, a great nation that shares our spiritual culture and heroically faces problems some of which are similar to our own. It is fitting that a distinguished Asian should preside over this session. As is well known, some of the overriding political issues confronting the world community at present impinge primarily on Asia, our long-suffering continent.

59. I should like also to mention here how much my delegation admired Mr. Hambro's presidency last year. Not only his juristic understanding but his rare combination of geniality and firmness lent lustre to that office during the commemorative session.

60. Ten years ago U Thant accepted the office of Secretary-General in an hour of crisis for the United Nations. A controversy raged over the powers and responsibilities of that office and the manner in which these were being discharged. Today, if the doubts and fears that had assailed us about the future of the Organization at that time have been dispelled, it is in no small measure due to the scrupulous integrity, the serene wisdom, the moral courage and the mature judgement with which U Thant has steered his difficult course in turbulent times. We unhesitatingly pay him this tribute, even though we have disagreed at times with his assessment of particular situations. Pakistan hopes that the problem posed by U Thant's announcement of his intention to retire will be solved in the best interests of the Organization.

61. It is customary for delegations during the general debate to make statements of policy on the major issues affecting their countries. My delegation will express its views in detail on the various issues before this Assembly during the debates that will later be held in the Committees and in the plenary meetings. I shall therefore use this

² Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

occasion only to explain what are the great issues—some global, some regional, others local—which affect the common man in Pakistan and show how his outlook is shaped by them.

62. My country acceded to independence in 1947 when the United Nations was still nascent and none of the goals of the United Nations Charter yet appeared to be an impossible dream. The Charter, therefore, was an essential part of our mental environment. There was a fusion between our own independence and the pursuit of the aims and purposes of the United Nations. We saw ourselves as part of that family of nations, comprising Asia, Africa and Latin America, which had been ravaged by imperialism in one way or another and whose prime concern was to banish poverty and so attain freedom not only in political form but also in social and economic substance. More than anything else, we wished, as we wish now, that those nations should not be afflicted with disunity. Any dispute between any two of them was to us a tragic waste which would sap the energy and diminish the freedom of both. Little did we imagine that with our own neighbour, India, we should have disputes which we could not persuade the rulers of India to solve in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

63. Why did affairs take a turn that was unimaginable to us when we attained independence? The answer lies only partly in the failures and infirmities of the United Nations. There is also the fact that there is something in the nature of imperialism that, even when it relinquishes its hold over an area, presents as its parting gift to the successor States problems so designed as to shackle the independent career of those States. That has been witnessed in several areas. Where, as in the Arab Middle East or Indo-China, the problems are due to the injection of an external element, no solutions can be devised except in a great-Power framework. Where, however, the problems are between the newly independent States, it is nothing but a neo-colonialist attitude, a desire to dominate, a dream of hegemony, that prevents the larger of them from equitably settling its disputes with the smaller.

64. At the time of the partition of the subcontinent, we in Pakistan inherited barely one fifth of the area and were placed at a disadvantage in many other respects. Nevertheless, we accepted an award delimiting the boundaries of Pakistan and India, even though it was unjust to us. We envisaged the closest co-operation with our neighbour, India. Our independence was not more than two months old when India completely violated the basis of partition—the independence settlement of 1947³—and sent its army to occupy a Muslim-majority area, Jammu and Kashmir, and to crush a popular liberation movement against the despotic ruler of that state. India had been enabled to do so by the departing Imperial Government. It had been provided with its only, and previously unused, passage to Kashmir when some Muslim-majority areas of the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab were unjustly awarded to it. We protested India's entry into Kashmir, which was so colonialist in its nature and so repugnant to the spirit and basis of India's independence and our own. We were assured by India that the occupation was temporary, that the accession

to India of the ruler of Kashmir, who had been denounced by his people, was provisional, and that the people of Kashmir would be allowed to determine their own future through an impartial plebiscite. Later, when the dispute was brought to the United Nations, this solemn pledge given by India was translated into an international agreement. Both India and Pakistan accepted United Nations resolutions providing for the self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir through a free plebiscite. To this day, that agreement remains unimplemented. To this day, India has not terminated its occupation of the bulk of Jammu and Kashmir. The dispute has twice led to hostilities between India and Pakistan. It has caused a strain and a friction in our relations, which harm us both. In spite of the heavy toll taken by the dispute, India does not even now agree to resolve it in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

65. In the part of Jammu and Kashmir which it occupies, India maintains a puppet régime and penalizes anyone who demands that the resolutions of the United Nations regarding Jammu and Kashmir be implemented. The renowned leader of the Kashmiri people, Sheikh Abdullah, was imprisoned for nearly 15 years and is now barred from entering his homeland. A ban has been imposed on popular parties, including the Kashmiri Plebiscite Front, whose aim is self-determination for Jammu and Kashmir. The torture of political workers, the repeated firing on public assemblies, the constant harassment and victimization of patriotic citizens, are gruesome features of life in Indian-occupied Kashmir. A million refugees have fled the terror and oppression there. India refuses to establish conditions which would enable them to return.

66. Another very clear example of this mentality has been furnished by the way India has handled the dispute about the equitable sharing of the waters of the Ganges, which flows through both India and Pakistan, with Pakistan the lower riparian country. It has completed the construction of a barrage near a place called Farakka, in the state of West Bengal in India. That project is designed to divert the waters of the mainstream of the river, the Ganges, through a feeder-canal to another river flowing entirely through India. The result will be that in the long dry season every year the barrage will leave little or no water below Farakka for use in East Pakistan, thereby causing grave and permanent damage to the economy of that region. According to the assessment of our own and international experts, this Indian project will adversely affect the ecology and agriculture of seven districts in East Pakistan involving a total of 3.6 million acres of land. It will seriously affect navigation in the Ganges and its many spill-channels and distributories. It threatens an inflow of sea-water, thereby reducing agricultural production, municipal supplies and industrial use of water, and depleting fisheries and forest resources, especially in the Sundarbans. Moreover, reduced flow in the Ganges in Pakistan, downstream from Farakka, will silt up the river-bed and increase the hazards of flood in the rainy season. All these factors together are expected to affect the livelihood and vital and legitimate interests of as many as 25 million people, or roughly one third of the population of the eastern wing of Pakistan.

67. It is ironical, but not surprising, that at the same time that India professes grave concern for the people of East

³ Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Pakistan, it plans and executes projects aimed at causing their economic ruin. India does offer to negotiate on this issue with Pakistan, as indeed it offers to negotiate on many other issues; but when such negotiations take place, as in this case, India prevaricates and uses various devices to avoid facing the real issue.

68. I have mentioned these two major causes of the friction between India and Pakistan. Without this friction and without the pervasive background of India's constant attempts to weaken and isolate Pakistan, the present India-Pakistan situation involving a threat to the peace would be totally incomprehensible. Had Indian rulers not been hostile to Pakistan, would they not find it unnatural and repugnant to try to take advantage of their neighbour's internal difficulties? Would they not scrupulously refrain from interfering in our affairs? What is happening today on the borders of my country and our neighbour India is not mere border skirmishes; it is armed intervention by one country, a Member of the United Nations, India, in the territory of another Member of the United Nations, Pakistan.

69. India has been engaged for the past few months, and is engaged now, in a clandestine war on Pakistan. At a time when, regardless of the nature of the military action taken by the Pakistan Government in its own territory, India could have no conceivable fear of invasion, it has concentrated a large number of its forces, some 200,000, and its machines of destruction on the borders of East and West Pakistan. It has been engaging in incessant shelling and mortar-fire against East Pakistan. It regularly sends its own armed personnel into my country to cause death and destruction. It harbours, trains, finances, equips and encourages—sometimes even forces—the dissidents to undertake acts of sabotage and to cripple the economy of East Pakistan. In short, India is at the moment carrying out acts of war against my country, and the only reason why the situation has not been escalated is that the Government of Pakistan has exercised the utmost restraint.

70. The resort to shelling, mortar-firing and other warlike actions against Pakistan have become a regular feature of the tension built up by Indian armed forces along our borders. Let me cite two concrete instances of recent occurrence to give the Assembly an idea of what we are confronted with at present.

71. Indian artillery fired nearly 1,000 shells on five closely-located border villages in Sylhet district on the night of 29 September. The villages battered by Indian shelling were Mantala, Kamalpur, Jaipur, Armnager, and Harashpur; 28 villagers, including 12 women and 8 children, were killed, while 13 others were wounded. Among the casualties was a party of Telephone Department employees who were repairing a telecommunication line. Communication lines, it must be mentioned, are particular targets of Indian attacks. After shelling, Indian armed personnel attempted to infiltrate into these areas. The Pakistan Army combed the area and recovered 3 light machine-guns, 145 boxes of small-arms ammunition, 100 steel helmets, 40 mines, some wireless sets and 387 grenades.

72. India is also trying to create famine conditions in East Pakistan by aiding and encouraging the destruction of lines

of supply for transportation of food grains into Pakistan. As a result of operations against saboteurs who damaged the United States food-ship *Lightning* at Chalna anchorage recently, Pakistan authorities have apprehended frogmen trained in India and launched near Chalna and Chittagong ports for sinking ships bringing food-grains to East Pakistan. The frogmen were given limpet mines by India and trained in their use. By indulging in the sabotage of food-ships, India is trying to create conditions of famine for 75 million people of East Pakistan to fulfil its own political objectives. If the international community is genuinely concerned about a possible food shortage in East Pakistan, it has an obligation to prevent India from indulging in activities which, if unchecked, cannot but endanger the sustenance of the people of East Pakistan.

73. It is now for the world community, and for the United Nations in particular, to prevent another conflagration which would be catastrophic for South Asia.

74. Secretary-General U Thant, on 20 July last, sent a memorandum to the President of the Security Council drawing his attention to the threat to the peace which has arisen in the subcontinent. The Secretary-General, *inter alia*, emphasized that he had become increasingly apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. The Secretary-General said:

“In the present case there is an additional element of danger, for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing, and unresolved, differences between India and Pakistan—differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago.”

About the actual situation on the border he said:

“The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent. . . .”

And he recognized the threat to peace, indeed to world peace, by stating that:

“Nor can any of us here in the United Nations afford to forget that a major conflict in the Sub-Continent could all too easily expand.”

In short, U Thant has clearly defined the situation as a threat to the peace and urged the Security Council to consider with the utmost attention and concern the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken.

75. As I mentioned in my statement in exercise of the right of reply on 29 September [1945th meeting], my Government has expressed its readiness to co-operate with the Security Council and has welcomed the proposal for a good offices committee of the Council to help reduce the tension between our two countries. I reiterate that readiness here.

