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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JOBERT (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in these last days of the general debate I should like to pay a tribute to the authority and distinction with which you are presiding over our work.

2. I shall be relatively brief, for I wish to avoid repetition and, besides, I have no taste or desire for making propaganda. But I would prefer that the truth should prevail even if it should emerge as the truth which is obvious on the banks of the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne and the Rhone, the four principal rivers of my country.

3. This debate is drawing to a close without surprises, except those that we have ceaselessly warned against, and without excesses. Everyone is gratified by this, even if, in order to achieve it, one had to keep silent on many questions and take for granted what is merely adumbrated in the same way that a fad secures a grip upon minds before it prevails in the streets.

4. You will no doubt understand what I am referring to. To speak of peace does not call for any great precision. On the other hand, to invoke détente, to believe in it as one would believe in spring when one suddenly comes upon it around the bend after winter, would seem to warrant more assiduity and curiosity. Who does not wish for détente, or could reject it?

5. At the risk of causing irritation, I would remind you that we have had a long experience of détente and the concept thereof. For the last 15 years it has been the concern of our foreign policy. Judge for yourselves: decolonization; the establishment of East-West relations; friendly and active co-operation with the Soviet Union; the fundamental treaty between France and Germany in 1963; the building of a European entity; as early as 1964, understanding of,

and respect for, China, to which the President of the French Republic has, as you know, just completed a trip; unfailing support for the third world, for the independence of nations and for a more equitable distribution of resources, and, to take a current example, for the harmony of the Comoro islands with their destiny. All these things protect us from naïveté, but they have shown us that lucidity and generosity should always go hand in hand.

6. Meanwhile, we learn that 1973 is to be primarily the year of détente. And reference is made to this at every turn, as if a single year were sufficient to meet its needs and as if this year promised exceptional developments. To be quite truthful, I see but two such events—much discussed, but the full expression of which is not yet completely manifest and of which the consequences, you will agree, are not yet entirely known.

7. In the first place, I see the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is, of course, as we all know, not yet concluded. Its principal merit consists in its having gathered together 33 European countries and the United States and Canada. Apart from this essential fact, the results, if they are good, will be, as it were, thrown into the bargain. They will, furthermore, serve the concept of détente mainly by representing compromises between opposing stands that could not have been developed at leisure. In the long run, the contents will matter less than the way in which they were obtained. For our part, we are doing all we can to ensure the success of the Conference, and I am sure that this is well known.

8. This Conference is therefore an important fact, an unaccustomed event, unusual in recent international practice; it is a development that is comforting to note. For all that, it is not the Eden of détente, it does not represent the alpha and omega of conciliation. It is a joint effort, an arduous effort that is the business of all. It is a state of mind that is being born—a miracle indeed!—among the poisonous flowers of the arms race, which remains, however, fraught with the mistrust and the ambitions to which it gives rise.

9. Let us therefore be reasonable in our appreciation, cautious in our enthusiasm, and realistic in our behaviour. Let us not allow ourselves to be trapped in the all-too-easy syllogism: the Conference serves the idea of détente; détente can serve to nourish all speeches; therefore, he who refers to the Conference is, assuredly, one who practises détente.

10. Furthermore on 22 June last, the United States and the Soviet Union published the news of an agreement they had reached on nuclear strategy.¹ That agreement is but a

¹ Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, signed at Washington on 22 June 1973.

beginning and is to be followed up, so it is stated, in 1974. Its authors were gratified and they invited the whole world to share in their gratification. Why? Because this undoubtedly is an agreement between two very great Powers and it consequently concerns us all—or rather it affects us all, because it can be clothed in the chaste cloak of détente. Those two reasons are not sufficient to mask the reality that has gradually become apparent to all. In order to avoid bankruptcy, and with political considerations in mind, the two Powers have preferred to limit the development of some of their nuclear armaments while at the same time maintaining a sufficiently strong mutual vulnerability to deter each other from upsetting the balance.

11. Thus, this type of détente would be limited to such an exercise in balancing between the two treaty partners. When children fight, one often notices that the strongest avoid a head-on clash with each other and instead attack the lightest-weight members of the other gang, who can be easily knocked down by a few simple blows. It is the same with nations. And if the light-weight nations are at present worried, how can anyone be surprised? The only surprising thing is that it has taken them so long to become nervous, finding themselves with a mere rifle in their hands while the pressures and presences remain the same at their frontiers. All that one very famous actress wore was perfume. I fear that, so scantily clothed by détente alone, we still run the risk of shivering.

12. My analysis of the recent months would perhaps have been rather less cruel in so far as détente is concerned—détente is, after all, a French word which we have endowed with its full significance by our actions—had it not been for the fact that certain slanderous campaigns have sought to cast slurs upon our very idea of national independence, shared by so many others.

13. The past and geography have taught us lessons that we are not likely to forget. We are like prey that has been so often hunted that the hunter can no longer approach. Illusions, wars, more illusions and war again: this has been our fate. Henceforth, we rely primarily on ourselves, on our own efforts. I cannot imagine anyone, unless he is under an illusion, who could think of making us renounce this.

14. We have been distressed, I would say hurt, to hear from our friends or from peoples for whom we have affection statements made here or there whose lack of reality in comparison with the facts or the actual situation in the world seems surprising to me. Even more surprising are the steps which have been taken to convince us that the questions at issue are mere figures of speech that we are wrong to feel uneasy about, but merely justified by the domestic considerations of a given State.

15. Can one really deal so lightly with a serious matter of concern to us all? Because it is a matter of national independence for a nation which does not want to be the pawn of world strategy. In its turn, after many others, and left to its own resources France provided itself with nuclear armaments, not in order to indulge in dreams of grandeur, but because its every existence was at stake. Alone, we covered the ground of difficult research, with a considerable time lag. And today some people are indignant that we have dared to tread this path, which is presumably the royal way

reserved to those who today hold power; that we have placed our footsteps in their tracks, such deep tracks. And yet what protests did their actions give rise to? I look for them in vain.

16. Nowadays one is less modest, doubtless because one knows that with France, a peaceful Power whose only ambition is to live in harmony with all and not to be taken by surprise, one does not run a great risk. Well, one does in fact.

17. I shall not refer to the risk of ridicule. But a risk one is essentially exposed to is the risk of not understanding that one is being manipulated, used, propelled against one's own interests. And more serious still is the risk of being wholly mistaken in one's analysis of the world situation, to have understood nothing, with gaping mouth and, unfortunately, closed eyes. Finally, there is the risk of opposing the will for independence, which should be that of all peace-loving peoples and which France is convinced it is serving while ensuring its own destiny as a free nation.

18. We shall at least preserve a vivid memory of the moment of collective blindness in which some have foundered, dragging down with them, by means of false evidence, some quarters of public opinion whose irrational fears were nursed at leisure. And we shall therefore abide by our conduct so that our fate cannot be settled except by ourselves, since from now on everyone can realize that we cannot disappear without damage to others.

19. And again, we are convinced, we are sure, that by so doing we are strengthening the ground on which Europe must be built by affirming our steadfastness, our independence, our determination not to slacken our defence efforts.

20. How could I avoid, after all, referring to Europe? Everyone quite rightly wonders, does Europe already exist, and particularly in the consciousness of others rather than in the consciousness of Europe itself? Is it something that is really going to exist? I refer to it only as a citizen of one of the States that go to make it up, attached like so many others to those landscapes and those shores which have borne witness to such diverse activity and been the scene of so much meditation. I speak about Europe only from a certain memory of the past and with the reasonable hope of a more just, more secure and fuller life.

21. I am sure that this is the deep aspiration of all those European peoples who live on an exiguous territory, densely populated, closely partitioned, the internal boundaries of which are crumbling a little more each day, yielding to the thrust of time—a universal phenomenon.

22. There is no collective will or power here; only the certainty that in joining forces everything will eventually become simpler, even if the path towards it is not entirely mapped out. This effort might perhaps also warrant the fair name of détente, the effort that nine States, often so different, pursue tirelessly in order to bury antagonisms, adjust their policies, and ensure their well-being. It would warrant being hailed often from this rostrum, and even better to be encouraged from the bottom of people's hearts. It would warrant an organization such as the United Nations showing it henceforth less indifference. Finally, it would warrant

an appreciation of the extent to which Europe undoubtedly would be useful to the international order because, besides the virtues of its own joining of forces, Europe would become a pole of peace in a world drifting from one spell of vertigo to another.

23. Recently in Copenhagen, "the Nine"—as they have become known these days—agreed to define their common identity among themselves and to express with one voice their opinion on an important matter—their relationship with the United States—as they have already done in other cases, for example the Conference on European security. There is nothing unwonted in such behaviour nor is there in the approaches which are to follow, because some State or other will also have wished to establish such a dialogue. There is nothing unwonted either if, in the weeks to come, a common view is expressed within the framework of the Atlantic alliance, where thinking is going on in the light of world developments.

