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**President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Nilsson (Sweden),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): May I ask you, Sir, to convey to the President of the General Assembly at this session, Mr. Arenales, our sincere congratulations upon his election to the highest office of this Assembly. We are fortunate indeed that our deliberations will be guided by a President who, as Foreign Minister of his country, is playing such an active role on the present international political scene, and who, through his past experience at the United Nations, has acquired a deep insight into the problems and procedures of our Organization.

2. I also wish to associate myself with previous speakers who from this rostrum expressed appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Romania, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, who served with such distinction as President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

3. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to express, on behalf of the delegation of Austria, all good wishes to the delegation of Swaziland, which we have had the opportunity of welcoming to our midst as the newest Member of our Organization. The accession of Swaziland to

independence marked another step in the long process which, over the past two decades, has led one-third of mankind from colonial dependence to independence and equality in the family of nations.

4. Our President has assumed his functions at a moment marked by uncertainty and tension. We thus link our congratulations on his election with an expression of hope that, by the time this Assembly has concluded its work, we shall be closer to the solution of some of the grave international problems, and that our joint efforts, under his wise leadership, may have contributed to this end.

5. The hazards and dangers which we find in the present international situation were clearly discerned by the Secretary-General in his annual report to the General Assembly [A/7201 and Add.1]. That report, as well as the general debate during the past two weeks, reflect the deep and widespread concern about the fact that the war in Viet-Nam, with all its tragic consequences, is still continuing, that it has still not been possible to restore peace to the Middle East, and that a new element of insecurity in international life has been created by the events in Czechoslovakia.

6. In our statement in the general debate last year [1578th meeting], we were able to note with satisfaction the relatively encouraging development in Central Europe. Remarkable political stability had been achieved in an area where the acrimony of the cold war had, at long last, been replaced by a certain *détente* and by increasing co-operation between the nations of that region. This development has been seriously endangered in recent months. The events which have taken place in our immediate neighbourhood could only produce a feeling of anxiety and disillusionment.

7. Ever since 1955, when Austria re-entered the international political arena as a fully sovereign and permanently neutral State and became a Member of the United Nations, it has been—and continues to be—one of the main objectives of its foreign policy to promote actively peace, stability and co-operation, especially in Central Europe, of which Austria is a part. However, peaceful co-operation can be achieved only if all nations, large and small, will respect the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights, the rule of international law, the sovereignty, integrity and independence of all nations. Austria therefore deplures and rejects all acts, wherever they may occur, which violate these principles and thus endanger the order on which the security of all of us depends.

8. Although Austria and Czechoslovakia adhere to different political and social systems, it is obvious that events

in that country, with which we share a common border and with which we have been linked throughout our history in so many respects, are followed by the Austrian people with particular attention. The developments of the recent past have naturally caused deep concern among the Austrian people. At this juncture we can express only the sincere and earnest hope that everything possible will be done to ease the situation and to remove all external restraints, in accordance with the wishes of the people of Czechoslovakia, so that mutual confidence, which is a prerequisite for stability, will be restored.

9. Let me turn now to those conflicts which for years have perturbed the international community. We cannot but view with grave concern the continuing war in Viet-Nam. Apart from the tragic human suffering which every day of prolonged fighting inflicts upon the people of Viet-Nam, its impact and its international repercussions represent a serious danger to international peace and security. We have therefore repeatedly urged the cessation of hostilities and a political settlement of the conflict through negotiations, on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. In our view, this seems to be the only realistic hope for a termination of the war and for the restoration of peace to the people of Viet-Nam, which must be given the right to determine their future by their own free will.

10. We were heartened by the fact that the Governments of both the United States and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam agreed to meet in Paris for preliminary talks to end the war. Like others, we are worried about the lack of progress in those talks. We renew our appeal to all parties concerned to take whatever steps may appear likely to set in motion the process of de-escalation of hostilities. No initiative in this respect should be discounted, and any step which may open the road to peace should be taken with courage and determination.

11. The Austrian Government also expresses its concern that, over the past year, it has not been possible to bring peace to the Middle East. The basic problems of that area which so often in the recent past have led to the outbreak of hostilities remain unsolved. Belligerency has not come to an end. Tension along precarious cease-fire lines persists. The consequences of last year's hostilities have not been liquidated.

12. There have, indeed, been numerous efforts during the past year to bring about a solution to the conflict. On 22 November last year, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 242 (1967) laying down what we consider equitable and realistic principles for a settlement of the situation in the Middle East. We trust that, if executed in all its parts, it will bring a lasting solution to the crisis and the problems of that troubled area.

13. In the same resolution the Security Council asked the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to promote agreement and assist efforts to reach a peaceful and accepted settlement. We know that Ambassador Jarring has spared no effort in the meantime to achieve the purposes of that resolution. We fully support his mission.

14. We must, however, be aware of the realities of the situation. The United Nations can provide the machinery to

assist the parties in negotiating a settlement. The United Nations can arrange and help to maintain armistice agreements. The United Nations can assist in alleviating the problems of refugees. A lasting solution, however, can be achieved only if the nations of that area themselves have the wisdom and determination to agree to a settlement of their deep-rooted differences by peaceful means, and if they have the political will to implement it, guided by the principles laid down by the Security Council last November.

15. History has created manifold links between Austria and all peoples in the Middle East. It is with this in mind that we hope and trust that the peoples of that area, aware of their proud past, will lack neither imagination nor courage to find a common road to peace and into a promising future.

16. I should like to turn now to the problem of South Tyrol. You will recall that the General Assembly, in 1960 and 1961, unanimously adopted resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI) urging Austria and Italy to settle through negotiations the dispute relating to the interpretation and implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946 concerning the South Tyrol.

17. The bilateral negotiations which were taken up in accordance with the above-mentioned resolutions focus on two main problems: one of substance and one of procedure. The problem of substance consists in granting to the German-speaking population of the Province of Bozen the amount of autonomous authority necessary to safeguard the ethnic, economic and cultural development of the South Tyrolean ethnic group.

18. The Italian Government, recognizing the necessity of improving the situation of the minority, in 1961 entrusted a special commission with the task of studying the problems of the Province of Bozen and reporting to the Italian Government on the results of its inquiry. That commission elaborated a series of proposals in the light of which the bilateral negotiations were resumed. In the course of those negotiations, basic agreement was reached on the substance of the above-mentioned autonomy. Our present efforts concentrate on working out a procedure which will enable us to settle the pending dispute. This has proved particularly difficult because both sides to the dispute maintain different juridical positions. Under these circumstances we have agreed to conduct the negotiations without prejudice to the respective juridical positions. Those negotiations are still going on.

19. The Austrian Government is resolved to proceed with calm and determination in the way which we have chosen. In accordance with the mandate given to us by the United Nations we are ready to make our contribution towards a satisfactory solution of the problem. We trust that the Italian Government on its part will take all steps conducive to achieving that goal.

20. In the long and often discouraging history of our disarmament efforts, the past year has at last led to certain concrete results. The approval by the General Assembly, in June, of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*see resolution 2373 (XXII)*], and the fact that

this Treaty has been signed since then by more than eighty nations, are major steps forward towards a goal which the United Nations has been seeking ever since the beginning of the nuclear age.

21. It is now to be hoped that further measures outside and complementary to the Treaty will be stimulated by its acceptance. The Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, which concluded its very useful deliberations only a few weeks ago in Geneva, stressed a number of measures which should now be taken in this respect. In particular, the Conference dealt with the complex problem of security assurances, and advocated the acceleration of the process of nuclear and general disarmament under effective international control. The Conference also recalled that it is imperative to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the flow of nuclear materials and of scientific knowledge and nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and to ensure that non-nuclear States can enjoy the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear explosions on a non-discriminatory basis.

22. We believe that the International Atomic Energy Agency is the appropriate organization to be entrusted with the tasks resulting from the non-proliferation Treaty with regard to the development of the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and the problem of safeguards. We also share the view of those who believe that the International Atomic Energy Agency could serve as the appropriate international body through which the non-nuclear-weapon States should obtain these benefits, under article V of the Treaty, if they choose to do so. We recall in this connexion that the General Conference of the Agency last month devoted its attention to the problems involved.

23. We have already expressed on previous occasions the opinion that the non-proliferation Treaty has not as yet established a true balance of obligations between the nuclear and the non-nuclear countries and that the Treaty should not be considered an end, but rather a starting point for further disarmament measures and a step towards general and complete disarmament. The nuclear Powers, in article VI of the Treaty, have accepted a clear commitment in this respect. It is our sincere hope that this process will be set in motion as soon as possible, and that it will lead to concrete results.

24. We note with satisfaction in this connexion that the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee agreed to give first priority in its work to further effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament. We trust that the work of the Committee, to whose efforts I wish to pay a tribute, will continue with urgency and at the earliest possible moment.

25. While we advocate additional measures in the field of disarmament, we should not forget that the non-proliferation Treaty, in order to be effective, still requires a great number of signatures and an even greater number of ratifications. The recent deterioration in the international climate has apparently led a number of countries to hesitate about signing or ratifying the treaty. It is our conviction that the Treaty will effectively enhance the security of all of us. We therefore hope that it will soon become a universal document.

26. We note with satisfaction the continuing international co-operation in the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. The past year was not only another year of continuing scientific and technical progress in space exploration, but also one marked by great efforts to strengthen international co-operation in this field.

27. The first United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which took place in Vienna in August of this year, was convened specifically to examine the practical benefits to be derived from space research and exploration and to study the possibilities for non-space Powers, and in particular for the developing countries, to enjoy these benefits. The Conference has shown, I believe, the promising possibilities in this respect. Much as we were pleased with the achievements of the Vienna Conference, we must now bear in mind that the Conference was not envisaged as a final but, on the contrary, as a first step in our efforts to bring the practical benefits of space exploration to all nations. It seems important that these efforts should now continue with increased emphasis.

28. The fruitful work which the United Nations has been able to achieve in the field of outer space justifies our hope that we will be equally successful in the new area to which the Assembly turned its attention last year: the reservation of the sea-bed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes. We have been able in international treaties greatly to limit military activities and, in particular, the threat of nuclear weapons in outer space. It is our hope that similar measures will be possible with regard to the ocean floor and that international co-operation will be possible in the economic exploitation of its resources.

29. The General Assembly has proclaimed 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. It is indeed appropriate to commemorate in this way the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly. I feel that we should make a decisive effort in the closing stage of this year to translate into practice at least some of the principles of the Declaration. A considerable number of States have already done this by taking concrete steps to alleviate the suffering of people in various areas of conflict.

30. Austria indeed considers it one of its foremost tasks to extend all possible humanitarian help to those in need—wherever they may be and without regard to political considerations. It is in pursuance of this policy that, within the limits of our possibilities, we have rendered humanitarian assistance through the International Red Cross to both South Viet-Nam and North Viet-Nam.

31. It is under the acute impact of the awareness of human misery that the Austrian people has followed with deep-felt sympathy and strong emotion the developments in the eastern region of Nigeria. In our attempt to do everything possible to help the victims of the hostilities in that area, the Austrian Government has, as a first step, put money and relief supplies at the disposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross. We have followed up these relief measures by sending a special representative to Lagos and other capitals to examine all possibilities for further help. The mission was conducted in close contact

with the International Red Cross in Geneva. In taking these measures we were encouraged by the recent resolution of the Organization of African Unity calling upon all parties to ensure immediate humanitarian relief aid.

32. I am distressed that the complex and difficult situation in the southern part of Africa has not come nearer to a solution since last year's Assembly. This disturbing situation not only has not improved, but in fact has even deteriorated.

33. I must express here my sincere regret that the resumed session of the last General Assembly did not succeed in its attempt to solve the problem of South West Africa. We are deeply convinced that the people of Namibia have the inalienable right, like any other nation, freely to determine its future. Let me state once again that the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility for South West Africa. The termination of the Mandate is, in our view, legally binding. These important decisions have committed our Organization.

34. With regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council has debated this question intensively. As a result of these deliberations the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, which have proved inadequate, have been considerably tightened. Austria has laid down its position on the question of Southern Rhodesia in its note to the Secretary-General of 31 July 1968.<sup>1</sup> I should like to reiterate on this occasion that Austria does not recognize the régime in Southern Rhodesia and that my Government will implement the Security Council resolution imposing sanctions against that country.

35. In addressing myself to the problems of southern Africa, I wish to reiterate our firm rejection of the policy of *apartheid*. Austria's position in this respect is well known to this Assembly. We categorically reject all forms of racial discrimination.

36. International attention has rightly and to an ever-increasing degree been focused on the problems that result from the extreme disparities existing between the standards of production—and in consequence of the levels of living—of the technologically advanced countries and the standards of those nations which still have to strive hard in order to develop more adequate methods and structures in their economy. The solution of this problem requires a pooling of resources on the one hand and a universal strengthening of efforts—not only of a financial nature—on the other. Equally important, however, is the need to develop the conceptual framework for mastering this immense challenge.

37. Austria recognizes the primordial role the United Nations family plays and will have to continue to play in order to help ensure that all resources are put to optimal use in the interest of a continuous and well-balanced growth process. We are confident that the second United Nations Development Decade will bring us a decisive step forward in our endeavours to develop the urgently needed

strategy for development, providing at the same time a strategy for international co-operation and mutual assistance.

38. Particular emphasis must be placed on the human and social components of the development process. In this respect, the creation of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization—to which Austria has the privilege to be the host—constitutes an important step in the right direction.

39. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for his kind comments on the efforts of the Federal Government and the municipal authorities of Vienna to assist and provide facilities to international organizations and conferences. His remark that "Vienna is rapidly acquiring an international status as the headquarters of major international agencies and the site of important United Nations meetings and conferences" [A/7201/Add.1, para. 98] is greatly appreciated by the Government and the people of Austria. May I also, on our part, extend to the Secretary-General our sincere gratitude for the help which we have invariably received from him and for his tireless efforts in the cause of the United Nations and world peace.

40. Ever since the inception of the United Nations, the peoples of the world have looked with idealism to the objectives and principles of the Charter and have hopefully anticipated that they would be translated into reality. The fact that our Organization has not been able to find solutions to some of the key problems our nations are facing today, that it has not been able to take effective action in various situations and conflicts endangering international peace and security, the fact that many of its resolutions have remained unheeded, has resulted in considerable disappointment and disillusionment.

41. Admittedly, the difficulties and problems facing the United Nations are very real. Yet we feel that the answer to this should not lie in an attitude of pessimism. What it does call for, it seems to us, is a realistic reappraisal of both our possibilities and our limitations. We are convinced that, in the light of such realistic evaluation, the essential and important role which the United Nations plays and has to play on the present international scene will become even more apparent.

42. Let me reaffirm our belief in the future of our Organization and renew our commitment to the principles and ideals of the Charter.

43. Mr. PÉTER (Hungary): This generation of ours has the choice of two paths: peaceful coexistence or nuclear war—life or death. Many of the statements made in this general debate have shown that the Governments represented here are aware of the growing danger of missing the crucial opportunity while we are still free to make the choice. Nowadays we are, so to speak, at the crossroads where decisive resolutions need to be made in order to avoid a nuclear catastrophe.

44. We are now about midway through the general debate, and a summary of the views of Member States already makes clear the basic preoccupations of the nations which are below the surface of actual international events. We

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1968, document S/8786, annex II.

have had the opportunity of listening to the presentation of the international policies of more than forty Member States. Before the end of this general debate, other representatives of about the same number of Member States will be heard. A careful study of the substance of the speeches we have heard so far discloses a deep concern over the present trend of international events and also great confidence in the possibility of checking the present deteriorating and dangerous tendency and giving a fresh start to improving international relations—that is to say, the experience here has shown concern and confidence. We could even say that the international situation has improved during this debate. The improvement has been felt in the general tone of the debate. Certain statements have even contributed to improving the present world situation.