76. India, of course, takes an opposite view. Its Government contends that it is not an India-Pakistan problem. It would have the world believe that everything that has

happened has been due to Pakistan's actions only and that India has been merely a passive victim, burdened with a huge influx of refugees. But what are the facts? The facts about Indian intervention are patent and I have already mentioned them.

77. The world has heard a lot about East Pakistan in recent months. Much of what has been said has come from outsiders. Not all of them have to test their statements against realities. Many among them moralize and assume lofty postures. But, if I may strike a personal tone, I come from East Pakistan. Unlike the distinguished Foreign Minister of India, I cannot afford the luxury of misstatements and propaganda. From this Assembly, I will go back to East Pakistan. I have to live and suffer and strive and build among my people there. I do appreciate whatever humane concern, unmixed with sordid political motives, exists anywhere for the people of East Pakistan. At the same time, I deplore the fact that the situation in our homeland has been so distorted in the world's eyes, its causes so misrepresented, the sequence of events so disfigured, that it has been made to appear as if there is a war between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Let an East Pakistani voice rise from this rostrum to remind the world that the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan are brethren, joined in an imperishable union and that when the two undertook together the enterprise of building a federal State, it was an unfettered act of self-determination on the part of each. The people of East Pakistan have not regretted, and do not regret, that choice. True, we have problems relating to regional autonomy, to a distribution of national resources based on justice, to the removal of disparities between the different regions. Which State, which large or multilingual or multiracial State, is free from such problems? Let not one such State gloat over the problems of another. We, in Pakistan, have undergone a most traumatic experience. We have endured a situation of extremity. We have gone through an ordeal. But through it all, we have realized that the fragmentation and fission of our statehood and the break-up of our unity are, and can be, no more a solution for us than for others.

78. It has been a great misfortune that, in our case, these problems led to a violent upheaval. Why this happened cannot be understood without some basic facts about Pakistan's national existence and its relations with India being kept in mind. But it is fantastic to suppose that the conflict was due to the suppression of East Pakistan's demand for autonomy. Are the people of East Pakistan less than independent in a united Pakistan where they are in a majority and can dominate the central Government? A majority has, or can acquire, the power to right wrongs and to correct imbalances. It is unthinkable for a majority to want to secede. By definition, a demand for secession is a minority's demand. Since, I repeat, the people of East Pakistan are not a minority or a small ethnic group within Pakistan, it follows that the secessionists among them do not represent the people at large. Being secessionists, they are a self-confessed minority. Their own position proclaims their isolation from the people. Such isolation can be due either to a total failure of statesmanship or to a collusion with a foreign Power which wishes the disintegration of the State. In the case of the secessionists in East Pakistan, it was due to both.

79. The relationship between the upheaval in East Pakistan and India's actions is immediate. For months, Indian war material had been steadily passing into East Pakistan from across a border which, traversing rivers, hills, forests and swamps, could not be fully guarded by the limited number of Pakistan troops. When the crisis approached, India sundered the air communications between East and West Pakistan by banning the overflights of Pakistani aircraft across Indian territory. It did so in reprisal against the hijacking of an Indian plane to Pakistan. But, as has been judicially established, this hijacking was engineered by Indian intelligence itself, wanting to create a pretext for India to ban the overflights. The ban is illegal and contrary to India's international obligations. Yet even now, despite international efforts at conciliation, India refuses to lift it. When the crisis mounted, and Pakistan was passing through its severest test, India massed its troops along our borders, both in East and West Pakistan.

80. Faced with this threat from outside, combined with an insurgency in the country, the Government of Pakistan had no choice but to use all means to save the country from anarchy, dismemberment and inevitable Indian domination. I ask the distinguished representatives assembled in this hall: Faced with similar circumstances, what would any other legal Government do?

81. Conflicts of the kind which we have suffered in East Pakistan are a supreme tragedy. But world opinion is not yet fully aware of how this tragedy has been caused and intensified by foreign interference. Had India's concern with the plight of the displaced persons been purely humanitarian, it would have followed a different line of policy. It would have done its utmost to convey the appeal of the Government of Pakistan to the displaced persons to return to their homes. It would have co-operated with us and with the United Nations in a common effort to accomplish this objective. It would have entered into a neighbourly dialogue with Pakistan. Here was a situation where, if no power politics were involved, the interests of both India and Pakistan demanded that the displaced persons should be enabled to return to their homes.

82. It therefore causes us the most profound regret that, both by its incessant propaganda and its actions, India is inhibiting the return of the refugees. By engineering border conflicts, mortar-fire and shelling, India makes it impossible for our nationals to cross the border. It uses their presence within its borders for recruiting from among them the so-called volunteers for secessionist forces.

83. It is this policy of the Government of India which has so far defeated our efforts to bring back the refugees. The declaration of a general amnesty, the repeated appeals of the President of Pakistan, the acceptance of the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of the presence of his representatives in East Pakistan, the establishment of reception centres and the provision of facilities for the resettlement of the returning refugees—by every feasible means, we have demonstrated that we are anxious for our nationals to return. On 19 July, Secretary-General U Thant proposed to both India and Pakistan that a limited number of the representatives of the High Commissioner's Office be posted on both sides of the border to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the

refugees. We unhesitatingly accepted this proposal. India, however, rejected it.

84. The ostensible reason which India cites for its refusal to allow the return of the displaced persons is that conditions are not secure for their return. In the first place, India itself makes the conditions insecure. Secondly, what India means by "secure conditions", as the distinguished Foreign Minister of India made amply clear before this Assembly, is a political solution which would be in accordance with its dictates. The Prime Minister and other leaders of India have publicly declared that they will agree to the return of the displaced persons only when the so-called "Bangladesh" emerges; in other words, when East Pakistan secedes and passes under Indian tutelage.

85. Could there be a more blatant interference in the internal affairs of one State by another? Only last year India joined all of us in voting for the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] which solemnly affirmed the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principles of non-interference, as the basis of relations among States, irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declared that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever.

86. The issue that is posed by India's interference is not of concern to Pakistan alone; it concerns all nations that wish to preserve their sovereign status and territorial integrity. If the principle of non-intervention is set aside or compromised, every nation smaller or weaker than its neighbour will be open to the latter's inroads. I therefore appeal to this Assembly to exercise its powers of persuasion on India to desist from its interventionist course. For our part, we are determined to resist India's encroachments and to achieve the political solution which we sorely need for our own survival.

87. Let not India pretend that it has not also created some other problems in the subcontinent. India is engaged in efforts to subjugate the Nagas—a proud, non-Indian people—who have borne untold hardship during their long resistance to Indian rule. In India's own territory, there are situations which are the direct result of the exploitation and suppression of the smaller linguistic and ethnic groups in India, notably the Dravidians, the Sikhs and the Bengalis, but we do not make them a cause for interfering in India's affairs. We only wish that India realized, as we do, that anarchy and fragmentation are a danger as much to itself as to us.

88. If I may sum up the India-Pakistan situation, it is a situation of a patent threat to peace which needs to be removed if the peoples of the two countries are to resume their struggle to achieve higher standards of life in larger freedom. We do not consider the Indian people as our enemy. Indeed, we feel that, by its unrelenting hostility towards Pakistan, by perpetuating a climate of tension in our region, the Indian Government is committing treason against its own people. We wish that the Indian Government realized that a strong Pakistan is a guarantee of peace in South Asia. Similarly, we wish all the great Powers to

recognize that attempts to weaken Pakistan and to isolate it will undermine the balance of power and stability in the region and will promote a hegemony that will be inimical to peace.

89. I said earlier that I would attempt on this occasion only to explain what are the major issues which affect us in Pakistan. Our relations with India, of course, are most pressing upon our attention. But situations elsewhere also cause us concern, particularly when they involve issues relating to the self-determination and equality of peoples.

90. We grieve that the agony of Viet-Nam continues. There is nothing that the peoples of the world desire more than that it should be speedily ended. We are convinced that no solution can be viable which involves an injustice for the people of Viet-Nam. There will be no lasting peace in Viet-Nam unless a settlement is sought which respects the wishes of its inhabitants. That Viet-Nam is not on our agenda is no reason why all of us should not make our maximum effort, collectively and individually, to end the immense suffering of a gifted people whose endurance in the face of heavy odds is unexampled.

91. It causes us the most profound sorrow that the Arab peoples continue to be victims of aggression. While we appreciate all efforts, including those of Ambassador Jarring and others, aimed at breaking the deadlock inhibiting progress towards peace in the area, we deplore the fact that no pressure is being brought on Israel to withdraw from the territories which it occupied by invading Arab lands in 1967. Without such pressure, the cease-fire will remain fragile. Without such pressure, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory of force will remain a mere platitude.

92. There are two other aspects of the Middle East situation which, in our view, are of the utmost importance.

93. The first is the personality and the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. The Palestinians have as much a national identity as any other people. They have as much a right to live in their homeland as any other people. No settlement of the Middle East situation will be viable if it does not show due recognition of this fact.

94. The second is the question of the Holy City of Jerusalem, which affects the most cherished sensibilities of the people of Pakistan and, indeed, of people in all continents. Let me make it plain that no settlement of the Middle East problem will be worth the paper it is written on if it leaves the Holy City under Israel's sovereignty. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have called upon Israel to rescind all measures designed to change the status of Arab Jerusalem. Israel has defied this call. Steps need to be taken to overcome this defiance.

95. In regard to these issues of great urgency, Pakistan takes the standpoint of justice. Its policy is determined by no other consideration than that there should be no exploitation of Asian, African and Latin American peoples by power blocs. We do not want to play one great Power against another. We have no animosity against any great Power and no vested interest in the differences between them. We were very happy when President Nixon an-

nounced his plan to visit Peking. The normalization of relations between the United States and China may well turn out to be the beginning of a new era in international affairs, free from the dangers of great Power confrontations.

96. It is from this viewpoint, as well as from the viewpoint of removing a disability from this Organization, that Pakistan considers it essential that the lawful rights of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored during this session. It would be a set-back to many great hopes for peace if a decisive moment in international life were to be lost through a refusal to break completely from the sterile policies pursued in the past. Pakistan cannot but oppose any attempt to promote a dual representation of China. It would be setting a most dangerous precedent to permit two opposing delegations to represent one and the same Member State in the United Nations. Since Taiwan is a recognized part of China historically, and also in international agreements, we do not believe that the departure of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek régime means the expulsion of any Government lawfully represented here. It follows that a question requiring a two-thirds majority for decision is not involved.