24. Perhaps even, but I do not want to dream too much, the latter will have to take into account this common will which may animate European countries so that a more equitable and better shared universal order may prevail.

25. A more equitable and better shared universal order: it is there that genuine détente will truly be able to flourish.

26. As long as the independence of everyone is not fully recognized and respected, as long as the living conditions of every country are not made more secure, where indeed is détente?

27. Does it not lie in the restoration of international monetary regulations, which would give equal opportunities to all, and in a stability without which the weaker will be trampled underfoot?

28. Does it not lie in the establishment of normal trade practices that would limit emergency measures which have an unexpected effect on markets?

29. Does it not lie in a rational, generous and far-reaching concept of production and trade, which would share major commodities equally between producers and consumers?

30. Does it not lie in the establishment of an international code defining the rights and obligations of each State in the world commercial order?

31. There is nothing new left to be said about these topics. Should one be irritated at the fact that nothing can yet be put down to the credit of international co-operation? Should one be irritated that the monetary organization has been smashed to smithereens under the pressure of its own deficiencies? Should we be irritated that the selfishness of nations hinders any progress towards agreements on primary commodities? Should we be irritated at the fact that shortage is replacing affluence, that the forecasts of technicians are not borne out by the facts and that humble and innumerable lives, often wrecked by hurricanes and droughts, are also suffering from unforeseen vicissitudes, the origin of which they do not know, and that even squander the slender resources of days of starvation?

32. Should one allow oneself to become disheartened enough to accept the false pretenses, the abortive texts, the proposals which aim at politics and not at the well-being of our fellow men?

33. For our part, we shall continue crying out certain truths, perhaps in the wilderness of some meetings which are too densely packed with words. We shall continue, by our national action, and also in Europe with our partners, and everywhere in the world where we are bound by ties of history and friendship, we shall continue to affirm that stability, generosity, responsibility, respect for others are concepts without which there can be no monetary or commercial future for the world, without which there would be just one single prospect: that of bitterness and violence.

34. In this year of 1973, it would have been easy, had one wished, to restore equanimity to the whole world. Away from dialectics which cause one to lose sight of realities and which deflect the deep inclination for peace of peoples, could not those who claim to bear the highest responsibilities have found the path to true glory?

35. However, only interested motives, too well-understood and thoroughly weighed, seem to have guided their thoughts and actions. Take South-East Asia—where the fighting is taking so long to be extinguished after having been endless—and on other frontiers where it is still the eve of battle, with sudden outbursts.

36. There is the Middle East where the situation, one had been told, was under control. And so why should it change? And being so sure of tomorrow one had left until tomorrow what should have been done today. And the results are there for all to see. Did not so much certainty, such assurance, warrant the present being dealt with before the irreparable occurred?

37. Let us hope that those conflicts of another era—anachronistic to the point that they last without causing inconvenience except, unfortunately, for the suffering populations—will cease. Let us hope that the collective conscience will be heeded before they go astray who, in keeping with their tremendous present responsibilities, must quickly understand the friendly and urgent message that we put to friends that they be inspired by tolerance and prompted by the will to concerted action not only in their own meetings, but also in their relations with all peoples who, in their powerlessness, follow the progress of such merciless games.

38. On the subject of those absurd, ruthless, unfair wars, my country has long since, over and over again, voiced its views and stated its policies. Therefore I shall not dwell on that.

39. In this assembly of nations we have many friends. We feel a community of thought with many peoples, many States, young or old, which, like us, are seeking their way in order to assert their dignity by themselves assuming the responsibility for their destinies.

40. We believe with them that this rostrum, this international gathering, this periodic and organized pooling of

world preoccupations are indispensable so that peoples souls may sometimes throb and that some cries may be uttered here and there; and these, heard by the multitude, may so animate them that nothing will ever be as before; so that falsehood may lose its assurance, that indifference may finally come to be tinged with concern; and that those who make demands and claims may also heed the voice of responsibility; that friendship may cease to be a matter of subservience and influence cease to be burdensome; that the veiled but ever-present threat may no longer weigh on people's minds and hearts, and that from now on, nobody may dare to give expression to it.

41. I, myself, prepared this speech several days ago. Before coming here today I changed nothing except the tenses of two verbs, from the present to the past, and inserted two phrases quite spontaneously.

42. This address is a statement of our policy, a statement of its concepts, duration and determination. I delete nothing. I add nothing to it.

43. But since last Saturday, fighting has been resumed and all the evidence indicates that it is particularly bloody. I offer the assistance of my country so that the war may quickly subside and not flare up again. We could make suggestions to contribute to a peaceful settlement on condition that everyone wants this and really wants a just and lasting peace. I am convinced that our European friends share this wish. I hope that these sincere wishes are not offered in vain.

44. Mr. LUPIS (Italy):² Mr. President, may I be allowed, at the outset, to express the deepest pleasure of the Italian delegation at seeing you preside over this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

45. I am also glad to associate myself with the appreciation extended to your predecessor and with the tribute paid to our Secretary-General, the faithful interpreter of the principles of the Charter and the living symbol of the continuity of this Organization, for the intelligent and successful work that he has accomplished.

46. Confronted by the sad news from the Middle East, I cannot refrain from giving my immediate attention to that tormented geographical area. The sudden renewal of large-scale hostilities in the Middle East at the very moment when the spirit of détente seemed to be spreading throughout the world, and when Europe is engaged in the task of consolidating peace, provides us with a brusque reminder that in an area very close to my own country there remains a deep-rooted and profound crisis which for a long time will threaten our peace-keeping efforts. I venture to recall that the Italian Government, fully aware of the precariousness of any armed truce, had issued repeated warnings, both in this Organization and in our bilateral contacts, about the risk of a further outbreak of hostilities.

47. The Italian Government and Italian public opinion are deeply concerned at the dramatic and tragic events of the last few days. Italy urges that every effort be made to

stop the bloodshed immediately. The military operations are producing suffering and death. Sadly, they have also caused victims among the civilian population, victims for whom I must express my deepest grief.

48. At the same time we urge that the root-causes of the conflict not be overlooked. It is towards these root-causes that we must turn our attention, at these gravest of moments, with the sincerely expressed wish that our Organization will, as it faces this serious crisis, prove itself capable of discharging its basic task of serving as a centre for harmonizing the actions of States in order to maintain international peace and security. The United Nations must therefore renew its efforts with increased vigour not only to re-establish the truce immediately—this aim, in our opinion, has absolute priority—but also to eradicate the roots of the conflict.

49. I would venture to add that this duty does not collectively weigh on our Organization alone. Each of its Members separately, and in particular those who bear a major responsibility for peace, are in duty bound to do their utmost to bring about a political solution. We must not ignore the danger that the Middle East conflict may lead to repercussions beyond our control.

50. Italy is convinced that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) still constitutes the basis for a just and honourable peace in the Middle East. The experience of these last six years has nevertheless shown that resolution 242 (1967), while offering the parties concerned the basic foundations for a peace agreement, will remain a dead letter unless the countries involved in the dispute make an open show of goodwill, in co-operation with the United Nations, in order to achieve a unanimously acceptable interpretation of the resolution and its subsequent implementation. The United Nations, and above all those Member States that have close relations with one or all of the interested parties, are in duty bound to invite them and urge them to tackle their problems constructively and to promote an agreement. Italy, for its part, will spare no effort to convince the parties to overcome doubts and misunderstandings and to encourage them to engage in a dialogue as a means of achieving peace. On behalf of the Italian Government, I wish to appeal to all the parties concerned to show restraint and a sense of responsibility so that reason and justice may finally prevail in the Middle East.

Mr. Vejvoda (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

51. It has been said in many quarters that 1973 has been the year of détente. And this was certainly true until a few days ago and warranted a certain satisfaction over the tangible and significant developments achieved in 1973. These achievements have been mentioned by many previous speakers: the progress made towards normalization in Viet-Nam; the favourable conclusion of negotiations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, which have improved the situation in the Asian subcontinent; the conclusion in Europe of the stage of soundings in preparation for a multilateral negotiation between the West, the East and the neutral countries, and the beginning of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which is now taking place in Geneva; the ratification of the treaty between the

² Mr. Lupis spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

two Germanys which has resulted in the entry into the United Nations of the two German States; the forthcoming negotiations in Vienna to achieve a balanced reduction of forces in central Europe and the resumption of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons.

52. A determining factor in these positive developments undoubtedly has been the search for a new kind of relationship among the major centres of world political influence. These centres, after having initiated and experienced balanced relationships which at the beginning of the 1970s constituted a decisive political change, are tending more and more to adopt the method of permanent negotiations in order to check potential conflicts and to bring about the peaceful consolidation of world stability.