45. A special and revealing aspect of improvement consists in the very fact that those who are bent on increasing tensions within and outside the United Nations have not succeeded in turning the general debate of the present session into a forum for a renewed cold war. The positive results attained by fairly developing international co-operation in recent years are so solid and persistent that they are effective enough to paralyse any attempt to revive the futile cold-war activities of bygone years. Our confidence in the future is based on the same forces within and outside the United Nations which have doomed to failure the cold-war endeavours in our debate. The same forces will prove strong enough to prevent the danger of a nuclear war from increasing. They will be strong enough to open new ways towards a political solution of the burning issues which are fraught with permanent and latent dangers of an international confrontation that could spark off a nuclear holocaust.

46. Hungarian foreign policy is striving for that end, with constant readiness to join with those forces which are devoted to the task of improving international relations in seeking, by political means, the solution to questions involving actual military conflicts, actions or military confrontations, and to burning issues which are fraught with the dangers of a new conflagration. Therefore, we are ready to participate in every action that can really promote the cause of the community of socialist States, from Cuba to Viet-Nam, including China and Albania.

47. We consider the firm unity of socialist States one of the main preconditions for the restoration and consolidation of international peace and security. On this basis we are constantly strengthening our relations with the developing world. The representatives of the developing countries are very important factors in this world Organization and at other international forums in liquidating the remnants of the "cold war" of previous years and in foiling any new attempt made to revive the old "cold war" controversies.

48. It is our basic political endeavour to strengthen international co-operation with the developed capitalist States on the true basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, in the very interest of implementing the true principle of peaceful coexistence, we do our best to be effective members of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front against any aggression and against any attempt to renew imperialist world domination and to spread the practices of neo-colonialism.

49. The Hungarian Government is persistent in these efforts, and we see no reason whatever to change our political line to any slight extent in the face of actual events. We have to keep in view the cruel and stubborn fact of the permanent danger of a nuclear war existing as long as the arms race continues and until decisive steps are taken to turn back the whole trend by taking concrete measures towards general and complete disarmament under adequate international control.

50. Time after time in our debate, and recently elsewhere as well, we hear official statements describing the present world situation as complicated. This qualifier is being used by the Secretary-General in his annual reports and by many speakers on this rostrum. I am sure that the Secretary-General, who bears the main personal and direct responsibility for the functioning of this Organization, is most painfully confronted with the complicated state of international affairs. Once he was in such despair that he decided to leave his post. We succeeded at that time in convincing him that his personal qualities were needed in this function. Thanks to his sense of responsibility, he made himself available for another term as Secretary-General. I hope that the conflicting and controversial factors in the present complicated situation will not make him lose confidence in his special talents for helping to promote mutual understanding between the opposing forces.

51. What in fact do we mean by saying that the present world situation is complicated? When we describe the present situation as complicated, we certainly do not lose sight of the fact that the world situation was much more complicated on the eve of the Second World War and during the war launched by Hitlerite Germany and its allies. The United Nations was confronted with much more complicated situations after the Second World War, during the years when colonial Powers were still absolute masters of vast colonial territories. The present complication has resulted from the contradictory effects of improving and deteriorating international relations under the shadow of the dangers of a nuclear war. Very much more is at stake in the present contradictory tendencies than in the life of past human generations and in previous years. Enormously much more is at stake.

52. In the judgement of my Government regarding the competing factors of the present world situation, the best way to proceed to chart a better future is to tackle the dangers by taking into account all the good results that we have achieved so far. And on the basis of the most solid results, we should seek step by step the most realistic solution of today's crucial issues by exploring the ways of reaching the best compromise agreements. Without compromise agreements there is no real step forward to avoid a world-wide catastrophe.

53. Therefore, Mr. President, with your kind permission, I take it as my next task to sum up the most encouraging signs and events of recent months, with the background of complicatedness.

54. Since the conclusion, in 1963, of the Moscow partial nuclear test-ban Treaty it has certainly been the most promising accomplishment that, after hard and painstaking negotiations, the text of a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation

of Nuclear Weapons has been elaborated. One could rightly expect that the agreement between the two most powerful States in human history concerning the necessity of such a treaty will make it easier to pave the way for further negotiations, with a view to stopping the nuclear arms race and formulating the principles of preparing effective steps towards disarmament. In view of the present trend in escalating the production and invention of new thermonuclear war machinery, one is compelled to say that the escalation and spread of the arms race itself, even without the outbreak of a thermonuclear war, may have the most tragic effects on the life of the present and future generations.

55. It is self-evident that, as long as the war of aggression against Viet-Nam continues and no real political solution is reached, there is no way of taking considerable and decisive new steps to curb the armaments race and to formulate a comprehensive disarmament programme. Those who would like to increase international tensions, the representatives of "cold war" policies, now use everything—thus the so-called Czechoslovak question—as a pretext for hindering the ratification of the non-proliferation Treaty, and we even witness the reappearance of the protagonists of thermonuclear war itself.

56. Considering that the war against Viet-Nam overshadows the whole world as the main factor in the deterioration of the situation everywhere, the start of the Paris talks was, it seemed to world opinion, a basis for new hope of finding a just and peaceful solution to the problems of South-East Asia. The experience that we have had since that time does not seem to justify the good hopes.

57. The very fact that the Paris talks are taking place is really a good thing in itself. Nevertheless, if the unrealistic attitude of the United States negotiators frustrates the opportunity, the consequences could be disastrous. Having misjudged the Viet-Nameese issue during the 1954 Geneva Conference and also later, particularly in February 1965, the United States has from that time continually escalated the war. The United States seems to be committing a new sort of mistake. Certain utterances on the part of United States public figures give the impression that the United States administration entered into the talks in Paris assuming that readiness for talks on the part of Viet-Nam was an indication of weakness. If any such self-deception continues to influence United States negotiating tactics, the present opportunity will inevitably be missed, and a new opportunity will come only under much harder conditions.

58. As for the Middle East problem, there is a considerable measure of improvement in spite of the growing dangers created by repeated armed clashes along the cease-fire lines. Throughout the world, there is a much deeper understanding of the real issues of the problem at the present time than at the time of the fifth emergency special session or the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, and that is an improvement in itself. At the previous session, the effects of propaganda distorted the whole picture at the expense of the Arab States. The general picture is much more accurate now, and there is growing readiness to force political solutions through wider international co-operation. Even the Middle East question cannot be separated from the problem of the Viet-Nam war. Had it not been for the

harmful influence of the aggression against Viet-Nam, the Israeli aggression against the neighbouring Arab States would not have occurred; and were it not for the United States reluctance to yield to a realistic political solution in South-East Asia, the Middle East problem would not be deadlocked either.

59. One of the most encouraging events of recent times was the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held last month in Algiers. The regional organization of independent African States set an inspiring example to international organizations when, although coping with enormous difficulties and divisive problems, it managed to hold a summit conference and even to achieve very important positive results. The common stand it worked out on issues concerning the Middle East, the arms race, neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, secessionist tendencies, colonial rule, mercenary troops and so on is an important document of instructive value to the whole world.

60. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development disappointed many of the expectations attached to this new international undertaking. It is true, however, that it has helped to present the problems of the developing world more clearly to the world as a whole, and that is an improvement. It has also become clear that, as long as the war in Viet-Nam continues and more effective international co-operation does not become possible, there will not be sufficient concentration of resources to help solve the vital problems of nations confronted with ever-growing economic difficulties.

61. What I have said just now is intended to demonstrate how it was possible to arrive at positive results concerning a considerable number of international problems against the background of complications. Besides all these achievements there were and there still are brave and cautious endeavours and even struggles deserving of our deepest respect. These complex experiences may—and, let me say, must—encourage us to create the necessary preconditions by going step by step on a carefully paved pathway towards even higher goals for the sake of present and future generations.

62. In regard to the Viet-Nameese question the first realistic goal to aim at is the turning of the Paris preliminary talks into genuine negotiations. It is on record in the United Nations that my delegation, as early as October 1965, in the general debate of the twentieth session, pointed out to Member States that, in regard to the problem of the war in Viet-Nam, the only way to approach the conference table was to stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam unconditionally and without any threat of its renewal. This year a partial limitation of the bombing raids has made it possible to start preliminary talks in Paris. Only the complete and definitive cessation of the bombings and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam can turn the preliminary talks into genuine negotiations. All those concerned have to understand—and I think it is not difficult to understand—that there cannot be meaningful negotiations under bombing attacks and under the threat of renewed bombings. The Hungarian People's Republic expresses its full solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and with the

National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam. We are convinced that their proposals serve the peaceful development of the nations of South-East Asia. Their proposals offer a decent possibility for the withdrawal of the United States from this most tragic affair and would help to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam.

63. The political and peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis may be within reach if and when Israel can be convinced that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of last November is not an agenda item to argue about in bilateral or multilateral negotiations but a summary of the main lines along which the complex problems of that area could and should be solved. The directly interested Arab States are most willing to co-operate in elaborating the stages of implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution. The supporters of Israel could do it and the whole world a service by persuading the Israeli Government to comply with the resolution of the Security Council.

64. The situation in Europe has seemed to be calm in recent years. The general debates of several sessions emphasized the stability and promising signs of security in Europe. Reports were published of bilateral and multilateral talks in preparation for an all-European security conference. But it is also on the records of those sessions of the General Assembly that my delegation did not cease to caution against vain expectations and even against illusions. We emphasized that calmness in Europe was a superficial phenomenon; that the basic issues below the surface had not changed; that the main problems of Europe which had often created high tension in that part of the world, the source of two world wars, were not solved; that the greatest concentration of military forces was in that so-called Old World; and that the most imminent dangers of a thermonuclear holocaust might start out from there. That was the real situation at the time when we were listening to optimistic speeches here.

65. Properly speaking, and without oversimplifying the situation in Europe with all its complicated nature, of which I am perfectly aware, it may be said, as we have said over and over, that the fundamental issue of European security might be settled through an explicit international recognition of such existing facts as are recognized *de facto* by all parties concerned but not recognized *de jure* by all. I mean the existence of two German States, the special status of West Berlin, the definitiveness of the Oder-Neisse frontier and of the frontiers of both German States, including the boundary-line between them. The existence of two German States is a historic necessity, for the time being. It has its historical, political and social background. Its recognition is an underlying prerequisite of peace and security in Europe and in the world at large. No move towards reunification can be justified unless it is made on the basis of recognition of the existence of those two States.

66. In the past few years, we did our best to induce the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and its allies to recognize these historical realities. Our effort was in vain, or rather of little avail. But we witnessed a new military build-up in West Germany, and there came a new upsurge of revanchist and neofascist tendencies in public

life, and political manoeuvres directed against the historical realities. We, the States Members of the Warsaw Treaty, made proposals for a system of European security to be elaborated with the simultaneous dissolution of the military alliances. It was to no avail. But we witnessed new attempts to strengthen the NATO contingents in Europe. In addition to all this, there are incontestable signs that some United States quarters would like to offset the obvious failure of their South-East Asian policy by generating new tensions on the European scene.

67. The risks involved in Europe are great. And so are the risks involved in the problem of the peace and security of Europe from the point of view of the whole world. That is why we had to strengthen our fronts, our frontiers. That is why we were compelled to strengthen Czechoslovakia, whose geographical position is most exposed. Nobody is happy—nobody can be happy—about the necessity of such an action, but its effects will be beneficial to the cause of peace in Europe and in the world. Our co-operation with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the consolidation and strengthening of our common international activity will create a new and more solid basis for bilateral and multilateral negotiations with a view to building up a real and peaceful system of security in Europe. After dispelling its illusions, West Germany will certainly be a party to such a system. It is only with the sincere and constructive participation of West Germany that a really effective and peaceful system of security can be imagined in Europe. We have in view a more stable, more consolidated and safer Europe. This is not unreal; it can be achieved. It will be beneficial not only to the nations of Europe. My Government avails itself of every opportunity to participate in international co-operation to this end.

68. This general debate has had favourable omens from its very beginning. It was by the proposals of the Soviet Union, presented by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko [1679th meeting], that the twenty-third session of the General Assembly was led out of the shadows of cold-war dangers into the propitious climate of new possibilities for disarmament negotiations. Besides all the crucial problems of the actual world situation, it is the disastrous nuclear arms race being escalated at an unpredictable rate that is the greatest danger to our future. In the present circumstances of the nuclear age, it would be a most inspiring event if new negotiations were started to work out the conditions for checking the armaments race and preparing real agreements on concrete disarmament. The treaties concerning armament and disarmament matters signed since 1963 are the results of careful preparations, delicate diplomatic actions conducted on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Certainly, it will be so again. The memorandum of the Soviet Government will be discussed first by the First Committee. Bilateral contacts and deliberations of this Assembly may pave the way for genuine negotiations on the proposed questions. If some success, in however modest a measure, could be achieved in the questions that can be most easily approached, then the twenty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations may figure in the annals as one of the most encouraging sessions.

69. And this may happen in spite of the permanent and latent dangers of a thermonuclear war. As long as no decisive steps are taken on the way towards real disarma-

ment, it will be impossible to forget that, regardless of the ups and downs of *détente* and periods of tension, the danger of a thermonuclear war permanently hangs over our lives. It is in this cruel reality that we deal with all the issues, great and small, of the present world situation.

70. In conclusion, I wish to pay a heartfelt and well-deserved tribute to the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for his successful activities under complicated international conditions during one of the longest sessions of the General Assembly.

71. I extend our good wishes to the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Republic of Guatemala, His Excellency Mr. Emilio Arenales. May this session of the General Assembly under his Presidency be a starting point for new initiatives to improve international relations and, above all, to open new doors for negotiations on the problems of disarmament.

72. Mr. ALCOREZA MENESES (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): Bolivia is particularly gratified that the office of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third regular session has been entrusted to a distinguished Latin American statesman, diplomat and jurist, justly renowned for his ability; the fact that he is here to direct the proceedings of this world assembly is a source of satisfaction and an honour for all the peoples of our continent. I should like, on behalf of my Government, to offer him my warmest congratulations on his election and to wish him every success in his duties.

73. At the same time, I should like to convey to Mr. Corneliu Manescu, President of the General Assembly at its last session, my congratulations on the skill and patience with which he guided the work of the twenty-second session. I also wish to express to our intelligent and dynamic Secretary-General the appreciation and confidence of the Bolivian delegation for his untiring efforts in the cause of world peace and the advancement of the developing nations.

74. The agenda for this session includes a number of items which are not of equal importance to all countries. This is why my delegation will dwell on some of them at greater length. This does not imply a lack of interest in the other problems which are to be discussed here. It simply means that I wish to submit for the consideration of the Assembly the views of Bolivia on the questions which are of most interest to the nation that I have the honour to represent.

75. The first United Nations Development Decade is drawing to a close in an atmosphere of frustration. The goal of eradicating poverty, hunger and ignorance and closing the gap separating the peoples of the world has remained merely an expression of good intentions, unaccompanied by the necessary determination to take prompt and effective action to bring about a radical transformation of the present inequitable economic and commercial structures.

76. Bolivia attended the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at

New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968, with the same eagerness as the other countries belonging to the Group of 77. There is no doubt that all the smaller countries, quite rightly, had high hopes of such an important meeting. Our representatives returned from India gravely disappointed. The most important issues discussed at the Conference remained unresolved. It was hoped that definite agreements would emerge for the establishment of a new policy for international commodity trade, the elaboration of a generalized system of non-discriminatory, non-reciprocal tariff preferences for exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries and the achievement of a substantial increase in the volume of international financial assistance that would reflect the growth rate of the industrialized countries. However, apart from a modest programme of action for certain commodities, mere recognition of the need for a generalized system of tariff preferences and some improvement in the policy of external financing, it cannot be said that much headway was made at New Delhi.