97. A host of considerations—the universality of the Organization, a *détente* among the great Powers, the strengthening of international security, the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and imperialism, and progress towards nuclear and conventional disarmament, to mention but a few—demands the immediate presence of the People's Republic of China in our midst. Any approach to this question, such as the proposal for dual representation of China, which is certain to be rejected by Peking, will militate against this consummation and run counter to the efforts of the world community to attain these high purposes.

98. Is it not becoming clearer with every passing day that real disarmament, as distinct from non-armament, will continue to elude us, unless the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China are restored in the United Nations? We all know that specific agreements in the field of arms control and limitation—including those ripe for conclusion—are merely peripheral measures. We by no means belittle the promise of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States to limit both defensive and some offensive strategic weapons. Nor do we refrain from applauding the efforts made by them in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to reach agreement on the complete prohibition and destruction of biological weapons. But the stark fact is that the hard core of real disarmament has still not been touched despite a quarter of a century of negotiations. We have a proposal before us for a world disarmament conference [A/L.631] to induce a greater momentum in the efforts to come to grips with the central questions. While we welcome the Soviet proposal, we cannot but emphasize that the seating of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole lawful representative of China is a *sine qua non* for its participation in any world conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Without China's participation, we do not believe that such a conference will be more productive than the existing forums for disarmament negotiations. If it

is envisaged that the conference should be outside the United Nations framework, complex questions concerning preparatory work, organization, venue and financing will arise which are not susceptible to easy solutions.

99. A comprehensive test-ban treaty, which would also prohibit underground nuclear weapons tests, remains as elusive as ever, despite the fact that sophisticated techniques of seismic detection and identification of such explosions without on-site inspection, have been sufficiently developed to render the consequences of any undetected clandestine events insignificant for all practical purposes.

100. Linked to a comprehensive test-ban treaty is the question of using nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes. The explosion of such devices is of great importance to the economic development of all countries, and, in particular, the developing countries. Consequently, an underground test-ban has to include a permissive clause for conducting nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. As there is no difference between nuclear weapons and the so-called peaceful nuclear explosive devices, any ambiguity as to who is permitted, within the context of an underground test-ban, to conduct the so-called peaceful nuclear explosions, could open the door to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Therefore, we regard it as essential that any underground test-ban treaty which exempts the explosion of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes from the ban must provide in the most explicit, unambiguous and effective manner possible against the dissemination of the related technology in order that the objectives of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] are not defeated.

101. To our mind, lack of progress towards disarmament has been one of the greatest disappointments of the contemporary age. The arms race, getting ever deadlier, depletes the resources which the human family needs for its own welfare, perhaps for its very survival. How can the poverty of masses in large areas of the world be removed if there is an agglomeration of arms, a constant increase in military expenditures? How can the developing countries escape from the poverty which grinds them down if they are also condemned to competition in the arms race? And how can the richer nations fulfil their promise to transfer the savings resulting from disarmament for the development of the third world, or even for the uplift of their own underprivileged classes if there is no reduction of armed forces and armaments?

102. We are happy that we have been joined by some more States which have recently attained independence. Bhutan, a neighbour of ours, was under the virtual servitude of the same colonialism which departed in 1947 from the Indian subcontinent. It has taken Bhutan 24 years to obtain recognition of its legitimate rights and to occupy its rightful place in the comity of nations as an independent State, enjoying a sovereignty inferior to no other State's. The people and the Government of Pakistan warmly welcome Bhutan as an equal Member of the United Nations and assure it of their goodwill and close co-operation.

103. We are equally glad to see here the representatives of Qatar and Bahrain, with whose countries our ties continue

to grow. We look forward to a close and mutually beneficial association with them. We are happy that we will soon be joined by Oman.

104. Apart from these few gratifying gains, the process of decolonization has unfortunately slowed down. It has come to a virtual standstill in southern Africa where the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon alliance continues to defy the verdict of the world community expressed through the General Assembly, the Security Council and recently, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.⁴ Portugal continues to impose its rule over Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The Pretoria régime continues to practise the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* in South Africa and Namibia. The racist minority régime of Ian Smith remains in control of Rhodesia despite mandatory sanctions.

105. The world community can ignore the explosive situation arising out of the twin evils of colonialism and racialism only at its own peril. A racial conflagration in South Africa could arouse intense feelings the world over and could cause a global race conflict. It is therefore the responsibility of the Members of the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular to defuse the situation in southern Africa by bringing about the emancipation of peoples under colonial or racist rule in that part of the world. The Security Council must take more effective steps to tighten the sanctions against Salisbury and to stop the sales of arms to Pretoria. It must no longer shrink from decisive measures to wrest Namibia from the illegal occupation of South Africa, and to halt the aggressive acts of Portugal against the African States.

106. These are objectives which directly flow from the Charter of the United Nations. Like many other political objectives, most of which involve the fulfilment of justice in international relations, what they require is not a reiteration of former resolutions; what they require is political will on the part of all Member States, especially the great Powers. This will has been so far lacking. But if it is summoned and replenished by a *détente* between the great Powers, there is little doubt that a brighter horizon of peace will open before us. Then alone will the dream of human solidarity come nearer realization. Then alone will the United Nations reflect the oneness of the world. Without the radical reorientation of political attitudes that this requires, the world will remain as it is—a world full of grievances born of inequalities and injustices, a world in which the majority of the human race is deprived of its inheritance.

107. Mr. JEDRYCHOWSKI (Poland) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Polish People's Republic, I warmly congratulate you on your election to the honourable and responsible position of President of the General Assembly at its current session. I should also like to add the voice of the Polish delegation to the many and well-deserved expressions of deep gratitude to the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, Mr. Edvard Hambro.

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

108. I should also like to welcome the admission into the United Nations family of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar, which from now on will be able to participate actively and constructively in the realization of the great purposes and tasks of our Organization.

109. The Polish delegation takes a favourable view of the development of the international situation at the beginning of the second quarter-century of the existence and activities of the United Nations. We share the sober but far from pessimistic view contained in the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization:

“It is well to remember that the decade under review has seen a number of encouraging trends in the political life of the international community. These developments justify reasonable hopes that the climate in which the United Nations operates is improving and will continue to improve.” [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 10.*]

110. As the representative of the Polish People's Republic, a country which has also, with justified hopes and broad, favourable prospects, entered a new period of development—a development that has not always been easy for us—I should like to give an assurance that, in accordance with the basic peace-loving principles of Polish foreign policy, the Polish People's Republic will make what contribution it can towards a *détente* and towards peaceful coexistence in Europe and throughout the world. In close co-operation and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other States of the socialist community, we will advocate the further development and expansion of relations of all kinds with all States which are willing to reciprocate our readiness to co-operate and in practice, together with us, implement the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is in this direction, towards the goal of practical, realistic and fruitful international co-operation, that we shall continue to act in the United Nations and in other international organizations.

111. In particular, we should like to give real force to the efforts directed towards the strengthening of international security, that most important question on which the interest and the activities of our Organization are focused in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The fact that a Declaration on this matter [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] was adopted unanimously at the commemorative session of the General Assembly is proof of the growing trend towards strengthening peace which can be observed within the United Nations.

112. All States, in the east and the west, the south and the north, large, medium and small, can play an important role in the great and essential task of strengthening international security and developing multilateral co-operation in political, economic, social and cultural matters. It is true that, according to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which have been proved correct in practice, the principal responsibility for maintaining peace and strengthening security rests on the great Powers. In the modern world, where all States are interdependent, no one can deny that general responsibility for attaining this important goal rests on mankind as a whole.

113. Contemporary international relations are developing at a time of profound revolutionary transformations. A

specific factor which is leaving its mark on the history and development of the United Nations is the struggle of progressive forces in all sectors of modern life against the forces of reaction and conservatism, and the struggle of supporters of peace against supporters of policies based on a position of strength.

114. In recent times, the Polish People's Republic has once again demonstrated its resolve to give active support to the forces of peace and international co-operation. Polish diplomacy has made and will continue to make efforts directed towards the establishment of a regional security system in Europe which would become an important link in strengthening world security. We wish to contribute to progress towards normalization in Europe both by our day-to-day practice of constructive bilateral co-operation with individual countries and by active participation in efforts directed towards developing multilateral co-operation. We welcome the fact that the proposal for the convening of a European conference on security and co-operation has already neared the stage of implementation. Intensive consultations in which Poland is participating actively have produced a far-reaching identity of views among all States concerned on such questions as the desirability of convening such a conference, the location of the conference in Helsinki, the participation of all European States and also of the United States of America and Canada, the possibility of planning a series of such meetings, and the desirability of establishing a permanent organ as a result of the conference. Some progress can also be noted in the consultations directed towards reaching agreement on the main elements of the agenda of the first conference, which in addition to the question of strengthening European security, should give due consideration also to questions relating to the strengthening of economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties linking the peoples of Europe.

115. The establishment of a stable system of security and co-operation in Europe requires a further continuation of the dialogue which has been begun, and also an expansion of that dialogue in order to prepare for an early convening of the conference in the course of multilateral consultations. Poland will continue to participate actively in the preparations for the conference and expects a constructive attitude on the part of all States concerned. We have noted with satisfaction the statements made here by a number of outstanding representatives of European States, especially the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Schumann [1942nd meeting], in favour of the earliest possible convening of the conference.

116. We consider that in such circumstances no State can or should delay, directly or indirectly, the preparations for the conference, which have already reached an advanced stage. Each State should determine its conduct in international affairs on the basis of how that conduct would assist or impede a *détente* and bring nearer or delay the conference. To permit and encourage the activities of subversive centres, or to return now to cold-war methods in relations between States, could only lead to the isolation of those initiating or instigating such actions.

117. The basic condition for the general normalization of relations and stable security on our continent is the

recognition by all European States of the realities resulting from the Second World War and the acceptance of the political map of central Europe. The Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970, and the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970, which is of even greater political significance, constitute an important step towards the general and complete normalization of relations in Europe. The next essential step, and one which must not be delayed, is the ratification and implementation of both these Treaties. We hope that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, in accordance with its declared intentions, will as quickly as possible take the appropriate steps on its side to ensure that those Treaties enter into force as soon as possible. That is an essential condition for the further normalization of relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany. For its part, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has expressed its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany immediately after the Treaty signed on 7 December 1970 comes into force. That would serve the interests of both parties to the Treaty as well as the peaceful development of relations in Europe.

118. We are convinced that the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, and also with the other socialist countries, will make it possible for the Federal Republic of Germany to participate fully in efforts to promote European security and co-operation, since we consider that the Federal Republic of Germany can and must play a positive and constructive role in international affairs, especially in Europe.

