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Statement by the President on the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I turn to the regular order of business for this morning's meeting, I should like to refer briefly to the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, which is being celebrated throughout the world today. It is particularly appropriate that we in the United Nations should pay our tribute to the memory of a man whose thoughts and ideals belonged not so much to one people or one nation but to humanity as a whole.

2. The Charter of the United Nations is based on faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. The Charter calls for friendly relations between States based upon mutual tolerance, mutual accommodation and mutual understanding. Surely this was the very message that Mahatma Gandhi preached and practised in his struggle for freedom and equal rights for all. The lesson Gandhi taught that peace and security among nations can be achieved only through the elimination of the concept of violence from the minds of man also finds ample reflection in the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. His thoughts and ideals are as valid and as relevant to the problems now before the United Nations as they were in relation to the goals and objectives he pursued in his day. It is therefore only fitting that we should respectfully recall the memory of this great visionary and leader who will long continue to be a constant inspiration to all of us here.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

3. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (*translated from French*): Madam President, I take great pleasure in offering you the warm congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This is an

honour bestowed not only upon yourself but also upon your country and the whole of Africa. Having known you for a long time and having had the privilege of appreciating your brilliant qualities as a diplomat, I am convinced that you will guide the Assembly's discussions with competence and to the satisfaction of the delegations which, by their votes, have appointed you to perform the difficult functions that are yours from now on.

4. I should next wish to pay a well-earned tribute to the memory of your predecessor, Mr. Emelio Arenales, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, whose sudden passing has caused us deep grief.

5. I should also like to associate my delegation with the tribute you have just paid to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, that great philosopher who gave mankind many lessons in wisdom and who throughout his life contributed to the establishment of peace and friendly co-operation among all peoples.

6. Nearly a quarter of a century has gone by since the establishment of the Organization. Since then many important changes have occurred in the world: the population explosion, an increase in wealth, remarkable progress in scientific and technological discoveries, the liberation of many peoples in Africa and Asia. But the most disturbing fact is the ever-widening gulf between the wealthy and the under-developed countries.

7. The conscience of the world has been, and still is, faced with grave problems. Throughout the world, centres of tension and crises have created dangerous and highly explosive situations.

8. The principal aim of the United Nations being to maintain international peace and security, the people and Government of the Republic of Mali welcomed with great hopes the statement made in this Assembly on 17 September 1969 [*1755th meeting*] by the President of the United States of America, in which he declared that since he had assumed his weighty responsibilities, no question had cost him more time and effort than the search for a way to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam, an end that would be just to the population of the North as well as to those who would be affected by the settlement of the conflict.

9. We think that this language is the language of wisdom and realism, and that it corresponds to the enlightened self-interest of the people of the United States and Viet-Nam. But we are still convinced that a just peace for the populations both of North and South should be negotiated and freely determined by the genuine representatives of the whole people of Viet-Nam, without any

foreign pressure or intervention whatsoever, in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954. The people of Viet-Nam, which has already suffered greatly to win its unchallengeable claim to national independence and unity, has again been cruelly tried by the death of its much-loved leader, President Ho Chi Minh, who was for all the peoples of the third world the symbol of patriotism and of self-denial in the service of his country.

10. The people and Government of the Republic of Mali believe that the international community should now move with great determination and impartiality in order that the valiant people of Viet-Nam may once again live in peace and national unity in order to devote themselves wholeheartedly, with the courage which is typical of them, to the difficult problem of their economic and social development along the lines they will have freely chosen. Through the intermediary of the Government of the United States of America, we make an urgent appeal to the American people, which has given mankind such eminent personalities as Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Samuel Adams, John F. Kennedy, who devoted their lives to making the United States a progressive country and a great democracy, we make, I repeat, an urgent appeal to the American people and its leaders to overcome the possible susceptibilities of a great Power and to recognize the legitimate aspirations of Viet-Nam so that its martyred people may at last exist in peace and know the joy of living in security after more than a quarter of a century of heroic strife.

11. Did not a great thinker once say that the greatness of a nation is not measured by the amount of blood it has shed but by the number of human problems it has solved?

12. We are convinced that the American people, which, through its creative initiatives, its courage and its genius, succeeded in solving formidable problems relating to its own nationhood, such as the Civil War, a people which contributed, in co-operation with the heroic Red Army and the other allied forces, to the crushing of nazism and fascism, will also know how to act like the great nation postulated by the author of my quotation, and will find an honourable and just solution to the agonizing problem of Viet-Nam, to the utmost satisfaction of all mankind, which is at present living in a state of distress and profound anxiety. The initiative already taken, the measures and intentions announced from this very rostrum by President Nixon already give us grounds for hoping that reason and wisdom will triumph over the forces of war.

13. Still in the search for peace, stability and security in Asia, the Government of the Republic of Mali hopes that the States Members of the United Nations will be more realistic and more conscious of national independence, so that the People's Republic of China may be restored to its rights as a founding Member of the Organization. It is extremely perilous to pretend to ignore realities and to move against the current of history. Whether one approves or disapproves of the political, economic and social régime of the People's Republic of China, the fact is nonetheless certain that this State is a very great Power in every field and that it alone accounts for more than a quarter of the world's population. In attempting to maintain a Power of this dimension outside the United Nations—this great forum where all the major problems of international peace and

security are discussed—seems to the Government of Mali to be a dangerous violation and abuse of the principle of the universality of the Organization.

14. To adhere to the Charter of the United Nations, to recognize the universal mandate and character of the Organization and at the same time obstinately to exclude from it the most populous nation in the world—700 million inhabitants—are the elements of a grave contradiction which should be eliminated as soon as possible in the higher interests of peace and of the essential co-operation between nations with differing political, economic and social régimes. The People's Republic of China should be restored without delay to its rights as a founding Member of the United Nations and take its place as a permanent member of the Security Council as the only authentic representative of China, the cradle of one of the world's oldest civilizations. The Government of the Republic of Mali makes an urgent appeal to the Government of the United States of America to rise to its broad and high responsibilities on the international stage, and strongly hopes that it will not continue to oppose the restoration of the People's Republic of China to its rights as a founding Member of the United Nations and as a permanent member of the Security Council. We are sure that that is not beyond the powers of comprehension and the sense of reality of the Government of the United States, the first nation whose scientists and technicians have succeeded in freeing themselves from the force of gravity and, for the first time in the history of mankind, in walking on the moon, that distant planet which has always been an object of curiosity and investigation for scientists and a source of inspiration for poets at all times and in all places.

15. For the benefit of those Governments which may still doubt the will of the People's Republic of China to respect the obligations, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, I will cite a passage from the statement made at Peking on 30 September 1969 by the Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, who said:

“The peace that we seek is based on five principles: mutual respect for territorial integrity and for sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-intervention in internal affairs; equality and reciprocal advantages; and peaceful coexistence.”

Is this not the best possible expression of the purposes, principles and objectives of the United Nations?

16. Turning now to the subject of decolonization, that is, the liberation of colonial peoples, the delegation of Mali is firmly convinced that the United Nations should reconsider its methods of approach and of search for solutions to this painful problem, which in our day and age constitutes a true anachronism. We note with great regret that the long discussions in the Committee of Twenty-four and in the Fourth Committee have done little to hasten the attainment of independence by the peoples still under colonial rule. Very often, alas, the inclination to rhetoric, and sometimes to strong emotion, which is certainly justified, have had the better of realism and of a reasoned search for objective and effective solutions.

17. Having had the honour and heavy responsibility of presiding over the Committee of Twenty-four for four

years, I believe that the time has come for the United Nations to rethink its working methods, its ways of tackling the problem of decolonization. The time seems to me to have passed for long discussions in the Fourth Committee, where the 126 delegations of the States Members of the United Nations feel obliged to speak, for requests for information, for petitions and so on. The purpose of those discussions and petitions was to render international opinion more sensitive to the inhuman conditions of life, the humiliations, the deprivation of rights and freedom imposed on colonial peoples by the colonialist Powers.

18. The international community is now aware of the fate of colonized peoples and of the reactionary and retrograde behaviour of the colonial Powers. We think that the United Nations which will soon have 25 years of life and experience behind it, should seek a more realistic and effective approach in order to accelerate the process of accession to independence of the colonial peoples, a process which has not shown any noteworthy progress despite the adoption nearly 10 years ago of resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

19. Without seeking to diminish the militancy of nationalists, it would be advisable to find a new mechanism which, under the auspices of the Secretary-General or of the Security Council, would make it possible to hold discussions and serious negotiations between the representatives of the colonial Powers and those of the liberation movements, in order to identify the stages and steps to independence, while maintaining links of friendly co-operation and solidarity, as was done in the case of most of the former French and British colonies. Although, in certain particular and regrettable cases, typified by that of Algeria, to mention only one, independence was only acquired after many years of armed struggle, in many other cases in Africa that result was achieved through negotiations between the former metropolitan country and the representatives of the political parties of liberation movements.

20. It is therefore desirable that, instead of long and sterile discussions, the Organization should find, in tranquillity and without passion, a mechanism which would put the representatives of the colonial Powers and those of the liberation movements in direct contact. In our opinion, such a method would be more realistic and effective, experience having shown that it is vital for the colonial Powers and their former colonies to maintain the essential degree of co-operation to meet various categorical needs. Consequently we ask States Members of the United Nations, particularly the allies of the colonial Powers, to look objectively at this new approach that we suggest to the solution of colonial problems, which, as I have just said, constitute in our times a humiliating and repugnant anachronism.