53. The new presence of Europe as an entity actively engaged in the search for new relationships between States and peoples and in the building of a peaceful order on the continent and in the world constitutes a striking development in the international situation which, as a European, I certainly cannot ignore.

54. The concerted drive towards European unity no longer reflects merely a desire by the peoples of Western Europe to expand and strengthen the process of integration so far engaged in the European Economic Community; it also reflects a striving for the responsibility which devolves upon the Community as a result of the new international reality.

55. The aim of achieving by 1980 the political unity of the countries of the European Community reflects this desire and this responsibility. And the countries of the Community are moving towards the achievement of this aim by helping both to end the confrontation between East and West and to bridge the gap between industrialized and developing countries.

56. Hence the process of the economic and political unification of the countries and peoples of a large part of Europe, to the extent that it fills a historical gap and provides a new impetus towards co-operation and peace, coincides—as it has indeed so far coincided—with the progress of détente and with the initiation of new relations between the countries of the third world and the industrialized countries. Suffice it to point out that the enlargement of the European Economic Community and the further progress towards political integration have accompanied the preparation and holding of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Suffice it also to think of the treaties of association concluded between the Community and certain African States, the growing network of friendly relations which the Community is building up in the Mediterranean area and in Latin America and the initiatives taken in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for the development of trade within the framework of a system of generalized preferences. All this means that the European Community not only intends to achieve a model of regional economic and political integration but also is seeking to become a dynamic force and a specific reference point in the new system of relations and balances which is emerging as a more adequate response to the challenges and problems of the world community.

57. The new relationships based on negotiations initiated between the major centres of world influence have certainly helped to settle some potential conflicts. Nevertheless, the need to reaffirm the presence and the essential role of the United Nations in the process of overcoming crises and normalizing relations between States remains more than ever valid. That is because only the United Nations, through its universal and democratic vocation, can represent the aspirations and interests of all States and all peoples; and only the United Nations, created and developed on the basis of a set of principles of international coexistence, can seek a peace which not only conforms to Power relationships but also is founded on equality between States and an understanding of the aspirations of peoples.

58. It is therefore the task of the United Nations to supplement the efforts of the major centres of political influence by action which reflects the need for participation of all States and the democratic awareness of the world. That is action whereby the United Nations, seeking to build peace upon justice and to base that peace on the major principles of the Charter, must plan for peace and reaffirm it in all fields where it is threatened by delays in the achievement of progress which may bring to all men and all peoples dignified and democratic conditions of life.

59. There still remain some problems and disputes which have not as yet been settled. They can be tackled only by the application of the major principles of the United Nations, such as the self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights, the sovereign equality of States, and the renunciation of the use or threat of force. I refer to the crisis in the Middle East—which I have already dealt with—the remnants of colonialism in Africa, *apartheid*, racial discrimination, the serious violations of fundamental freedoms of individuals and of peoples which occur also on other continents, and the problems of the normalization of political relations in Asia.

60. Among other problems whose settlement involves the full implementation of the principles of the United Nations I shall mention here those of colonialism and *apartheid*. And let me say at once that the recent news of violence in southern Africa has had a strong impact on Italian public opinion. The Italian people demand a renewed undertaking on the part of the United Nations to initiate in the areas still under colonial rule constructive negotiations between the administering Powers and the liberation movements in order to bring about a process of peaceful and speedy decolonization. These are problems on which we have repeatedly expressed our views; and we have voiced our full disapproval of the adverse effects which our failure to solve them has had on the peoples concerned and on our progress towards the attainment of subsequent goals of free political coexistence between men.

61. The statement of these principles reminds us that there are still many countries where the right of peoples to choose freely their own political and social institutions and where the rights of the individual to life and liberty are suppressed because of recurring tendencies to impose or maintain political formulas and régimes by underhand coercion and violence of arms.

62. The Italian Government has followed with regret and concern the events which have taken place and are still

taking place in Chile, where a *coup d'état* led to the overthrow of the constitutional Government, the suppression of democratic institutions and the tragic death of President Allende.

63. Violence in political life, wherever and in whatever form it occurs, leads to the disregard and suppression of human rights. Italy maintains that respect for human rights, set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and proclaimed in the United Nations Charter as the basic objective of co-operation between States, constitutes everywhere the basis for ensuring political coexistence and for guaranteeing, both within States and in international life, the renunciation of the use of force and the free development of the values and aspirations of peoples.

64. On the continent of Asia also there still exist problems whose solution requires the rigorous application of United Nations principles.

65. The Paris agreements on Viet-Nam, the Vientiane Agreement on Laos and the end of the bombing in Cambodia constitute the premises for the gradual restoration of normal relations in Indo-China. Now that the war in Viet-Nam and Laos is over, we must try to defend the peace there; but above all we must place it on more solid and more genuine foundations, namely, full respect for the will of the peoples concerned to establish a freely chosen political and social order and a climate of reconciliation and fruitful progress.

66. On the Korean peninsula also the efforts made by the two Koreas to normalize their relations are encountering difficulties which may be overcome if the delicate balances existing within the region and the desires of the Korean people are respected and if there is no outside interference.

67. The most serious problem now facing the States Members of the United Nations, whether on the regional or the world level, is not so much to reaffirm the major principles already solemnly proclaimed in the Charter as to bring about their practical implementation. That is a task which in Italy's view may be accomplished mainly through a joint effort of political will by the States which are called upon to establish more peaceful and more balanced relationships throughout the world.

68. That co-operation may be achieved at the regional level, as may be proved by the significant test constituted by the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, but that Conference must not limit its scope to another redrafting, in more or less solemn terms, of a code of behaviour which already exists in the universal conscience. On the contrary, it must pursue the aim of equating European reality with the major principles of our Organization and it must remove the divisive factors which have so far prevented their full implementation on the continent. It must create the conditions for the gradual removal of barriers between States and peoples and for the initiation of new relations between them which are more open and dynamic.

69. With regard to the concern with which international public opinion has been following the measures recently

taken against citizens guilty of having expressed a form of political dissent, I wish to stress that the real success of the Conference will be measured by its ability effectively to enhance the quality of life and the dignity of man. In that sense, the promotion in Europe of broader contacts between individuals and the freer exchanges of information, ideas and scientific and artistic products will increase the political awareness of citizens and together will raise the level of social progress, as measured by the extent to which rights and freedom are enjoyed. The possibilities given to Europeans of understanding and meeting one another beyond national frontiers will signify the progress from a Europe marked by divisions to a Europe of peace, intent on seeking more advanced forms of social coexistence.

70. What I have said so far about Europe is valid, *mutatis mutandis*, for the other continents also. At the world level, however, the way towards the implementation of the major principles in international relations lies more than ever in the strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

71. The Italian Government has already had the opportunity of expressing its views on the matter. We maintain that full respect for the Charter and the political will of States to apply it correctly represent the necessary premise for restoring effectiveness to United Nations action. We are, however, also convinced that some of its structures must be modified in order to ensure more responsible participation of small and medium-sized States in the decisions and tasks of the Organization.

72. The expansion of the membership of the Economic and Social Council and the strengthening of its operations represents a positive event. We hope that the Security Council, too, may in the not-too-distant future reflect more accurately in its membership the changes that have come about in the world community during the last quarter of a century with the attainment of independence by so many States and with the evolution of influential relationships on the world scene. We also hope that by the establishment of new machinery the Security Council will be able to improve its fact-finding and peace-keeping functions.

73. A strengthening of the procedures for the settlement of international disputes, especially through a review of the role of the International Court of Justice; a further clarification of the powers of the Economic and Social Council to co-ordinate the specialized agencies and the programmes designed to implement the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]; the search for more co-ordinated procedures for ascertaining violations of human rights and for struggling against racial discrimination; the replacement of the Trusteeship Council, which has almost concluded its task, by a council for Non-Self-Governing Territories and for decolonization: these are some of the questions which we suggest Member States should ponder in order to bring about a genuine modernization of the structures and capacity for action of the United Nations.

74. Undoubtedly, the United Nations has traversed a long path towards the attainment of universality, which represents an important stage in the reaffirmation of its role. The entry into the world Organization of the two States of the

German nation and of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas brings closer the moment in which the United Nations can achieve real universality. To complete this process we shall have to accelerate the accession to independence by the countries still subject to a colonial régime and normalize relations between the divided States such as Korea and Viet-Nam.

75. Italy, which has always advocated the principle of universality of the United Nations, will continue to work for the attainment of this aim as soon as possible.