77. The situation of the relatively less developed countries received very perfunctory consideration. The little that was achieved in this regard at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will be of scant benefit to these countries, whose situation should be a matter of greater concern not only to the highly developed countries but also to those at an intermediate stage of development. In this connexion, it must regretfully be admitted that there are disagreements and conflicts of interest between the developing countries which prevent them from defending their viewpoints collectively and from resolving the problems which affect them.

*Mr. Ohin (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

78. The Conference on Trade and Development adopted resolution 11 (II), which deals with some of the problems peculiar to land-locked countries, and recommended special measures to be taken in favour of those countries. Although the content of this recommendation is not entirely satisfactory, it does at least highlight the special difficulties which the lack of a sea coast creates for nations in this predicament.

79. I wish to emphasize this because, for reasons which are well known, my country has a special interest in the matter. Bolivia believes that it is essential to establish a special system for co-operation in this field which would combine the efforts of the industrialized Powers, international organizations and transit countries. Under the guidance of the UNCTAD secretariat, the international agencies should undertake studies to pinpoint with greater accuracy and clarity the various special problems of the land-locked countries and possible solutions. One example will suffice to support this view. Little-known factors resulting from its land-locked position have a considerable influence on Bolivia's economy; for instance, the unilateral fixing of port charges, which are outside its control and are changed without its knowledge or consent. Such a situation creates a dependent relationship which, in addition to being an affront to the concept of sovereignty, is extremely harmful to the country which finds itself in this situation.

80. We are called upon to face paradoxical situations. On the one hand, we Latin American countries are embarked



on a process of integration through the Latin American Free Trade Association, which we feel is not always making satisfactory progress; we therefore want to organize the Andean sub-region, which would consist of six countries anxious to achieve practical results within the shortest possible time. We also intend to resolve important infrastructural problems affecting five nations, through agreements between the countries of the River Plate basin. This whole process of integration naturally presupposes broad co-operation among the countries concerned, on a completely equal footing. Otherwise, these projects would be doomed to certain failure. And yet we are confronted with a lack of understanding and difficulties which seem small when viewed from afar but which in fact, in addition to causing economic harm to sizeable segments of our population, are fostering a climate of suspicion and resistance to the cause of integration.

81. In this connexion, I must repeat that, so far as my country is concerned, in view of the particular circumstances of its land-locked situation, interest in a new system of international co-operation does not imply abandonment or shelving of its legitimate claims for its own sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. As it has stated on many occasions, the Government of Bolivia considers this to be the only real solution to the problem—a solution which we hope to achieve in a manner which will take into account the mutual interests of the parties concerned. It may be felt that this Bolivian claim is a special question concerning my country alone and that it therefore does not seem appropriate to mention it in this great Assembly. This is not so. Bolivia's land-locked situation is a Latin American problem. Its ramifications affect other nations in various ways which I shall not enlarge upon here. It is holding up the execution of extremely important infrastructural projects. It is impeding the harmonious and balanced development of a region with 250 million inhabitants and disturbing relations between several peoples. It is self-evident that all these factors must be overcome, particularly if this can be done without harm to anyone, and to the benefit of all.

82. In discussing the results of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, I feel bound to mention my country's concern at the failure to solve such important problems as those relating to commodities, the financing of buffer stocks and the guidelines for policies for the disposal of strategic reserves. It is regrettable that in this connexion it was not possible to reach agreement on a system that would guarantee growing, stable export earnings for the developing countries. Approval of these principles is essential, if the constant deterioration in the terms of trade is to be halted. In addition, as regards the provisions in international commodity agreements for the financing of buffer stocks, we cannot continue to follow the traditional idea that the financial burden should be borne exclusively by the producing countries, which are precisely those with the least resources. We believe that this burden should be shared between producers and consumers, since the maintenance of suitable price levels is in the interests of both parties.

83. One further point must be made in this connexion. Paradoxically, some countries which are traditionally consumers of a particular commodity intervene in the market

from time to time as sellers of that commodity, in competition with the natural production of the developing countries, whenever they wish to dispose of their strategic reserves. The least that can be expected in this respect is the establishment of consultative machinery on a case-by-case basis, so that the disposal of such strategic commodity reserves can follow mutually acceptable guidelines, since unilateral and arbitrary decisions are extremely harmful to producing countries, as Bolivia has learnt from painful experience in the international tin market.

84. General Assembly resolution 2340 (XXII) of 18 December 1967 established an *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor. This resolution was sponsored by the delegation of Bolivia, which sent an observer to the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee at Rio de Janeiro.<sup>2</sup> Consideration of this question may well be somewhat premature but, precisely because of Bolivia's land-locked situation, we should like to state our views on the matter as soon as possible.

85. If the riches contained in the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof belong to nobody in particular and if we are trying to find an intelligent and equitable way of ensuring their use by the international community, it would be unfair to deny such benefits to nations without a sea coast, when the obvious conclusion is precisely that these nations should receive proportionately greater benefits to compensate for their special situation.

86. The Government of Bolivia is aware that the road to securing world peace is beset by great obstacles, unforeseen contingencies and frustrations. But we believe that, before resorting to other means of achieving peaceful coexistence, countries must renew their faith and make a joint effort within the United Nations. We are convinced that the progressive improvement of its basic structures will enable the United Nations to serve the high aims that inspired its creation and to become a truly effective instrument for moderating the antagonisms dividing the world today.

87. We do not think that the nuclear balance, as a factor capable of eliminating the possibility of a third world conflict, is a sufficient basis for maintaining peaceful coexistence. On the contrary, the armed peace requires a disproportionate financial and human effort that runs counter to the urgent needs of the developing countries and inevitably restricts the assistance and co-operation essential to their progress. This preoccupation alone—not to mention all the others that concern the whole of mankind—explains and justifies the anxiety of a small country with regard to problems to whose solution it can contribute very little.

88. By world peace, I mean not only a situation in which there is no direct armed conflict, but also a situation of genuine coexistence in which there are no factors making for antagonism and division. The armed peace and the cold war, which have not been eliminated, are keeping the world in a state of dramatic upheaval; and so it is the urgent duty of the United Nations, through a convergence of political will on the part of all its constituent States, to reduce the tensions by means of the normal instruments and machinery available to it.

<sup>2</sup> Third session of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, held at Rio de Janeiro from 19 to 30 August 1968.

89. This year a number of serious international problems have remained unresolved and there have been a number of outstandingly important events in the international sphere. It is to be regretted that so far no solutions mutually acceptable to the parties have been found for the conflicts in Viet-Nam and in the Middle East, and that the factors that exacerbate tensions and war still persist. So far as the Viet-Nam conflict is concerned, we hope that the official Paris talks, despite their meagre results to date, will help to restore harmony to South-East Asia. In the case of the Middle East, we must repeat that Bolivia upholds the right of freedom of navigation and does not recognize territorial conquests by the use of force. Bolivia respects, and in many cases admires, the progressive reforms that are being made by the peoples of the Middle East, and hopes that an understanding will emerge that will pave the way for realistic solutions ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of that region.

90. The international community has recently been much moved by the forcible occupation of a small country. We witnessed, to our sorrow, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the violation of the principles of sovereignty, non-intervention and self-determination of peoples. It was a painful experience, especially for small nations like my own, whose hopes of maintaining its integrity depend on the maintenance of an international legal order that is binding on all States. Once more force has prevailed to the impotent consternation of the rest of mankind.

91. In speaking of intervention, I cannot refrain from mentioning the case of my country, which, as everyone knows, has also been the victim of an aggression master-minded from outside and aimed at suppressing fundamental freedoms, obstructing the achievements of the people during years of tireless struggle and preventing their consolidation. The Bolivian people unanimously rejected the foreign guerrillas and defended its way of life, which is geared to progress and social justice. We do not want to restore the old oligarchic order; nor do we want to destroy democratic institutions and replace them by dictatorships imposed in the name of an ideology which is foreign to us. The peasants, the workers and the middle class, which constitute the vast majority of my country's population, defended the national sovereignty and way of life which we inherited from our forefathers. We are superseding the feudal structures which used to be characteristic of the land tenure system; we have restored the main sources of wealth to national control; we have given the opportunity of active participation in public life to the vast masses that were formerly excluded; we have begun to reform education, making it accessible to all sections of the population; through structural reforms we have eliminated economic and social stratification, we have opened up new prospects for everyone and we have embarked upon a development programme geared to a more equitable income distribution. We know what our road is and we do not need to import revolutions.

92. In connexion with what I have said, I must recall that this is the International Year for Human Rights. In our view, representative democracy has proved itself to be the best social and political system for preserving the freedom and dignity of man. Yet democracy and poverty are incompatible and this is true of nearly all the countries of

the third world. We do not claim to have achieved perfection in this field; but it is obvious that we have overcome great difficulties and remained true to our institutions, thus safeguarding fundamental human rights and giving proof of our adherence and loyalty to the various international covenants.

93. With regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories or territories in the process of decolonization, the Bolivian delegation has maintained a consistent stand in favour of independence and self-determination for all the peoples of the world, and at this stage all I wish to do is to confirm that stand.

94. Racial discrimination is a phenomenon unknown in my country, where the population is of diverse origin and is going through the process of adapting its characteristics to the environment. Our opposition to any form of discrimination is simply a reflection of that situation.

95. I wish to express my sincere hopes, Mr. President, that, under your guidance and through the constructive action of the delegations of Member States, this new meeting of the nations of the whole world will achieve the results which mankind is expecting. The United Nations will be strengthened if it is able to find solutions to present-day problems and if it is able, even to a small extent, to direct the action of the whole international community towards the maintenance of peace and the promotion of the spiritual and economic progress of all mankind.

96. Mr. ARIKPO (Nigeria): I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to offer to the President warm and sincere felicitations on his election to preside over this session of the General Assembly. His qualities of statesmanship, his intellectual strength, his varied experience, his humane cultural endowment as well as his unfailing charm, are well known and recognized by all who have followed his remarkable career. My delegation is confident that he will continue to guide the affairs of this Assembly in the highest traditions of Latin American diplomacy, which he represents with such impressive distinction. I gladly assure him of our hearty co-operation.

97. I wish, at the same time, to place on record the deep appreciation and gratitude of my delegation for the services so ably rendered to the international community by His Excellency Corneliu Manescu, the Foreign Minister of Romania, as the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. My delegation fondly recalls the sense of relief from past intolerance and the high hopes for a newly-born broadmindedness which were signalled by his election as the first representative of a socialist country to the high office of President of the General Assembly. In a year of difficult international developments, Mr. Manescu performed his functions and discharged his responsibilities in a manner which contributed significantly to sustain and encourage our sense of hope and confidence in the United Nations Organization.

98. Our highly distinguished and respected Secretary-General, His Excellency U Thant, in the sensitive but dispassionate introduction to his annual report, concluded that we are confronted with a situation today which calls

for a renewal of "our efforts to promote the cause of international understanding and rededicate ourselves to the principles of international order and morality set out in the Charter" [A/7201/Add.1, para. 205]. The Nigerian delegation fervently shares his conviction. It is in this spirit of rededication and renewed commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter that my delegation will face the work of this session.

99. In this our ever-shrinking world—thanks to modern techniques of media of mass communication—tragedies and incidents, otherwise personal and national, soon assume international dimensions as they are brought to countless homes and hearths in far-away lands. This could be a healthy development, if it would promote the idea of common humanity and universal brotherhood. But too often the press, radio and television of the world have tended to dramatize in raw fashion incidents and situations out of their historical contexts, perspectives and proportions. Human joys and achievements do not make news. Remarkable records of personal and national successes are conveniently forgotten. But tensions and divisions are fanned and played up, more often than not, to serve external socio-political interests. Thus truth is sacrificed for the sake of sensation and selfish interests. Thus in an age of anonymity, heroes and knaves are suddenly created and causes espoused, regardless of their origin, relevance and consequences.

100. It does not require any effort of imagination to recognize the fact that Nigeria is a sovereign entity which attained political independence on 1 October 1960 and was admitted to membership of this Organization as a Member State on 9 October 1960 as a corporate and indivisible country. When, therefore, a group of its citizens, motivated by narrow selfish interests and supported by foreign economic and neo-colonialist interests, resorted to armed rebellion and declared war on their fatherland, it was the duty and responsibility of the Government of Nigeria to quell that rebellion. Similarly, my Government expects that the Government of any Member State would do the same if any province of such State were to proceed to secede from it in armed rebellion.

101. Over the last fifteen months, my Government has watched with increasing horror and dismay how the facts and events of our national life have been reported and frequently distorted by certain sections of the world press. Many of these reports are based on hearsay and several others on the work of public relations firms who have been hired by the rebels in my country to promote their secessionist cause. Through their skilful and clever propaganda, emotions of otherwise well-meaning friends have been aroused and manipulated at will. The concern and compassion for the human sufferings arising from our internal conflict that have manifested themselves have therefore sprung from reasons of diverse interests and motives of uneven quality—frequently tendentious, subjective, irrational, and at times based on reasons of pure financial consideration. The impression is given that the causes of our internal conflict no longer matter and that the survival of a nation no longer counts. The impression is also given that the conflict is merely to inflict death and starvation on innocent women and children. Hiding, therefore, behind the cloak of humanitarianism, a curious

combination of neo-colonialist, political, economic, religious and ideological interests is today assailing our national sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity.

102. Never before in history has a rebellious faction in a sovereign State been accorded diplomatic recognition for so-called humanitarian reasons. Never before have otherwise reputable relief organizations chosen to act and speak without regard to accepted norms and their constitutive laws. Never before have honest and reasonable men been so much beguiled by contrived pictures and stories of death and starvation used as blackmail to sustain and support an armed rebellion and war against a fatherland. Our recent experience should serve as an object lesson to all the small and militarily and economically weak countries of the world.

103. As the rebel leader retires into a concrete bunker, reminiscent of another false hero, it is a relief that the world has begun to realize that the internal conflict in my country concerns the concept and acceptance of the fact of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of all African States. Were we to permit secession and armed insurgence based on tribal states, Africa, so much in need of union and unity, would again be fragmented into thousands of tribal principalities; Africa, again weakened and uncertain of itself, would be recolonized and more intensively exploited by foreign Powers.

104. The impartial reports of the team of international observers, comprising representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, who are at present visiting the war-affected areas of Nigeria at my Government's invitation, have revealed quite categorically how false and mischievous have been some of the reports on the situation in my country. The reports of these eminent observers have revealed the true nature and circumstances of the conflict and how spurious and malicious have been some of the references made to the events in my country by some of the speakers before this Assembly.

105. The task of crushing the rebellion in my country is now almost completed. We have therefore begun to turn our attention to the more important task of rebuilding the human and material bridges that have been broken and to the reconstruction of our national life in fuller dignity and freedom. We are sparing no efforts or resources in doing this. Urgent relief supplies of food, medicine and clothing to those in need is the immediate and overriding pre-occupation of my Government. We have prepared plans, which are now being implemented, and have made substantial budgetary provisions for the relief and rehabilitation work in the war-affected areas. A National Rehabilitation Commission, headed by a Commissioner of Cabinet rank, has been established to supervise and implement the relief and rehabilitation programme for the victims of the conflict. In fact, as of now, and even when the conflict was at its height, the Federal troops carry not only their rations but vital relief supplies for the civilian victims as they fight on against the rebel elements. The International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF and a number of other charitable organizations have been rendering a most signal service in this respect. I salute them all on behalf of my Government.

106. At this juncture, I wish to thank, on behalf of my Government, the various Member States of this Organization and of the Organization of African Unity, and in particular, His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, and the other distinguished Heads of State—members of the Consultative Committee on Nigeria of the Organization of African Unity—who, faithful to the high principles and purposes of both Organizations, have shown so much understanding and sympathy for the cause of Nigeria. The historic resolution of Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of Africa Unity with respect to Nigeria, adopted on 16 September 1968 in Algiers, by which *inter alia*: they called “upon all Member States of the United Nations and the OAU to refrain from any action detrimental to the peace, unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria”, was a triumph for Africa and a vindication of my Government’s cause.