21. It is unthinkable that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) should remain under the domination of a Government with such mediaeval and unpractical ideas as that of Portugal. In spite of, and indeed because of, the bonds of friendly co-operation which link Portugal with certain States Members of NATO, the Government of the Republic of Mali considers that the

latter States should cease to provide the Government of Portugal with any direct or indirect assistance enabling it to continue to wage an unjust, barbarous and cruel war against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), that only aspire to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, a right enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

22. As regards the problems of Namibia and of *apartheid* in South Africa, we consider that we have here a brazen defiance of the United Nations and of all States devoted to peace and justice. Indeed it is unbelievable and incomprehensible that over 20 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and nearly 25 years after the proclamation of the Charter of the United Nations, the international community should allow the racist Government of South Africa to oppress more than 13 million Africans in their ancestral homeland. The persistent refusal of the Governments of Lisbon and Pretoria, and of the illegal authorities of Southern Rhodesia, to implement the decisions of the Security Council reveals, unfortunately, the rooted complicity of certain great Powers and the disquieting weakness of the United Nations, which remains, despite everything, the one hope of the smaller States and of oppressed peoples. It is therefore time that the great Powers, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, became more conscious of their responsibilities towards mankind and co-operated with the Organization of African Unity and the other States devoted to peace and justice to impose upon the Governments of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia the principles and rules of international morality. The tacit consent, indeed the indirect support and the complicity, of certain great Powers with regard to the reactionary or illegal régimes of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury give ground for concern and despair to the peoples of Africa.

23. The Republic of Mali, as a developing country, is keenly concerned with the development of economic and commercial relations between the industrialized countries and those of the third world. As a result of the steadily deteriorating terms of trade, the economic gulf between the developed and the developing countries grows wider every year. Apart from any kind of philanthropic consideration, it is time for the industrialized countries to realize that a gradual narrowing of the gap between their own standard of living and that of the third world constitutes a decisive factor for international peace, security and co-operation. Since poor and under-developed countries cannot be good customers and effective partners, the industrialized countries should make a sustained effort to speed up the economic, industrial and social advancement of the countries of the third world. It is in their interest and in that of all mankind. It is discouraging to note that the Governments of the developed countries spend enormous sums on the conquest of outer space and of remote planets, while here on earth thousands of human beings die each day of hunger and of the major endemic diseases, despite the immense advances of science and technology. We believe that the industrialized countries should show a greater realism and solidarity and should accept the provisions of the Charter of Algiers.¹

¹ Charter of Algiers, adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 developing countries, held at Algiers from 10 to 25 October 1967.

24. In this connexion, my delegation welcomes the efforts already made by a few industrialized countries, such as the French Republic, which, on a bilateral basis or under the aegis of the United Nations, are devoting one per cent of their national income to assistance to developing countries, or intend to do so within a few years. Although this points to remarkable progress towards securing acceptance of international co-operation, this percentage, as was so eloquently pointed out by Mr. Thorn, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, in his statement of 29 September 1969 [1769th meeting], should mark a beginning and not an end, in view of the enormous gap between the industrialized and the developing countries. This spirit of assistance and co-operation in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations undoubtedly constitutes a positive contribution to international peace. Similarly, my delegation wishes to express its great appreciation to the Government of the United States of America and to the Governments of the European Economic Community for their food programmes, which make it possible for the developing countries to meet the hazards of shortfalls in their grain production.

25. In so doing, my delegation wishes to express itself without any false shame, because we look on the assistance of the developed countries not as charity, but as a demonstration of solidarity and of a resolve to achieve international co-operation based on the interdependence of the various national economies.

26. Being a country situated at the crossroads of central West Africa and being dedicated to the maintenance of friendly relations with the States that respect its sovereignty and observe international morality, the Republic of Mali is deeply concerned with the preservation of peace, which represents the decisive factor in progress and fruitful co-operation among Governments. We are therefore following with deep anxiety the development of the situation in all those parts of the world where conflicts have arisen, particularly in the Middle East. Although the Republic of Mali is a secular State, its population is 90 per cent Muslim. It was therefore profoundly disturbed and affected by the setting on fire of the Al Aqsa Mosque, one of the most important holy places of Islam, an act which is but one aspect—or more precisely one of the unfortunate results—of the explosive situation that has prevailed in this region since the establishment of the State of Israel.

27. Although sincerely and deeply sympathetic to the Arab peoples, the Government of Mali intends to remain realistic. We express our full sympathy and support for the Arab refugees in Palestine because, like every other people, they have a right to a fatherland, a home and a national existence as a community of men. But the fact is that the State of Israel exists and that it was set up and recognized by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, particularly by the permanent members of the Security Council. Moreover, Israel is a Member of the United Nations.

28. The Government of the Republic of Mali is sincerely in favour of a policy of peaceful coexistence between Arabs and Jews and is fiercely opposed to the annexation of Arab territories by Israel. Consequently we will work with determination to ensure that all the Arab territories

occupied by Israel following the hostilities of June 1967 are restored to the Arab States concerned. The Government of the Republic of Mali disapproves of, and wholeheartedly condemns, all acquisition of territories by war or force. For that reason we ask the Security Council to demonstrate its authority and to impose on the warring factions in the Middle East conflict the terms of its resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. The Charter of the United Nations, approved by all Member States, gives the Security Council the authority and necessary means to implement its decisions. Regardless of the interests, the feelings and sympathies involved, the Government of Mali considers that the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 should be imposed on all the parties concerned, failing which the Council will lose its prestige, to the great detriment of the international community.

29. Mali, as a non-aligned country firmly determined to pursue a policy of genuine national independence, will act in complete freedom on the questions included in the agenda of this session. It will do so in order to promote international peace, security and co-operation in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

30. Member States, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, should do everything in their power to strengthen the authority of the United Nations which, despite everything, is still the hope of mankind in these troubled times.

31. In this connexion I should like, in the name of the Government of Mali, to pay a well-deserved tribute to U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose wisdom and perseverance have enabled the Organization to surmount many crises which might have proved disastrous. I should also like to thank and congratulate the specialized agencies of the United Nations which are making a major contribution to the economic and social expansion of the developing countries.

32. Owing to its importance, my delegation has reserved the last part of its statement for the disarmament problem. We believe that the maintenance of peace, which is the principle purpose of the United Nations, cannot be ensured until the arms race, and particularly the nuclear, thermo-nuclear, biological and chemical arms race, is halted. The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the partial nuclear test-ban constitute, of course, important stages towards general and complete disarmament under international control. In the view of the Government of Mali, however, the total destruction of all nuclear arms must be the final objective, because as long as weapons of mass destruction exist there is still a possibility of their being used, either by mistake or in order to safeguard the prestige of a great Power. The monopoly of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons by the great powers is not an adequate safeguard for mankind, because history has shown beyond doubt that great wars are always provoked and maintained by conflicts of interest or of influence between the major Powers.

33. The Government of the Republic of Mali firmly supports the moving appeal made to the great Powers by the apostle of peace, Mr. Raoul Follereau, who implored

those Powers, in the interests of mankind and of their own peoples, to put a brake on the arms race, because the enormous sums thus spent for reasons of pride and prestige would amply suffice to eradicate widespread diseases which kill thousands of people every year, to save thousands of children who likewise die every year of disease and malnutrition, and bring fertility to hitherto unproductive land which has remained derelict and uncultivated for lack of resources.

34. With all these considerations in mind, the Government of the Republic of Mali welcomes and strongly supports the proposal submitted for our consideration jointly by the USSR and other socialist countries [A/7655] for the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons and on the destruction of such weapons. For the reasons just mentioned, my delegation hopes that the scope of this convention can be extended to all weapons of mass destruction.

35. Before concluding, I should like to suggest that the Secretary-General and the Committee of Seven² should consider further and without delay the study on the functioning of the United Nations and the organization of its work. The agenda of General Assembly sessions seems to be overloaded and includes many routine items which not everyone is prepared to discuss, since discussion leads to no practical or feasible solution. When it was first established, the United Nations had only 51 members; it now has 126. The working methods suitable at the time are therefore no longer adapted to the present day. Moreover, the steady increase in the staff of the central administration and the specialized agencies, the numerous conferences and meetings of doubtful value and the great length of General Assembly sessions impose far too heavy a burden on the meagre budget of young States. We therefore believe that prompt and effective reforms are necessary in this field; otherwise the list of countries in arrears in the payment of their contributions is likely to grow longer each year and to paralyse the beneficial activities of the Organization.

36. This closes the modest contribution of the delegation of Mali to the debate at the twenty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, soon to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary. The international community now has a duty to draw the lessons from its experience and to embark on a more active programme to promote peace and the well-being of mankind. In this connexion, a more extensive and effective campaign should be undertaken by the United Nations to ensure that the Second Development Decade responds fully to the hopes of the peoples of the third world, because, as Disraeli observed, there is nothing so exhilarating in public life as that which presages the future and which, through enveloping the fog of the present, traces a path towards the light.

37. The nations met here together, motivated by solidarity and mutual understanding, can trace such a path towards the light for present and future generations. In the execution of this great and exalting design, I wish to reaffirm before the Assembly that the people of the Republic of Mali are and will always be at the side of the forces of peace and progress.

38. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (*translated from French*): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, allow me, Madam President, to offer you sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly. This election is a tribute to your country and at the same time a recognition of your qualities as an outstanding diplomat and of your long service to the United Nations. It also bears witness to the respect of the international community for the important contribution made by the African countries to the task of promoting co-operation between peoples and the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

39. I would further like to take this opportunity to renew the expression of our high regard for U Thant, the Secretary-General, and for his activities directed to strengthening the Organization and enhancing its role in international affairs.

40. I should also like to pay a tribute to the memory of the last President of the General Assembly, Mr. Emilio Arenales, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, and to express our deep sorrow at the untimely passing of a distinguished representative of the Latin American school of diplomacy.

41. May I, Madam President, associate myself with the feelings of profound respect you have just expressed for Mahatma Gandhi, one of the great figures in the achievement of independence by the Indian people and indeed in the history of modern times. We join all those individuals and peoples who have paid a unanimous and moving tribute to his memory in celebrating the centenary of his birth. I avail myself of this occasion to renew the expression of the Romanian people's esteem and friendship for the people of India, for its glorious history and for its illustrious contribution to human civilization.

