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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 9
General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. YAZID (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Algeria is very pleased to see the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly held under the presidency of a person who has rendered great services to the international community and who deserves the great esteem in which all his colleagues hold him. I should like to stress the fact that you, Sir, represent a friendly country which, in this international forum, has shown sympathy and support for the struggle of the Algerian people to achieve independence.

2. During the course of our reflections throughout these last few days, since the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, we remembered that on 27 September 1960 [873rd meeting] 10 years prior to the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, almost to the very hour, our General Assembly had the opportunity to hear a speech made by our brother, the President of the United Arab Republic. The Algerian delegation requested a few moments ago that the Secretary-General be kind enough to accede to our request and to circulate to all members the full text of that speech delivered by President Gamal Abdel Nasser. I will confine myself to quoting a few extracts from that historic speech. These few extracts which I quote will emphasize the determination of our President, as expressed in Cairo, and proclaimed also by our delegation here, never to forget the teachings left by President Nasser.

3. Exactly ten years before his death, President Nasser stated here:

“There is no problem which concerns our homeland, the United Arab Republic, or which concerns our nation, the Arab nation, or which relates to the two continents, Asia and Africa, through which the

frontiers of our country extend, or which relates to any of the world problems — I say that there is no such problem for whose solution we are not ready to accept the Charter of the United Nations and its principles, the resolutions of the United Nations and its recommendations for a just settlement, with the best of goodwill.” [Ibid., para. 119.]

4. President Nasser added:

“Four years ago the African continent witnessed the end of one era of colonialism, and today it is witnessing a new form of imperialism. The aggression on Suez was the end of unmasked imperialism and its graveyard. Today we find the Congo presenting us with masked imperialism, which does not shrink from exploiting the United Nations itself in order to realize its hidden designs and aims. The real meaning of Suez to liberation movements in Asia and Africa was that an era had gone forever, an era in which imperialist forces were able to possess and mobilize armies and launch fleets to strike deadly blows at the liberation movements. The Suez war has proved that the victim of aggression has its own armies and that freedom has its supporters everywhere in the world.” [Ibid., para. 120.]

5. President Nasser continued:

“In our part of the world, the Arab East, the United Nations has forgotten its Charter and disregarded its responsibilities towards the rights of the people of Palestine.

“Have the days and the years led to a solution of the problem? Have the people of Palestine forgotten all about their country, their land and their homes? Did the Arab nation forget the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine, against whom imperialism conspired — with a mandate from the League of Nations — taking upon itself to promise to certain groups a country belonging to another people? Since when have the motherlands of peoples been the property of the imperialist, to dispose of arbitrarily and to give to others?

“Imperialism has its own logic. The logic of imperialism, as manifested in its crime against the people of Palestine, has been to break the geographical unity of the Arab world, on the one hand, and, on the other, to create for itself in the very heart of the Arab world a base from which to threaten the Arab peoples. I believe no stronger proof of this could be given than the conspiracy which led to the tripartite aggression against us in 1956.

“Have the peoples of the Arab nation accepted the geographic division imposed on them by imperialism?”

“A phenomenon worthy of reflection is that the drive of Arab unity has extracted its great power from this aggression; in fact, we find that in its footsteps came the birth of the United Arab Republic.

“Have the people of Palestine accepted the loss of their motherland? Did the Arab nation accept that loss? It is certain that the determination of the Arab peoples to restore the Arab rights in Palestine has since this aggression become one of the major driving forces in the Arab East.” [Ibid., paras. 129-134.]

6. In this hall we heard President Gamal Abdel Nasser declare:

“You all know that the United Arab Republic believes in the policy of non-alignment and adheres to it as a strict yardstick. I hardly need to repeat the story of the sacrifices made by our Arab nation to hold to the policy of non-alignment, animated by our conviction that it ensures its independence on the one hand, and is conducive to the preservation of lasting peace on the other.

“In spite of all pressure, we refuse to become tools in the cold war. We also spared no efforts to explain underlying principles of that policy, namely, that peace cannot prevail while the world is divided up into antagonistic parts or blocs with no link between them but trenches and barbed wire behind which lie the weapons of aggression and the arms of death and destruction. This policy is based on the belief that peace prevails only when there is more understanding among peoples and when fruitful contacts and creative interrelationship exist on the largest scale possible. The Bandung Conference of African-Asian peoples is one of the greatest landmarks on the road of our national struggle in defence of our principles.” [Ibid., paras. 154 and 155.]

7. A few moments later, our lamented brother, Gamal Abdel Nasser, added:

“I hereby declare before you, in the name of the United Arab Republic and in expression of its thoughts and conscience, that we believe that the problem of peace and war should be shared by all peoples inasmuch as it determines their future and destiny. The big Powers do not alone have the right to speak about peace and war; it is mankind as a whole that has the final word, having obtained this right through the sacrifices of its different peoples for the sake of civilization and the promotion of its development, and its long yearning for security.

“Thus, when peace is at stake, we do take sides; ours is the side of peace. If we have any qualifications to attach to this definite position against war, it is that the peace we aspire to is that based on justice without discrimination.” [Ibid., paras. 158 and 159.]

8. President Abdel Gamal Nasser continued his speech in these terms:

“There remains then the problem of the great drive towards freedom, particularly economic independence. We see, and you can see with us, those free and glorious drives going on in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America.