76. Precisely because of the ever-growing participation of States, the United Nations has been able in recent years to extend the scope of its action. Today, the United Nations is launching a campaign on all fronts for the liberation of mankind from the major evils which afflict it: the armaments spiral, under-development, hunger and the destruction of the environment. In this context I should like to recall the initiative of the President of Mexico for the adoption of a charter on the economic rights and duties of States, an initiative which we favourably accepted for the reasons which prompted it and in the study of which we are participating with interest.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) resumed the Chair.

77. What must be done is to implement the comprehensive and indivisible concept of security that befits the United Nations and is founded on the awareness that, in order to ensure peace the root-causes of tension must be eradicated.

78. In this context I will refer only to the United Nations effort to promote a global development strategy capable of bringing about a more equitable distribution of resources and technology in favour of the less-advanced States, to the major negotiations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund, to the noble initiatives—notably the suggested world food conference—undertaken to confront the dramatic challenges of hunger and over-population throughout the world and, last but not least, to the general awareness of the fact that a world environment policy can no longer be postponed.

79. It is against that comprehensive background, in the framework of a global strategy of peace which may confront world problems in their entirety and interrelationship, that we must consider also the disarmament problems.

80. The Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons and the start of a negotiation on the balanced reduction of forces in central Europe constitute so many positive elements which must be integrated with the efforts of the United Nations itself if we are to move towards the objective of general and complete disarmament. Italy continues on each and every occasion to be actively engaged in the search for progress in disarmament. We are pursuing this search in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva which technically still constitutes, in spite of recent difficulties, the body best equipped to negotiate specific and workable measures. Italy also intends to remain active in the efforts deployed to bring about a World Disarmament Conference which, if it is effectively prepared with the participation of all the nuclear Powers, could become the most useful instrument for bringing about general and complete disarmament.

81. The United Nations was created in order to base international relations on peace and law and to guarantee to all peoples the right to decide their own destiny and to be free from all foreign interference and all forms of coercion. Since States and peoples are made up of human beings, today more than ever the enrichment of the quality of life—the quality of life of all men, wherever they live—is essential for ensuring that relations between States will also develop in a framework of security and harmony. The rights of States and peoples may be achieved more fully in a climate of peace and security when the rights of the individual can expand and develop within all regions and within all social systems.

82. It is in that spirit that Italy reaffirms its complete support for the United Nations and the principles set forth in the Charter and its resolve to co-operate in the formulation of a comprehensive policy for peace, which may also promote all the values in which man's desire constantly to overcome himself is embodied.

83. Mr. MUNGAI (Kenya): Mr. President and representatives, I bring to you the greetings and good wishes for the success of our deliberations from His Excellency President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta of the Republic of Kenya. That veteran fighter for freedom, liberty and independence for the oppressed people of the world now stands ready to fight for peace, liberty and justice for all nations, particularly individuals and minority groups who face oppression from any State.

84. My delegation extends its felicitations to the newly-elected President of the General Assembly, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador. His exceptional ability, breadth of vision and wide experience in the affairs of the United Nations should ensure the successful conclusion of the present session.

85. To the outgoing President, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński of Poland, we express our deep gratitude for conducting the last session with dispatch, skill and success.

86. My delegation deems it appropriate to welcome into our fold the new Members—namely, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. It is our conviction that their membership will strengthen the United Nations and promote effectively its fundamental objectives of peace, justice and co-operation. We hope that the stand of the United Nations for the promotion of justice and equality in the Territories under colonial domination or in the minority racist régimes in Africa will receive their unequivocal, sympathetic, and action-oriented support.

87. Turning now to the seemingly intractable problem of the Middle East, I wish to express the deep concern of my country over the grave situation in the Middle East. In less than 25 years, this is the fourth full-scale war which has engulfed the people of the Middle East in untold suffering and destruction. Unless checked soon, it could easily develop into a global conflagration.

88. We African countries are not big Powers; we do not possess arsenals of sophisticated weapons. But we are intensely interested in peace, justice, progress and good-

neighbourliness. Our own economies can develop only in conditions of peace and harmony. Therefore, we must play an active and sustained role in bringing about an honourable, just and expeditious settlement to the Middle East crisis under a durable structure of peace. In our view, what is called for is a fresh initiative by the African countries, alongside the other nations, to bring about the desired peace. This would be complementary to any efforts of the Security Council to find a meaningful and just solution through purposeful initiatives.

89. The current eruption of warfare should be terminated by cessation of hostilities, the immediate withdrawal of troops, and application of the following principles: first, the acquisition of territory by force of arms is inadmissible; secondly, all States in the region have a right to existence in conditions of peace and security; thirdly, the rights of the displaced Palestinians should under no circumstances be abused, overlooked, sacrificed or minimized; fourthly, the super-Powers should desist from accelerating an arms race in the whole region, because it eventually acts as a catalyst to warfare; and fifthly, an international system for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, including measures of demilitarization and the establishment of zones of peace, if necessary, should be seriously considered.

90. Kenya sincerely hopes that unnecessary loss of life and property on all sides will be averted through a cease-fire. It is high time that a permanent solution, which has long proved elusive in the halls and corridors of our Organization, was found—for the benefit of the peoples of that region and for world peace at large. The immediate national interests of foreign States should not be permitted to override the supreme necessity of restoring a lasting peace in the Middle East.

91. Our yearly congregation in New York for the General Assembly session should not be merely an exercise in passing resolutions and declarations or exchanging impressive rhetoric and bitter polemics for consignment to the mushrooming archives of the United Nations. Urgent political issues of decolonization and restoration of peace require our urgent attention. Loud rumbles of economic discontent call for concerted action. Threats to peace need to be totally eliminated. Super-Power interests and covert collaboration should not be permitted to diminish the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping and in the processes of peace-building. The liberation of over 30 million Africans held in servitude in southern Africa should be accelerated by determined action on the part of the international community. The rapidly opening horizons in science and technology need to be applied to development for the eradication of poverty, disease, illiteracy and squalor.

92. In short, the challenges to be faced are numerous and multidimensional. Our responsibilities, therefore, are all the greater. To meet them realistically, we must not remain locked in sterile debate, inordinate delay or ideological confrontation. That is the path to abdication of responsibility, chaos and eventual ruination.

93. It is only proper that we should welcome the recent international détente, even if it does not mean a solution to most of the outstanding problems of this day and age. The

dialogue of peace and co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union should be seen as a hopeful development. Similarly, the meeting together of two big Powers, which are also permanent members of the Security Council—one from the East and the other from the West—is a step in the right direction.

94. The cessation of hostilities in, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from, Viet-Nam should help the cause of peace and rehabilitation in that war-ravaged part of the world.

95. The process of reconciliation and normality between India and Pakistan should prove useful for building a durable structure of peace, progress and co-operation on the Indian subcontinent, encompassing as it does the great States of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

96. Tangible results from the difficult negotiations at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are expected to strengthen peaceful relations amongst States, which should cut across the military pacts conceived in the context of cold-war politics. The enlarged European Economic Community should act as an effective counterpoise to the unbridled ambitions of the super-Powers. Other regional groupings of newly-emergent nations have a similar role to play.

97. The Assembly will readily understand Kenya's concern for the dire fate of millions of Africans who are condemned to slavery by Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, by the repression and terror of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and Namibia and by the illegal rebel régime in Rhodesia.

98. Before I dwell in some depth on the situation in southern Africa, I should like to hail the Declaration of Independence by the valiant freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau. After decades of the slaughter of innocent men, women and children; after incalculable loss of property; after indescribable sufferings and deprivation, the gallant people of Guinea-Bissau have finally achieved their independence by armed struggle.

99. Just as the Mau Maus of Kenya tore to shreds British colonial occupation in our forests, just as the Algerians defeated the French in the vast desert expanses of the Sahara, the people of Guinea-Bissau have now smashed the Portuguese colonialist presence in Guinea-Bissau by a relentless fight in the forests, plains and valleys of Guinea. That is an object lesson for the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia to take to the velds and karoo of southern Africa to win their independence if all peaceful methods fail to give them their inalienable birth-right to freedom and sovereignty.

100. Kenya pledges unreserved support to the people of Guinea-Bissau in consolidating their independence. Recognizing the new State is not sufficient in itself; we must ensure that it receives every form of moral and material support, particularly from the African and non-aligned countries that consistently supported the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau. Kenya not only recognizes the new State of Guinea-Bissau, but is ready to offer any help that the new State may need.

101. Africa holds no brief for violence. Africa wants a peaceful solution to problems of race and inequality in Territories under alien domination and minority racist régimes. If, however, all these methods fail, then no one should blame the Africans for raising the standard of rebellion and violence against the oppression, terror and bloodshed which is inflicted on them by unrepresentative and imposed orders. If it should prove necessary, Africa is ready to water the tree of liberty with blood. Responsibility for any ensuing racial conflagration must then be placed squarely at the door of the racists and the colonialists. Let that be very clearly understood both by the racists and by the world community.