42. The Romanian people have recently celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Romania from the Fascist yoke, an event which ushered in a new era in our history. In fact it is during the last quarter of a century that Romania, for the first time in its history, has become truly independent, has acquired the capacity for determining its own destiny and has firmly embarked on the course of dynamic development in every sector of social life. Evidence of this dynamism is to be found in the fact that, in comparison with the year 1938, the country's total industrial output has increased some 17-fold, its agricultural production has doubled and the real per capita income of the population has tripled.

43. On the basis of Romania's economic and social realities and the nation's desire for peace and progress, plans have been adopted for the next decade outlining our goals and the ways and means of achieving steady material and spiritual advancement. The fundamental objectives of this vast programme are the expansion and modernization of the entire economy through the application of the achievements of modern science and technology, the increased well-being of the people, the improvement of social and State activities, the active participation of all citizens in the formulation and implementation of the country's domestic and foreign policies and the protection of the broadest rights and democratic freedoms for all

² Committee on the Reorganization of the Secretariat.

members of society in the interests of the full and unrestricted development of the human personality.

44. An essential prerequisite for the fulfilment of that programme is the existence of conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace and co-operation among all peoples, for it is only in such a context that each nation can reap the benefits of a world-wide exchange of values. That is what lies at the root of Romania's foreign policy and of its staunch support for the cause of peace and international collaboration.

45. Romania, being a socialist country, the core of its foreign policy naturally lies in the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation with all socialist countries that share the same philosophy and goals. In a spirit of peaceful coexistence, my country has consistently pursued an active policy designed to expand economic, political, cultural, scientific and technological co-operation with all the States in the world, regardless of their social system.

46. Ascribing dynamic significance to the concept of peaceful coexistence, Romania's leaders have held meetings and engaged in discussions and negotiations with Heads of State and Government and with outstanding personalities in many countries of the world, convinced that this is the way to better mutual understanding, to increased confidence among States, and to stabilization of the international political atmosphere.

47. Today, when the destinies and interests of all the peoples are more closely interwoven than ever before in a common effort to achieve a relaxation of tension and peace, differences in social and political systems should not be an obstacle to understanding and co-operation, provided, of course, that there is a desire for concerted action in this direction.

48. Romania has based its relations with all States on respect for the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and strict observance of every nation's right to decide its own future in accordance with its vital aspirations and interests. My country's experience in recent years in the field of political and diplomatic relations and in international life in general permits me to assert that, providing these principles are respected, good relations can be developed among all States regardless of their size or potential. Strict observance of these principles furnishes and ensures the best international setting for the development of each nation's creative capacities and for its economic and spiritual advancement. At the same time, it represents the key to the establishment of relations of mutual trust and confidence and of collaboration among States, while reinforcing their international rule of law. The course of international affairs has shown—and continues to show—that the consistent application of these principles in international relations, the total elimination of policies of domination and pressure, the assurance that the necessary conditions will exist for each nation freely to choose the course of its development constitute the essential prerequisite for peace, international security and co-operation in the modern world.

49. Of the principles that shape the background to relations among the sovereign nations with equal rights that

make up the international community, co-operation, one of the fundamental tenets of the Charter of the United Nations, is having an ever-increasing impact on present-day international life. Co-operation among States is an objective necessity imposed by the present condition of mankind and is rapidly multiplying ties among peoples. The profound changes that are taking place in the modern world, the dynamic growth of the forces of production, the explosive impact of science and technology on all sectors of human activity, the intensification of the international division of labour objectively impose the compelling need to expand, multiply and diversify the bonds of co-operation and to develop relations and contacts among States.

50. Today, economic and cultural progress is inconceivable without an extensive and sustained dialogue between States, regardless of their social and political systems. By promoting relations in the fields of economic, cultural and scientific co-operation, by taking part in the implementation of international programmes concerned with research and peaceful application in the domains of outer space, the oceans, human environment, biology or atomic energy, States can become familiar with the language of co-operation, and can promote an atmosphere conducive to understanding and rapprochement among peoples.

51. In our view, which is shared by many other States, the specific and well-defined purpose of international co-operation is to facilitate, reinforce and protect the constructive efforts made by each nation, and to give every one the possibility of raising its economy, science and culture to the level of the requirements of modern civilization.

52. A particularly significant role devolves on international co-operation, which is called upon to support the economic and social development of developing countries and to facilitate and promote this process. Indeed, it is in the true interests of the international community as a whole to contribute to the development of young States, so that they may take their due place in the international community in accordance with the principle of equal rights of States, and participate fully in the active and many-sided process of co-operation among all the nations of the world.

53. Many aspects of contemporary political affairs point to the ability of States, both large and small, to make a positive contribution to the settlement of international problems, to influence events by firmly steering them in the direction of a relaxation of tension and an improvement in the international climate. We welcome the steadily increasing trend, based on political realism and on overriding considerations of peace, towards the participation of all States, on an equal footing, in the settlement of political issues, and towards implementation of the principle of the universality of international bodies, agreements and treaties of general interest.

54. Once again we would emphasize the need for the reinstatement of the People's Republic of China in its legitimate rights in the United Nations and all its specialized agencies, as well as for the long-delayed but inevitable expulsion of envoys of Chiang Kai-shek from the seat they are illegally occupying. If it is to hold out hope of an effective and lasting solution, any realistic approach to the

major problems of the modern world—whether they concern disarmament and international security or the elimination of under-development, or whether they relate to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy or the resources of the sea—calls for the participation of that great socialist State. The reinstatement of the People's Republic of China in its legitimate rights in the United Nations, which Romania has consistently supported, would strengthen the Organization and enhance its effectiveness and prestige in the world.

55. In the interests of the European and world situation, we also attach particular importance to the normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic and to its admission to the United Nations. The presence of the two German States in the Organization would enable them to participate actively in international affairs on an equal footing and would exert a beneficial effect on the activities of the United Nations.

56. Concerned for the respect due to the principles embodied in the Charter, for the right of every people to self-determination, Romania, together with other countries, has repeatedly asked for the withdrawal of the foreign troops which are occupying South Korea under cover of the United Nations, and for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

57. The consolidation of peace and the promotion of international co-operation make it imperative to eliminate the last traces of colonialism and to respect the sacred right of every people to decide its own future and freely to choose its own course of social and political development.

58. The Romanian people, having in the course of its history experienced all the bitterness of foreign exploitation and oppression, firmly supports the peoples' struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, their fight to achieve and consolidate their national independence and their efforts to promote social progress. In this spirit, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania has suggested that the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should propose that the General Assembly, at its next session, should recommend effective steps for eliminating the remaining traces of the colonial system once and for all.

59. In expressing its complete solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence, Romania firmly condemns the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination enforced by the ruling circles of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, as well as the policy of colonial oppression practised in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique.

60. The complete and final eradication of the former state of affairs presupposes the removal of any form of exploitation or domination, open or concealed, colonialist or neo-colonialist, and the strengthening of the economic and political independence of the new States.

61. The efforts made by the young States themselves to strengthen their institutions and make full use of their material and human resources, to train qualified personnel,

and to ensure that the masses enjoy the benefits of culture, which were systematically denied to these peoples during the colonial era, all these objectives and initiatives should find solid support in international co-operation so that these tasks may be lightened and swiftly achieved.

62. It is very difficult to conceive of international relations following a normal course if the gulf continues to widen between developed and developing countries in circumstances where material and intellectual wealth accumulates on one side only. The great progress achieved in modern science and technology by human genius has enhanced the possibilities of reducing these disparities through the application of new achievements to the national economy and through the assimilation of science which thus tends to become an integral part of each country's potential. The Second Development Decade represents an attempt to approach the economic and social problems of developing countries in a concerted manner and in a long-term perspective. We are convinced that the United Nations and its specialized agencies have an important part to play and a great task to perform in implementing this programme.

63. To save the world from another conflagration, we believe it is particularly important to stabilize relations among States, to promote peaceful means of settling international disputes and to prohibit and banish force and tactics based on force from international affairs.

64. The bankruptcy of the policy of force is fully illustrated by the failure of the foreign intervention in Viet-Nam, where it has been confronted by the unflinching will of the people of Viet-Nam to defend its right to choose and freely to pursue its own social and political development. By mobilizing all their energies to oppose the United States intervention with a courage and strength born solely of faith in a just cause, the people of Viet-Nam has provided irrefutable factual evidence that a people defending its sacred right to a free and independent existence cannot be overcome. This example increases the confidence of peoples in their own strength and makes them ever more determined to defend their right to a free and independent existence.

65. The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which gained wide diplomatic recognition from the outset, testifies eloquently to the profound aspirations of the popular masses in South Viet-Nam, who are fighting for the freedom and independence of their homeland. The Romanian Government has noted with satisfaction the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, with which it has established diplomatic relations.

66. In the interests of peace, a settlement of the conflict in South Viet-Nam must be brought about by political means at the negotiating table and in strict observance of the fundamental national interests of the people of Viet-Nam. We hope that the negotiations in Paris will lead to the conclusion of the war and to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet-Nam, thus creating the conditions in which the people of Viet-Nam can solve its domestic problems, including the problem of reunification of its

homeland, in accordance with its inalienable right to self-determination without any foreign interference. The Romanian people has supported and will continue wholeheartedly to support the people of Viet-Nam in its just struggle to preserve its independence and the freedom of its homeland.