107. I also wish to express the deep appreciation and gratitude of my Government for the understanding, sympathy and assistance which the Secretary-General of our Organization has extended to my Government, consistent with the powers and responsibilities of his high office which we recognize as the worthy repository of all the moral and humanitarian values of this Organization.

108. My Government has never and will never stand in the way of any humanitarian organization or men of goodwill who genuinely want to help us in alleviating the sufferings of the civilian victims of our internal conflict. We have never placed any obstacles in their way. Indeed we warmly welcome them. We shall continue to do so and to provide them with every possible facility and assistance. My Government assures them of its continued service and full co-operation. We do insist, however, on full respect for Nigeria’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. We also demand strict adherence to the established norms of international law and behaviour in the fields of international co-operation and humanitarian assistance.

109. My delegation has listened with interest to the speakers before this Assembly who have had cause to refer to the situation in my country. Much as we appreciate that some of them have been prompted by humanitarian considerations, my delegation takes a firm and categorical objection to any incursion into matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of my country. References such as we have had to the so-called “tragedy of Biafra”, the so-called “martyrdom of the Ibo people”, and the suggestion founded on a patently erroneous construction of certain provisions of the Charter of this Organization that a solution must be found to our internal problem so as to give effect to certain imaginary rights, amount to a flagrant violation of the basic principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Member States.

110. Self-determination for a so-called “people of Biafra” has been canvassed. But what is “Biafra” other than a manifestation and an ugly reptition of the lamentable tragedy of Katanga in Africa? What is it other than a cancerous symbol of disunity and disintegration—a concept which exists only in the aberrant imagination of those who refuse to accord Africa the dignity and recognition which they reserve for themselves? It is neither a political entity nor even a geographical location.

111. They talk of the so-called “Biafra” as the land of the Ibos, deliberately losing sight of the fact that the former Eastern Region of Nigeria which those now in rebellion against their fatherland purported to incorporate into their dream empire consisted not only of the Ibos but also of other ethnic groups amounting numerically to more than five-and-a-half million people. Indeed their dream empire was to include the Mid-West State and the Western State, which they proceeded to invade and occupy in August 1967 and from which they were later driven out in October of the same year. In that region there are three States, each equal in status and rights to the other nine constituent States of the Federation. Two of these three States have now been completely liberated from the rebels by the Federal Government of Nigeria and are integrated effectively into the existing federal structure of my country.

112. The Ibo-speaking people of the former Eastern Nigeria constitute the third State—the East Central State. Over two-thirds of the area of this State has also been liberated from rebel control and reintegrated into the federal structure. The liberated areas are currently administered by an Ibo administrator assisted by other Ibos who, *inter alia*, man all the law enforcement agencies now effectively operating in such areas. Significantly, in all such areas, the civilian Ibo populations, now realizing the barrenness of rebel propaganda, are coming out in large numbers to co-operate with the federal authorities and indicating in very certain terms their willingness to take their rightful places in the Federation of Nigeria. Besides, Ibos participate on an equal status with other Nigerians in the national life of the country and hold responsible positions in the federal services of Nigeria.

113. Therefore there can be no question of denial of human rights to any section of the Nigerian population. The much canvassed right to self-determination of the East Central State is sacred and relevant only in the over-all national context of Nigeria—in just the same way as, for instance, it is in Brittany or Alsace-Lorraine.

114. It is the view of my delegation that it is mischievous to characterize as martyrs the people of any section of my country in the current internal conflict. If one were to look for martyrs in the recent history of colonial Asia and Africa, it is to the people of Indo-China and Algeria that one would readily turn. The dogged determination and bloody struggle for eight years by the people of Indo-China, with such episodes as Dien Bien Phu, directed towards the recognition of their rights to self-determination—that is martyrdom. The millions of the fraternal people of Algeria, who for seven years were sacrificed on the altar of bigotry and colonial tyranny, whose defenceless villages were napalmed and gassed, burnt and bombed because of their heroic struggle for their right to self-determination—they are the martyrs. The blood of those African martyrs today waters the flourishing tree of liberty, equality and fraternity in that great sister Republic.

115. There has appeared on the African political scene another Moise Tshombe. Behind this reincarnation are some of the financial circles that inspired and attempted to sustain Katangese separatism. Both with open expressions of support and sympathy and clandestine financial assistance—in money and in arms and ammunition—and by

complicity in foul propaganda, these circles have attempted, and continue to attempt, to sustain the rebellion in my country. By urging the rebels to hold out in spite of the realities of the situation in the hope of gaining ultimate victory through world intervention, they have encouraged them to exploit human suffering for political advantage.

116. Those same neo-colonialist circles pretend that their stances and utterances are motivated by humanitarian feelings and not by other concrete and more rewarding considerations. We would ask: why are these so-called humanitarian feelings not so readily expressed with respect to the human plight of the 16 million Africans of South Africa, whose oppression and suppression depend largely on the supply of arms by a certain major Power, contrary to Security Council resolutions? Why are they not being expressed with respect to the death and suffering in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and Namibia? If I should ask these questions, it is not to minimize the terrible consequences of our internal conflict. These are our problems. It is our duty to deal with them with speed, magnanimity and patriotic zeal. We expect our friends to look at them in their correct perspective. As for those of our brothers in Africa and the Caribbean who have thought it fit to meddle in our internal affairs, I can only forgive them. I am sure that the cause of world order would be better served if they paid a little more attention to the solution of their own internal problems.

117. I now turn to the state of international affairs which really is the proper responsibility of our Organization. This Organization has more than doubled in size since its foundation twenty-three years ago. Of necessity, new membership has brought new focus and fresh emphasis. These are elements of vitality, not sterility. They compel growth, not a studied promotion of a congenial *status quo*. The world would move much closer to the model envisaged in the founding of the United Nations if the principle of sovereign equality guided the action of every Member State of this Organization. The threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Member States would be greatly diminished if the sanctions of our Charter and not the privilege of power—military, economic and political—were permitted to prevail in the conduct of international relations.

118. One area in which this Organization can claim justifiable pride in its achievement has been in providing the impetus for the historic post-war development of decolonization. The present membership of this Organization itself attests to this record of achievement. But, today, as the United Nations becomes more half-hearted in the handling of African decolonization, the millions of oppressed people in southern Africa seem progressively condemned to permanent white minority domination and subjugation. In spite of repeated international condemnation and in utter defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the *apartheid* régime in South Africa remains unyielding to the admonitions of human decency and morality. Dr. Vorster and his collaborators have not only persisted in their abominable philosophy and practice of racism; they have proceeded to export and extend them to the neighbouring territories, notably Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The racial tyranny of *apartheid* flourishes; and it will continue to flourish

as long as some Member States of the United Nations, particularly the major trading partners of South Africa, through their political, economic and military collaboration with its Government, encourage that Government to persist in its *apartheid* policies.

119. Taking shelter comfortably behind the power, indeed protection, of their friends, the authorities in Pretoria have not only refused to bring South Africa into the mainstream of international civility and respect for the values of human worth; they have also assailed the will of the international community and the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia. Almost two years ago today, this Assembly, by resolution 2145 (XXI), made a virtually unanimous decision that South Africa, by its own actions, had forfeited the right delegated to it to administer Namibia. Six months after that historic decision, this Assembly, by its resolution 2248 (S-V), proceeded to establish a United Nations Council to administer the Territory with a view to bringing it to early independence. But, today, this goal is hardly in sight. The United Nations appears to lack the will to discharge the responsibilities it has assumed towards the people and Territory of Namibia. This, surely, is a sad state of affairs.

120. South Africa compounds the illegality of its continued occupation of Namibia by subjecting its people to arbitrary arrests, deportation, illegal trials and forcible evacuation from their homes to more segregated locations. The recommendations of the Odendaal Commission<sup>3</sup> are now a reality. Formal legislation has been passed in Pretoria, and Namibia is now being dismembered into Bantustans. The wards of the United Nations under resolution 2145 (XXI) are now being dispossessed of their fatherland. The Namibian people are left with nothing more than despair and disillusionment.

121. The United Kingdom recently stated that, with the accession of Swaziland to independence, British colonial rule in Africa had come to an end. My delegation congratulates the United Kingdom for what it has achieved so far in this field. But the claim for British colonial success in Africa will sound even more impressive and convincing when Southern Rhodesia, for which the United Kingdom remains the administering authority, can apply and be accepted to membership of this Organization.

122. It is over eighteen months since both the General Assembly and the Security Council determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security. Since then we have found that the diplomatic and mandatory economic sanctions so far applied under Chapter VII of our Charter against the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith have been of no significant avail. My delegation is happy to note that a negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian problem is presently on the way. We hope that the Government of the United Kingdom will not betray the trust of the international community, of which it is such a great champion.

123. Portugal continues to impose on Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and the other so-called Portuguese

<sup>3</sup> See Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963* (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964).

possessions off the coast of the African continent a grotesque colonial doctrine which claims that those portions of African soil are extensions of Portugal. After our terrifying experience in which the island of São Tomé has been freely used by the rebel elements of my country to prosecute their rebellion, and after the permissive use of Angola by white mercenaries to attack the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I hereby reaffirm my Government's support for, and our readiness to extend assistance to, the freedom fighters in those territories.

124. The Nigerian delegation is happy to welcome the imminent accession of Equatorial Guinea to freedom and independence. Speaking on the eve of this historical occasion, I hasten to take this opportunity to welcome and salute the nascent nation. Equatorial Guinea is a close neighbour of Nigeria with which we have close ties of fraternity and affection. I therefore pledge, on behalf of my Government, that Nigeria shall continue to maintain and promote the existing fraternal relations and co-operation between the peoples of Equatorial Guinea and my country.

125. It is right and proper at this juncture that I should also welcome the admission of Swaziland into membership of the United Nations. My Government felt very proud and honoured to co-sponsor the resolution by which Swaziland was admitted. Because of its geographical position and the inspiring quality of its people, Swaziland will serve as a beacon of hope to the oppressed millions in southern Africa.

*Mr. Emilio Arenales (Guatemala) took the Chair.*

126. Compared with its other achievements, the record of the United Nations in the economic and social fields seems impressive, though still very short of expectation. For the moment at least, the Organization has the institutional arrangements and establishments necessary to give impetus to the development of the underdeveloped world. But these institutions and organs lack the tools and, often, the political will and support on the part of the industrialized countries to enable them to perform their tasks as stated in Chapter IX of our Charter, which are to promote conditions of economic and social progress and development. As we approach the closing days of the first United Nations Development Decade and are on the point of launching the second decennial period of international co-operation for development, it is the view of my delegation that we must now take stock of our past achievements. The industrialized countries, during the current Development Decade, have registered unprecedented rates of growth, while the developing countries, on whose behalf and for whose benefit the first Development Decade programme was launched, are still hopelessly in conditions of poverty and hardship. It is not too much to stress that it is essential that we lay the foundations of the coming Development Decade in a manner that will do full justice to the developing countries.

127. It is crucial to this concept that the developing countries should not be permanently allotted the status of recipients of foreign aid and technical assistance. What my Government wants is the promotion of an international economic system in which the developing countries will not suffer from unfavourable terms of trade and can stand on their own feet economically, paying their own way. It is for

this reason that the Nigerian Government has always paid particular attention to the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the role which that body can play for bringing about a more equitable international economic order. The second session of UNCTAD in New Delhi was a disappointment to my Government. The unwillingness of the industrialized countries to disavow the existing imperial patterns of trade and to translate into policy and effect the aims and purposes of the first session of UNCTAD is a sad commentary on all our resolutions on world trade and development. In this connexion, I must reiterate that my Government is keenly interested in the work and future of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. Not only should a blueprint of a world industrialized development strategy for the 1970's be prepared; its contents must also be implemented in practical terms. We welcome the interest which the Secretary-General has focused on the programme of work of UNIDO.

128. I should also like to mention that the United Nations Development Programme has been doing commendable work within its limited resources. The significant increase in its expenditure for projects from \$26 million in 1959 to an estimated \$176 million in the current year, as reported by the Secretary-General, is a testimony to the dynamic vision of its eminent Administrator. It is also a measure of the immensity of the work yet to be done to eradicate the appalling contrasts between the rich and poor nations of the world.

129. At its resumed twenty-second session, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2373 (XXII), gave its blessing to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It will be recalled that both at the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva and in the consideration of the draft-treaty in New York, the Nigerian delegation clearly expressed its reservations about the omission of certain important prerequisites. However, we warmly supported the Treaty in the strong belief that it was in itself a momentous achievement. Since then, the Conference of the Non-Nuclear-Weapon States has been held in Geneva, and there the States concerned produced important ideas regarding security guarantees, unimpeded access to the vast potentialities of nuclear energy for peaceful uses and for ensuring accelerated disarmament measures. However, in spite of the existing international atmosphere, my delegation strongly hopes that the treaty will be ratified with the same zeal and enthusiasm with which the General Assembly recommended it for signature.

130. The Nigerian delegation is encouraged to note that the two parties directly involved in the tragic war in Viet-Nam are now engaged in talks in Paris for the purpose of paving the way towards meaningful negotiations. A peaceful solution of the conflict which has for too long plagued the people of Viet-Nam is now overdue.

131. The Middle East crisis continues. The tremendous human suffering resulting from the unceasing tension in the area persists. The world still painfully lives with the bitter consequences and grim prospects of the war of last year. That war resulted in tens of thousands more refugees. Nigeria, as a member of the Security Council at the time, made its modest contribution to the resolution which was

subsequently unanimously adopted by the Security Council, as resolution 242 (1967), on 22 November 1967. My Government strongly believes that the principles laid down in that resolution as well as the mechanism it provided for promoting a just solution of the problems of the Middle East remain as valid as they were last November. We therefore appeal to all the parties concerned to avail themselves of that resolution. My delegation further calls upon the parties to co-operate fully with Ambassador Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in his mission for peace in the Middle East.

132. In the beclouded atmosphere in which this Assembly is progressing, there may be some who have written it off as abortive and unnecessary to further the cause of international peace and order. The Nigerian delegation rejects that point of view. My delegation would rather err on the side of optimism. We therefore reaffirm our faith in this Organization as the best instrument for the pursuit of our common aspirations for peace and progress.

133. Mr. LOPEZ MICHELSEN (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to borrow a vivid metaphor used by that great man Churchill to describe the role of small countries. Among the background material to the Yalta Conference of 4-11 February 1945, published by the United States Department of State, there is a report of the last meeting, at which the role of smaller States in the world of the future was discussed. The British statesman, commenting on the role of the small nations which would subsequently be invited to join the United Nations quoted Shakespeare and said:

“The eagle suffers little birds to sing,  
And is not careful what they mean thereby”.<sup>4</sup>

134. Twenty-five years have passed since that meeting, at which the first serious efforts were made to work out the concept of the United Nations, and it may perhaps not be out of place for the song of some of the little birds to be heard in this forum.

135. A quarter of a century is but a brief instant in the history of mankind's search for a lasting peace throughout its thousands of years of existence. It is in the light of this short span of time that we should judge the effectiveness of our Organization. We must recognize that, despite certain failures which might be regarded as cause for discouragement, the achievements of the United Nations in a world more integrated and complex than in the days of the League of Nations, can be compared favourably with those of the League. We are not on the verge of a third world war, as was the case in the 1930s when the League of Nations reached the same age. On the contrary, under the auspices of the United Nations, in the past twenty years there has been a vast process of decolonization in several continents, which has led to a new balance of powers among the great nations.