102. The conscience of the world has been outraged by the atrocities committed by the trigger-happy Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique. Defenceless, unarmed and innocent men, women and children have been butchered in the villages of Mozambique. These brutalities were exposed by reputable missionaries and by international journalists with impeccable credentials. It is probable that such massacres take place in great secrecy with calculated regularity in areas under Portuguese domination. This body must act to stop this wave of destruction, rape and plunder against the African population. The United Nations has a decisive role to play in this regard.

103. The Portuguese should learn from their allies of 600 years, the British, who once held sway over a global empire over which the sun was supposed never to set. The winds of change swept away that myth and Britain realistically granted independence to almost all its colonies and Territories. Today the representatives of the liberated countries sit with Britain in the councils of the United Nations. In cordiality, and without bitterness over the past, they even have a club called the "Commonwealth".

104. Portugal should also learn from France, another imperial Power that was forced to grant independence to numerous colonies in Africa and elsewhere.

105. Portugal, in this day and age, lives in the dead dreams of the yesteryear of Vasco da Gama, when it thought that its writ spread from Europe across Africa to the Far East. That is amply demonstrated by the fact that even today two members sit in the Portuguese legislature who are supposed to represent Goa. That is indeed the height of absurdity. The impoverished, imposter Government of Caetano should now realise that the boundaries of Portugal do not extend beyond Europe. Unless Portugal wakes up from this Rip van Winkle sleep, it is in for rude shocks.

106. We call upon the Church in Portugal and the enlightened opinion of the young and the intellectuals to join hands with us. Let us expose the fictitious nature and bankruptcy of the policies of the Portuguese régime which have spelled misery, bloodshed and ruin for millions of enslaved and helpless Africans.

107. The non-aligned countries which held a summit meeting last month in Algiers adopted a resolution which urged all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to expel or suspend Portugal from NATO unless it terminates its colonial wars in Africa, stops the massacre of Africans, withdraws its troops from African

soil and grants independence to its colonies [see A/9330 and Corr.1, pp. 36-38]. The reasons for that move are very clear. NATO arms intended for Europe release weapons in Portuguese possession for prosecuting Portuguese colonial wars in Africa. Portuguese officers trained under NATO programmes are known to be transferred later to the African theatre of war. They are therefore used, not for the purpose originally intended, but for maintaining the colonialization of Africans. These arms are not used for the avowed aim of protecting the freedom and liberty of Europeans, but rather to promote the suppression of human rights, democracy and freedom in Africa.

108. In the face of Portuguese brutalities in Africa, no member of NATO can support the use of herbicides, defoliants and exceedingly potent chemical weapons for the mass destruction of people and crops. Many members of NATO themselves suffered from Hitlerite oppression which they eventually defeated through enormous sacrifices in life, limb and property. Our struggle against the alien régimes that are essentially Hitlerite in character and content is similar. Therefore, members of NATO should stand behind us in our legitimate struggle; for what is good for freedom-loving Europeans is equally good for the oppressed Africans. It is clear for them to see that Portugal is committed to a cause that is futile and a war it can never win. Let NATO members therefore play a rightful role in this shameful episode of Portuguese colonization of African Territories.

109. Kenya is gratified that progressive countries like Norway and Denmark are now openly questioning in the NATO Councils the wisdom of the Portuguese colonial war effort in Africa. Other countries, like Sweden, the Netherlands and those in the socialist camp, have stepped up their moral and material assistance to the liberation movements in Africa. To all these countries we express our deepest gratitude. To the others that do not yet support us, we address an appeal to emulate the worthy example of the countries sympathetic to our cause.

110. We also welcome the support that organizations like the World Council of Churches, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and many other private and public institutions are giving to the cause of freedom and independence in our continent of Africa.

111. Here I should like directly to address France, a country which is associated with the noble sentiments of liberty, equality and fraternity of mankind. Has France forgotten or neglected these ideals, which contributed to its greatness? If not, it should come out in the open with a clean conscience and bring pressure to bear upon Portugal to terminate the massacre of the black people in Africa and to grant them their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

112. I ask Britain, which is credited with democratic traditions, rule of law and humanitarianism, not to disown its time-honoured values. The United Kingdom should not be seen to be associating with countries like Portugal, which systematically practise genocide and slavery in Africa.

113. The great country of the United States, whose modern democracy was laid down by men like Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, should not disgrace the glorious principles which were laid down by these men. It should not

be associating with a puny Power like Portugal, which has spread terror and rained death and destruction on our continent.

114. All these great and self-confessed Christian nations should not fold their hands and sit back oblivious to the decimation of the black people in Africa by the brutal and dehumanizing policies of Portugal. Kenya urges all of them to suspend or expel Portugal from membership in NATO unless it complies with the principles and purposes for which the Organization was established.

115. The Decolonization Mission of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], on which Kenya had the privilege of serving, highlighted the plight of subjugated Africa during its sojourn to numerous world capitals. World attention is now focused on the sufferings of Africans under colonial régimes. The United Nations-sponsored International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, which was held earlier this year in Oslo, was indeed successful. More such conferences should be held throughout the world to keep this issue alive and under constant review by world leaders.

116. The Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project in the Tete province of Mozambique is conceived as a master-plan to settle millions of poor whites from Portugal so that they can enrich themselves through the toil, tears and sweat of the Africans. This will enable the whites to carry on indefinitely the oppression of the blacks and, through the exploitation of the vast mineral resources of this Territory, to fill the coffers of metropolitan treasuries in Europe.

117. Although technically it would be a good project for a free, democratic Mozambique, at this juncture it is wrong to support it because it will strengthen Portuguese colonialism in Africa. It was for that reason that the OAU Decolonization Mission requested Western Governments, institutions, bankers and investors to desist from taking part in this project. We are grateful to the Governments which heeded our appeal; I must single out for special mention many Swedish and Italian firms which withdrew their participation from the Cabora Bassa project. We request those who did not do so to examine their conscience and help Africa's cause. We are merely asking for the postponement of their collaboration, not for their permanent exclusion from the project. When Mozambique attains independence, it can proceed to completion. At that time we shall appreciate it.

118. Kenya also urges the isolation of and a comprehensive boycott against Portugal. The Security Council should act decisively to repel threats to international peace and security posed by Portuguese colonialism in Africa. An arms embargo against Portugal is called for. Brutalities and excesses of the Portuguese troops in Africa should continue to be exposed in the hope that the outraged world conscience will be galvanized into effective action against the colonialists in Africa. Concrete and meaningful steps are necessary to break the growing alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesian whites.

119. In South Africa a most explosive and dangerous situation obtains. As if the massacre of Africans in 1960 at Sharpeville was not enough, the South Africans indiscriminately slaughtered workers at Carletonville last month

when they were protesting against unjust employment conditions in South African mines. This demonstrates that the bloodthirsty minority régimes of southern Africa have an insatiable appetite for death and destruction of the Africans.

120. South Africa has created certain "Bantustans" as homelands for the black people of South Africa. This is an entirely erroneous description because all the land in South Africa belongs to the Africans. We are told that the "Bantustans" are independent entities designed to ensure equal and separate development. But this is deception at its highest and arrant nonsense aimed at hoodwinking the world. In actual fact, the "Bantustans" are reservoirs of black majority population strategically located in arid regions on which the whites can swoop down at will and forcibly take away African labour to mines, factories, homes of the whites and other such places. They are festering sores of unemployment, discontent and squalor where no development in any form or shape has taken place. They are like cattle-pens from which the desired number of animals are taken for slaughter to make vast profits for sustaining the apparatus of *apartheid*.

121. Vorster hopes to control the "Bantustans" by creating divisions amongst them and the liberation movements. His designs are to play one against the other and to see blacks fight against black brethren while the whites prosper and look at black men killing black men.

122. The concept of "Bantustans" is the most pernicious evil conceived by the human mind. The world body must reject it outright.

123. With regard to Rhodesia, the Kenya Government recommends the convening of a round-table conference of all the interested parties to work out a constitutional arrangement for the granting of independence to the African majority under an equitable electoral system. The Africans, whose political destiny is at stake, must participate fully and freely in such negotiations. Those incarcerated in Smith's prisons ought to be released. Restrictions on African political movement and organization must be lifted. All discriminatory laws should be repealed in recognition of the right of the Africans to freedom and independence. South African military and police contingents have no business in Rhodesia. Those are fundamental conditions for an equitable and a lasting settlement to the Rhodesian problem.

124. On Namibia, we shall support fully all the efforts of the United Nations to maintain a physical foot-hold for the purpose of promoting African majority rule and independence. Eviction of illegal South African presence from that Territory is imperative. It is our feeling that direct negotiations with South Africa as to the future of Namibia have proved fruitless. They should therefore be discontinued and other concrete alternatives tried.