67. In another area of the world, the Middle East, a focus of conflict still exists, with serious consequences for world peace. Military encounters, the material destruction and loss of human lives which they entail, are inflicting untold damage on the populations of that region and only serve the interests of imperialist circles, which are seeking to sharpen differences and heighten tension in order to maintain and consolidate their domination.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

68. All the experience of contemporary international affairs confirms that attempts to settle conflicts by the use of force cannot lead to viable solutions. It is only by the use of political means, in a spirit of justice and respect for the legitimate rights and interests of all the parties concerned, that a lasting settlement can be achieved. In order to create a favourable climate for the promotion of such solutions, it is necessary to avoid any action that might increase tension and add to the gravity of the situation, making it even more difficult to solve the problems of the Middle East.

69. Romania has consistently opposed military operations in the Middle East and still believes in the need for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, in accordance with the legitimate interests and rights of all peoples living in that region. Accordingly my country has consistently favoured a solution to the Middle East conflict in the spirit of the Security Council resolution of November 1967 [242 (1967)], which provides a reasonable basis for the settlement of the situation in that area. In line with that resolution, we consider it necessary that Israel should withdraw its forces from the occupied territories without delay and should give up all territorial claims. At the same time, we believe that the integrity of the frontiers and the security of all States in that part of the world should be assured, and a solution found to the problem of the Palestinian refugees giving due consideration to their legitimate interests and rights.

70. We are convinced that all Member States of the international community can contribute to a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, in the spirit of the principles and goals of the Charter. We believe that it is absolutely essential to take into account the negative effect exerted by the time factor on the possibilities of settling conflicts, and that courage and a sense of responsibility should be shown in tackling the existing problems by redoubling the efforts of all States, large or small, to bring about a just and lasting peace in that area.

71. Of all the efforts directed to promoting peace in the world, first place should be assigned to achieving European security, a subject to which the Romanian Government attaches special importance. The history of the first half of this century has clearly shown that it is of overriding importance, not only for Europe but for the whole world

to find solutions to outstanding European problems and to transform Europe into a continent practising peaceful and fruitful co-operation among nations, thus making it a stable factor for peace and prosperity.

72. A positive contribution to the promotion of understanding and co-operation on our continent is found in the ideas and principles set forth in the resolution entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems" [2129 (XX)], which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in 1965 on the initiative of nine European countries, including Romania, and with the active co-operation of other countries from Europe and from the rest of the world. We believe that renewed efforts are now necessary by all European States to promote good neighbourly relations and co-operation, as recommended by that General Assembly resolution.

73. The United Nations, its specialized agencies and other governmental and non-governmental international bodies provide a wide range of opportunities which could be seized in an effort to bring about a relaxation of tension, understanding and co-operation in Europe. We believe that it is necessary to build upon what has been achieved so far and to create conditions making it possible to progress further along those lines, and in this connexion we would express our determination to encourage actions aimed at strengthening co-operation and improving the political climate in Europe.

74. Achievement of the paramount objective of all European States—the establishment of peace and security and the elimination of the danger of war once and for all—requires that we go beyond the stage of declarations of intent and that specific measures be adopted that are likely to strengthen confidence and closer relations among States. To that end it is essential, in our view, to root out any practices likely to engender suspicion and animosity in relations among States.

75. Working resolutely and consistently for an atmosphere of peace and security in Europe, Romania fosters good-neighbourly relations, peaceful coexistence and wide co-operation with all European States and constructive action to augment co-operation throughout Europe. The results of numerous contacts and discussions which the representatives of the Romanian Government have had with the spokesmen of various European States have strengthened our belief that at the present time conditions are favourable to the achievement of some progress towards security in Europe.

76. In this connexion, a broad constructive programme is contained in the principles and proposals set forth by the member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in the declaration of Bucharest of 1966³ and in the Budapest appeal this year⁴ concerning the organization of a con-

³ Declaration on strengthening peace and security in Europe, adopted on 5 July 1966.

⁴ An appeal calling for a general European conference to discuss problems of European security and peaceful co-operation was adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization on 17 March 1969.

ference of all European States. We believe that the convening of one or even several meetings of European States to discuss ways and means of solving outstanding issues, the extension of multilateral collaboration and co-operation and the achievement of security would be of exceptional significance, for the road would thus be opened for the establishment of lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world. We will support any positive action, any measure designed to bring about real progress towards *détente* and increased security in Europe. In this spirit we welcome the initiative taken by the Finnish Government to encourage efforts to organize a conference on European security.

77. My country considers that the attainment of European security must be based on the realities of the period following the Second World War, and in the first place on the recognition of the two German States and of existing frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse frontier.

78. A powerful factor retarding the favourable development of the situation in Europe is the division of the European continent into opposed military groupings, which are a source of mistrust and an obstacle to the development of European co-operation. Today, when an increasing number of forces are declaring their support for *détente* and co-operation among all States, the maintenance of military blocs, which perpetuate the methods and spirit of the "cold war" in international life, seems profoundly anachronistic. The present European structure, based on blocs and military force, leads to an intensification of the arms race, to a corresponding increase in the danger of war and, in the long run, to a greater degree of insecurity. In our view, the strengthening of European peace and security demands that firm steps be taken towards the simultaneous dissolution of the military blocs represented by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty Organization—a proposal put forward on numerous occasions by the socialist States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty—and towards the establishment of a lasting European security system, which would make possible the peaceful and unhampered development of all nations.

79. Pending the adoption of such radical action as the dissolution of military blocs, we consider that the dismantling of foreign military bases in the territories of other States, the withdrawal of all non-European troops from the continent and, more generally, the repatriation of all foreign troops within their national frontiers would be of fundamental importance. Similarly, the conclusion of an agreement among all States which would cause them to abstain from any exercise or show of force would be of great importance for European and world peace and security. Such action would create a climate of confidence in which it would be possible to deal more effectively with the problems which determine world peace and security.

80. Increased demonstrations of support for European co-operation and security would be of real significance in achieving a climate of *détente* in Europe and throughout the world. In 1970, a quarter of a century after the end of the Second World War, action could, in our view, be taken, both at the governmental and the non-governmental level, to foster European peace, co-operation and security—action that could demonstrate emphatically the desire of the

European peoples to live together in peace and to develop relations of good-neighbourliness, understanding, friendship and co-operation.

81. As Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, the President of the State Council of Romania, stated recently:

"The path towards the transformation of Europe into a continent of peaceful coexistence is made up of closer contacts, better mutual understanding and specific measures for strengthening collaboration and co-operation among States.

"We are confident that the will for peace of the peoples of Europe—who have suffered so many trials—the spirit of political realism and human reason will prevail over all the trends in those circles which are opposed to a *détente* and that new progress will be made towards security, for the peace and well-being of all peoples living in this part of the world."

82. We consider that the promotion of relations of understanding and the development of economic, technical and scientific co-operation among the Balkan States would constitute a valuable contribution to the cause of European security. Past experience bears witness to the fact that differences and disputes among the Balkan peoples have prejudiced their basic interests.

83. Romania, for its part, intends to continue to act with determination in its efforts to contribute to the removal of sources of mistrust and tension and to the improvement of the European political climate, with a view to offering to our continent the prospect of a peaceful and prosperous development in the interest of the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

84. The strengthening of international peace and security is intimately bound up with the achievement of genuine progress towards general disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

85. We cannot but note with grave anxiety that, during the past 10 years alone, world military expenditure has doubled. Armaments entail a diversion of the wealth of nations from its normal purpose, a significant portion of such wealth being directed towards the development and perfecting of means of destruction. Not only does this mean an unprecedented waste of material resources but also, and above all, a loss to mankind of creative human potential, for the energies and ingenuity of numerous highly-skilled experts and specialists are being devoted to the discovery and creation of new instruments of death.

86. Investments in thermonuclear, chemical and bacteriological (or biological) weapons of mass destruction have reached immense proportions, and the stockpiling of these weapons in military arsenals represents a permanent danger for all mankind. Prohibition of the use of such weapons and liquidation of existing stockpiles are the categorical imperative of general security. That is why the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with other socialist countries, has asked for the inclusion on the agenda of the current session of an item entitled: "Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, produc-

tion and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons" [A/7655].

87. In our view, one of the ways of decreasing the danger of the use of nuclear weapons would be to establish de-nuclearized zones in different parts of the world, that measure being accompanied by adequate safeguards on the part of the nuclear Powers. In this respect, the international community has already had the benefit of the positive experience of the Latin-American countries, whose collective thinking is embodied in the Treaty of Tlatelolco.⁵

88. We consider that the interests of peace require the Governments of all States resolutely to enter upon the road to general disarmament, halt the arms race, lower the level of military expenditure, freeze the quantitative and qualitative levels of their basic weapons and take practical steps towards the reduction and liquidation of their stockpiles in a systematic and continuous process established through negotiations, which should become the focus of political and diplomatic efforts during the next decade.

89. With a view to achieving genuine progress towards disarmament, we consider that particular importance should be attached to drawing up a coherent programme of disarmament negotiations which could ensure the continuity, consistency and successful outcome of efforts for the strengthening of peace and the progress of all nations. In this connexion, the Romanian delegation welcomes and supports the suggestion made in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/7601/Add.1, para. 42] that the period 1970-1980 should be designated as a Disarmament Decade, in parallel with the Second United Nations Development Decade. We consider that such a Decade, which Romania supported at the first session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament held this year at Geneva, would make it possible to merge the efforts of the international community in two sectors of vital importance for promoting the progress of peoples and for safeguarding peace in general.

90. In our view, the objectives of the Disarmament Decade should be based on the resolutions on disarmament adopted in recent years by the General Assembly, on the recommendations of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States⁶ and on the provisions of article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. The objectives should also take into account the documents, proposals and suggestions submitted by various States both in the Geneva Committee and in the United Nations.

91. The adoption of a programme of disarmament negotiations and disarmament measures providing for immediate and long-term action—a programme which has been supported by many States—could open up wide prospects for disarmament negotiations and make it possible to establish a suitable order of priorities and precise target dates for the application of the various measures. This would bring us

⁵ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed on 14 February 1967.