136. Never in the history of man has there been such a vast redistribution of power in the world, achieved not by force of arms but as a result of negotiations around the conference table. Some nations have attained the rank of super-Powers, while others, confined within the bounds of

their original territory, have seen their importance in world affairs reduced, without this posing any major threat to world peace. The bringing to an end of the white race's centuries-old dominion over other races without seriously affecting the political stability of the world, as occurred when vast areas of Asia and Africa were conquered by the European Powers, is one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of these past twenty years.

137. It is true that hotbeds of racism remain in more than one African region, but the process of integration in the international sphere has been so inevitable that Colombia is convinced that, in the national sphere, too, the claim to supremacy of some races over others is doomed to disappear. Again, as was the case with the League of Nations itself, the United Nations organs have done commendable work not only in the preservation of peace, but also in regard to social and economic development, health, culture, technical assistance and monetary policy; in short, in the sphere of human solidarity. Nevertheless, if we compare the spirit of the discussions at San Francisco and of the first years of the United Nations with what is happening today, there are sound reasons for re-examining the course we are following.

138. Peace between nations, like peace between men, can be based on no other principle than that of entrusting the entire community with the task of rendering justice in order to safeguard the security of each associated State. Progress in the achievement of peace is reflected in all societies by the extent to which power is delegated to a common higher authority responsible for ensuring that man lives in harmony with his neighbour; since this authority represents the interests of all, it becomes superfluous and obsolete to take the law into one's own hands. Ideally, peace between nations should be based on the creation of a supranational body able to apply collective force, which would represent the highest culmination of the principle I have just outlined. But at this stage in the history of mankind it would be too much to expect all States to renounce armed force and place it in the hands of a common higher body. However, until this ideal objective can be attained, there is a state of mind which is indicative of progress or lack of progress in the spirit of collaboration, depending on whether the attitude adopted is insular or multilateral.

139. If peace is being sought sincerely, every day should bring an increase in the number of settlements attained by persuasion through the collective will and a decrease in the number of settlements imposed by force and bypassing the world Organization. In other words, peace is measured by the willingness to renounce unilateral solutions and to abide by the decisions of the community of States constituting the Organization. Using this yardstick, we note with dismay how in the world of today, the settlements imposed are not the result of agreement or of submission to higher interests, but rather of the economic and military supremacy of the great Powers, which attempt to guarantee their own security unilaterally, while at the same time the small States see their conflicts prolonged, often artificially, in the interests of the larger Powers, which turn the world into a chess-board on which they move queens, rooks and pawns alike. It is not without reason that we are again hearing phrases such as “balance of power”, “spheres of influence,”

<sup>4</sup> *Titus Andronicus*, act IV, scene 4.

“national security” and the like, which at the end of the Second World War appeared to be banned from the vocabulary of international relations.

140. Thus, when we thought we had outgrown the concept that, on the basis of the principle of the balance of power, peace is guaranteed by the formation of equally powerful blocs such as those which maintained a balance between the European monarchies in the eighteenth century, we find ourselves in a world in which this same anachronistic doctrine holds sway, sometimes tacitly and sometimes overtly. For some time now there has been a growing tendency to overlook the principle that peace among equal States is preserved by the rule of law, as embodied in the United Nations; it would seem that, unfortunately, the super-Powers are trying to prove that the stability of the world depends on their capacity to bare their teeth at each other, while at the same time respecting each other's sphere of influence. In this context, what is likely to become of the United Nations? What has happened to the role of guardian of the peace which was assigned to the complex organization created at San Francisco? Is it to be dependent on the great Powers generously allowing it to exercise its jurisdiction only in specific circumstances? No. We do not think that any State, however powerful, can set itself up as a world policeman in order to impose democracy or socialism as interpreted in its own particular creed.

141. Where policing the international order is concerned, the only legitimate policeman is the United Nations. The guardian of international order could hardly be a State with a specific ideology, which declares that those which do not share it are heretics. It must be the United Nations, animated by tolerance, which allows different ideologies to flourish and exist side by side. In Viet-Nam, the Middle East and Nigeria (with the shameful crime against humanity in Biafra), and in other, less obvious cases, where the so-called cold war continues to be fought in the form of an undeclared war, as in Czechoslovakia, between inhabitants and invaders, rivers of blood bear witness to a situation in which the United Nations is finding its authority diminished in a world of conflicting interests that does not come under its jurisdiction.

142. Outside the United Nations, but with the participation of its most prominent Members, peace is said to be preserved or threatened unilaterally by States which, for reasons which vary in their degree of validity, disregard their duties and obligations as members of the community of nations constituting the Organization and resort to force to achieve their goals.

143. Their position as States with primary responsibility for the maintenance of world security, laid down and accepted in the Charter, is no longer sufficient for certain Powers, which regard themselves as exempt from some of their duties as Members of the United Nations and act accordingly. How often have we heard them say, in sarcastic tones, that the security of a great State, with world-wide commitments, cannot depend on the will of any small country? That is true; but it was precisely to assure the super-Powers freedom of action within a legal framework that the idea of the veto was conceived, since it means that they are not automatically subject to the will of the

majority and are not therefore compelled to resort to the law of the jungle.

144. What justification would there be for the veto, if those who possess that power also reserved the right to invade their neighbours, ignoring all their legal commitments, as a way of guaranteeing their security or that of their political system, outside the United Nations? The problem is not a new one. Ten or fifteen years ago, when nuclear technology was the exclusive province of two or three nations, how often, in an effort to belittle the views of the small States, did they resort to the ingenious tactic of saying mockingly that the conclusions of their scientists on nuclear energy did not coincide with the findings of the small nations!

145. That is why those who cannot understand why the little birds should be allowed to sing in the presence of the eagles must be reminded again and again that the United Nations was not the result of a plot on the part of the small States to place the great Powers under their rule, but that on the contrary it was the great Powers, exercising their full sovereignty at Yalta and at Dumbarton Oaks, which laid down the rules of the club they were forming, reserving for themselves certain advantages, such as the right of veto, and then invited us to join. Why, then, is it surprising that we, the weak nations, not only make use of the statutes that were presented to us but sometimes also raise our voices to demand that those who established the rules should abide by them?

146. In his message to the National Congress on 20 July 1968, the President of Colombia, referring to the war in Viet-Nam, rightly stated:

“... this conflict continues while the countries associated in a system essentially created for the purpose of preserving peace, and whose representatives act either in the Security Council or in the larger forum of the General Assembly, are unable to take any action to alter its fatal course. This confirms once again the very serious drawbacks of the San Francisco Charter: the obstacles created by the great Powers' right of veto and the major defect of lack of universality, which it has not been possible to remedy.

“It would probably seem Utopian to speak of a great reform which would open the United Nations unreservedly to all the countries of the world, establish more effective procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and endow the international Organization with genuine collective power. But the spectacle of its present powerlessness in face of a situation from which none of the parties concerned can easily escape highlights the problems of the international Organization and the urgent need to tackle them openly and frankly, going beyond the conventional stands and alignments which are largely the result of blatant or artfully disguised imperialist practices, as the case may be.”

147. Again, if this reluctance to act collectively leads to such disastrous results in the maintenance of peace, what of the same policy when it is a question, not of armed conflict, but of providing economic assistance and foreign aid to prevent social tension.

148. If the United Nations is becoming less effective in maintaining world peace, the same is true of its role in



assisting the poorer nations on the road to development. The world Organization is no longer, except to a very small extent, the normal channel for providing economic assistance. The idea that the more advanced countries should assist the less prosperous ones with their capital and technical know-how has recently gained greater acceptance internationally. For the first time in the history of nations, the backwardness of some countries has become a matter of concern to the wealthier countries.

149. This degree of intellectual maturity in public opinion should be reflected in the establishment of a large fund for foreign aid with contributions from all nations, to be administered, again collectively, by all the peoples of the world, through the United Nations. But this is not the case. The aid received by the weak countries through the United Nations is only a small percentage of the funds allocated by the strong nations to the development of the developing countries. In the same way that declarations of war or acts of aggression are undertaken unilaterally, in many cases foreign aid is provided through bilateral agreements, with specific commitments. The same policy of spheres of influence and blocs which is a threat to the moral authority of the United Nations is, in the economic field, sowing the seeds of destruction of universal solidarity.

150. The credits granted by the super-Powers within their spheres of influence carry with them so many conditions regarding the management of the domestic economy that it would not be an exaggeration to say that on occasion they actually infringe the recipient country's freedom to choose its own economic policies.

151. Not only are recipient countries required to purchase goods in specific regions, goods which must be paid for in a specific way through specific establishments and transported in ships of a specific flag, but their autonomy in economic matters is often subject to the will of the lending States. They are not really free to choose how they will use the assistance so generously given because, as is recognized in the current terminology, many of the suppliers' credits are "tied". In other words, more than economic aid, the loans are a means for promoting the exports of the strong State so that the weak State, buying today, is indebted to his supplier for the morrow.

152. This is undoubtedly an effective means of co-operation; none the less, if the loans were not administered unilaterally but rather channelled through the United Nations, to be used by the recipients to their best advantage, not only would this expedite development but it would help to prevent the inevitable friction between creditor and debtor countries which, in spite of mutual goodwill, may, as a result of the inflexibility of some minor official, lead to irreparable misunderstandings. Paradoxically, where both producing and consuming countries benefit from the agreements reached in world conferences sponsored by the United Nations, for the purpose of regulating trade above and beyond political considerations, as in the case of coffee and sugar, there is no comparable arrangement in the field of foreign aid. Only a very small number of loans do not bring, implicitly or explicitly, in some cases political and in many cases commercial or economic advantages to the lender. Multilateral aid is practically non-existent.

153. In foreign aid as in the maintenance of peace, the United Nations often acts merely as a notary, recording what others do. Might it not be appropriate to bring up the question of the need to universalize the problem of foreign aid, just as it is necessary to universalize the problem of peace? The contrast between the failure of some bilateral assistance plans and the success of others which have no strings attached, such as those of the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, speaks eloquently against the use of aid as a pretext for making the debtor country directly dependent on the creditor country. Any contribution to the universalization of foreign aid is a contribution to peace and to the improvement of social and economic conditions in countries Members of the United Nations.

154. Among other reasons, it must be remembered that the division of the world into regional, sometimes antagonistic, blocs leads to the establishment of regional or national protectionist policies which, with the barriers to trade, create a tariff war atmosphere similar to the one prevailing on the eve of the great world crisis of 1930. How can we expect an improvement in the situation of the less developed countries through fairly generous foreign aid if, at the same time, tariff barriers to international trade are erected and every exporting nation finds the door slammed in its face because of political or regional considerations? This is what happens to our tropical fruits in the market of the European Economic Community, where the new African and Asian States receive privileged treatment from the former metropolitan countries.

155. What would happen if, carrying this process further, the United States of America were to close its doors to coffee, tobacco, bananas, sugar and cocoa from other continents, in defence of the products of the American continent? Would we not be favouring an economic standstill similar to that which ruined the world economy four decades ago? Great efforts have been made to universalize trade and replace partial arrangements by comprehensive multinational conventions aimed at organizing marketing and trade on a world-wide scale, but here as in other cases the insular spirit of groups or regions continues to prevail, despite the need for supranational action that would complement the United Nations peace-keeping mission by attacking war at its economic roots.

156. We must go back to the idea of multilateral action, be it with regard to problems of territorial or economic security, exploitation of the resources of the sea, or control of nuclear energy. We must rise above the policy of blocs or spheres of influence, replacing it by respect for law and the equality of nations under the aegis of the United Nations, by forming, among those of us who share this principle, a bloc of impartial peace-loving nations, respecting the rights of all countries that refrain from taking justice into their own hands, receiving or giving assistance with political implications, engaging in tariff wars or countenancing acts of piracy in the air such as occur from time to time in various regions in the face of collective indifference. This is how we could restore to the United Nations its significance as a catalyst of human solidarity, rather than an impotent spectator of a new distribution of power wherein, although the actors and the stage have changed, the anachronistic principle of preserving peace by demonstrating the capacity

to wage war—as in the days of ancient Rome—remains unchanged after more than twenty centuries of civilization under law.

157. In this regard the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2372 (XXII)*] marks one of the greatest achievements towards solving the conflicts that darken the horizon, by establishing a world-wide commitment to avoid them.

158. On behalf of my delegation, I am glad to announce, that, within the next few weeks, the Government of Colombia will be instructing its representatives to sign the non-proliferation Treaty. My Government is confident that it will be possible, in the near future, to secure the accession to this Treaty not only of States that are not able to manufacture nuclear devices but also of countries that might be in a position to do so in the near future. If this is achieved, then, as with the overall problem of disarmament, all that would remain is to persuade the Powers possessing or capable of producing nuclear arsenals to reach an agreement on banning the use of such weapons by placing them under international control. It would be to no avail for the signatories of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to spend fifty years discussing the matter around the conference table or to sign hundreds of treaties, if the super-Powers, outside the restrictions imposed by the non-proliferation Treaty on the parties, retain their capacity to unleash, in the space of one day or one hour, a nuclear confrontation.

159. A few years ago a member of the United States Senate qualified as “unthinkable” those ideas which, even though accepted inwardly, are prevented by the attitude of society, in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust, from coming to the surface. He was referring to the need for his country to discuss the problems of South-East Asia with the People’s Republic of China, the advisability of reaching an agreement on the dismantling of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the readmission of the Republic of Cuba to the American community of nations. We are not in a position to judge the political implications that these “unthinkable” thoughts might have for different nations; for just as a United States citizen might consider certain subjects “unthinkable”, it is not inconceivable that, in other parts of the world, even if certain forms of censorship did not exist, the liberalization of political customs and practices or tolerance of criticism of government action might also be termed “unthinkable”. However, it is just such intellectual courage that is needed to break the vicious circle in which the United Nations finds itself becoming increasingly deadlocked because there is not sufficient intellectual courage to break through stereotyped attitudes. Only by using creative imagination, as new developments occur, can we prevent this Assembly from resembling the performance of a play in which each actor plays a preassigned role because the instructions from Governments to their representatives do not vary substantially from year to year.

160. It would perhaps be premature at this stage of the general debate to speak of amending the Charter itself, especially since it is not the tools but we the workmen who have been failing to implement the policies for which the United Nations was conceived. Let us reform ourselves,

both great and small, temporarily committed as we are to unilateral solutions, and return with fresh minds to the concept of collective peace, placing the security of the world in the hands of the Organization. Let us not allow the great Powers to misuse the veto—which was instituted for the protection of their interests—to take advantage of the Organization by preventing it from dealing with the theatres of war that at present constitute mankind’s greatest concern. The veto was not meant to be used to circumvent the jurisdiction of the United Nations and carry out invasions and landings, thus placing the world Organization in the position of a spectator. On the contrary, it was established in order to free the Organization from the rule of material or numerical force and allow it to act independently as the guardian of the law in settling armed conflict.

161. The delegation of Colombia would regard it as a good omen if, beginning with this session, there were to be a thaw in previous positions that would lead to a constructive dialogue instead of verbal clashes, and if the full effectiveness of the collective security mechanisms could be restored. It is man’s last hope of permanently securing the long-desired boon of peace.

162. I do not wish to conclude without welcoming, on behalf of my country’s delegation, the election of Mr. Emilio Arenales; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-third session. Mr. Arenales embodies all the virtues of his great little nation and his election is not only a high honour for the entire Latin American community, but also a guarantee of impartiality, discretion and good judgement in the conduct of our debates. His experience as a veteran diplomat will ensure that the office of President will continue to be used to further the cause of peace, as it was by his illustrious predecessor, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, whom all Members of this Organization remember with gratitude and to whom we shall be delighted to pay tribute during his forthcoming visit to Colombia.