125. I may be asked, quite legitimately, why the African countries have now seen fit to maintain a militant stance towards the colonial and minority racist régimes in Africa. Our answer is that all peaceful methods have been tried without success, and the patience of the oppressed peoples is mounting to a breaking-point.

126. Free Africa's call, in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa,³ was rejected by Vorster. This was an appeal for a peaceful solution on the basis of freedom, equality and democratization of the rigid *apartheid* system within South Africa. The United Nations, the non-aligned world and OAU made several appeals for peaceful accommodation which were rejected outright by South Africa. Free Africa was ready to discuss ways and means of democratizing the internal situation in South Africa in a peaceful manner for the amelioration of the conditions of the black people.

127. This meant discussions on the system of *apartheid* and its eventual abolition. It, too, was of no avail. Vorster's reaction was to rain insults and aggression on free African countries to the north. The territorial integrity of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire was violated by joint action of the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese militarists. In the face of this intransigence, does Africa really have a choice other than that of an armed struggle?

128. Permit me now to say a few words about our steadfast commitment to the non-aligned movement. We are convinced that this movement has been a dynamic force for promoting peace, justice and understanding in contemporary international affairs. It is a solid front against colonialism, racism, exploitation and inequality. It has a definite role to play for the economic and social welfare of the non-aligned States.

129. I should also reiterate Kenya's unswerving support for OAU. It is our ultimate hope for the liberation and economic advancement of our continent of Africa. It is our instrument for forging continental African unity in every field. Under its banner, we shall continue to fight for intensification of inter-African trade, investments and co-operation at all levels, and for a united front in international organizations to achieve equality, justice and development in the whole continent in general.

130. In the larger sphere, Africa is determined unitedly to press for its relationship with the European Economic Community in accordance with the political and economic interests of our peoples. We shall not allow ourselves to be dictated to by the rich and powerful nations to suit their policies and objectives at our expense. Our resources and potentialities are plentiful and our scope for economic co-operation unlimited. Therefore, we need not entertain any feelings of despondency or helplessness in this regard.

131. That was our stand at the recent historic joint annual meeting of the World Bank-International Monetary Fund and its affiliates in Nairobi from 24 to 28 September this year. I call that conference historic because a meeting of this magnitude and size was held for the first time on African soil. The official opinion was that this huge conference was successfully organized. We are naturally gratified by this impartial evaluation. We can assure the international community that we shall do everything in our power to ensure the success of future meetings in Nairobi. It is indicative of our belief that major conferences need not be confined to

established centres, like New York, Geneva and Vienna and others in the Western world. Other capitals which can offer the necessary facilities should also be given the chance to play host to important meetings. This is a reflection of the universal nature of our Organization.

132. In that spirit Kenya is privileged to play host to the United Nations Environment Programme [*UNEP*] in Nairobi. The Kenya Government has made available ample facilities for accommodation, communications and services for the successful establishment of *UNEP*, which was formally opened last week in Nairobi by His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Republic of Kenya.

133. May I take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the Kenya Government and people to all the countries that supported our offer of Nairobi, Kenya, as the site for *UNEP*.

134. I wish to express our deepest sympathy to the victims of the Sudano-Sahelian famine which has now assumed catastrophic proportions in Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta. The Kenya Government is currently considering on a basis of urgency what aid it can give to the victims of this unprecedented drought. They can rest assured of our support to the best of our capability. We urge the United Nations, OAU, and all other interested organizations to join hands in combating the consequences of this natural disaster. It is a grim reminder that the international community should set up a long-range, permanent arrangement to meet such catastrophes in the future in any region of the world.

135. Before I conclude, I deem it important to appeal to all countries to respect human rights without any reservations. Any change of government, or accession to power by any political party in any State should not be used as a licence to wipe out opponents or to unleash terror and bloodshed. Each national of every State, irrespective of colour, religion, sex or political persuasion, has a God-given right to life and protection under the due process of law. We cannot acquiesce in any political murder, massacre or repression in any part of the world. After all, shorn of all the technicalities and diplomatic jargon, this is the central message of our Charter and of the many conventions that have been adopted by the General Assembly.

136. Finally, Kenya would like to see the United Nations remain in outlook and action a positive, active and dynamic force for justice, fair play and humanity. That must remain our guiding philosophy as the United Nations triumphantly marches from strength to strength in the face of many odds ahead.

137. Mr. AHMED (Pakistan): Mr. President, when my Prime Minister spoke, before the general debate opened [*2122nd meeting*], he conveyed to you the congratulations of the Government and the people of Pakistan on your election to your high office. Allow me to add my own and those of my delegation, and to extend our good wishes to you in your task. I take this occasion also to recall the ability and skill with which your predecessor, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Trepczyński of Poland, conducted the proceedings of the twenty-seventh session of the General

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

Assembly last year, and in particular the remarkable role he played in putting to rest the controversy caused, during that session, by the application of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations.

138. On 6 October war broke out in the Middle East, as many had foreseen that it might. Since then, we have heard an account of the situation from the countries directly involved and the great Powers have made statements in the Security Council. In the view of my delegation, it will serve no purpose to determine who fired the first shot. In any event, the Arabs would be fully justified, morally and politically, in taking whatever steps they consider necessary to recover their own territory. The reason why the fighting has broken out is plain enough.

139. For almost six years the Arabs and the rest of the world have waited for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in accordance with resolution 242 (1967), adopted in the Security Council in November 1967. Every effort made since then to resolve this conflict has been frustrated by the intransigence of Israel. More than that, by continuing to take action to consolidate its hold over the Arab territories it seized during the 1967 war, Israel has put the world on notice that it has no intention whatsoever to part with that territory. In other words, it has no intention to implement the resolution in question. At the same time, it has tried from time to time during these six years to terrorize its Arab neighbours into submission. Their patience has been exhausted, and considering that all peaceful avenues to settlement have been blocked, it is small wonder that the Arabs have taken up the challenge and decided to meet force with force.

140. War is tragic in that it inflicts suffering on innocent people as well. My delegation is shocked at the news that Israel has bombed civilian areas of Cairo and Damascus. The attack on Damascus appears to have been particularly vicious. The diplomatic quarter has also been hit and a number of embassies, including our own, have been severely damaged, and diplomatic personnel and their families have been killed or injured. This senseless act cannot be too strongly condemned. It can only lead to further escalation of this conflict.

141. The time has come for the United Nations, and in particular the great Powers, to assert themselves in the cause of peace. It is no longer enough that we think in terms merely of another cease-fire. The Organization has to find ways not only to silence the guns but also to allow the voice of reason to prevail. The elements of an equitable settlement are contained in resolution 242 (1967). It is time to begin in earnest to implement it by requiring Israel to withdraw from all Arab territories it occupied in the 1967 war. Once this is agreed to and the evaluation of the territory begins, a long-term settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict can be worked out on the basis of resolution 242 (1967), bearing in mind that any settlement, to be enduring, must provide for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

142. I now turn to other matters. In the first place, we should like to welcome the admission into the United Nations of the two German States and of the Bahamas, the latest of the colonial Territories to achieve independence.

We extend to the representatives of all three States to this Organization our warmest good wishes on behalf of the people of Pakistan.

143. Some delegations have expressed the hope that Bangladesh too will soon join the Organization. We share that hope. There are, however, certain impediments that stand in the way.

144. In Delhi recently an agreement was reached, nearly two years after the India-Pakistan war ended, that India will repatriate the prisoners of war. But not all prisoners of war: 195 of them are to be retained in India for possible trials by Bangladesh for criminal offences allegedly committed by those prisoners during the tragic happenings of 1971. We tried very hard—I myself was involved in those negotiations—to persuade India to release all prisoners of war, without exception, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and the Geneva Conventions, but we failed.

145. As pointed out by my Prime Minister recently in this Assembly [*2122nd meeting*], the Government of Pakistan will abide by the letter and spirit of those resolutions and, in pursuance of those resolutions, will not resist the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations as soon as all our prisoners of war, including the 195, have been repatriated to Pakistan.

146. The key to Bangladesh's entry into the United Nations clearly lies in the hands of India and Bangladesh. We hope that agreement on the repatriation of these prisoners of war also will soon be reached. In that event we will not only not resist Bangladesh's entry into the United Nations, but will warmly welcome it.