⁶ This Conference was held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

closer to the major objective of general disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament.

92. Efforts devoted to international peace and security cannot be separated from the promotion of, and respect for, human rights and fundamental freedoms. To translate these human rights into reality means the creation of acceptable conditions of life, freeing man from exploitation and social inequality and eliminating all discrimination based on differences of race, creed or colour. The necessary premise for securing these conditions is respect for the personality of all peoples and for their right freely to decide their own future in the framework of relationships established in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

93. International law formulates the principles on which peace and security must be built. Because it encourages political action and prohibits the use of force or the threat of recourse to force, international law provides for those who seek it a powerful instrument for promoting peace and progress which, if used wisely and perseveringly, is capable of bringing all efforts for the settlement of disputes to a successful conclusion.

94. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, a tribute of high significance that could be paid to the Organization would, in the Romanian delegation's view, be a reaffirmation and strengthening of confidence in the principles of the Charter as being the very basis of international relations. The Romanian Government has submitted to the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations a proposal that possible action to this end should include the formal adoption, in the presence of heads of State or Government, of a declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter [see A/7690, p. 63].

95. By expressing universal recognition of the fundamental principles of international law, developed in the light of contemporary realities, such a declaration would contribute to effective observance of the principles on which relations among States should be based, to a strengthening of the rule of law and security throughout the world and to the promotion of friendly relations and fruitful co-operation among States.

96. As in previous years, numerous important items appear on the agenda of the present session. Many of them have a long history in the Organization; others have only recently come up as a result of developments in world affairs. Over and above this complex set of problems, however, the discussions at the present session—as is natural, particularly on the eve of the celebration of a quarter of a century of the life of the United Nations—show the concern of States to increase the effectiveness of the Organization's role in removing hotbeds of tension and in turning to good account the huge potential of forces—now in our view predominant—which are declaring their support for the application of the principles of the Charter and for world peace and understanding.

97. We hope that the numerous projects, proposals and suggestions which have been submitted here will serve that

end. It seems to us essential, in this respect, to pursue a genuine dialogue, with full participation and with strict respect for the principles of the Charter. This means in the first place a patient and persistent examination of problems in a spirit of understanding of the position and arguments of all concerned, with a view to finding solutions which respect the legitimate interests of all nations.

98. It is in this spirit that the Romanian delegation, in discharging the mandate of its Government, expresses its determination to support fully and to take an active part in efforts undertaken here, so that this session may contribute to strengthening the United Nations, increasing co-operation among States, ensuring respect for the principles of international law and furthering the world-wide struggle for peace, security and understanding among peoples.

99. Mr. Dinesh SINGH (India): I should like first of all to offer our congratulations on the election of the honourable Angie Brooks of Liberia to the Presidency of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. It is a fitting tribute to her long association with this Organization, and to her particular dedication to the cause of freedom of the colonial peoples. We have every hope that under her wise guidance this Assembly will make rapid progress on the many important items of the present and the future.

100. I should also like to pay a tribute to the memory of her distinguished predecessor, the late Mr. Emilio Arenales, who presided over the twenty-third session of the General Assembly with such courage and purpose. His untimely death is a great loss to his country, to the Latin American States and the United Nations.

101. Our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, who has become, through the years, the repository of the conscience of humanity, is carrying a heavy burden with faith and fortitude. His role as peacemaker is difficult and delicate and yet he has persevered relentlessly. We can do no less than to assure him of our co-operation and support for all that he is doing to uphold the Charter.

102. A full hundred years ago today, a light was lit in a small coastal town in India. Within its life-span its brilliance reached the dark corners in every land. It became the symbol of hope for the down-trodden everywhere. Today, we in India and millions of people all over the world celebrate the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi. As I speak to this august Assembly, the thought uppermost in my mind is his message for his countrymen, for the peoples of the world and for generations yet unborn. It is a message of peace and co-operation.

103. The Mahatma demonstrated to us by his deeds that man is capable of rising above his baser self to a plane that befits his calling. Even while he fought the inequities of a powerful colonial Power that subjugated his motherland, he never let bitterness and prejudice envelop us.

104. Gandhiji set for us exacting standards. He wanted us to be tolerant, non-violent and generous in our everyday life. We do not claim that we have lived up to his precepts. We have faltered many a time, even recently. But nobody can accuse us of not earnestly trying to follow the path set for us.

105. Permit me to say that those of us who saw this man in flesh and blood, who were inspired by his soft voice calling us to action, feel that this great Organization could experience by his life-work and use some of his methods to combat the horde of problems that beset the world community today.

106. It is significant that the three causes for which the Mahatma struggled non-violently throughout his life were: first, elimination of racial, social and religious discrimination, second, freedom from colonial subjugation of his own people and others in different lands, and third, liquidation of poverty and ignorance.

107. The Charter of the United Nations, which was fashioned and drafted for the post-war world and in Gandhi's life-time, concerns itself with all the three: discrimination, decolonization, and economic development benefiting underprivileged everywhere.

108. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, sought to reaffirm the Gandhian doctrine and to give form and content to it in his policy of peaceful coexistence. He proceeded on the basis that freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion can lead to friendly relations between States in a world riven by conflict.

109. When he addressed this Assembly nine years ago he drew attention to the fact that the propagation of this concept was no empty idealism since, in practical terms, the choice before the world was to co-operate or perish.

110. The adherence of all of us to the United Nations Charter commits us to the principles of peaceful coexistence between States with different social and political systems; respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of one another; non-interference in the internal affairs of each other; denial of the fruits of aggression to the aggressor; respect for fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person. Yet, we see these noble ideas trampled upon in the march of nations towards narrow selfish goals. Has the time, therefore, not come when we should reaffirm our commitment to these obligations and make a declaration which will have, one hopes, binding force?

111. The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, speaking in this Assembly in 1968, said:

“Two years hence, in 1970, the United Nations will complete 25 years. Can we make it a year of peace? A starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace?” [1693rd meeting, para. 177.]

Can we not ensure that during this period we begin to reduce expenditure on armaments and can we not also ensure that a credible declaration for the renunciation of force in settling disputes is made during this year?

112. Gandhiji believed that truth and non-violence could bring peace, not only to individuals but also to nations and the international community. More than 31 years ago he wrote:

“Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve the godliness of human nature . . . If the

recognized leaders of mankind who have control over engines of destruction, work wholly to renounce their use, with full knowledge of its implications, permanent peace can be obtained . . . If even one great nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would see in our lifetime durable peace established on earth.”

113. Peace, renunciation of force, respect for international law, these cannot be mere slogans. They need to be given substance through greater co-operation in practical everyday international life.

114. Unfortunately this co-operation has been lacking so far. While every opportunity is taken to make good pronouncements, the will to implement them is conspicuously absent. We have heard, in this Assembly, many intentions expressed, declarations made and resolutions passed. But we have noted with great disappointment the lack of enthusiasm in putting those intentions into action. Disenchantment with the whole process of our way of working in this Organization is growing. On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations we have to give serious thought so that this attitude of despair is turned into one of hope. We have, therefore, to devise effective means of implementing our declarations.

115. We are, even today, continuing to deal with some of the problems which were with us when the United Nations was born. The racist policies of South Africa, rampant and oppressive colonialism of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique as well as in other Territories, the racist oppression and reactionary exploitation of the people of Zimbabwe by a white minority and the lack of progress in the liberation of Namibia are amongst such problems.

116. It is a terror of might and blackmail by means of sophisticated weapons that is helping to keep the African peoples in the southern part of Africa under racial and colonial subjugation. This situation causes us great anguish, more so because it was there that Mahatma Gandhi first preached and practised non-violence in the struggle against racial discrimination, colonial oppression and violation of human rights.

117. The United Nations Charter contains within itself the means for dealing with these problems. If this has not been achieved so far it is because those Member States of this Organization, which are in a position to bring about a solution of these problems, have been evasive in their response to the appeals and demands of the international community. They have voted for, and supported, various resolutions in these halls of the United Nations, against the racist and the colonialist policies. But at the same time, they have stopped short of taking effective action to implement these very resolutions. Perhaps their attempt is to persuade the international community that the problems faced by the peoples of the southern part of Africa are beyond solution. We cannot agree with them. This last stronghold of prejudice, reaction and colonialism must be made to surrender to the work of this august Assembly and to conform to the objectives of the United Nations Charter.

118. In Asia, too, we see conflicts which have persisted from the days of the founding of this great Organization. I refer specially to Viet-Nam and to West Asia.

119. There has been no lack of appreciation of the desire to achieve peace in Viet-Nam. But to what extent has this desire been translated into action? The stopping of bombing by the United States of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has enabled talks to take place in Paris to find a peaceful solution. The next steps have now to be taken. All parties to that dispute agree that the people of Viet-Nam should be left free to determine their own destiny, and no one seems to hold a brief for keeping foreign forces in that land. The first step to be taken is the immediate cessation of hostilities. Thereafter, necessary arrangements have to be made for the withdrawal of foreign troops to enable the people of Viet-Nam to decide their future, free from foreign interference. This process can be carried out effectively only if arrangements which inspire the confidence of all parties concerned can be established. It would, therefore, seem necessary to have a Government which is adequately representative to command the confidence and the support of all sections of the people. Such a Government would be in a position in Viet-Nam to supervise the withdrawal of foreign forces and prepare for holding fair elections. To facilitate this process for bringing peace to Viet-Nam the international community should pledge its full co-operation and support.

120. I cannot conclude these brief remarks on the situation in that country without paying a tribute to the late Dr. Ho Chi Minh, in whose death Asia has lost an indomitable soldier for freedom.

121. In the Middle East, Israel continues to be in possession of large areas of territory it overran by force in June 1967. The human problem of large numbers of Arab refugees is an element in that tangled situation to which we must not and cannot close our eyes.