163. Mr. CARIAS CASTILLO (Honduras) (*translated from Spanish*): Before beginning my statement this afternoon, I wish, on behalf of my country, to register a strong protest against the discriminatory way in which the secretariat unit responsible for General Assembly Affairs has treated my delegation, giving preference to two other countries and allowing them to speak before Honduras, despite the fact that Honduras was higher on the list of speakers. Although we requested that the order of speakers should be maintained, the Secretariat resorted to subterfuges to prevent Honduras from speaking in the order of precedence.

164. In making this protest, we hope that other countries will not be similarly discriminated against in the future. We are glad to say that the delegation of Bolivia had agreed to let Honduras take its proper place and we are grateful to it for this. Nevertheless, the secretariat unit responsible for General Assembly Affairs again prevented Honduras from taking its place. We let the facts speak for themselves as evidence of the Secretariat’s lack of courtesy and respect for my delegation.

165. I am very pleased, Mr. President, to greet you in your capacity as an official representative of Guatemala, a sister

republic, and in so doing to express the gratification of the people and Government of Honduras at your election to the high office of President of this great Assembly. It is a matter of great satisfaction to Latin America, which once more places itself at the service of the great cause of the United Nations.

166. Many speakers have expressed well warranted confidence in your good judgement, your ability and your capacity as a statesman. Those of us who have had occasion to work with you in the Organization of Central American States are confident that you will be successful in carrying out your duties in this world forum.

167. May I also present my respects to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania. The applause we heard in this hall on 24 September last is clear evidence of our admiration and gratitude for his efforts.

168. We welcome the admission of Swaziland to the United Nations. Under the principle of universality, Swaziland is now a Member of this great community and can play a useful role in our efforts to attain the rule of law and peace.

169. The representatives of the small countries—which have a majority voice in world public opinion—have shown better than anyone else their fervent desire to direct the United Nations towards positive goals, in which the principles and purposes of the Charter would provide a sure means of achieving a stable peace and the best way of dealing with the economic and social problems that beset mankind. But all the positive efforts of the small nations have been obstructed by international tension, which has been mounting in the last few months.

170. The annual report [*A/7201/Add.1*] that the Secretary-General, as the moral guardian of the Charter of this Organization, has presented to the Assembly, is indeed sombre and objective. The Secretary-General has emphasized the fact that the tendency to revert to the use of force as an instrument of international policy shakes the very foundations of the United Nations. He likewise warns us that, unless the principle of non-intervention in the self-determination of nations is re-established, the prospects for international peace and security will remain dim.

171. The conflict in Viet-Nam that now afflicts mankind is a direct consequence of the cold war, which has led to an open clash of differing ideologies, causing immense and far-reaching damage to all continents. It is well known that the Powers involved on both sides of this conflict spend in one day as much as the United Nations in one year. This shows the appalling cost of war, with its daily sacrifice of human lives, in face of the spontaneous and organized struggle for peace throughout the world, the many areas of the world that are deprived of more effective assistance, and the peoples, nations and geographical regions that suffer hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance in a world which, in its indifference, allows the law of the jungle to prevail.

172. We also share in the Secretary-General's condemnation of the cruel intervention by the Soviet Union and four

of its allies in invading Czechoslovakia on 21 August 1968, in flagrant violation of the principles of international law and the fundamental precepts of the Charter of the United Nations.

173. As a Latin American country, we base our condemnation of the aggression against Czechoslovakia on our adherence to the principle of non-intervention as established within our own regional system and reaffirmed in the Charter and at several sessions of the General Assembly by the Latin American representatives collectively, and on our peoples' repudiation of all acts that threaten the security and sovereign integrity of States. We therefore feel entitled to reject—here in our continent and in any other part of the world any intervention, and especially armed intervention, as an instrument of domination that jeopardizes the juridical equality of States and threatens to destroy the foundations of the United Nations just as the League of Nations was destroyed.

174. Neither the Charter of the United Nations, nor the principles of regional organizations, nor the Warsaw Pact, as contemporary international instruments, say anything that could entitle a Power to determine the internal affairs of another State by means of military force.

175. The fundamental rights of States, the right to self-defence, self-government, independence and permanent self-determination—are guaranteed in the Charter of the United Nations, together with all the rights that ensure the equality of all States Members of this Organization in international relations.

176. The protectorates that reflected colonial domination were abolished many decades ago. With the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern European States that were subservient to it became independent and demonstrated their great capacity for developing their own culture and protecting their own national interests and their existence as independent States.

177. We can no longer conceive of the existence of semi-sovereign States subjected to protectorates. It is inconceivable that the interests, the people's right to self-determination, the national character and the right to free expression of one or more States should be subject to the tutelage of another State, which, through the use of tanks, guns and hundreds of thousands of soldiers, impose humiliating conditions, thus forcibly eliminating for the future all spontaneous means of self-determination.

178. It would be monstrous to accept the expansionist tendency of the great Powers as an instrument of national policy for increasing their rule and their economic and territorial dominion over the weak nations, and worse still to admit the pernicious theory that countries subjected to ideologies or spheres of interest should relinquish their sovereignty, territorial integrity and permanent right to self-determination to a great Power that imposes Draconian measures on States vanquished by force, measures contrary to the enduring destiny of cultures that, within the history of mankind, are not only different but sometimes superior. In every nationality the expression of freedom must be protected by law and not thwarted by military occupations or dictatorial systems.

179. It is ironic that these acts of aggression, associated in certain spheres of influence with a dangerous line of conduct known as the "balance of terror", should have occurred during the International Year for Human Rights established by the United Nations. Historical responsibility cannot be disguised by empty and distorted propaganda.

180. The regional organizations recognized by the Charter were not created to ensure the rule of force but rather to allow for normal social and geopolitical development in an atmosphere of spontaneous and positive co-operation. This Organization, in which the torch of freedom of belief and conscience lights the world's path, would be useless if it were to be subjected to a grotesque censorship on the legitimate exchange of creative ideas that justifies its existence and its work.

181. In the world in which we live we must, on the basis of the independence essential to ensure that each State retains its own individual character and, at the same time, of an interdependence conducive to constructive co-operation, seek solution to the other conflicts which bring the developed countries face to face with the developing countries. It is unfortunate that the growth rate of the developing countries has not yet reached the expected goal of 5 per cent per year.

182. Here we should emphasize what has repeatedly been stated by several heads of delegations in this great Assembly. I would particularly like to recall the statement made by my illustrious colleague, Mr. Carillo Flores, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, on 4 October, when he said:

"The decade of 1960-1969 is drawing to a close in an atmosphere of frustrations; it is a decade which the United Nations, at the time which we thought to be visionary, called the Development Decade. Without underestimating the gravity of a number of conflicts which are causing us concern at the present time, there is a general conviction that the key to peace for this generation—and unquestionably for the next one—is the finding of formulae that will meet the elementary aspirations of communities which have scarcely begun to feel the benefits which today's astounding technology makes possible.

"These formulae, without overlooking the differences which exist between the poorer countries themselves, should, in our opinion, deal at least with the following fields:

"(1) The modernization of social structures—the task of each nation, but one in which the international community can co-operate by providing guidance, when so requested;

"(2) The carrying out of work which is necessary to raise productivity and tasks of a social and humanitarian nature, with the attendant transfer—in conditions which do not imply any anachronistic subordination—of resources and technology from the developed to the developing areas;

"(3) The opening up or expansion or guarantee of markets—in conditions of reasonable stability and fair prices—for the products of the developing countries; and—

"(4) If we may take a longer-term view and perhaps run the risk of taking a glimpse at Utopia—a system of

world-wide social security, which would reproduce at the international level a process which, on a national scale, has enabled urban economies to guarantee to country dwellers a certain income level in keeping with the minimum earnings generally obtained in the towns." [1681st meeting, paras. 22-3]

183. With regard to the last paragraph, I would simply add that the idealists of today surprisingly often turn out to be the practical men of tomorrow.

184. My country, jointly with the other Central American republics, has tried to strengthen the structure of the Common Market and we intend to deal with educational and social problems by means of imposing the sacrifice of new taxes in the region, although, naturally, in poor countries it is difficult to persuade public opinion to approve such measures. But we have faith in the task we have undertaken in the context of the Central American integration movement and in its ultimate benefits to nations that choose to work together, and we believe that it will serve to strengthen similar efforts being made in other parts of Latin America.

185. Other speakers in this General Assembly have already mentioned a matter that has rightfully aroused the indignation of world public opinion in face of a series of acts that aggrieve every citizen of the civilized world. I refer to the civil war that is being waged in an African country. I wish to make it very clear that it is not our intention to interfere in the domestic affairs of another State, since we are the first to defend the principle of non-intervention, but it is the very suppliers of foreign aid that have not had the moral integrity to prevent hunger from being used in that civil war as a means of combat as a fearful weapon for killing not only combatants but also women and children, in a drama of genocide that the United Nations cannot disregard. We believe that this Organization must take effective steps, not to intervene in the conflict, but to ensure that civilized means of preserving innocent human lives are respected.

186. With regard to the conflict in the Middle East, our position remains the same. We support the United Nations decisions aimed at achieving a stable peace in the region, requiring the States involved to abandon their persistently warlike attitude, and, at the same time, the withdrawal of all military forces that have occupied territories that do not belong to them. Our regional organization—the Organization of American States—and the Charter, as well as the recognized rules of international law in many regions of the world, all set forth the principle that victory confers no rights.

187. The universal and human spirit of the countries of Latin America has left a lasting impression on the history of the United Nations. We have always been on the side of emancipation based on the principle of self-determination, where this is a legitimate right. We could never endorse acts of discrimination—they are intolerable, whatever their motives—because that would be tantamount to condemning the origin and development of our own nations. We have been a melting pot of races: the Indian, by legitimate right; the white man, by his contribution to culture; and the black man who, brought to America as a labourer, has also

played his part. But with our different races joined by a common destiny, we together face the task of finding—on a continental scale—joint solutions through permanently evolving institutions.

188. For this reason, we would never accept the policy of *apartheid* practised by South Africa, both in its own territory and in South West Africa, contrary as this policy is to the principles of the United Nations. South Africa's defiance of the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly has led to the present crisis in South West Africa or Namibia. In administering this Territory, South Africa forgot that the legal status defined in article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was substantially changed by Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations, whose fuller significance may be found in the discussions that took place at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, and in those that preceded the signing of the Charter in San Francisco.

189. Honduras has always supported the position of Guatemala in its historical claim over Belize and continues to do so.

190. We are gratified by the forthcoming admission of Spanish Guinea, a Territory formerly administered by Spain, to membership in the United Nations. Spain, in solving the problem of independence, has given the world proof of its praiseworthy attitude, its respect for the principles of the Charter and its willingness to help its former Territory towards decolonization. We are particularly glad to welcome this new State into the Organization and most willing to co-operate with it, because we are united by the ties of a common language. The example Spain has just set gives it sufficient moral authority for its just claims to Gibraltar to be unanimously supported by all States Members of the United Nations. Our position with regard to Gibraltar remains the same, namely, that it is a territory that legitimately belongs to the mother country, and that the United Kingdom has an obligation to restore it to Spain.

191. Honduras supports the just and long-standing claim that the Argentine Republic has been making with regard to the Islas Malvinas which we trust the United Kingdom will as soon as possible return to their rightful owner: Argentina.

192. Two years ago, before this General Assembly [1447th meeting, paras. 184-188], we made a statement regarding our rights over the Swan Islands, a territory which has lawfully belonged to us since the discovery of America. This problem is now being negotiated with the United States and we trust that a solution will soon be reached by which our rights will be restored.

193. We are now coming to the end of the first United Nations Development Decade, during which the under-developed countries have profited, to a limited extent, from technical and financial assistance. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has emphasized the serious problems caused by the enormous difference between the rich and poor countries and the ever-widening gap. The warlike attitudes in the world and the resumption of the cold war between conflicting ideological systems

cannot be propitious to the chances of the second Development Decade improving present conditions, unless serious disarmament talks are started; for it has already been shown that if the great Powers cease to introduce power politics, great progress can be made, as is the case with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which today represents but the first substantial step towards general disarmament in all sectors and regions. We cannot understand how anyone can insist on the dismantling of all military bases in foreign countries—with which we agree—if at the same time, no request is made for the withdrawal of military forces of occupation in foreign countries, when these forces, made up of several powerful divisions equipped with the most modern weapons, often constitute a more decisive factor in the outbreak of war, as in Czechoslovakia, than the existence of an average military base. The dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of forces of occupation in subjugated countries are essential elements of the problem of international peace and security rather than questions to be dealt with in the context of colonialism, thus assuming a different political significance.

194. The problem of peace has a fundamental bearing on that of development. Latin America, along with Asia, is one of the regions which receive least economic aid. *Per capita* aid in Latin America—\$4.3—is less than that received by the inhabitants of the African continent, which amounts to \$5.7. The slow rate of development is further burdened by restricted markets, preferential treatment and low prices for our primary commodities.

195. We cannot resign ourselves to a permanent state of under-development and limited aid with all their attendant problems; we the Latin American countries believe that, collectively, we can secure better prices for our products on the international market and that this would inevitably promote better economic conditions in all sectors.

196. We agree with our illustrious colleague, Mr. Gabriel Valdés, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile, that the United Nations, to the detriment of better technical assistance, is setting up too many bodies, thus leading to overlapping functions and duplication of activities in various parts of the world. Such measures have not necessarily proved effective and have merely created a bureaucracy which the developing countries cannot sustain and which makes it impossible for them to be properly represented at the many meetings and conferences which those bodies convene.

197. At its twenty-second session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2340 (XXII), entitled "Examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the sub-soil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind". It established an *ad hoc* committee of thirty-five members to study that question and consider its economic, technical and legal aspects. My country attaches particular importance to close study of that question, since matters relating to the jurisdiction and control of the sub-soil, air space, territorial waters, continental shelf and other zones adjacent to the national territory have been dealt with in the Constitution of the Republic and other legislation.

198. It should be pointed out that our legal approach to this question is very similar to that of many Latin American countries interested in defending the natural resources closely connected with their territory and geographical vicinity. From the economic point of view, my country is greatly interested in the study of the sea-bed and ocean floor, since intensified exploitation of our resources will increase our development potential from the technological point of view, we consider that the industrialized countries could evolve a wide measure of co-operation to ensure that the different resources of the sea are used in the interests of the whole of mankind, particularly with a view to solving the problem of hunger in the world, without losing sight of either the legitimate rights of coastal States or the potential production to be derived from those resources.

199. In concluding my statement to the General Assembly, I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm my most sincere wishes for the success of the present session under your worthy leadership, Mr. President, and to convey my warm and respectful greetings to all of my colleagues and other members of the delegations of Member States of the Organization.

200. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of myself and of the Assembly, I should like to apologize to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras for the misunderstanding to which he referred at the beginning of his statement.

201. I call on the representative of the Secretary-General.

202. Mr. STAVROPOULOS (Legal Counsel): I wish to express my regret that an action of the Secretariat created a misunderstanding and, therefore, understandably provoked the anger and protest of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Honduras. I should like once more to assure the distinguished Foreign Minister, and reassure the Assembly, that no discrimination whatsoever was or could be involved in this matter. It was a case of strict application of the practices of this Assembly. Such application had, of course, a result detrimental to the Foreign Minister of Honduras. I am very sorry for that and I offer him the apologies of the Secretariat.

### AGENDA ITEM 23

#### **Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**

#### EQUATORIAL GUINEA

##### *REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7265)*

203. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As was announced this morning [1691st meeting], the Assembly will now proceed to consider, under item 23, the recommendation contained in the report of the Fourth Committee on Equatorial Guinea [A/7265, para. 5].

204. Mr. AGGREY-ORLEANS (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to introduce the

report of the Fourth Committee on Equatorial Guinea [A/7265]. The Fourth Committee took up the question under agenda item 23. During its consideration of this item at this morning's meeting, the Fourth Committee heard statements by a number of delegations and, in particular, statements by the Chairman of the United Nations Mission for the Supervision of the Referendum and Elections in Equatorial Guinea (1968) and by the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-four. At the same meeting, the Fourth Committee approved a draft consensus submitted by its Chairman [A/7265, para. 5].