147. Despite India's inability for the time being to agree to repatriation of these 195 prisoners, the Delhi agreement is a major step forward towards an over-all settlement in the subcontinent. The three-way repatriation of the prisoners of war from India and of thousands of Bengalis and Pakistan nationals stranded in Pakistan and Bangladesh, respectively, is now under way. My Government attaches the highest importance to the speedy implementation of this agreement. As an earnest of our desire to implement it faithfully and speedily, we proceeded to repatriate Bengalis to Bangladesh 10 days before India started to repatriate the prisoners of war, even though under the agreement the repatriation of prisoners of war and of Bengalis had to be simultaneous. We also sent off the 203 senior Bengali civil and military officials we had originally intended to try for treasonable activities with the earliest batches of Bengalis repatriated to Bangladesh. We are hopeful that India and Bangladesh will also implement this agreement with the same dispatch and in the same spirit. We also hope that before long India will agree to repatriate the remaining 195 prisoners of war as well. The way will then have been opened for further moves for normalizing relations not only with India but also with Bangladesh, with a view to strengthening the fabric of peace in the subcontinent.

148. I should like here to record our gratitude to the international community for the generosity and speed with which it has come forward with assistance, and to the Secretary-General for undertaking a massive operation, for the repatriation by air of an estimated 170,000 to 200,000 men, women and children.

149. It was at Simla that for the first time in the post-independence history of the subcontinent the Governments of Pakistan and India resolved to put an end to the conflict and confrontation that had hitherto marred their relations and work for the establishment of a durable peace in the subcontinent. The Agreement signed at Simla on 2 July 1972 states:

“... the prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs...”.

The two countries also agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force against each other's territorial integrity or political independence. We consider that the agreement between India and Pakistan to order their relationship on this basis was the most important achievement of the summit meeting at Simla. We are resolved to fulfil that commitment in every respect.

150. In fact, this has been the basis of our relations with all countries. In particular, the commitment not to interfere in each other's internal affairs on any pretext whatsoever has been the guiding principle of Pakistan's foreign policy in its relations with all of its immediate neighbours. We scrupulously refrain from interfering in their internal affairs, and we naturally expect from them the same respect for our sovereign rights.

151. Our quest for peace and stability in the Middle East, in the subcontinent and in Asia in general leads us to welcome the détente that is beginning to mark the relations between the major Powers. We welcome it in the hope that it may, as it must, eventually encompass also other areas and issues which at the moment may seem to those Powers as being of subsidiary importance but which are of vital concern to the smaller nations. As has been tragically demonstrated again by the recent outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East, there is no assurance whatsoever that despite the détente what are often casually referred to as local wars would not continue to erupt. Indeed, there is cause for some apprehension that in their anxiety to promote and preserve the détente, the big Powers might be willing to overlook or sacrifice the interests of the smaller Powers. We should like to see the détente so develop that the smaller countries also may be able to live in peace and harmony with each other.

152. Another disturbing feature of the present situation is that the major Powers continue to arm themselves in spite of the détente. Perhaps it is too early yet to see the détente reflected in the field of disarmament. The acid test of the genuineness of the détente will, in our judgement, be the readiness of the major Powers to disarm themselves, which may act as a catalyst for a world-wide move towards general disarmament. The present situation, however, involves a contradiction. For all the talk of a détente, the major Powers remain engaged in producing tools of destruction which are ever more sophisticated and ever more deadly. We fear that there is a basic lack of trust among the nuclear Powers. We fear for them and for the rest of mankind and the terrible price that all of us might have to pay if a major war were unleashed.

153. Born and nurtured under conditions of insecurity basically stemming from an imbalance of power, now greatly altered to its disadvantage, Pakistan's commitment to the goal of general disarmament can scarcely be doubted. Realizing that an arms race between India and Pakistan is senseless, largely self-cancelling, and involves an appalling waste of the scarce resources desperately needed for their economic advancement, Pakistan at one stage unilaterally cut its defence expenditure. Unfortunately, this action failed to evoke a suitable response, and in recent years in both India and Pakistan the diversion of resources to military expenditure has continued at a disturbingly high rate, to the neglect of their pressing economic needs. We consider that both India and Pakistan should seriously ponder whether the time has not come for them drastically to cut their military budgets and put their resources to better use in staging a war against their common enemy, poverty. As stated by my Prime Minister during his recent visit to this country, we will be ready to discuss this issue with India at an appropriate time in the context of our joint agreement to work for durable peace in the subcontinent.

154. It was the realization that the arms race that afflicts this world is dangerous and self-defeating that led Pakistan to propose, as far back as 1961, that a study be undertaken of the economic consequences of disarmament. The conclusions of that study⁴ are more than ever applicable today in view of the vast increases in military expenditures that have since taken place. The world is now spending something like \$225,000 million a year on armaments. What a sad commentary on the “Disarmament Decade”. What a macabre tragedy in terms of resources wasted when hundreds of millions of people on this globe live in abject poverty, haunted by the continual threat of starvation or death from malnutrition, when a mere fraction of this enormous expenditure on arms could help lift the pall of fear that envelopes this unfortunate segment of mankind.

155. The time has come to shift the current emphasis from world-wide military security to world-wide economic security. Constructive action in the field of arms control and disarmament could release substantial savings for development which alone could lead to the effective underpinning of a durable structure of world-wide peace.

156. The need for disarmament is universally recognized. And yet, after years of negotiations and numerous studies, hardly any real progress has been made. Armaments continue to pile up at an alarming rate. In particular, delay in controlling and eliminating nuclear weapons could be fatal. The monopoly of a few could soon become the preserve of many, making the task of eliminating nuclear weapons even more difficult and the danger of a universal holocaust more real.

157. The existing “balance of terror”—which is in fact only a modern version of the old principle of “balance of power” in a nuclear garb—has so far prevented the outbreak of war on a world-wide scale. However, this could create a false sense of security. It should not make us oblivious to the dangers to peace posed by regional imbal-

⁴ *Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.IX.16), and addendum thereto (A/8469/Add.1).

ance in armaments, by resurgent desires for hegemony or by the perpetuation of intolerable injustices, and by the rapidly widening gap between the north and the south, the white and the coloured, the rich and the poor. The mere prevention of a major war does not *ipso facto* mean the assurance of justice on the basis of which alone a durable peace can be built.

158. We see proof of this proposition in the recent flare-up of fighting in the Middle East and the situations prevailing in South and South-East Asia and in Africa.

159. It is a matter of great regret and disappointment that after 28 years of its existence the United Nations should still be considering the questions of colonialism and racial discrimination. Those questions should have been resolved long ago in conformity with the provisions of the Charter. The shocking spectacle of millions of people still subjected to ruthless colonial domination and exploitation, and still suffering degrading racial discrimination, continues to weigh heavy on the conscience of mankind. The situation is particularly distressing in Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese administration and in South Africa. We may derive some satisfaction from the fact that the just struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves to achieve their inalienable right to freedom and racial equality is making steady progress. Temporary set-backs have only spurred them to rededication to waging this struggle even more relentlessly. Pakistan's known commitment to this struggle and its solidarity with all those who are fighting for freedom on the basis of their right to self-determination remains strong and firm. In this context I am happy to announce that my Government has recognized Guinea-Bissau.

160. These are some of the issues that in our judgement deserve consideration by this august body. There is one other issue which is exercising the minds of people everywhere. Whither United Nations? We believe that the effectiveness, and indeed the future of the United Nations, will depend not only on its ability to prevent war, but on its ability to ensure justice. It is on the distinction between justice and injustice that the Organization will founder or survive. The Charter accepts and makes clear that distinction, but does the membership of the United Nations? In December 1971, the General Assembly, expressing the voice of mankind, issued a clarion call by 105 votes to protect the integrity and sovereignty of a Member State. The Security Council, hampered by a procedure that has lost relevance to today's world, muted and suppressed that voice by a single negative vote.

161. That part of history is behind us. But is this to remain the pattern for the future? It is our profound hope that it will not. Our faith in the United Nations survives the vicissitudes of the past. It is a faith tempered by a keen awareness of its shortcomings. It is a faith that demands that the United Nations be made stronger and more effective: a United Nations which has the ability to settle disputes that threaten peace, an Organization under which the survival of the weak will find the same guarantee as that of the strong, an Organization guided by principles, not political expediency, where justice will rule instead of the dictates of power politics. Therein lies the hope of mankind and that of generations to come.

162. U LWIN (Burma): Mr. President, at the outset, I should like to extend in the name of the delegation of Burma our warm congratulations to you on your election as President of the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly. Your distinguished career and your wide knowledge of world affairs and of the practices of the United Nations are a guarantee to us that under your able guidance the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly will be conducted efficiently and effectively towards a successful outcome.

163. Let me also pay tribute to our outgoing President, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński for his wise steering of the affairs of the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly and the vision with which he fulfilled the functions of his high office.

164. This year we have in our midst the delegations of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. I should like to offer to them on behalf of the delegation of Burma our warm congratulations and friendly greetings on the occasion of their admission to the family of the United Nations. By their presence in the United Nations they will be able to make a fuller contribution towards the realization of the purposes of the United Nations.