122. Almost two years ago, on 22 November 1967, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 242 (1967). The Security Council and its permanent members have a special responsibility to ensure the faithful implementation of the 22 November resolution.

123. The first thing should have been not to permit the aggressor to retain the fruit of his aggression and use it as a means of bargaining. However, we are given to understand that, in the interest of a mutual adjustment, a wider solution of the Middle Eastern problem is being attempted. Even so, there is no movement towards a peaceful solution, and hostilities continue to flare up from time to time, with even more dangerous consequences.

124. Furthermore, there is an unfortunate attempt by some interested parties to give religious overtones to a problem that is essentially political. This could only play into the hands of those who wish to confuse the issues in the Middle East and fan religious emotions, making the quest for an objective political settlement even more difficult.

125. My Government has welcomed the initiative of the permanent members of the Security Council to engage in negotiations amongst themselves on this question. We have no desire to prejudge or to prejudice the outcome of those efforts, especially as those efforts continue to be made, albeit at a leisurely pace. We feel, however, that the

responsibility cannot be that of the permanent members of the Security Council alone. All States Members of the United Nations have a collective responsibility in all such matters.

126. I have just referred to the trouble spots of the world where the return of peace must become an international responsibility. However, a serious threat to international peace and security today stems from the spiralling arms race. This race is entering a new stage, both in terms of sophistication of armaments and expenditure involved. There is a systematic attempt to widen progressively the gap between the military Powers and the weaker nations. Concentration of enormous power in the hands of a few nations is leading to a division of the world into spheres of influence, in which might alone becomes right in the relationships between States. It is imperative that this drift towards a new and unequal balance of power be halted and reversed. It is the responsibility of all peace-loving States, particularly the non-aligned ones, which are adversely affected by the emergence of new power patterns, to restore the balance. They must seek to widen the scope of international co-operation based on the sovereign equality of all nations.

127. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] represents an effective demonstration of the latest trends in relations between States. That Treaty is as unequal as it is ineffective. It cannot contribute in any way to a balanced process of disarmament, on which alone the security of nations can depend. We have, on a matter of principle, rejected the validity of an instrument which seeks to bind the hands of the powerless and to licence the further accumulation of armaments by those whose stockpiles threaten our very existence. It is for this reason that we remain unable to sign the Treaty.

128. That unequal Treaty has become even more unacceptable, because of an attempt on the part of the big Powers to modify assurances of security, implicit under the provisions of the Charter, to those who do not subscribe to the Treaty. These new tactics are symptomatic of the growing tendency to make power and might the basis of international relations. It also represents the increasing attempts to settle questions of war and peace outside the forum of the United Nations. We cannot be a party to the weakening of the basic tenets of the Charter and to the whittling down of the inherent responsibility of Member States. This serious situation can be solved only by increasing our co-operation so that a more scrupulous adherence is obtained for the provisions of the Charter.

129. Domination and exploitation continue to be a normal feature of international life because of a toleration of the persistence of inequality. It is this approach which requires to be overhauled. It is only enlightened economic co-operation on a global scale that can set a new process in motion and contribute to a more durable peace and stability.

130. It is not enough for those of us who belong to the developing world merely to expose the hypocrisy and hollowness of the assertions of the developed countries that they are straining every muscle to give us help, when they

are not prepared even to respect, in practice, the commitments which they make year after year through resolutions sponsored in the various forums of the United Nations. The time has come for us to indicate frankly and clearly what are the responsibilities of the developing and the developed.

131. I had the privilege of presenting the report of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly [*1708th meeting*]. Since then the Trade and Development Board has met in Geneva in its eighth and ninth sessions. I said then that the eyes of the world were fixed on results we might be able to obtain from the continuing machinery. Those very eyes, I fear, have witnessed the futility of the ninth session. I therefore ask myself, and I also venture to put this question to this Assembly: what has gone wrong with the developmental process and with the climate for international economic co-operation?

132. To aggravate matters further, there is a growing tendency to detract from the importance of the basic objectives and put emphasis on palliatives. In spite of a reasonably thorough identification of the problems of development through numerous studies, there is an attempt to initiate new studies and reviews, in a vain attempt to gain more time and to evolve a plausible philosophy for the present state of stagnation and withdrawal. The effective multilateral agencies are progressively failing to reflect the collective will of the international community. Instead, efforts are being made to base such activities on unilateral and at times even paternalistic patterns of providing assistance.

133. To my mind, the basic cause for widespread disenchantment with international co-operation lies in the deliberately exaggerated dichotomy between the responses and interests of the affluent and the poorer nations. Contrary to the facts of economic history, people in positions of power have come to believe that the process of transmission of growth impulses is unilateral or irreversible. One has only to reflect on the rise and fall of nations to come to the conclusion that such a belief is totally unwarranted. Some of the centres of economic power today have derived their present strength and their present potential for transmitting growth from the investment and the skills that flowed to them, when not so long ago they were not in such a happy position. This process cannot but repeat itself in the case of the developing countries which are striving to break the vicious circle in which they find themselves enmeshed by the accident of history, and through the operation of an economic order erected on a very narrow base.

134. In the developed world, the inevitability of rapid change has yet to dawn on those entrusted with the reins of authority. We need to remind ourselves that when we launched the First United Nations Development Decade and when we approved the Final Acts of the Geneva and New Delhi Conferences of UNCTAD, we committed ourselves to the establishment of a new and dynamic international economic relationship and to the achievement of a new world economic order. The fulfilment of this commitment requires not only determined efforts and perseverance but also imagination and courage of conviction. We will be

judged harshly by history if we do not display these qualities at this crucial moment on the eve of the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

135. We have been conscious of the fact that the primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests on themselves.

136. In Asia, Africa and Latin America a beginning has been made, however modest, to advance the objective of co-operation between developing countries and to prove that they do not intend to spare their own efforts but are serious in carrying out the recommendations of the Algiers Charter and the second session of UNCTAD.⁷ The real security of the developing countries can be ensured only if they are able to develop their own strength, vitality and vigour; secure for their people economic and social gains and foster the habit of meeting together to pursue common objectives.

137. In Asia we are attempting to evolve a strategy for integrated development of regional economic co-operation which represents a well co-ordinated attack on the manifold problems and deficiencies in Asia. The move has been made to provide an Asian answer to Asian problems. What Asia needs today is not military pacts but economic co-operation.

138. Regional economic co-operation, and particularly socio-economic resurgences in Asia can, in the ultimate analysis, be sustained only on the basis of better utilization of Asian resources and a more even distribution of wealth and opportunities within our respective societies. We, in India, have not flinched from taking decisions which alone can ensure that the wealth of the nation is utilized for the welfare of all its peoples without distinction. We have been trying resolutely to work in the context of the phenomenon of rising expectations. In so far as our society is concerned, we have, in the two decades of our independence, tried to organize ourselves in a manner to ensure that the response of our socio-economic structure to the demands on it are quick, unequivocal and progressive.

139. We have also attempted to forge closer economic relations with our neighbours and, indeed, with other Asian countries represented on the Council of Ministers for Asian Economic Co-operation. Significant arrangements have already been concluded with some countries. More are under negotiation. It is our hope that all Asian countries will respond favourably to these efforts for co-operation and that we shall receive the necessary assistance from others so that we will be able to establish in Asia, torn by conflicts for centuries, new associations of co-operation based on equality and friendship.

140. There are a number of items on the agenda and we shall naturally express our views on them when they come up for discussion. Here I have spoken of colonialism in Africa and the conflicts in the tortured continent of Asia because these concern us directly. I have spoken of the socio-economic resurgence of Asia because we are involved

in it. I have spoken of economic development because we are a part of it. I have also spoken of the arms race and the attempts that are being made to carve out spheres of influence in our world. I have talked of the United Nations and its role in the field of international relations. I have drawn my inspiration for all this from the message of Gandhi for our own generation and for generations to come. Permit me to end my speech by quoting a statement made by Mahatma Gandhi to the representatives of a resurgent Asia at the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi 10 months before his martyrdom. He said that the world "is despairing of a multiplication of atom bombs, because the atom bombs mean utter destruction". He went on to say: "It is up to you to tell the world of its wickedness and sin—that is the heritage your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia." This was the reaffirmation of his belief which he expressed thus:

"My nationalism is fierce but not exclusive and not devised to hurt any nation or individual. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world. The whole of my country may die so that the human race may live."

It is in this spirit that we shall endeavour to work.

141. Mr. Sher ALI KHAN (Pakistan): Before I begin, I must congratulate the President, Miss Angie Brooks, on her election. This is not a mere ritual. My delegation is particularly happy to see her preside over this Assembly because she comes from Africa and she is only the second woman to adorn this high office with her personal charm and grace. Her great ability and long experience at the United Nations is undoubtedly a guarantee of her success.

142. Let me pay a respectful tribute to her predecessor, the late Mr. Emilio Arenales. The courage which he displayed when stricken with a fatal disease was unforgettable. I once again convey Pakistan's sincere sympathies to the delegation of Guatemala at his untimely death.

143. In the General Assembly today I consider it my duty to comment on the issues which affect Pakistan's daily life, its existence, its outlook and its international relationships.

144. Let me first take the economic questions.

145. Some years ago, the decade of the sixties was designated as the First United Nations Development Decade. Who can fail to regret that this Decade has not met its proclaimed goal? Two thirds of the earth's inhabitants still live in poverty. The announced objective of transferring one per cent of the national income of industrially advanced nations to the developing countries still remains unrealized. While incomes of the richer countries are growing apace, the net flow of financial resources from them to the poorer ones continues to decline. Recent figures illustrate that the ratio of total net transfers to the gross national product has receded another fraction downwards from the 1967 average of 0.65 per cent. What is particularly deplorable is that this should happen at the historic moment when assistance efforts were beginning to yield results and when the so-called absorptive capacity of the developing countries was no longer an obstacle to such efforts.