119. We hope that in the near future relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany will also be normalized. In this matter we fully support the position of the fraternal country of Czechoslovakia that the Munich Agreement should be recognized as invalid from the beginning.

120. One of the basic factors in the post-war balance of forces in Europe has been the establishment and successful development of the German Democratic Republic, with which Poland is linked by close ties of friendship and co-operation and which is playing an active and increasingly important role in Europe and in the world.

121. A new and extremely important political event has been the achievement of a four-Power agreement on West Berlin.⁵ As a result of the realistic position taken by all the parties concerned, possibilities are opening up for the elimination of a dangerous hotbed of conflict which has existed in the very heart of Europe for 20 years. The Treaty safeguards the interests of all parties and should help to strengthen peace in Europe.

122. A further essential step directed towards removing the vestiges of the past in Europe must be the universal recognition of the two sovereign German States and the

⁵ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

establishment of relations with them on the basis of existing norms of international law. Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany should also be based on these same principles. Both these States should be admitted simultaneously to the United Nations. Before this takes place, there should be an immediate end to the discrimination against the German Democratic Republic which has continued to this day and which is reflected in the German Democratic Republic being denied the right to have its own permanent observer at the United Nations, while the Federal Republic of Germany does have such an observer.

123. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, U Thant correctly draws attention to the need to settle this question [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 106*].

124. The principle of universality, which is so strongly emphasized in the Charter of the United Nations, is based on the premise that the composition of the United Nations should reflect the real alignment of forces in the world. On the basis of this principle Poland has for many years advocated, and still advocates, the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful place in the United Nations and its full rights, and the simultaneous exclusion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from all United Nations organs.

125. Among the reasons for our favourable view of current trends in the international situation and possibilities for constructive action by the United Nations are certain genuine successes in the field of arms limitation. Poland sees a very dangerous element in the continuing arms race which could lead to unforeseeable consequences for mankind. We see the senselessness of expending enormous material resources which should be used to raise the standard of living of the peoples. Our economy, too, feels this burden, and we would like to reduce it. We are convinced that world security should be built not on a spiralling arms race but on the constant and progressive limitation of armaments.

126. We consider that an international system of legal prohibitions and limitations should be established which could prevent, limit and, finally, remove the threat of war. Proceeding from this premise, Poland has during recent years contributed to the achievement of a number of agreements limiting the arms race.

127. It is difficult to overestimate the impact on international relations of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water⁶ and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. We hope that it will become possible in the near future to conclude a treaty banning underground nuclear tests, too. We cannot understand the position of some States which are putting artificial obstacles in the way of further measures to reduce the threat of a nuclear war. I am referring in particular to those States which are refusing to sign, or are delaying ratification of, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and thus making its full implementation impossible.

128. Poland attaches particular importance to the full and practical implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in the crucial area of central Europe. For that reason we hope that States in that area which have so far not ratified the Treaty will do so without further delay, and will participate in negotiations with the International Atomic Energy Agency with a view to signing safeguards agreements. Poland was already agreed upon the text of an agreement with the Agency on this matter.

129. We hope that the present session will approve the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons [*A/8457-DC/234, annex A*], of which Poland is a sponsor. At the same time, it is our profound hope that a convention on the complete elimination of chemical weapons will soon be drawn up. We hope for further progress towards the exclusion from the arms race of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof and, eventually, the complete demilitarization of that area.

130. The long list of measures which could contribute to the halting of the arms race on a regional level and to regional disarmament includes the concept of nuclear-free zones, with which Poland has been closely involved. At an earlier stage we initiated that concept. We are pleased that the establishment of nuclear-free zones is now spoken of frequently and with very specific reference to certain areas of the world. We continue to take an interest in the establishment of such zones, especially in central Europe, where the powder kegs—if I may use that traditional metaphor in referring to the most up-to-date nuclear weapons and delivery systems—are particularly dense. I recall that our concept of the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe provided not only for the limitation and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons. We have always linked the establishment of such zones with concrete measures for the freezing and subsequent limitation of conventional armaments under appropriate forms of supervision.

131. We still have the same approach to regional disarmament measures. I cannot but observe here that the list of proposals made by Poland and the other socialist States on regional disarmament measures has always been more concrete and fuller than any proposals ever made by the Western allies. I should like, however, to stress the concrete nature of the proposals put forward by our northern neighbours. I should like here to remind you of the Kekkonen and Uden Plans. We continue to be prepared to discuss regional disarmament in Europe, and we shall consider every proposal on the matter if it is sufficiently clear and concrete and does not violate the balance of security of which Europe has so much need. We want to consider this problem not just for the sake of considering it, but in order to attain a specific goal which would benefit Europe.

132. We are observing with great interest the progress of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. We welcome the progress which has been achieved in those talks, and we hope that they will achieve still more tangible and positive results, as the entire international community expects.

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964.

133. We also support the proposal made by the Government of the Soviet Union regarding the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers [A/8328]. We should like to be confirmed in our view that the negative attitude of certain nuclear Powers is still not a final position. We are sure that it would be extremely significant for world security if all States which possessed nuclear weapons made joint efforts to reach agreement on the limitation and subsequent elimination of existing nuclear arsenals.

134. Poland gives full support to the proposal of the Soviet Union put forward by Mr. Gromyko in his statement on 28 September [1942nd meeting] regarding the convening of a world disarmament conference [A/L.631], the purpose of which would be to enable all States in the world to consider essential and realistic measures designed to limit the dangerous and expensive arms race, and agree upon joint measures for disarmament. This conference, in our opinion, should be held in the near future. It should open up prospects for real progress in disarmament, and thus give new concrete force to efforts towards implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation among peoples.

135. It is obvious that the policy based on positions of strength pursued by certain States, which results in acts of open aggression, neo-colonialist policies and domination over other peoples, is at variance with these principles.

136. The aggressive war against the peoples of Indo-China continues. Despite the demands of world public opinion, including a considerable section of American public opinion, the Government of the United States continues to refuse to adopt a constructive approach to the peace proposals put forward in Paris by the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and supported by the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. These proposals also enjoy the full support of the Polish people and Government. Neither the continuation of the war in Indo-China with the aid of local mercenary forces, nor the co-operation of sham Governments with no authority or popular support, will bring peace in Indo-China any nearer. On the contrary, the setting of an early date for the final and complete withdrawal of foreign troops from South Viet-Nam and respect for the rights of the Viet-Nameese people to self-determination constitute the correct approach for a peaceful end to the conflict. From this rostrum we express the hope that these proposals will finally be accepted by the party responsible for the war in Indo-China. Such a step would be in the clear interests of the American people. The expansion of military operations by interventionist forces and the dangerous resumption of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are exacerbating the conflict and delaying its end, although there is no doubt as to its final result—victory for the right of the peoples of Indo-China to decide their own future for themselves.

137. It would long ago have been possible to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East if Israel had shown a minimum of goodwill in the matter. In reality, that State, which has been illegally occupying Arab territories for several years, stubbornly rejects and ignores Security Council resolutions, including the latest Council resolution on the question of Jerusalem, resolution 298 (1971), and also General Assembly decisions.

138. Israel does not even reply to the letters from the Secretary-General and his representative, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring. The international community should no longer tolerate such a blatant challenge from Israel and its rich protectors. A peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East is possible only if full respect for the rights of the Arab peoples, the victims of aggression, is ensured, and if Israel withdraws from all the occupied territories.

139. Poland, like other European States, has an interest in the opening of the Suez Canal, which was closed as a result of aggression, to the detriment of the economic interests of many countries. We support the efforts directed towards opening the Suez Canal to shipping, but we regard the attainment of a possible agreement on that matter only as a step leading to a settlement of the Middle East conflict as a whole.

140. There is no doubt that a peaceful and just settlement of the situation in Korea could have been achieved if the basic conditions had been met to enable the Korean people to exercise their right to self-determination: the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We regret that these urgent and pressing questions have not been included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. Poland gives full and decisive support to the realistic proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which set out a correct programme and platform for the peaceful unification of the country without any interference from outside.

141. The developing situation on the Indian subcontinent is a subject of serious concern for us and for the whole international community. The fate of millions of refugees from East Pakistan seeking shelter across the border in the territory of India is a dramatic humanitarian problem on an unprecedented scale. We are certain that all possible efforts should be made to save human lives in such difficult conditions. Poland had contributed within the limits of its capacity to efforts to provide help to the innumerable masses of refugees. We hope that the Government of Pakistan, for its part, will take measures to achieve an appropriate political settlement of the critical situation in East Pakistan, so that it will be possible to begin the process of returning the refugees to their native land and remove the tension in relations between Pakistan and India.

142. One of the most important and complex tasks which continues to face us in this second half of the twentieth century is the need to eliminate the anachronistic colonial and racist régimes in a considerable part of the territory of Africa. Events which have occurred recently in Guinea and Senegal are a convincing illustration of a well-known truth—that aggression is an intrinsic characteristic of colonialism. The Special Missions sent by the Security Council in connexion with the situation which had arisen in Guinea and Senegal, in which Poland had the honour to participate, confirmed that a state of threat does exist there. We express our full support for the African peoples and for the Organization of African Unity in their just struggle against the Portuguese colonialists and against the racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, which are supported by foreign monopolies and imperialist

circles. The joint struggle of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces must in the near future bring the freedom which has been awaited by all peoples still suffering under the colonial and racist yoke, in accordance with the right of peoples to self-determination, a right which was once again recognized as universal in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the question of Namibia.

143. The appropriate organization of international economic relations has an important influence on the contemporary world situation as a whole. It should be based on full respect for the sovereignty of all States, large and small, and the interests of their economic development, and should also ensure that each country has opportunities for economic growth and occupies a place in the international division of labour corresponding to its needs and circumstances.

144. One of the most regrettable consequences of the policy of imperialism was the imposition on many enslaved peoples of the exclusive role of suppliers of cheap raw materials and cheap labour, while those who arrogated to themselves the right to a privileged place in the sun retained for themselves a monopoly over wealth and knowledge, technology and civilization. The lamentable consequences of colonialism for the development of the international economy can still be felt. The present currency crisis in the Western countries, which is causing serious interruptions in international trade, has a particularly powerful effect on the economies of the developing countries. How can we remove this historical injustice and establish normal conditions for the development of each country, and place international economic relations on a correct basis?

145. Firstly, we must strive to identify all overt and covert forms of neo-colonialist exploitation in the developing countries by foreign monopolies, an exploitation which so often exceeds the loudly publicized assistance granted to those countries. Secondly, we must ensure the removal of all forms of economic discrimination and all other barriers and limitations to the development of international economic co-operation.