205. In this consensus the General Assembly would, in taking note of the report of the United Nations Mission for the Supervision of the Referendum and Elections in Equatorial Guinea, express its appreciation for the work done by the Mission. It would also express its appreciation to the administering Power for making it possible for a United Nations presence to be established in the Territory in compliance with General Assembly resolution 2355 (XXII) and to the Secretary-General for the action taken by him in this regard.

206. In congratulating the people of Equatorial Guinea on their achievement of independence, the General Assembly would wish them peace and prosperity and would express the confident hope that the new State will make a constructive contribution to peace and international co-operation.

207. In conclusion may I take this opportunity to underscore the satisfaction expressed by members of the Fourth Committee generally with the role the United Nations has played in accelerating the process of independence in Equatorial Guinea. This fact has not only demonstrated the positive and constructive role of the United Nations but has also served as a source of encouragement to those colonial peoples who look up to the international community for much-needed assistance in their struggle against colonialism.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.*

208. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I invite Members of the General Assembly to consider the Fourth Committee's recommendation contained in paragraph 5 of its report [A/7265]. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft consensus recommended by the Fourth Committee?

*The draft consensus was adopted.*

209. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As President of the General Assembly, I should like to associate myself with the views expressed in the consensus which has just been adopted.

210. I shall now call on those representatives who asked to speak after the Assembly's consideration of the consensus which has just been adopted.

211. Mr. GASCHIGNARD (France) (*translated from French*): France, which has always upheld the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and which has

often had occasion to implement the principle, welcomes the accession to independence of the peoples of Fernando Póo and Río Muni, in an atmosphere of good understanding with the administering Power. The French delegation would like to point out, however, that the French Government did not give its agreement to General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2155 (XXII) to which reference is made in the text of the consensus with which we have just concluded the debate.

212. Mr. MENDOUGA (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, before the head of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon takes part in the debate now in progress and presents our congratulations on your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-third session, the honour falls to me, on this occasion, to speak on behalf of Africa and on behalf of my own country.

213. We thought it useful, and even necessary, at this stage, to express the happiness we feel to be living through the time immediately preceding the solemn moment when Equatorial Guinea will be born to international sovereignty. True, we never seriously doubted Spain's willingness to decolonize; but there was perhaps a certain sense of Iberian solidarity which for a long time gave the impression that Spain was undecided, if not hesitant, about committing itself fully to the spirit of modern times and respecting the universal conscience by implementing the right of peoples to self-determination. Today it is clear that hesitation has given way to reason. The independence of Equatorial Guinea will be a fact, and it only remains to convey to Spain the satisfaction of the international community.

214. The fact that the independence of Equatorial Guinea is being brought about in the manner prescribed by our Organization at a time when the latter's effectiveness is being challenged by pessimists, that this independence is being achieved at a time when Portuguese colonization and the racism of the Fascist minority régimes of southern Africa persist in oppressing those whose only crime is to be born African and to set store by their freedom and human dignity, gives added strength and assurance to our Organization and to those who fight for the same objectives elsewhere in Africa and encourages them on their way to final success in their noble endeavours.

215. This is also a motive of pride for Africans, for the Organization of African Unity, for Africa and, need I say, for all those who, in this International Year for Human Rights, believe in the advent of world peace and strive wholeheartedly to achieve it. For Cameroon, the accession of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to international sovereignty is a cause for deep satisfaction because, having espoused the legitimate claims of its sister Republic of Guinea to self-determination, Cameroon has spared no effort on its behalf. We were predisposed to take this stand by our own calling; but over and above this calling, history and geography obliged us to act. Today this history, this geography and, even more so, African solidarity make co-operation between our peoples and Governments more essential than ever, and Cameroon remains fully prepared to co-operate in this way.

216. I should like to conclude by expressing our gratitude and thanks to the Secretary-General and to the special

observation mission presided over by our brother and friend Ambassador Mayaki, Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations for their effective work in ensuring that the people of Equatorial Guinea were able to exercise their right to self-determination. Let the example of Equatorial Guinea serve as a warning to those inveterate colonialists who try vainly to retain a foothold in Africa. That is the wish we believe it appropriate to express at this time.

217. Finally, on the difficult road to independence and to the attainment of a greater share in the fruits of modern civilization, which is a hallmark of our young States, the brother people of Equatorial Guinea can rest assured that we extend to them our best wishes for prosperity and happiness, so that their country, too, within the framework of the United Nations, can participate in the work of promoting and maintaining peace and can also, within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, joins us in continuing the struggle for international peace and security.

218. Mr. SEPULVEDA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile is proud to welcome the new independent State of Equatorial Guinea. We are linked to it by close cultural, ideological, spiritual and linguistic ties. Although we are geographically far apart, my Government has always shown its concern for the cause of independence of Equatorial Guinea. We had the honour to take an active part in its decolonization. We can affirm that, in its accession to independence, the principle of self-determination of peoples, which is very precious to us, has been fully respected. Indeed, both in the referendum for approval of the Constitution and in the elections for President of the Republic and other officials, the rights of individuals and of political parties were fully respected.

219. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people and leaders who took part in the elections on the civic maturity which they have shown. Chile can bear witness to that fact since it had the honour to participate in the United Nations Mission for the Supervision of the Referendum and Elections in Equatorial Guinea. I should like to add that in 1966 my country was a member of the United Nations mission which visited the Territory at the request of the General Assembly. These two valuable experiences enabled the Government of Chile to be in close touch with the political, social and economic situation in this new African nation and, in particular, with its people, the first of its continent to have Spanish as its official language. We believe that this factor, in addition to permitting close contacts between Latin America and Equatorial Guinea, will serve to strengthen still further the links which already exist between our peoples and those of the great continent of Africa.

220. May I stress once again the valuable precedent set by Spain in carrying out the process of independence in co-operation with this Organization is worthy of the highest praise. This experience has demonstrated that when administering Powers truly wish to co-operate with the United Nations in its task of decolonization, it is possible to conduct this irreversible process in a way which is highly beneficial to the peoples concerned.

221. In conclusion, we should like to pay a tribute to His Excellency, Mr. Francisco Macías, the President elect of

this new State, and to wish him every success in his new office. We should also like to pay a tribute to his democratic leaders and, in particular, to the people of Equatorial Guinea, who have chosen 12 October, the historic date which commemorates the discovery of America, for the solemn proclamation of their independence; this is a happy coincidence, indicating a common path towards the future.

222. Mr. GHERAB (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): My delegation has already had the opportunity to express to the Special Committee and to the Fourth Committee its great satisfaction on the occasion of Equatorial Guinea's accession to sovereignty and independence. We are happy to repeat again how much we welcome the arrival of another African country in this forum to strengthen the African family and to help ensure that the right of peoples to self-determination and the cause of international justice and harmony will prevail.

223. On this occasion, the Tunisian delegation wishes to pay a tribute to Spain for the generous way it has co-operated with our Organization and has led this Territory to independence.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

224. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Pakistan who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

225. Mr. HUSAIN (Pakistan): In his reply to my statement on Friday last [*1681st meeting*], the Minister of State of India dwelt at length on India-Pakistan issues from his point of view. In the process, he made many incorrect statements which it is necessary for me to correct. For my part I shall avoid acrimony and, therefore, I shall disregard his intemperate language and the base motives he has attributed to my country. While I apologize to you, Mr. President, and to my fellow representatives for the length of my reply, I hope that the exchanges will lead to a better understanding of the issues involved.

226. The Minister of State has deemed it fitting to protest our mentioning India-Pakistan issues at the United Nations. For our part, we consider that the United Nations is the most appropriate forum for raising such issues as the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and respect for the fundamental rights of the Muslims of India, whenever these rights are denied or violated.

227. The main contention of the Minister of State of India was that India had shown willingness to normalize relations with Pakistan. At the same time, he has repeatedly asserted that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. We have here the clearest possible repudiation of his Government's commitment to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Surely this cannot help in normalizing the relations between India and Pakistan, when it is this very dispute that is responsible for most of the difficulties between the two countries.

228. The representative of India has made a reference to the Tashkent Declaration. It was the essence of that

Declaration that India and Pakistan should settle all their disputes through peaceful means and that "the sides will continue meeting both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries".<sup>5</sup>

229. On behalf of my Government, I reaffirm the readiness of Pakistan to take up all outstanding issues and settle them, including Kashmir, either as a package deal or according to a step-by-step procedure, provided India clearly reaffirms its agreement that at an appropriate and specified stage it will negotiate on Kashmir in sincerity and with a view to finding a solution of the dispute.

230. We cannot escape the fact that, unless the basic cause of tension between India and Pakistan, namely, the Kashmir dispute, is taken up for serious negotiations with a view to finding a just and honourable settlement, the resolution of peripheral issues cannot bring about a normalization of our relations. Indeed, experience has shown that agreements, even on peripheral issues, do not hold in the atmosphere of tension perpetuated by the continuance of the Kashmir and Farakka waters disputes.

231. The Minister of State of India has called Pakistan an aggressor. It would be well if he recalled that the charge, repeated during the past twenty years, was originally made in the Security Council in 1948 and argued at length. The fact, however, remains that, though India tried very hard indeed, it failed to convince the Security Council. The Council felt that that charge had no basis and was not even the relevant issue in the dispute. The real question was to ascertain the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir: whether they wished to accede to India or to Pakistan. The result of the Security Council's effort was the formulation by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of the resolutions of 13 August 1948<sup>6</sup> and 5 January 1949.<sup>7</sup> Those resolutions were accepted by both India and Pakistan and thus constituted a binding international agreement.

232. Paragraph 1 of the resolution of 5 January 1959 states:

"The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India and Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."

233. The acceptance of the two United Nations resolutions by India and Pakistan superseded the charges and counter-charges of aggression levelled by each country against the other.

234. The representative of India also maintained that Pakistan was pleading for the right of self-determination of a people "who have repelled Pakistani aggression twice" [*1682nd meeting, para. 173*]. May I ask what, then, prevents India from availing itself of the golden oppor-

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1966, document S/7221, annex, section IX.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid., Third Year, Supplement for November 1948, document S/1100, para. 45.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid., Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949, document S/1196, para. 15.*



tunity to get the verdict of these people who have repelled aggression registered once and for all in India's favour?

235. The Minister of State also claimed that conditions in Jammu and Kashmir were normal and peaceful and that the people of that State continued to enjoy their constitutional rights and freedoms. How, then, does he account for the fact that, out of a population of about 3.5 million in Indian-occupied Kashmir, over 700,000 Kashmiris were driven out and took refuge in Pakistan after 1948 and another 100,000 were expelled and took refuge in Pakistan after the hostilities in 1965? Why were these people expelled? Why are they not allowed to return to their homes? How does he explain the boycott of the so-called elections and by-elections in the State by an overwhelming majority of the electorate?

236. It is a matter of deep regret that the Minister of State of India thought it fit to state that, if an explosive situation is created, the entire responsibility for it will lie at the door of Pakistan. It pains me to draw his attention to the fact that it is India itself, and not Pakistan, which is responsible for creating such a situation inside Jammu and Kashmir. It is India's unilateral repudiation of its solemn obligation under an international agreement regarding Jammu and Kashmir that has created and continues to create this situation. It is India's repression of the human rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir that is responsible for the grave discontent inside Jammu and Kashmir.

237. Instead of accusing Pakistan, India would do well to refer back to its own case as originally presented in its letter to the Security Council of 1 January 1948.<sup>8</sup> The Minister of State of India will find that in that letter his Government made no contention that Kashmir was, or that it would remain, an integral part of India. On the contrary, India clearly implied that the so-called accession was provisional and also gave a pledge that the people of Kashmir would be free to decide their future by a plebiscite under international auspices.

238. At the very inception of the Kashmir dispute, the Prime Minister of India, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressed several communications to the Government of Pakistan. I shall quote one here. In a telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 31 October 1947, he stated:

“Our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of this State to the people of the State is not merely a promise to your Government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world.”

Then on 2 November 1947, he said:

“We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it.”

239. It was by exercising the right of self-determination that India itself attained its independence. It is the fulfilment of that basic human right that has brought many

nations as Members to this Assembly. It is this very right of self-determination that India has supported for all non-self-governing peoples. Why does India then deny the exercise of that right to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, to whom it had been promised by India and the Security Council, and who continue to demand it? Pakistan asks no more than that these pledges be fulfilled.

240. That is the core of the unsatisfactory relations between India and Pakistan. The Security Council has been seized of this dispute since 1948. It is time to take the matter forward now and for Security Council resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September 1965 to be acted upon.

241. As regards the disquieting situation resulting from the construction by India of the Farakka Barrage, the Minister of State of India conceded that it was “bilateral in nature” [1682nd meeting, para. 181], yet in the same breath denied that it had any international importance. The contradiction in this is apparent.

242. His first contention was that “The Ganges is not an international river, but is overwhelmingly an Indian river” [ibid., para. 177]. In support of this thesis, the Minister of State has invoked new criteria for the definition of an international river—the extent of the catchment area, the length of flow of the river, the incidence of rainfall, the extent of the areas irrigated, and so on.

243. If India's definition of an international river were to be accepted, what then would be the status of such rivers as the Columbia, the Rio Grande, the Rhine, the Danube and others which traverse more than one State? The Minister of State of India refers to existing international law on the subject. May I remind him that the broad consensus of international jurists has established that an international river is one which flows between, or traverses, two or more States.

244. The Ganges is such a river. Its importance to the economy of Pakistan is very vital. Indeed, the issue involved is of importance not only to India and Pakistan, but to the world community as well. No lower riparian State can permit a situation to arise in which upper riparians can deprive it of its right to economic prosperity.

245. India's contention is that an upper riparian State can use the waters of a river as it pleases, regardless of the ruination which that might cause to the lower riparian State. If the Minister is sure of international law on the subject, why should India fear to have recourse to arbitration to settle the matter, or to judicial settlement by the International Court of Justice, which Pakistan is prepared to accept?

246. India complains that Pakistan has stepped up its demand for water requirements in the dry season. I should like to ask, has not India done the same? India's present estimates of withdrawals from Farakka have more than doubled since the construction was begun. The uses of river waters are related to the needs of development and do not remain static, especially when the need is for irrigation purposes to grow more food, as in Pakistan; whilst India, according to its own admission, has no such demands for waters flowing through the Ganges at Farakka, waters

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Third Year, Supplement for November 1948, document S/1100, annex 28.

which it says are required for flushing the River Hooghly in order to desilt the port of Calcutta.

247. The Minister of India has accused Pakistan of having created an artificial problem where no problem existed. Is it proper that he should so lightly and summarily dismiss an issue of the utmost gravity to us which is fraught with calamitous consequences to Pakistan's economic existence? Let me mention some of the consequences which the construction of the Farakka Barrage by India, without an agreement with Pakistan, will have for the very livelihood of the 65 million people of East Pakistan.

248. First, because of the diversion of waters at the dam, almost the entire flow of the River Ganges into East Pakistan could be stopped in the dry season, turning hundreds of thousands of acres of cultivated land into wasteland. Second, as a result, the channel of the river in East Pakistan will become silted and, in the flood season, almost half the area of East Pakistan will be flooded every year. Third, the coastal areas of East Pakistan will become uncultivable in consequence of the greater penetration of sea-water into the delta owing to the lack of drainage of fresh water into the sea. Fourth, as a result of the drastic reduction in water supply, a number of agricultural projects, including those being planned, will be seriously affected.