146. This is not merely a matter of how the economics of international assistance now operate. There is cause for

⁷ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I and Corr. 1 and 3 and Add. 1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14).

gloom in the new psychological attitude pervading the public mind in the main aid-giving countries. No longer do we find there the same consciousness of the necessity of international assistance which was a stimulus to earlier efforts. Were such a consciousness to prevail, the developing countries would elicit a better understanding of the crippling burden on them of debt-servicing. There would be then greater appreciation of the fact that the servicing of debts leaves these countries little more than half of what was gained in the first instance.

147. One of the few initiatives of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a plan for the developed countries to give trade preferences to developing countries on manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and thus help to release them from their dependence on food and raw material exports. But this plan is still far from execution. As a result, the gulf dividing the rich from the poor is widening all the time.

148. The war against poverty cannot be won without a global alliance. The time for forging that alliance is shortening. The preparation and planning of the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade will test the possibility of such a partnership coming into being. This strategy will call for a sustained drive on the part of the developing countries. It will also call for political will on the part of the developed countries to render substantial assistance. If this will is not lacking, there should be definite commitments of aid on a defined time scale. There should be a new perception of the relationship between the donor and the recipient of aid. The relationship should be seen as based, not on charity, but on the facts of economic interdependence and enlightened self-interest.

149. The unhappiness of the developing countries with regard to their economic progress is aggravated by the sense of insecurity which is assailing those of them that are smaller and less mighty than their neighbours. Pakistan is one of these countries.

150. Pakistan pursues an independent policy and is one of the few countries that have established and maintain friendly bilateral relations with the Soviet Union, the United States and China at the same time. Had Pakistan been aligned to any one of them, this would not have been possible.

151. This policy of bilateralism fully conforms to the principles of non-alignment. We oppose interference in the internal affairs of other States, and we believe in peaceful coexistence, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all countries. We have always upheld the right of peoples to self-determination. We have always been ready to have recourse to procedures for pacific settlement of disputes and for strengthening the Charter of the United Nations.

152. Pakistan's loyalty to the Organization is not merely verbal. We have given tangible demonstration of it at two crucial moments in our history and with regard to an issue which has a direct impact on our life, our national integrity and our destiny. In that issue—I am referring to the India-Pakistan question—we have wholeheartedly accepted the resolutions of the Security Council. By doing so, we

have subordinated our claims to the decisions of the world community. We have put our trust in the strength of the United Nations. We suffer when that trust proves to have been entirely misplaced. We have, therefore, a stake in the United Nations as large as that of any other Member, far larger than that of some. Our attitude can be fully shared only by those other Member States which are the aggrieved parties in international disputes, seek nothing but justice, pursue nothing but peace, but which will not suffer a people's right to be suppressed merely because they themselves are relatively weak or small. It is these nations that are acutely sensitive to the fortunes of this Organization. They feel fortified when this Organization proves to be resourceful. They feel betrayed when it falters and fails.

153. This brings me to the political factors which have shaken public confidence in the United Nations. I cannot hope, on the present occasion, to attempt an exhaustive analysis of these factors. Suffice it to refer to those which are interlinked and outstanding among them.

154. The first of these factors is the divergence between the resolutions of the United Nations and the policies of the great Powers. As a result, many a well-conceived resolution adopted here, or in the Security Council, has become an emblem of inaction. It is often forgotten that the United Nations can act, not by adopting resolutions but by implementing them. Why do some important resolutions remain unimplemented?

155. The answer is not only that the great powers are divided and unable to make use of the provisions laid down in the United Nations Charter for enforcing compliance with the decisions of the Security Council. The answer is also that they are reluctant to assimilate these decisions in their own policies. Were they to make these resolutions the cardinal principles of their policies towards the countries concerned, their combined resources of pressure and persuasion would not fail to ensure the fulfilment of the decisions of the United Nations. The experience of the Suez crisis in 1956 is an example in point. No sanctions were applied; yet, by the combined efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union, the Israeli forces were made to withdraw from the territory they had overrun.

156. The second outstanding factor is that the United Nations has failed to reflect the universality which was inherent in its conception. That the people of China, 700 million strong, the largest single national segment of humanity, the inheritors of one of the oldest and most stable civilizations of the world, should remain unrepresented in this Organization is not so much a loss to them as it is a disability for this Organization itself. Their exclusion from its counsels has widened the gulf between this Organization and political realities.

157. The third factor is symbolized by the unchecked arms race. The progress that has been achieved in the field of disarmament has been at best fitful and sporadic. Arms control is not only a question of the ratio between the armouries of the great Powers. It is an issue of the security of all nations, great or small. Many among these nations feel a gnawing insecurity. The insecurity is not lessened when, in an individual case, the adversary disposes of only conventional weapons. Let us not forget that in both the

Middle East and Viet-Nam only conventional weapons have been used. Therefore, the reduction of conventional armaments is no less imperative than measures of nuclear arms control and nuclear disarmament if the security of all nations, and not only of a few, is to be strengthened.

158. Pakistan now participates in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. We are thankful for our inclusion and we pledge our sincere co-operation in all efforts to achieve its aims.

159. The record of more than 20 years of disarmament negotiations cannot be regarded as impressive. While certain treaties in the nature of "non-armament" measures, and most recently the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)], have been concluded, there has been no agreement in the field of true disarmament. The goal of general and complete disarmament remains as distant as ever, and agreement even on collateral measures of disarmament is not in sight. We face an impasse in the negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty, to which the General Assembly has attached the greatest urgency, primarily because of a lack of political will on the part of the super-Powers to cease nuclear-weapon tests. In fact, such testing has been intensified in scale and frequency in order to check out nuclear warheads for weapons of strategic offensive and defensive warfare. The question of cessation of underground nuclear-weapon tests has thus become linked to that of limitation of strategic nuclear armaments.

160. The Secretary-General's warning in his introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1, para. 29], that the present situation of relative stability in the nuclear strategic balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union could disappear if new generations of nuclear-weapon systems were developed and deployed, has come not a moment too soon. We join in his appeal to the two super-Powers to begin immediately their bilateral talks to limit and reduce offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons. We hope that these talks will lead to negotiations in good faith among all the nuclear-weapon Powers with a view to the cessation of the nuclear arms race, as urged by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States held last year.

161. The nuclear-weapon Powers are pledged in Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament. The commencement of strategic arms limitation talks, together with a complete cessation of underground nuclear-weapon tests would, in our view, constitute an earnest of their good faith. We fully appreciate the almost incredible complexity of the decisions they are called upon to make, but we fear that further loss of time may well result in the loss of ability to fulfil this treaty obligation.

162. At this session we are called upon to carry further the implementation of the recommendations of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States⁸ in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, with particular regard to

⁸ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, agenda item 96, document A/7277 and Corr.1 and 2, para. 17.

the special needs and interests of the developing countries. One aspect of this question is the establishment of an international régime for peaceful nuclear explosions within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency. While this régime should undoubtedly provide for access to the technology of peaceful nuclear explosions, it is imperative at the same time to ensure that States deriving such benefit are prevented from utilizing the knowledge of technology for the manufacture or acquisition otherwise of nuclear weapons. It seems to us that a renunciation of nuclear weapons and acceptance of the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency under a binding multilateral instrument should be considered a *sine qua non* for access to the technology of peaceful nuclear explosions.

163. It was concern for their security in the nuclear era that brought together the non-nuclear-weapon States in the Conference held last year. Until existing arrangements can be strengthened to inspire real confidence, Member States must perforce rely on themselves. Speaking for Pakistan, let me say that, in view of its situation, the geopolitical compulsion is a factor which cannot be ignored in shaping its outlook on security. An arms balance in our region, maintained through a stable equilibrium of great Power relationships, is of the greatest importance to peace in Asia and the world.

164. I have mentioned three basic factors: the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions, the lack of universality in the Organization and the lack of substantial progress in arms control, which, in the view of the Pakistan delegation, have reduced the effectiveness of the United Nations and generated a crisis of confidence. Let me now turn to some of the burning questions which undermine security and have destroyed peace in parts of the Asian-African world.

165. Pakistan is both in South-East Asia and to the east of the Middle East. When a fire rages in the Middle East, we feel the heat. When an earthquake occurs in South-East Asia, we feel the shock. A general survey of these issues, whether originating in southern Africa, in Viet-Nam, in the Middle East or in our own subcontinent, reveals a characteristic common to them all. This is that the root of the disease in all cases is the denial to a people of their right of self-determination. Wherever a people's self-determination is thwarted, conflict inevitably follows.

166. I take the case of southern Africa first. If colonialism is still entrenched in its "white fortress" in that region; if, as we fear, fuel is accumulating there for the fires of armed racial conflict, it is because self-determination is being denied to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Territories at present under Portuguese control. That this denial entails the assertion of the superiority of race no doubt adds to the malignancy of the situation; but, even with a less shameful plea, colonialism would still have been equally odious and the cause of the subjugated peoples no less just. Though *apartheid* and racial arrogance have been condemned, time and again, by the United Nations, the strife and suffering in that vital region have not been reduced.

167. Pakistan is dismayed at the virtual failure of the sanctions employed against the Ian Smith régime. This

involves the credibility of the Security Council. We urge the permanent members of the Council to take note of the implications of this failure for the United Nations. We expect the legal administering Power, the United Kingdom, to discharge its responsibility and take more forceful measures to rid Zimbabwe of the scourge of a racist régime.