146. In the "cold-war" period the practice spread through the capitalist countries of discriminating against imports from the socialist countries for political reasons. Simultaneously, an embargo was imposed on large quantities of goods which might with benefit have been exported to the socialist countries and there was discrimination in the field of credit policy. Poland has an interest in extensive and mutually beneficial trade with Western partners, too. In striving to strengthen and extend the policy of *détente* and peaceful co-operation in all fields, we have shown and are continuing to show, on all suitable occasions and in all areas of activity, including GATT, great initiative in the practical development of trade and economic co-operation with the Western countries. In particular, we have made efforts to establish industrial co-operation with the highly developed Western countries, thus increasing opportunities for the revival of trade relations.

147. Our own national experience also determines our position regarding the economic problems of the developing countries. We are making consistent efforts to fulfil the

obligations which arise from our sense of international solidarity. We note a significant growth in trade with those countries and changes in the structure of trade which are beneficial to them. We have consistently expressed and continue to express our readiness to expand and intensify economic relations with them and we are prepared to conclude long-term treaties and contracts for the supply of goods. In accordance with the wishes expressed by many countries, we are also considering the possibility of concluding an agreement concerning the partial division of labour. We are also ready to establish joint undertakings, in cases where that would be of mutual interest. As far as possible, we shall make a contribution to the training of the necessary skilled personnel for developing countries.

148. The elimination of all existing forms of discrimination and barriers in trade relations, the promotion of increased imports from the developing countries and changes in the structure of trade in order not to impose on those States the role of mere suppliers of raw materials, the extensive development of various forms of industrial, scientific and technological co-operation, assistance in the training of skilled personnel, full respect for the sovereign rights of each State over its own resources and, in particular, for the free determination of its own future and its own form of existence—these are the principles on which international economic relations must be based so that our efforts may be rewarded with peace and prosperity.

149. In this context I should like to draw attention to an important aspect of international co-operation, namely, the establishment of the most favourable conditions for the dissemination of up-to-date information in the field of technology. We are convinced that the United Nations has a very important role to play in this field. In our opinion, this task can and must be carried out in particular by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, in which much attention has already been given to these problems. An important role should also be played by the United Nations Development Programme, with which our country co-operates actively.

150. As we see it, United Nations activities in the field of science and technology should be directed not only towards direct temporary assistance to the developing countries in this field—which is important—but also towards the establishment and improvement of conditions for general technological progress. To this end we believe that it is important to organize an exchange of technological achievements between the developed countries with the help of the appropriate United Nations bodies. Scientific and technological co-operation, in its modern sense, should encompass the whole developmental cycle, that is to say, research, development and application. Failure to take these requirements into account retards technological progress and is a symptom of discrimination against certain less developed countries by more developed countries. Such forms of discrimination result in delaying the establishment of a base for the development of technology in countries which do not yet possess such knowledge.

151. Another important and increasingly significant problem is the protection of the human environment. Poland is expanding its widespread activities in this field at the national level, and has associated itself actively with the

work of organizations in the United Nations family, including the preparations for the United Nations conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in 1972. In this matter we proceed from the premise that only international action can limit the consequences and reduce the danger of irresponsible, rapacious, unplanned exploitation of the natural resources of the earth, and of the air and the sea.

152. At its present session the General Assembly has a very full agenda before it. It reflects important international problems during the consideration of which the Polish delegation intends to co-operate actively in the search for constructive solutions. The general picture of the development of the international situation which I have outlined in this statement shows, in particular, the need for our Organization, whose fundamental structures and principles are set out in the Charter of the United Nations and have withstood the test of time, to look for new, more creative and effective methods of achieving its goals. This cannot be achieved by mechanical increases in the Organization's expenditure, which have already brought it to a serious financial crisis, nor by an excessive expansion of its machinery. The Polish delegation holds the view that only if efforts are concentrated on the most important tasks and the role of the United Nations in the field of peaceful coexistence and the security of peoples is strengthened will the Organization be able to carry out fully its important task in the second quarter-century of its existence.

153. As we have already stated, the effective discharge of those tasks depends on the constructive co-operation of all States. In those joint efforts, my country and my Government will make their conscientious contribution. In that connexion, I should like to state that my Government is now prepared to place a Polish armed contingent at the disposal of the Security Council of the United Nations, which could in case of need use it for actions necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

154. I do not think that there is any need to speak in detail of the significance we attach to the role and activities of the Security Council. We would merely like to point out once again that our Organization has not so far made use of all the opportunities which the Charter of the United Nations offered to the Security Council, especially in Chapters VI and VII. I consider that a more thorough approach than we have hitherto had to all the provisions of the Charter can give us the answer and demonstrate how our Organization can act better and more effectively to strengthen international security.

155. Of course, we have a proper appreciation of the responsibility borne by the Secretary-General. It is with this in mind that we note with regret that the Secretary-General, U Thant, who enjoys our fullest respect, intends to relinquish his duties as Secretary-General at the end of his present term. Experience and continuity in the post and a profound knowledge of the administrative machinery of the United Nations and the political possibilities of our Organization are undoubtedly an extremely important argument against frequent changes in that post, as far as that is possible.

156. Allow me in conclusion to express the hope that the favourable trends which have emerged in recent years on

the international scene will be consolidated, and that the United Nations will become a more effective centre of co-operation between all peoples in solving the difficult and important questions of the modern world than it has hitherto been. Only then will we be able to say with a large measure of justification that we and our Organization have carried out well the tasks confronting us and have helped to ensure that humanity makes a more rational and fruitful use of the trust placed in it by history.

157. Mr. MASMOUDI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): According to certain "realists", in order to succeed a statesman must have heart without weakness; he must be as hard as rock, as cold as a calculating machine, have no feelings of friendship, and must not be carried away by enthusiasm—a kind of robot. If that were true, Mr. President, you would have made a very bad statesman and our Assembly would have made a poor choice in electing you to preside over our debates and to guide our work. In any case, the representative of Tunisia, together with his distinguished colleagues from friendly countries, are honoured to have chosen in you a man with heart and spirit and who, in addition to distinction, has both serenity and wisdom and the calm determination of faith.

158. That President Hambro, a Norwegian, should be succeeded by President Adam Malik, an Indonesian, is more than a happy coincidence; it is a fine symbol, a comforting sign which we should like to see always there, constituting a whole programme of mutual assistance and solidarity: the torch being passed from the North to the South; Europe stretching forth its hand to Asia in order to associate it with its hopes.

159. In associating your name in the same tribute, Mr. President, with that of our distinguished colleague, President Hambro, we should like at the same time to pay a tribute to the tremendous efforts made by Europe in its policy of political *détente* and co-operation, and to bow before martyred Asia, which a tendency to intolerance and hegemony has plunged into the warlike tensions of the Middle East, the absurd war in Viet-Nam and the fratricidal confrontation in Bengal.

160. In greeting you, Mr. President, we should like to voice the hopes that your presidency will mark for Asia the end of this long journey through blood and stormy weather, and the beginning of a new era of concord and peace.

161. This wish which we all share has, as we know, always encouraged U Thant, our Secretary-General, who is a credit to Asia because of his origins and to humanity because of his qualities.

162. In the midst of the tempests, pitfalls and difficulties which arise repeatedly; despite the great Powers, which are not always encouraging, and small Powers which are often defiant, and though budgetary vexations continue to add to your daily worries, you have been able, Mr. Secretary-General, undoubtedly by sacrificing your health, to keep our Organization on the right path. For that, Tunisia expresses its gratitude. The exceptional role of guardian and guide which, for 10 years, you have played is something, you owe, which we all owe, in fact, to your exceptional

qualities. We also owe it to the devotion of your co-workers and lastly, we own it to the value of this institution, our Organization.

163. Entering into this year of grace after 25 years of continuous striving for peace and progress, the United Nations remains the most effective instrument for bringing man to man, and endowing him with an ever-growing universal conscience and public spirit. With its specialized agencies, which constitute as it were its skeleton, with its membership, which is as it were its flesh, and with its peoples and their profound aspirations, which form its soul, it is growing stronger from day to day, and will soon, we hope, gain renewed strength with the admission of the People's Republic of China, and will be recognized everywhere as the universal expression of modern democracy.

164. Thanks to your tenacity, Mr. Secretary-General, and your calmness, the action which you initiated 10 years ago is beginning to yield fruit. The concern for peace is becoming more and more pressing both in South-East Asia and in the Middle East where, unfortunately, the results of your efforts have not been very encouraging. Europe is becoming more and more wedded to a policy of collective security and co-operation.

165. The People's Republic of China will shortly be taking its true place in our Organization in order to assume its role as a great Power, which is justified by its history, its geography and the extent and virtues of its population.

166. The Second United Nations Development Decade, by sharpening the will of small nations and arousing the competitiveness of the great, constitutes the spearhead of progress—some fruit at last, after so much effort.

167. In view of these and many other facts, it would be only right that you, Mr. Secretary-General, should be able to taste the fruits of your numerous efforts. In requesting, in beseeching, you to sacrifice yourself again in the service of the United Nations, I am aware, of course, that I am going too far and demanding too much of your strength, but we all know that when you serve, you always rise to the challenge and serve well. I am not the only one to address this appeal to you, Sir, and I hope you will accept it as a tribute and an expression of the friendship and gratitude which Tunisia feels for you.

168. I should like to make a few comments in relation to the situation in the Middle East, which, by deteriorating is rotting the peoples and countries of a very sensitive area.

169. For half a century Zionists and Arabs from Palestine and elsewhere have been in a state of warlike tension, the one faction defending its recent conquest, the other awaiting its revenge, alternating thus between arrogance and hatred. The Palestinians, the Arabs, bloodied but unbowed, and the Israelis, carried away by the strength of their arms but not victorious, continue in the face of the uncertainties of tomorrow to contemplate violence. Even those who mention the Israeli-Arab conflict here or elsewhere—are looked upon with suspicion if they do not speak a certain language. One is obliged to use certain words, as one uses a certain currency, a currency which has been coined for war and which serves only to peddle hatred and to bring

together men who are devoid of feeling and imagination. It is a counterfeit currency which continues to circulate, however, and falsifies discussions, human relationships and the entire situation in the Middle East.