165. The over-all impression which emerges from the present course of world developments and changing power relationships is that we are passing through a critical period in the general relationships between nations and are now at a juncture, in international relations, of general relaxation of tension. On the other hand, this seemingly favourable trend in international relations is somewhat thwarted by the fact that the world political, economic and monetary scene is still essentially far from stable, and we should like to dwell briefly on some of the aspects which lead us to think along these lines.

166. The prevailing trend towards détente in international relations has generated positive processes hopefully opening up prospects for a more peaceful world order. Against that background some former opposing great Powers, recognizing the need to coexist with one another, have sought to normalize their relations and other disputant Powers have begun to seek accommodation of their mutual problems. While those moves have resulted in a lessening of tensions in many parts of the world, the continued existence of tensions and armed conflicts in certain regions calls for renewed efforts for their elimination.

Mr. Boateng (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

167. With the growing readiness of States to improve their relations and mutual security in the spirit of détente, the quest for international peace and security is beginning to gain strength among the majority of nations inspired by the basic concern to work for the creation of conditions towards this end. The tendency is gradually emerging among nations today to seek new options other than great-Power protection to ensure a peaceful environment in the interests of their own security. Speaking of developments nearer home, in the form of initiatives coming from within the regions which have been prompted by these considerations, we notice the movements under way to secure the

recognition of and respect for the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and of the South-East Asian region as a whole as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of intervention by the outside Powers.

168. Since the conclusion of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly certain important developments have taken place in our part of the world. Of particular international significance is the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973, and the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos of 21 February 1973. The Paris Agreement reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of every Indo-Chinese State to determine their own future without any outside interference. It acknowledges the inadmissibility of outside intervention in the internal affairs of any of these Indo-Chinese States. It provides for the settlement of the problems existing in the countries of Indo-China by the Indo-Chinese parties themselves on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in the other's internal affairs. These simple principles embodied in the Agreement, which are of universal application in relations between States, are by no means new principles. What is significant is that they are acknowledged and reaffirmed after years of bitter conflict in Indo-China, which has seen massive intervention by outside Powers and which has brought untold suffering to the valiant Indo-Chinese peoples and immeasurable damage and destruction to their countries.

169. The delegation of Burma is gratified at the prospect that the peoples of the countries of Indo-China will be able to determine, without external interference, their own political status and to pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. However difficult their tasks of national reconciliation, concord and national reconstruction, we have faith that they will be able to work out among themselves satisfactory solutions to their own problems and to rebuild their nations successfully. Belonging as they do to South-East Asia, the Indo-Chinese States, like other States in the region, will have to play their part in the region and will have to share in its future. The restoration of conditions of peace and stability in Indo-China will open up new prospects of consultation and co-operation among the countries of the region for building up the kind of South-East Asia they want. It is therefore essential that the peoples of the Indo-Chinese States reach speedy settlement of their own problems and that no further outside interference take place on whatever pretext.

170. Burma welcomes the Delhi agreement of 28 August 1973 which, we believe will pave the way to a peaceful settlement of the problems of the Indian subcontinent. Burma is also in full accord with the desirability of obtaining conditions of relaxed tension in the Indian Ocean, being of the view that this would be conducive to the peace and stability of the States bordering it. Admittedly, the legal, political, and military implications are many-sided, and we are inclined to take the view that reasonable time will be needed for steps to be worked out to improve the chances for creating an atmosphere favourable for countries within the region, as well as for outsiders active in the region, to acknowledge their mutuality of interests. We express the hope that the proposal for a peace zone in the Indian Ocean

will eventually mature and receive the support and co-operation of all States concerned.

171. It distresses us particularly that the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated. While the United Nations continues its quest for new initiatives to resolve the problem, we would urge the countries of the region most directly concerned with the problem to exercise restraint and to avoid further bloodshed and destruction and to try instead to arrive at a negotiated settlement. We express the hope that it will still be possible to reach a peaceful settlement of the problem on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

172. And now I turn to the issue of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination as they relate to relations between the rest of Africa and the States of the south of the continent. I refer here to questions of colonialism in the Territories under Portuguese administration, racism in Southern Rhodesia and racial discrimination in the form of *apartheid* in South Africa. The General Assembly has been dealing with these issues over the past two decades and yet the prospects of a solution are no nearer. Over-all development in the past year has heightened fears that the mounting sense of tension in South Africa is moving ever faster to a critical point of explosive proportions. Colonialism in the Territories under Portuguese administration, racism in Southern Rhodesia and *apartheid* in South Africa continue to persist in flagrant violation of all accepted norms concerning the dignity and worth of the human person. At a time when the greater part of the international community is seeking more positive relations to build a better world than we have known, a fraternally linked Africa no doubt could contribute a great deal towards international peace and security.

173. There can be no question that the ultimate goal for mankind as a whole in the field of disarmament must be the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Burma has always supported that goal, but has felt at the same time that the most realistic approach to that end is to direct our immediate efforts towards achieving agreements on what are referred to as collateral or partial measures, which hold far better prospects in present circumstances. Two such measures which are urgently needed are, in our view, the comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons and the achievement of a comprehensive test ban.

174. My delegation shares the general disappointment at the lack of any material progress towards agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons. A large number of suggestions were made at the 1973 session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with a view to inducing movement towards agreement. However, positions on the fundamental issues involved have remained frozen and, in some cases, seem to have hardened.

175. It is now 10 years since the signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water. Having consistently opposed the testing of nuclear weapons in all environments, Burma became a party to the Treaty in the belief that it represented an important step forward towards the realization of a universal and comprehensive test ban in all elements. In the circumstances, my delegation considers that

the General Assembly should urge the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to redouble its efforts at its next session with a view to the early conclusion of a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and a comprehensive test ban.

176. I now turn to a subject which constitutes a central issue of our times—the problem of the ever-widening gap between the developed and developing countries. The level of existence of countless millions of people in the developing part of the world is still pitifully low. Those people are often still undernourished, uneducated, unemployed and wanting in many other basic amenities of life. While a part of the world lives in comfort and even affluence, much the larger part suffers from abject poverty. In fact, the disparity is continuing to widen. The most acute problem in the present period of world economic relations is the instability of the world trade and monetary situation, the consequences of which bear heavily on the developing countries, thus placing the very question of their economic development in serious jeopardy. As we are all aware, two decades ago the developing countries set out to accelerate their pace of development. Despite national and international efforts at development the achievements have been meagre and present indications are that the gap will continue to widen.

177. For developing countries the major source of foreign exchange to finance the process of economic development comes from foreign trade earnings. The central problem for the developing countries is the persistent deterioration in their terms of trade in their position as traditional exporters of primary products. The adverse trends in commodity trade for the developing countries are well known. The industrially developed countries lay down the prices of raw materials and semi-finished products, the prices of which continue to deteriorate steadily and are unable to keep pace with the rising prices of imported industrial products which developing countries must pay. As a result, the share of those countries in world trade continues to decline. A generalized system of preferences has been offered as the answer to the developing countries' demand for equity in world trade, but in practice the procedure has proved so lengthy and encumbered with exceptions that it has not had the desired maximum effect. For the effective functioning of the preferential system it must be complemented by related assistance and trade promotion. The trade question is linked to the cost of shipping, for shipping is largely owned by the developed countries and as a result the rising cost of freight charges for exports and imports is having increas-

ingly adverse effects on the balance of payments of the developing countries, especially those in the least developed category.

178. The lasting self-supporting growth of a country cannot be achieved by development aid alone. Even if considerably increased, such aid can only be marginal to a country's development. Moreover, development assistance has in the past two decades been a record of increasing indebtedness. From all this it is clear that, apart from development aid, there exists a necessity for the industrially developed countries to contribute to building up the earnings of the developing countries through improved access to their markets.

179. The magnitude of the problems encountered by the developing countries has been further compounded by the international monetary crisis, which has adverse effects on the currency reserves, imports and terms of trade of the developing countries. In this era of trade and monetary politics, when political relations between States are increasingly determined by economic considerations, it has become more than ever necessary for the developed and developing countries to collaborate as equal partners; otherwise the fear that the two will soon be heading on a collision course may inevitably materialize.

180. Lastly, may I be permitted to state our view that however big or small, powerful or weak a nation, there is a need now, far more than ever before, for Member States of this Organization to redouble their efforts to make the United Nations an effective arena of action. The direction of United Nations persuasion lies in a two-fold challenge—how can it be a force for peace, and how can it be a force for greater economic and social equality? The international political and economic relations to which we have been accustomed since the end of the Second World War are undergoing profound changes. Ours is an era of adjustment. It is therefore imperative for Member States to have deeper faith in the Charter and to place more reliance on the United Nations system in the solution of their problems, in order to follow faithfully the path of structuring their relations in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Notwithstanding its imperfections, the United Nations and its organs provide us with a unique field for initiatives in all areas of international co-operation.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.