168. We are perturbed that not sufficient action has been taken to compel the Pretoria régime to remove its authority from Namibia. The deadline for that withdrawal is two days from now. Those Powers that are maintaining vital trade relations with South Africa explain to us the manifold difficulties of effective action against that country. But they have to face a decision. They cannot shirk it indefinitely. They have to ask themselves the question: what is a greater danger for world peace and therefore for their own long-range interests—a rupture of economic relations with South Africa at present or a racial war in the future? The question is a test not only of their moral values, their compassion and their belief in the worth and dignity of the human person; it is also a test of their prudence and their sense of responsibility as world Powers.

169. The situation in South-East Asia continues to be dominated by the devastating war in Viet-Nam. Here again it is the self-determination of a people, a gifted and heroic people, which is the prime issue. Ever since this conflict took its most fearful turn, impartial opinion pleaded that the problem of Viet-Nam did not admit of a military solution. By repetition, the statement became a *cliché*. Yet every development up to date testifies to its validity. The people of Viet-Nam have gone through horror of a unique kind. We earnestly hope that they will soon be enabled to decide their future without any interference from outside.

170. The Middle East, the cradle of civilization, continues to be a theatre of conflict. Its origin also lies in the historic injustice done to the peoples of Palestine who are a nation no less than any other and whose right to national existence in their own homeland is inferior to that of none. It is neither justice nor realism to consider the forced diaspora of the Palestinians as extinguishing all their rights. Pakistan believes that no approach to a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict will be creative unless it recognizes the right of self-determination of the people of Palestine.

171. The problem of Palestine is the basic stratum of the Middle East question. Superimposed on it is the other problem which has been created by the invasion of the territories of Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic by Israel in 1967. This involves the territorial integrity of three Member States of the United Nations. Though the conflict is local, the issues that it raises are universal in their scope. The issues are the following. First, can a Member State resort to force and can such a resort be condoned and considered to have strengthened its claim? Second, should a Member State have the right to refuse to withdraw its forces from the territory of another State or States until it imposes peace terms according to its own will? Third, can the acquisition of territory by military conquest be admissible?

172. It is those questions which have to be answered if a just and lasting solution is to be achieved to the Middle East conflict. The only answer to them must be an emphatic

negative, if the Charter of the United Nations has any meaning.

173. The situation in Jerusalem is one aspect of the Middle East conflict which causes universal concern. We are grateful to all Members of the United Nations, except Israel of course, for their appreciation of the fact that the problem of Jerusalem transcends the rights and claims of the parties to the Arab-Israel conflict. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have called upon Israel not to tamper with the status of the Holy City. Israel has treated all relevant resolutions with contempt. The gravity of this situation was underlined by the horrifying occurrence of arson in the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque on 21 August 1969. This event, which would have been unthinkable in the civilized world, caused an emotional upheaval among the followers of Islam, which is unexampled in the modern age. Pakistan was overwhelmed by sorrow and seethed with indignation.

174. The Security Council, we are gratified to say, reacted to this event by determining solemnly that the abominable act of arson in the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque "emphasizes the immediate necessity of Israel desisting from acting in violation of the previous resolutions and rescinding forthwith all measures and actions taken by it designed to alter the status of Jerusalem" [*resolution 271 (1967)*]. We will naturally await Israel's response. Should that response be negative, the Security Council is committed to taking the measures necessary for bringing about the deannexation by Israel of the Holy City and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces.

175. Whatever the measures the Council will take or fail to take, one thing should be clear to all concerned. It is that the Muslim countries, containing a population of more than half a billion people, extending from Morocco to Indonesia, will not countenance any solution of the Middle East conflict which contemplates the transfer of the Holy City to Israeli sovereignty. Any such proposal will sow the seeds of a permanent hostility focusing on Jerusalem. Any doubt on this score should be dispelled by the declaration of the Islamic Summit Conference at Rabat.⁹ We cannot conceive that the great Powers will fail to take into account the deep attachment of the followers of Islam to Jerusalem and the resolve of the Governments participating in that Conference to strive for its liberation.

176. Our own region, the South Asian subcontinent, continues to be denied the peace and stability which is both its natural right and its desperate need. The root cause of this instability and the lack of normalcy in the relations between India and Pakistan, is the continuance of the dispute concerning the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The fact that this dispute has received less international attention, recently does not mean that it has become any less grave.

177. India and Pakistan are parties to a solemn international agreement to enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide whether to accede to India or to Pakistan according to their own free will. This agreement has been endorsed time and again by the Security Council. We seek nothing from India except that this agreement be

⁹ Held from 22 to 25 September 1969.

honoured in spirit and in substance. Until it is fulfilled and until the two countries faithfully carry out their pledge, the expectations of the nearly 600 million peoples of India and Pakistan that freedom would bring them security will continue to be belied. That is the basic reality of the situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent. We have repeatedly invited India to face this reality. We do so again today.

178. How can this reality be faced? The first step would be for the two countries to agree to enter into serious negotiations for the settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. It is to be deplored that India refuses to take this first step. India says that it is prepared to have talks with Pakistan without any pre-condition. What India suggests is that we try to establish a friendly atmosphere but leave untouched the primary cause why that atmosphere is constantly vitiated. It is like inviting a patient to pretend to be healthy while he is suffering from a grievous malady. We invite India to a joint and serious effort to cure the disease. India suggests that we remove a few minor symptoms.

179. Pakistan sincerely believes that once our major disputes are settled, our nearness to each other and the similarity of our economic and social problems will assert themselves and establish a good neighbourly relationship between us. The attitude of reconciliation will replace that of distrust and antagonism. A climate of conciliation would permit a solution of the differences that arise between neighbours.

180. India not only refuses to appreciate this consideration, it acts in such a manner as to prevent any productive negotiations on Kashmir. It has been continuously extending the application of its own laws to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have not accepted India's sovereignty. They were given a pledge by the United Nations that they would be able to determine their own future. They call upon Pakistan, and also upon every other Member State, to honour that pledge. At present, in the India-occupied area, they are being ruthlessly suppressed. Despite the repression, their constant agitation is a reminder to the world that they are longing to exercise their right of freedom and self-determination. Can we turn our eyes from this reality, and even if we did so, would we serve the ends of peace?

181. This is what Pakistan has throughout tried to impress on India. In July, President Muhammad Yahya Khan wrote to the Prime Minister of India that the removal of minor problems and side issues could not bring about a durable friendship. Amity and understanding would continue to elude both countries if they attempted the solution of such issues only and refused to face the reality of major problems. We profoundly regret that up to now, India's response has not been positive.

182. Yet another matter of grave concern to Pakistan is the construction of the Farakka Barrage by India on the international river, the Ganges. It is an outstanding example of India's refusal to recognize Pakistan's rights. The barrage, which is scheduled to be completed by 1970, that is, next year, will lower the water level in the river to such an extent as to turn hundreds of thousands of acres in East Pakistan to waste land, and seriously disrupt its economy.

We have invited India to settle this dispute. India agrees to meet us at the technical level but refuses to recognize that the differences between experts can be intractable if they are not resolved by a political understanding and agreement. While the political talks are still to be held, India is proceeding with the work of completing the barrage. It wants to present us with a *fait accompli*. Its position on this issue amounts to the assertion that the lower riparian has no say in the use of the waters of an international river. We invoke nothing but the recognized rules of international law regarding the equitable sharing of the waters of international rivers between upper and lower riparians.

183. I now turn to another tragic aspect of the Indian scene. This is the heart-rending plight of the Muslim minority of nearly 60 million people. Recurrent riots in India take a heavy toll of Muslim life. Only two weeks ago, we were aghast when we learned of the carnage in Ahmedabad, where over a thousand Muslims, men, women and children, are reported to have been slaughtered, and thousands rendered homeless. Such a massacre of its own citizens, merely because they belong to a helpless minority, would be a disgrace to any country. Considering India's size, the sweep of its history, the variety of its culture, the nature of its aspirations, the event is so shocking as to be incredible, all the more so since it has taken place in the birthplace of Gandhiji, whose centenary is being celebrated today.

184. I am putting the truth plainly. I am not saying this in a spirit of acrimony. It is not a matter of polemics. I have no doubt that the Government of India must have been grieved by the holocaust in Ahmedabad. But the very fact that it did take place points to the failure of the machinery of law and order to control the organized religious fanaticism that is unleashed against the Muslims in India. The Liaqat-Nehru Pact of 1950¹⁰ made it a joint responsibility for India and Pakistan to safeguard the life and property of the minority communities in the two countries, the Muslims in India and the Hindus in Pakistan. It is cause for the profoundest regret that, since the signing of that Pact, there have occurred nearly a thousand riots in India resulting in the death of about 2,600 persons and in injuries to nearly 8,000, not counting the dead and wounded in Ahmedabad and Baroda just now. We appeal to the Government of India to check this brutality. It alone is in a position to do so. We appeal to the international community to extend, in consultation with the Government of India, such humanitarian assistance to the victims as it can muster. Statesmanship requires that India and Pakistan so concert their efforts as to assure that the minority communities in their respective countries are protected and not persecuted. We invite India to a joint endeavour in that direction.

185. I have brought to the notice of the Assembly the grave issues which affect Pakistan and imperil the peace in important regions of the world. I have no illusion that those issues will be resolved during this session of the Assembly. Their solution entails a rededication on the part of all of us to the principles of peace. But if our discussions during this session should contribute even slightly to the necessary alteration of outlook or the broadening of thoughts, then

¹⁰ India-Pakistan Agreement on Minorities signed on 8 April 1950.

the feeling will be justified that the session has not been empty of results .

186. This session is being held in a historic year, the year when man first set foot on the moon. That, indeed, was a triumph of both technology and human daring. It was the culmination of a vast, sustained effort and it showed what man can achieve if he bends all his energies to the task. Yes,

we all feel proud of that almost unbelievable achievement. Yet, how much more would we feel a glow of pride if, in this same year, we were to devote the same energy to a different task—the task of lightening man's burden during his life on this battered but beautiful earth.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.