170. Those who believe they can settle the Israeli and Arab conflict according to the accepted rules of war or in accordance with the requirements of our era, with the logic of the calculating machine and in the manner of a sporting gentleman playing the game and probably having to pay up are deluded. The problems of the Middle East are specific; they are too emotional; they cannot simply be turned into punched cards. In every facet of the situation and at each step of the solutions envisaged, the complexity, density and intensity of the problem becomes apparent. Let us not forget it is in this region that heaven has met earth in order to touch it with its grace, that there has been a long-standing rivalry which continues to err against the spirit, to commit crimes towards men and sacrilege towards God. Let us be on our guard; this is the time when faults are committed through pride, prestige, self-love and overheated passion, and, in such cases, the degree of error, particularly that of the great Powers, could be commensurate with their colossal size and, when it is fatal, it is always the small nations which fall victim.

171. It is true that ways of tackling the problem go completely astray when they touch upon this sensitive area. It is true that they can seem disordered, always heated, and often merely superficial. It is true that they are more metaphysical and mythical than real. The fact is that problems in this part of the world are essentially matters between men in the full sense of the words, matters of the heart where the requirements of dignity and pride, of honour and generosity, and of privation as well arise spontaneously and almost in their pure state. One should not be contemptuous of this approach. One must have enough humility to realize that fortunately many problems of our planet are emotional ones and that the heart still has its reasons and its requirements in the lives of men.

172. Above all, let no one believe that, in the Middle East, we are unmoved by reason and solutions which appear to be logical. But let not pride delude us into thinking that logical solutions will always succeed. Let it not be believed that everything falls into place according to the calculations of the computer. It is true that the Arab countries give the appearance of chaos, with extreme abundance in certain cases and extreme wretchedness in others. There is a tendency for both to try to seek protection from the great in order to perpetuate their quarrels, or to shelter from the blows of fate. It is also true that the great Powers believe that they can ensure their domination by having protégés, nay, even clients. It is quite obvious today that the great Powers are opposing each other, goading each other and getting each others' measure through small countries, sometimes foisting on them their surpluses of out-of-date arms or by trying out on them new forms of conventional arms.

173. If in the past the Arab countries have been frequently guilty of errors and failures let us at least have the courage to say that it is in their camp that the right can be found today, and a sincere readiness to abide by the rules of the international game.

174. Let us be honest enough to notice that it is the unreasonableness of Israel which stymies decisions in the United Nations, clouds all prospects and encloses us in a sort of dialectic of despair, which incites some to commit the folly of hijacking aircraft, some to mortgage their development effort by channelling the major portion of their energy and resources into armaments, others even to risk disorganizing the State by legitimately trying to inculcate respect for it, and still others to change régimes by a military coup d'état because they are unable to change events any other way.

175. Yet, never have the Arabs in the Middle East found themselves so oppressed, so misunderstood and in such a completely hamstrung situation as they are now. If, for them, the worst is never certain, the best seems, unfortunately, for the time being, to be escaping them—the best, of course, being the prospect of peace. This dead-end situation is particularly serious because the Arab countries—mainly Egypt—have done everything they can to create objective conditions which would put an end to tension and which would set peace-making machinery in motion.

176. At the same time, in the position of Israel, there is such a lack of reason, such an excess of contempt, such excessive arrogance, such a desire to flout this Organization, its Secretary-General, its Security Council, its General Assembly, its bodies, the four great Powers and each and every one of us at the same time, that it is really enough to move whole mountains of indifference and inaction. The great Powers may be very touchy about affairs of *amour propre* and prestige but how can they let the authority of the United Nations and public opinion become so degraded? This is what is really shocking and, when the time comes, this will not fail to bring changes in trends, policies and even alliances.

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar (Peru), Vice-President, took the Chair.

177. In the case of Israel and South Africa, certain great Powers just let things take their course, even seem to desert the United Nations; its recommendations have no effect and its moral authority fluctuates and becomes devalued like common currency.

178. There is a sort of unintentional aptness when certain great people in America, Europe and elsewhere consider the United Nations as the image of passing youthfulness, the refuge of certain nostalgic memories of a long departed bitter-sweet era. What leaves us nonplussed about Israel is its nature, its policy, its tendencies. What gives us pause is this attitude of constant defiance, which is constantly displayed by the Israel leaders towards this Organization, which brought them into being by arbitrarily, in 1947, imposing on the Palestinians the creation of this land in a country which was undoubtedly under British Mandate, but which had its own nationals, the Palestinians, including Moslems, Christians and Jews. The fact that the roles have, today, been reversed to such an extent that the victims of yesterday, the Arabs, are now committed to respecting the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations and the Israelis, those who were favoured in 1947, consider the United Nations as—I quote what certain people are saying in the Israeli press—the “burial-ground of aborted

resolutions” says a great deal about the way the minds and customs have evolved on both sides. In the case of the Israelis we cannot refrain from thinking of the type of a spoilt child—mentioned by Montaigne—who are plump and spoon-fed and who spit on the breasts of their mother and yell their anger in the face of those who gave birth to them.

179. May I tell Mr. Abba Eban—whose courtesy, whose skill is equalled only by his tremendous oratory which he has pleasure in so frequently exercising in this Assembly—of the position we Tunisians hold, who although we are nowhere near the frontiers of war are touched in our very hearts by the fact of an Arab-Israeli war. Mr. Abba Eban, as you know we have no hatred for you, we Tunisians, nor do the Palestinians, whom you have deprived of a homeland and homes and whom you have destined to be eternal refugees; nor do the Arabs, whose territories you have seized, nor do the Christians, nor do the Moslems, in whose case you have been guilty of violence by continuing to desecrate Jerusalem. No, none of these harbours resentment towards you. In Tunisia, thanks to what has been done by President Bourguiba, we, who were forged in the white heat of solidarity for the love of our cause, we are making a constant effort to banish odium, which is so sterile, to avoid red herrings, and to look reality in the face in order to see it closely, to know it better and to reach properly to it.

180. The reality of the present situation in the Middle East is not in accordance with what you have said in your statement [1946th meeting], Mr. Abba Eban; to offer to see Mr. Riad, on the basis of what you proposed, is something, I think, which you did much more to produce an oratorical effect than to arouse any response which Mr. Riad might be prepared to give you and which it is not fitting for me to speculate about. But to use up your tremendous mental energy over wretched squabbles about meetings, refugees and procedure and all this in order to open the canal—that really takes the cake! Really, this is not up to the standard of the great Arab-Israeli debates with the extent and complexity of which you are well acquainted. You are still very wide of the mark, Mr. Abba Eban, I say this to you simply and calmly.

181. It is also true that you have a large helping of unreasonableness and excess, but the danger which threatens you, which threatens us all in this region, is your tendency to overlook realities. It is your tendency not to think about the future or, rather, to think about it like a miser, and to make small cheeseparing proposals. Unless it be that you want to treat as an inferior one who is your enemy in the present state of human law, namely, the one upon whom the United Nations imposed you in 1947. Oh, I know quite well that during those 25 years you have been hardening your heart. It is even said that “your ‘hawks’ are so savage and so exclusive that the ‘doves’ have deserted Israel.”

182. Please do not always be so quick to show arrogance, contempt. Do not be slow in seeking reparation, in offering a reasonable initiative if you sincerely want peace. You are being oppressed, you are being tortured because you do not want to change, because you do not even allow yourself to take the least step, you hold yourself in check by being formal and confining yourself to a rigid procedural frame-

work. To hold territories occupied as direct sureties to bring about a fait accompli, here, to move people out there and to mobilize oppression against Palestinians everywhere is to ensure for yourself and the region future misfortune, to thwart from the outset any efforts towards peace it is to opt for the enforced maintenance of this exaggerated nationalism. In fact, it is also to opt, both inside and outside, for a type of man and society which feeds on chauvinism, which preaches intolerance and fanaticism, which inside the country carries out witch hunts against those who do not share the same opinions and multiplies threats against those outside who do not accept their conditions.

183. You have referred to international ethics. You have made much of the scale of values which leads the antagonists to negotiate with each other. But did you not think that in your dealings with the Palestinians and the Arabs all values have been destroyed and flouted? In your case, as in the case of the Palestinians, humble shopkeepers, workers, even women, have been turned into killers. Have not you given some thought to the fact that the content and the significance of ethics has changed, that the scale of values has been turned upside down: robbing, smuggling, lawlessness, armed attack, political assassination, violation of property and quite recently the hijacking of planes have been considered as acts of patriotism? Did you not give some thought to the fact that hatreds have germinated 25 times, that during the three wars which have been won all Palestinian families have been dismembered, dispersed, discarded, ruined? And this is true also of many other Arab families? And these seeds of revolt are scattered throughout the region? So, what scale of values are you speaking about? What precedents are you referring to? To meet with you? So what. Of course we could meet, but why? To what end? To confirm your attitude of arrogance, which has so often been proclaimed and made public?

184. Leave to one side, I beg you, Sir, the Americans, the Russians, the Chinese, Mr. Jarring and the United Nations. Tell us, you, yourself, if you are prepared to leave Jerusalem. Come right out and tell us that you never accepted the Security Council resolution and that the day before you spoke it was even announced that you would reject it. Tell us here and now if you are prepared to accept a Palestinian homeland, a Palestinian State. How do you intend to live in this Palestine? What form of coexistence with the Palestinians would you choose? Are you objectively considering the possibility of peace? Actually, Sir, your errors, all your errors are essentially errors of the mind. Your principles, your conditions, you enunciate them for yourself. They have no effect because they lack that touch of universality and generosity which affects men's hearts, which guides them towards a solution. They do not concern man but a category of man, the elect, Zionists.

185. A mental error can be seen in this trend which you have to construct a society on the caste of the elect to the detriment of the Palestinians and the Arabs, who are perhaps the pariahs. As you cannot find in the principles of reason, in the teaching of civilizations, any justification for your supremacy you have sought them therefore in mythology. As you could not support yourself with law you have supported yourself with military force. You know

that it is impossible to build anything valid on myths and brute force. It is also a mental error because there can be no lasting peace and valid coexistence without consent and adherence on the part of those who accept it, and experience has shown that those who accept it only act like whipped dogs because they undoubtedly find themselves closer to the whip. This is true of certain Palestinians whose territories continue to be improperly occupied by you. No. You cannot go on indefinitely and with impunity acting against religion, reason, morality and faith. I think, Mr. Eban, that you are sincere in your five-point Declaration. I even think that this is perhaps the worst and most disquieting thing about it. We are beginning to wonder more and more whether it is in the nature of your régime to be able to bring about peace. Please do not say that the Arabs, the Palestinians themselves, are balking at peace talks. In the conditions of war the parties can only speak war to each other. Propose conditions for a valid peace and you would be astonished yourself by the sense of responsibility and constructive spirit of the most adamant of Arab leaders, including the Palestinians.