249. The fact that such would be the consequences of India's action is borne out by expert international opinion. At the request of the Government of Pakistan, two missions of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have made a study of the problem. Their studies have established that the diversion of water supplies by India would cause such a change in the régime of the River Ganges as to have ruinous effects on several projects in East Pakistan. Indeed, it has been acknowledged that no successful planning, execution or operation of land and water resources development in East Pakistan is possible without a solution of this problem.

250. I have noted that the Minister has stated that official-level meetings between the two countries could take place and that if discussions at even higher levels are necessary, India would not be averse to meeting at the ministerial level. My Government will give careful consideration to that statement. Our concern throughout has been that the meetings between the two sides should turn out to be fruitful.

251. Let me make an offer to India which I hope India will accept and reciprocate. Let both our Governments charge the forthcoming meeting, or a subsequent meeting, with the task of reaching a settlement on the basis of the maximum good of both countries; and if we fail to settle the matter, let India agree to utilize the good offices of a world body such as the Bank in a suitable manner so as to contribute to a solution of the dispute.

252. I now come to my last point. This is on the subject of the treatment of the Muslim minority in India. The Minister of State of India cited examples of Indian Muslims occupying places of honour in India. The question raised by me was not that of any denial of this or that office to Indian Muslims, but that of the recurrent eruptions of

violence against Muslims in parts of India, violence in which Muslims have suffered heavy losses of life and property and which the Indian Government has failed to stop. If Indian Muslims walk in fear of their lives, as some of them do, it is cold comfort to them to know that the President of India, who in any case is a constitutional figurehead only, happens to be of their faith.

253. Here let me cite some objective accounts of the situation from Indian and foreign observers.

254. In the June 1968 issue of the Indian publication, *Seminar* of New Delhi, an Indian writer of Hindu faith stated that some bitter truths had been brought home in India, of which two were important. The writer continued:

"The first is that the Muslims have over the years become more demoralized and panicky . . . and that animosity of Hindus towards this 'minority' has increased . . . . What follows as a logical corollary to this reflex of the Hindu mind is that the endeavour is not only to subjugate the Muslims but also to 'aculturize' them in the process."

That sombre testimony is corroborated by other impartial observers.

255. The special correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, writing from New Delhi on 13 July 1968, had this to say about an important political party in India, namely the Jan Sangh:

"When followers become fully indoctrinated with this party's creed—that India should return to its glorious age of Hinduism—the Muslim minority is in the same position as the Jews were during the Third Reich".

256. The correspondent of *The Times* of London wrote on 3 October 1968 about the extremist Hindu organization the R.S.S.—which is a wing of the same Jan Sangh party which I mentioned earlier—under the headline "Swastik casts a shadow in Delhi", and reported that: "The immediate targets of the R.S.S. are the Muslim and Christian minorities." The writer then continues: ". . . Hindu society . . . is encouraged to believe that there is a new 'Christian-Muslim conspiracy to subjugate India'. The writer goes on to say: "At huge R.S.S. rallies the battle cry has become 'Christian-Muslim aggression against the Hindu nation'."

257. The Minister of State of India dubbed Pakistan "the self-acclaimed champion of Muslims". He would not have done so if he had remembered that, according to the solemn international agreement concluded between India and Pakistan when their Heads of Government signed the Liaquat-Nehru Pact on 8 April 1950, the treatment of the minorities in the two countries has been recognized as the joint concern. According to that agreement, it is the right of each country to draw the other's attention to incidents of communal rioting, and also to receive the report of the inquiry and the action taken thereon.

258. Considering that international agreement, Pakistan not being a "self-acclaimed champion" when it draws attention to the massacres which have occurred in India demands that adequate protection be accorded to Indian Muslims. The Minister of State of India did not deny the

large-scale killings of Muslims have taken place. It is, therefore, Pakistan's duty to discharge the obligation imposed on it by an international agreement.

259. The Minister of State of India alleged that the condition of Hindus in Pakistan is one of misery and terror. For this baseless allegation he relied on the specific argument that the lack of increase in the figures of Hindu population in Pakistan indicated forcible conversions or expulsions. Nothing could be further from the truth. May I confront him with the fact that the policy systematically pursued by his Government to expel Muslims from areas adjoining East Pakistan, from West Bengal and from Assam, and in their place to attract Hindu migration from East Pakistan.

260. Between 1963 and 1965, half a million Indian Muslims were expelled from Assam and West Bengal and a similar number of Hindus were encouraged by inflated promises of land and money to emigrate from Pakistan for settlement in areas which had been vacated by forcible expulsion of Muslims. The nature of those inflated promises was exposed when about 53,000 of those Hindus who originally migrated returned to Pakistan and their lands and homes, which had been kept for them, were returned to them.

261. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Afghanistan to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

262. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan): Yesterday afternoon [*1690th meeting*] the Chairman of my delegation in his statement before this Assembly expressed the views of the delegation of Afghanistan and his concern about all international situations which are fraught with grave consequences in all continents. Speaking about the situations on our own continent, he referred among other things to the Pakhtunistan problem as a serious situation.

263. He appealed for the solution of all problems including the problem of Pakhtunistan, by peaceful means and he expressed the hope that the issue of Pakhtunistan between the people of Pakhtunistan and the Government of Pakhtunistan would be dealt with:

“...in accordance with the accepted international standards for regulating such disputes, on the basis of the undeniable right of peoples and nations to self-determination...” [*ibid.*, *para. 95*].

264. The representative of Pakistan exercised his right of reply, to which the Afghan delegation replied. But, unfortunately, the delegation of Pakistan took the floor again and went into much detail on that question.

265. The second statement of Pakistan compelled me to state that, since the representative of Pakistan raised matters of detail, we wanted to reserve our right to reply to his statement after a thorough examination of it in the verbatim record. This is why I have asked your permission to speak, Sir.

266. I shall confine myself at this stage only to the second statement of Pakistan, and only to the points relating to the problem of Pakhtunistan—and in this connexion only to the

points which had not been raised in the first statement of Pakistan. The representative of Pakistan said:

“The representative of Afghanistan has taken exception to the fact that the referendum in the Northwest Frontier Province of the then British India was held under the auspices of the British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten.” [*ibid.*, *para. 186*.]

267. As is clear from the verbatim records, this point was raised by the representative of Pakistan in his first exercise of the right of reply. Without repeating the point of view of Pakistan, which is on record, I wish to quote one of the leaders of Pakhtunistan to make the Pakhtunistan point of view on this so-called referendum clear.

268. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, whose name was mentioned by the representative of Pakistan as one of the political leaders of Pakhtunistan, in his statement on the occasion of Pakhtunistan Day, 1 September 1967, said:

“In his book Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan claimed that a referendum was held in the Northwest Frontier Province before the creation of Pakistan, in which the people voted for Pakistan. I strongly repudiate it. The farce of referendum was staged by the British Government: first, on issues we are not interested in; second, based on limited franchise; third, with no supervision and control of the ballots; fourth, rigging of votes, and fifth, non-participation by majority of Pashtoons.

“The vote counted by the partisan authorities... was hardly 50 per cent with a few decimal points. This was the case in the settled districts of the Northwest Frontier Province. The tribal area was not even given the option of this limited and farce referendum. Instead a dozen of Maliks (chiefs), who were in the pay of British rulers, were asked to sign a declaration favouring Pakistan. Similar was the case with Baluchistan.”

269. This statement of the political leader of Pakhtunistan, aside from stating other facts, also shows that the British Government served the interest of Pakistan through its influence on certain individuals—the paid Maliks.

270. It is important to say that this leader of Pakhtunistan is a well-known figure to anyone who is acquainted with the history of that part of the world. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan has spent most of his life in the British prisons and after the keys of the gaols were given to the Pakistanis he has spent years in Pakistani gaols where a great number of other Pakhtunistani leaders are still locked up.

271. The representative of Pakistan went on to say that “under the influence of certain leaders, some elements boycotted the referendum, that did not invalidate the process” [*ibid.*, *para. 188*]. I wonder whether this statement strengthens his argument at all.

272. Referring to the Pakhtunistani leader now in Afghanistan, the representative of Pakistan said that he is “carrying on propaganda and subversion against Pakistan” [*ibid.*].

273. It is true that Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan is in Afghanistan. He came there after years of imprisonment

from which he was released only because of serious illness in prison. After he received medical treatment in Europe, he could not go back to Pakhtunistan because he would have been put in gaol again. But what is important is that the representative of Pakistan on the one hand states that there is no demand by the Pakhtunistanis and on the other hand accuses one of their great leaders of propaganda and subversion. This man is known in Asia as the Frontier Gandhi, not because, as insinuated by the representative of Pakistan, he is "pro-Indian" but because, in a region where war has never stopped against colonialists, and back in its history against anyone who attempted to infringe on their independence a habit of violence had been imposed upon its people, this man has accepted the belief of non-violence. It is in this connexion that I should like to quote the following from one of his statements:

"I hope the rulers of Pakistan will realize their folly and solve the problem of my nation to avert the catastrophe which is bound to befall the country in my lifetime"—he is over eighty years old—"or after me. With violence all around the world it is a losing battle for me to keep the people away from temptations which promise quick results and can be exploited by those who believe in the efficacy of the arms."

Is this propaganda? Is this the voice of a man of subversion?

274. The representative of Pakistan took exception to the statement of the representative of Afghanistan that no choice of independence had been given to the people of that area. Is a referendum based on joining either one or another State a choice for independence?

275. The representative of Pakistan said that "we recognize that our nationhood is based on a wider concept than that of race or linguistic unity" [*ibid.*, para. 191].

276. This is not the place to go into details of what nationhood can be correctly based on, but it is astonishing to hear Pakistan—a country whose nationhood is based solely on religion—speak of a wider concept of nationhood.

277. The representative of Pakistan said that he did not wish: "to enter into an argument with the Ambassador of Afghanistan about the treatment of the Muslims in India" [*1690th meeting, para. 193*].

278. We wish to reciprocate. That is why we have not made any observations on the greater part of the statement by the representative of Pakistan which deals with matters relating to Pakistan and India but, as I said, have confined ourselves to what is related to Pakhtunistan.

279. The representative of Pakistan regretted that the representative of Afghanistan should have brought up this issue, that he should have tried to make a case which should be left rather "to those more immediately concerned to place before this Assembly" [*ibid.*]. These are his words from the verbatim record. He finished his statement with this weak argument.

280. These people are Afghans—they have nothing in common with the people of the sub-continent of India. Their territory was a part of Afghanistan severed from it by

military colonial force and transferred against their will to a new State with which it has nothing in common—I repeat "nothing"—except religion. Who else could be more immediately concerned with them than Afghanistan? We should like to know.

281. If we accept the principle that the Members of the United Nations should not be concerned with the legitimate rights of the people who do not have a voice of their own to put their case before this Assembly, the sovereign countries here which have fought for the independence of so many countries which are now Members of this Organization and the concern of those for those who are still under alien domination, we will be accusing all those Members of the United Nations who have supported the freedom and independence of dependent peoples.

282. If the representative of Pakistan expected the delegation of Afghanistan to show such concern for dependent peoples all these years and support their cause everywhere and not mention the situation on the borders of his own country, he is wrong in that expectation.

283. If Pakistan is interested in the fate of the Pakistanis in far-away lands and does not admit the concern of Afghanistan about the people of Pakhtunistan he has added another standard to the ones which we have already referred to.

284. Since the question of Pakhtunistan is not on the agenda of the United Nations as yet we shall refrain at this stage from taking more time of the Assembly by going into more detail on the matter.

285. We hope that we will not be compelled, during the present general debate, to reply again to the representative of Pakistan. We have in our general statement and in our replies to Pakistan stated the facts of the issue of Pakhtunistan. We firmly believe that no attempts will ever alter those facts or belittle the very real and legitimate aspirations of the people of Pakhtunistan to exercise its right to self-determination and freedom.

286. Mr. BHAGAT (India): Once again the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has tried to use this forum to malign India and to mislead this Assembly. His so-called right of reply contains nothing new but follows the usual pattern of anti-Indian propaganda. I regret the necessity to keep the Assembly in session at this late hour, but I am obliged to offer a few clarifications.

287. On the question of the Farakka Barrage I personally made the position of the Government of India clear in my statement on Friday, 4 October [*1682nd meeting*]. The Farakka Barrage is a vital project affecting the lives of nearly 180 million people of India and the future of our largest port of Calcutta and its great industrial hinterland. The attempt of Pakistan to internationalize the issue and thus delay its completion cannot succeed. Nevertheless, the Government of India, out of its goodwill for the welfare of a close neighbour, is prepared to continue discussions at appropriate levels to reach accommodation with Pakistan in a co-operative spirit.

288. Once again the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has had the temerity to refer to Muslim citizens of India. We reject

the false allegations he has made and we regret the animus that seems to motivate his statement. On Friday last I had indicated in some detail the honoured place which citizens of Muslim faith have in India. I wish the same could be said of the fate of the minorities in Pakistan. I would once again plead with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan that the time and energy he spends talking about Indian citizens of the Muslim faith could be utilized better if he were to devote himself with equal energy to the welfare of the minorities in his own country. The Government of India is fully conscious of its responsibilities in regard to every section of Indian society. It is the constant effort of the Union and the State Governments in India to improve the economic and social conditions of every Indian citizen irrespective of race, religion or creed.

289. I am sure that the repetition of the false charges against India in regard to the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is not going to serve the cause of peace and friendship between India and Pakistan. The more the Foreign Minister of Pakistan belabours this problem in this forum the more he finds it difficult to speak with any sense of proportion in regard to India. He has tried to prove today that Pakistan did not commit aggression against the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. We know the facts much better than he seems to profess. But it is not necessary to take our word for it. I will quote the cautious but measured words of Sir Owen Dixon, the distinguished jurist of Australia who was then the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan. He said:

"Upon a number of occasions in the course of the period beginning with the reference on 1 January 1948 of the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council, India had advanced not only the contention to which I have already referred that Pakistan was an aggressor, but the further contention that this should be declared. The Prime Minister of India, at an early stage of the meeting, made the same contention and he referred to it repeatedly during the conference. I took up the positions, first that the Security Council had not made such a declaration; secondly that I had neither been commissioned to make nor had I made any judicial investigation of the issue; but thirdly that, without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the history of the sub-continent, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed, on I believe 20 October 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Fifth Year, Supplement for September through December 1950, document S/1791, para. 21.

290. The Security Council resolutions to which the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has referred could not be implemented and are now dead and obsolete because Pakistan chose not to fulfil its obligations in accordance with those resolutions. What is the concrete proof of this non-fulfilment of its obligations by Pakistan, one may ask: It is the continued occupation of two-fifths of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan right to this moment.

291. There is no doubt at all about the constitutional and legal position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Yesterday, the representative of Pakistan explained at some length the arrangements made in 1947 by the British Government for the transfer of power in India. Under the same arrangements, provision was made for the accession of what was then called the Indian States to either India or Pakistan. In consonance with the Act passed by the British Parliament, the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded in the proper form to the then Dominion of India.

292. Moreover, the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has been expressed several times in the last twenty years through democratic processes. This is not all. Twice when Pakistan tried to seize the State by force, the people rebuffed the aggressions and manifested their unalterable determination to remain with India by shedding their blood for the cause. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India by due constitutional process and by the will of the people, and will remain so.

293. The Government of Pakistan continues to practise disruptive policies towards India. Time and again it attempts to tamper with the loyalty of our people and to subvert the authority of our Government. These attempts will be rebuffed as they have been in the past.

294. In conclusion, I should like to state the position of my Government about discussions with Pakistan. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has referred to the Tashkent agreement and affirmed his country's desire to solve all outstanding problems between India and Pakistan. On behalf of the Government of India, I reiterate our desire to normalize our relations with Pakistan and to enter into discussions on all problems between us.

295. Mr. HANEEF KHAN (Pakistan): As the representative of Afghanistan has made a detailed statement based on various facts the correctness of which is to be ascertained, my delegation reserves the right to reply at some future date.

*The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.*