186. The meetings, direct discussions, international precedents, logic, scale of values, are all merely words. And it is not because you use these words that we should necessarily fear them henceforth; it is not because you lack peace that we should not make a further bid for it and it is not because you want to exclude the Palestinians who are essential partners that we necessarily have to exclude you.

187. Only an open, tolerant Palestine which would see both Jews and Palestinians coexisting in forms to be determined, which would give us a society with common laws and a power assumed by its lifelong members the Christians, Moslems and Jews, would ensure that you no longer sow the seeds of hatred in the Middle East, and be the powder-keg which is always on the point of exploding.

188. A question of dates? Perhaps. But also and above all it is a question of behaviour and of commitment. Let the Israelis conduct themselves in a manner permitting coexistence between Jews and Arabs, as was and is still the case in Arab and Moslem countries. The only way to reach this is to agree to commit oneself to a de-zionization, as Germany earned coexistence with the European countries and the rest of the world when it pledged itself to denazify the country. And we believe that those who helped the Germans to exorcize the demon of nazism, the Americans, the Russians and the Western allies particularly, could help the Jews to exorcize this demon of zionism. In doing so, they would contribute to peace in the Middle East. They surely would not help to bring about a just and lasting settlement of the problems in this region by spying on one another, testing each other, seeing each other's hand behind the antagonists and playing hide-and-seek of a new type, which is more dangerous than the cold-war because it is more underhand.

189. In point of fact, under the pretext of having the detestable principle of the balance of strength between belligerents maintained, the great Powers have created an explosive situation throughout the Mediterranean, which is all the more explosive because it feeds on the state of war between the antagonists. The attempt to balance the strength of the belligerents has led to two equally de-

testable results: gradually there has been an unwitting escalation of armaments among the great Powers and at the same time there has been escalation among the small Powers.

190. This situation has turned the Mediterranean into the focal point of antagonism between two of the great world Powers; it directs energies towards military preoccupations rather than economic ones, which eventually is a disaster in so far as inadequate progress and development thus open the door to political adventures within the country, to instability, to chaos and to misfortune.

191. Henceforth, it is less important for the Russians and the Americans to quit this bubbling morass of intelligence and counter-intelligence than that Europe should be there in full view as an effective and exemplary presence in order to show that it has a more dynamic, more peaceful, more edifying and more attractive viewpoint to offer. With Europe and the great Powers, we should like to return to the spirit of solidarity and magnificent mutual assistance which has made it possible for Aswan to be brought about and not that which enabled Malta to polarize the military Powers, because Malta is considered more as a strategic fortress which it is important to control than as a human community which should be assisted in its action for development.

192. In this Mediterranean, which is the mother of civilization, the cross-road of races, ideas and religions, where the East meets the West, the North with its technology and its terrifying requirements meets the South with its under-development and its no less terrifying consequences, the profane, the sacred, liberalism and its fascinating allurements, *dirigisme* and its no less formidable over-simplifications. In this Mediterranean which has become the eye of the hurricanes the arena of despair, we should like to find a new source of inspiration, a new reason for acting together with the Europeans and those who would like, throughout the world, to see the Mediterranean reflecting the world about which our youth is dreaming, a Mediterranean where relations would be based on the exchange of ideas, experiences and men, a Mediterranean where we prefer peaceful emulation to rivalries, and co-operation to confrontation and massive assistance and technical aid to the machines of war.

193. Thus we are following with particular interest the remarkable efforts which have been made by Europe, which is now coming into its own as a community. We see there the advent of a reassuring force; and, however unaware it is that it is not its sole mission to bring together the Atlantic and the Urals but also to unite the Baltic and the Mediterranean, we are sure that it will radiate so much human warmth, peace and solidarity that it will contribute to illuminating and marking out the roads of the future. Provided that the matters to be taken up in Helsinki relative to Europe's security and to co-operation are not restricted to the problems of yesterday—those of Berlin, wartime frontiers, military pacts, etc., but extend instead to the burning issues of the present day—those of the Israel-Arab conflict, the tension in the Mediterranean, solidarity between North and South—we welcome that conference of hope and express the wish that it will be held as soon as possible and that it will be successful.

194. There is another event which is being awaited by the world with some impatience—impatience or curiosity mixed with hope and a certain anxiety, as if to underline the importance of that event. I am referring to the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations as a great Power with the same prerogatives and the same rights as the other four great Powers.

195. For some time its admission appeared to be an event involving a principle; today it appears to be an event which could prove to be a source of something further: it could be the first in a whole series of acts and consequences hitherto unthinkable.

196. We of Tunisia envisage the entry of the People's Republic in the spirit of those who are setting out on a long, difficult and hazardous voyage; with it here in this Organization we will undoubtedly discover new shores, and perhaps a new source of inspiration and a fresh reason for working which will be different and will permit the United Nations to launch itself into this new quarter-century with fresh vigour and authority.

197. With the admission of China into international society, there will of necessity be a new deal, a reassigning of roles, a better adaptation of the Organization and its organs to the changes through which we are living, and a better balanced, more diversified and therefore richer international life. We believe that that Power, which possesses the atomic bomb, will be much more at home in the United Nations, which is so concerned with disarmament, than outside it.

198. The United Nations, if it admits that country, will undoubtedly gain a second wind, both politically and morally, in its role as the most authentic expression of the most elevated thoughts of men and of peoples.

199. Thus carried along by the wave of the future, the People's Republic of China will fly its flag over Manhattan, with all its mysteries, with all its breadth and with all its tremendous reservoir of moral energy and new values. If it is now perhaps a cause of uncertainties and excesses, it could also equally be the hope of more light and restraint. It could also be the shipwreck of authority and hope. Absent today, without any obligations or responsibilities in international life, it fascinates people; it has a charismatic effect on our minds and excites our imagination with its view of man and the role which man should play in society.

200. There, in the fervour of Maoism, a new kind of man, a product of the Long March, the red book, the cultural revolution and a monolithic society, is beginning to emerge. If for many he is not the model to be followed, he does nevertheless embody the essence of rejection of the so-called consumer society—the industrial society, where the machine and the computer have taken over power and where man tends to be thrust aside.

201. For the delegation of Tunisia, the admission of the People's Republic of China constitutes an essential matter; the question of Taiwan, an important one. It might be unfair, perhaps, from the ethical point of view, and incorrect politically, for us to yield to the requirements of one candidate for admission to the United Nations and

expel another which is a Member. But is Taiwan that other one? Would it have any existence once the People's Republic of China has its rights restored: That is the question.

202. Tunisia, faithful to its traditions and its approach, if called upon to choose between an essential matter and an important one, will choose the essential matter, hoping that what remains, that is the "other", will not, as Sartre said, prove to be the "hell" of the United Nations. We, at any rate, will always find some way of reconciling the forces of rejection and the tendency to schematize things which seems to characterize the People's Republic of China, and we shall also find some way of adapting ourselves to society and modern life—to its requirements, with all the subtleties inherent therein. Our path will be one of creative imagination—innovation, and not simply in the systematic rejection which, as I say, seem to characterize China, nor in the alienating indiscriminate acceptance so often imposed by present-day systems and the so-called consumer society.

203. With the forces which are gaining strength in Europe and elsewhere; with the emergence of Africa and of many Asian countries, with the ethic of non-alignment, which we hold dear, we are struggling to attain the only dreams of which we can conceive; for the meaning of life, for us, is the struggle for man, because our air, our land and our sea do not yet know the problems of pollution which are changing the whole form of life and which are the lot of the developed countries. It is because our people, for all its wretchedness and its blemishes is an inexhaustible source of freshness, spontaneity and purity. It is for this reason that we can envisage a future in which we realize our dream of development in a spirit of solidarity, dignity and independence, of course within the international framework of a more effective United Nations—a more flexible, more universal, more human Organization, a United Nations whose spirit we shall continue to glorify and whose action we shall continue to uphold.

204. Mr. AHOUANMENO (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): May I be allowed, on behalf of my delegation at this twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, to extend to the President my warmest congratulations upon his election to this high post. In addition to your numerous personal qualities, you are from a country—Indonesia—which is dear to us for more than one reason. For Bandung 1955 evokes in the mind of every African an era when the Afro-Asian world, united and in solidarity against colonialism, animated by the same vigilance against the domination of peoples and the enslavement of the third world, undertook the reconquest of its dignity. We are indebted to your country and to the people of Indonesia and its leaders who have shown such perspicacity and have understood that the past united us and that our strength in our struggle depended upon our solidarity.

205. Since then the spirit of Bandung has remained alive, because it has led to the independence of most Afro-Asian countries and has enabled them to consolidate their national sovereignty.

206. Destiny, which links Asia to Africa, going on beyond our two continents, has been joined here in our Organiza-

tion with the pragmatism and rationalism of Europe and thus has achieved the universality of the Charter.

207. But, speaking of the Afro-Asian world, you will allow me to turn for a moment towards that other illustrious Asian, the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose numerous and undeniable qualities have won him a place at the head of this world Organization. The news reached us of the quasi-irrevocable decision of U Thant to abandon his functions as Secretary-General for personal reasons. We are saddened at the thought of his departure. Who in the world does not recall and will not long recall his fine and laborious efforts to achieve a *détente* in Europe, and the consolidation of peace in the Middle East and in the Far East, thus making a great and noble contribution to the cause of humanity?

208. Finally, I would be gravely remiss if I did not congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Hambro, for the clairvoyance and the brilliance with which he conducted the debates of this Assembly.

209. We have just celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization of the United Nations. Just as after a holiday season one might be tempted to see in this twenty-sixth session an interval where we restore our strength.

210. The celebration was a time when we could all examine our Organization and draw up a list of its failures and successes and plan better conditions for the attainment of the objectives of the Charter.

211. Drawing up a programme of action [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] and the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] constitutes the basis for our future action.

212. Under resolution 1514 (XV) most of the African and Asian countries represented here today in the Organization of the United Nations were able to attain their independence and accede to international sovereignty, but it was also in the implementation of that resolution that our Organization experienced some of its severest tests and bitterest disappointments.

213. Is it not true, in effect, that, in defiance of international morals and deliberately disregarding the condemnations of the United Nations, South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia, assured of impunity, continued to perpetrate the ignoble policy of racial discrimination and exploitation of the black man? No one overlooks the grave threat of these practices to international peace and security.

214. Lately we have noted with satisfaction a certain thaw wherever the great Powers have decided to intervene to establish peace, whether in Europe, in the Near East or in Viet-Nam. The African continent, unfortunately, is still the

theatre of fratricidal struggles where the inspiration of colonialism is not always absent. The positive results of negotiations on the status of Berlin and the initiative of the United States Government for a *rapprochement* with the People's Republic of China are facts which show that goodwill and perseverance can lead to the broad highways of peace.

215. In the Near East, although the situation does not encourage exaggerated optimism, the parties involved seem to want to achieve a lasting peace acceptable to all. We need only recall the hope which they place in the Jarring mission and the favourable welcome they have given to the initiative of the 10 wise men of the Organization of African Unity to send the mission of four Heads of State to Egypt and Israel so as to find a solution to the crisis. The Government of Dahomey would join the many voices heard here in wishing full success to that mission.

216. Who would deny the discreet and unflagging action of the United Nations to create the psychological conditions which made these results possible? But, then, is it not time to ask what are the causes of the powerlessness of the Organization in seeking a solution to the problems of decolonization and racism on the African continent?

217. We might have believed that, according to the democratic principles of Western civilization, Portugal, in the wake of the European march towards decolonization, would have recognized the right of peoples to self-determination and would have abandoned the illusory legal fiction which would have the Tagus River find its origin in the mountains of Kilimanjaro.

218. We might have believed that the numerous appeals to reason, the condemnations and economic sanctions I have mentioned here would have led South Africa and Rhodesia to renounce an ideology which is repellent and mystifying. However, it seems that none of these measures will dissuade those who have decided to flout morality and the respect of the human person.

219. Finally, we might have believed that, confronted with such a challenge, the United Nations would, in a search for realism and honesty, have imposed respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter to which we all adhered.

220. The facts show that our Organization has not always been effective. But what explanation can we give for this? Everyone realizes that the colonialism which we have so often denounced has hidden support which is essential to it. Everyone knows that the economic sanctions decided upon by the Organization would have had beneficial effects if the profit motive, which has become the *leit-motiv* of a harsh and ferocious world, had not won out over respect for the human person. Everyone knows that a certain amount of unconfessed trade has encouraged régimes which we can scarcely approve or support.

221. Everything happens as if the problems of the small peoples did not concern the big countries, but who can say that the peace of the rich will not one day be upset by the great misery and poverty of the poor? Let us be careful.

222. Was it not our awareness of this gap between the rich and the poor which led our Assembly 11 years ago to proclaim the First United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 1710 (XVI)*]. Of course, we cannot be proud of the results obtained during the First Decade, because at our twenty-fifth session we noted that the gap between the rich and the poor, far from closing, has widened, and so poverty throughout the world has become even greater.

223. Thus, in a gesture of indignation, our Assembly proclaimed the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. I hope this proclamation, a true act of faith, will always be borne in mind in the years to come.

224. If, as the International Strategy and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development provide, there could be some arrangement for a policy of basic commodity prices, we think that the developing countries would thus be encouraged in promoting their development.

225. As to assistance by developed countries to developing countries, we trust that the progress of the negotiations on disarmament will lead to a positive conclusion, and make it possible to devote the resources thus freed to international co-operation and the advancement of the poorer peoples.

226. We appreciate the assistance which is given to us now and all the assistance which we will receive in the future to improve the destiny of our people and raise their standard of living.

227. Throughout the whole world everyone is talking about the admission into this Assembly of a great people, namely the People's Republic of China. This problem is of world-wide dimensions and importance and has understandably aroused and excited world public opinion. How many words have already been spoken and how many more will still be spoken! For is it not true that it is neither decent nor realistic to confine in isolation and to go on ignoring any longer the existence of about 800 million human beings? Who can say that it is fair deliberately to exclude from the international "club" a country that represents one quarter of the world's population? As for us, we believe that the world will be built through the efforts of all men united in solidarity in the great crusade, the crusade for peace. Thus the Government of Dahomey is in no way opposed to having the People's Republic of China seated in our Assembly.

228. But if it is true that the construction of our world requires all the energy and all the intelligence possible, if it is true that admission to the United Nations has never been a function of the size and importance of the country concerned, then in the name of what sacrosanct truth are we passively to accept the exclusion of the Republic of China from the great universal family represented by our Assembly?

229. It is here that we should recall that for more than 20 years the Republic of China has loyally participated in the solution of numerous and difficult problems that have arisen in the United Nations. And, may we add, in its participation it has never spared either time or effort in assisting us.

230. The 25 years of the United Nations' existence have furnished irrefutable proof that our planet possesses all the material resources and all the human potentialities required to create a world of happiness and prosperity.

231. The arms race inflicts on humanity a painful and needless hemorrhage. It gives rise to a gigantic waste of money that might be much better used in the fight against the many diseases that afflict humanity, in improving unequal standards of living, in bringing solace to the poor of the world.

232. It is high time that the resources of the earth were enjoyed by all who inhabit it; that the luxury and comfort enjoyed by some no longer served to insult the dignity of those in need who aspire only to work and make a fair profit to enable them to lead a decent life.

233. It is time that those who have been isolated by circumstances should now join the family of the United Nations.

234. It is time for our Assembly to cease being a debating society and to become a place where we can all pool our energies and where everyone can gird his loins for the great march, the march to peace and development.

235. In the face of so much misunderstanding, intolerance, brutality, stubbornness and enmity among peoples, I sometimes recall a phrase from a song which one of my school-teachers taught me. It is quite simple, and we might perhaps all do well to ponder it: "The sun that shines upon us was not put there to see us weeping for ever."

236. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of India has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

237. Mr. SEN (India): On the last day of September when we could have exercised our right of reply we did not do so because Pakistan said nothing new except to make yet another attempt to involve India in a problem which is entirely of its own making. Today we are exercising our right of reply merely because that attempt has become desperate and has gone further, and issues with which this Assembly is fully familiar have been revived in order to divert attention from a problem which has aroused international concern and opinion and affected the lives of millions of people. We do not believe that this kind of diversion in a tragic situation is either responsible or helpful.

238. The Pakistan delegation has blamed India for all of Pakistan's woes and difficulties. Let me assure the Assembly that very seldom has Pakistan displayed any candour or any honest desire to solve many of its own problems. I should like, however, to remind the Assembly of our position on two or three important problems to which reference has been made.

239. As regards Kashmir, we have repeatedly stated that the only problem is the question of withdrawal by Pakistan from the occupied part of Kashmir and we are always ready to enter into negotiations with Pakistan to bring this about.

240. As regards the Farakka barrage, not only have there been many negotiations and technical discussions on this question, but when we were searching for some agreement, the tragic developments in East Bengal practically put a stop to these negotiations. However, it is now becoming clear that the whole hue and cry by Pakistan regarding the Farakka barrage was only to encourage anti-Indian feelings in East Bengal. This policy, too, has collapsed. We do not deny that we have law and order problems in our country. But, we do not try to solve them by committing genocide.

241. Many lurid details have been given about border incidents. This morning the Pakistan delegation went to the trouble of holding a press conference on the basis of an incident which is reported to have taken place on 29 September. At that time we did not have the facts regarding this alleged incident, and I therefore took the precaution of asking Delhi to send me the facts, and the telegram I have just received reads as follows:

"No such incident has taken place on 29 September. In fact it is West Pakistan's armed forces that have been shelling our territory and killing and injuring people on our side over the last several weeks. The allegation made by Mahmud Ali . . ."—it should have read Mr. Mahmud Ali and I apologize, but we must realize that this is a telegram from the Ministry to me—"is obviously an attempt to justify Pakistan's shelling of her territory and an excuse to start an aggressive war against India. India has been exercising the greatest restraint possible in the circumstances. This has been appreciated throughout the world. It is Pakistan that should be asked to exercise restraint and not to continue indiscriminate massacre of its people of East Bengal."

242. It is also interesting to note that in the details given it was said that exactly 1,000 shells fell on Pakistan from our side. I wonder who counted them.

243. While this is the type of complaint and allegation made by Pakistan, India has, on the other hand, made more than 400 complaints to Pakistan concerning the violations of its eastern border.

244. It is also interesting to note that the Pakistan delegation did not care, or dare, to give the details of the activities of the resistance forces deep inside East Bengal. The fact is that it is not India that has had any doubt about the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. It is the Pakistanis themselves who have not accepted Pakistan as it is constituted, or the policies it has been pursuing. It has failed to keep the many pledges made to its people and it is now facing the consequences. There is no use in blaming India for this.

245. We are always willing to co-operate with Pakistan in solving all bilateral problems. Last year, and for many years in this forum, Pakistan brought up many bilateral issues; however, when bilateral negotiations are suggested, there is no response.

246. Today Pakistan asked for bilateral negotiations concerning a problem which is entirely of Pakistan's own making and which it rightly claims is a problem between East and West Pakistan. We do not wish to come into it; we

cannot come into it; and we should not come into it. Those who believe that Indian co-operation in this sphere is necessary should realize that, while co-operation with a neighbour country is always to be welcomed, no one can expect India to co-operate with Pakistan in a partnership to continue massacre, to tolerate the extinction of human rights, to make a mockery of self-determination—of which Pakistan never tires of speaking with regard to Kashmir—and to perpetuate massive brutalities. It is therefore not surprising that in late March or early April the *Manchester Guardian* stated that the next time Pakistan raised the question of Kashmir in this Assembly, the Assembly would collapse with laughter.

247. What has the Pakistan delegation said here today to encourage the refugees to return home or, more important, to stop the flow of the 33,000 refugees into India every day? Nothing. This is the degree of concern shown for its own citizens, over a million of whom have been massacred in a most atrocious manner. This is in conformity with the concern shown for the people who died in the cyclone in East Pakistan last year. This callousness with regard to human worth must be in the minds of many whom Pakistan has tried to dupe by loud proclamations of fundamental rights and values.

248. The representative of the Pakistan delegation made some special claims simply because he happens to come from East Pakistan. I, too, was born and bred in East

Pakistan. Not only I, but most of his countrymen in East Pakistan, would disagree with him about facts and about his analysis. However, I should like to leave that to his conscience.

249. These are not matters for polemics or debate. We have no wish to enter into a controversy with Pakistan on these matters. This is an international problem of vast magnitude and anguish. If Pakistan wishes to begin even the beginning of seeking a solution to the problem, the first step must be to begin negotiations with the elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan and with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. In our view, any attempt to divide the patriotic elements in East Pakistan would not only be self-defeating, but would create many more difficult problems. The Pakistan delegation blames India for all the resistance of the Bengalis against their oppressors. The fact is, however, that the resistance is organized by the East Pakistanis themselves, that they are determined to fight for their survival and for their human rights. Nothing that the Government of India can or cannot do will change that position or that process. The only way it can be changed is by political agreement between the oppressor and the oppressed. I regret to say that I did not hear a single word in the Pakistan delegation's speech that would encourage hope for this endeavour.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.