“We have but to observe this encouraging increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations. While only forty-eight nations participated in the first session of the General Assembly, we find almost a hundred nations represented here today. We do not doubt, as we see the remnants of imperialism retreating everywhere before the march of the peoples looking forward to liberty, that the scope of the United Nations will increase and strengthen and that the next few years will bring with them new flags representing new victories in the sphere of political freedom. We can, however, observe from now that this great expected development will not completely solve the problem of the drive for freedom; we might even say that, if the matter is not dealt with in a spirit of conscious appreciation, the problem of the drive for freedom will grow in dimension as a result of the struggle behind it and of the pull and clash of forces latent in it.

“Those peoples who have obtained their political freedom or who expect to gain it in the near future look forward to economic independence and are preparing to fight for it. These newly independent nations are firmly convinced that, if they do not obtain their economic independence, they will not find the sound basis upon which they can preserve their political freedom. Much of what goes on in Africa, Asia and Latin America today — the acute aspects of which may astonish many of us here — constitutes in fact some features of that drive towards economic liberation. The newly independent peoples are convinced that true freedom lies in reaching a higher standard of living for their sons. The newly independent peoples — and this I must state here frankly — are hastening their steps along the road to economic development, and they feel that they cannot afford to waste any time after a long period of lagging behind.” [Ibid., paras. 173-175.]

9. In that declaration that we, Algerians, who were on the threshold of the United Nations, heard in this hall, he continued:

“We believe also that the supremacy of the United Nations means the supremacy of principles and the triumph of law and justice over the dreams of conquest and domination. We believe that the spirit of peace based on justice provides the most favourable atmosphere for our country to promote its development and for paving the way for the fulfilment of its hopes for rebuilding our society on a new basis. You all know that a national revolutionary current sweeps our country today; or, in fact, our country, the United Arab Republic, is living three revolutions running side by side.

“First, a political revolution made itself felt in resisting imperialism in its various stages, from the time it was overt in the shape of occupying forces till the days when it hid itself behind military pacts, in which we saw nothing but an attempt at subjugating us to the policy of zones of influence.

“Second, a social revolution manifests itself in resisting feudalism and monopoly. In its devoted task for increased production with a view to raising the standard of living and affording equal opportunities to all citizens — in compliance with the implementation of which a ten-year plan to double the national income has started in both regions of the United Arab Republic — this revolution is but an aspect of the unwavering effort and the determination of our people to build their country.

“Third, an Arab revolution found expression in resisting artificial dissension and the material and moral obstacles set up by those who tried to rule our country by the well-known Machiavellian method of ‘divide and rule’. We declare that we believe in the unity of our nation. The Arab nation was always characterized by the unity of language, and the unity of language is the unity of thought. The Arab nation was always characterized by the unity of history, and the unity of history is the unity of conscience. We cannot find another basis of nationalism stronger and more stable than this. It is not by pure hazard that the Arab nations which obtained their independence stipulated in the post-independence constitution that their ‘people are part of the Arab nation’. Moreover, it is not merely an emotional reaction that the Arab peoples sincerely believe that any aggression against one of them is an aggression against them all; and that there was no trial that faced the Arab nation without its becoming one strong front to meet it. The birth of the United Arab Republic is the biggest symbol of the faith of the Arab peoples in Arab nationalism and in Arab unity.

“We believe that conscious development which is based on the call for peace and which relies on setting examples through creative and positive work is our path to this unity, in which we have faith.”
[*Ibid.*, paras. 184 - 188.]

10. Algeria will participate in the twenty-fifth anniversary session of our Organization and will do its share of the task of taking stock of the work of the last quarter of a century and our responsibilities in one of the most critical and dangerous international situations and will also make an effort to help restore to the United Nations its true dimensions and its moral authority. Therefore this statement will be limited to a few most important and fundamental points of great timeliness.

11. Algeria in the last general debate [*1784th meeting*] stressed that the world was facing the problem of attempts at world hegemony, which find their murderous and brutal expression in the least developed continents, where imperialism — and United States imperialism in particular — is attacking peoples, revolutionary movements and ideologies of liberation.

The developing countries are the objects of imperialist covetousness, and it is their children that fall under the guns of the aggressors, who are the same in Viet-Nam, Palestine, Africa and Latin America.

12. The independence of the peoples, their economic development and their social progress automatically challenge imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist interests. It is in order to preserve these threatened interests that imperialism is stepping up this aggression against the peoples, the national liberation movements and progressive societies. The awakening of conscience with regard to this threat which looms over the developing countries and certain agreements between great Powers have provoked the birth and strengthening of non-alignment and explain the success of the Lusaka summit.¹

13. We should of course record a relaxation of tension between the great Powers and the progress made in the search for solutions to European problems, but we are forced to note that this relaxation of tension between great Powers, between developed countries, is of benefit to the imperialists who are engaged in wars of extermination in Indo-China, the Middle East and Africa.

14. Peaceful coexistence in its present conception has not put an end to the arms race, has not caused an evolution in the developed countries with regard to their economic relations with the developing countries and has not put an end to imperialist aggression and exploitation. This concept of peaceful coexistence assures the great Powers peace and permits war to be waged against the small countries.

15. The best way to bring about peace is to fight those that threaten it, that is to say, the aggressors. It is by creating a united front of the peoples against all forms of hegemony, against domination, against exploitation of any kind, that we shall succeed in creating conditions of true peace and true security which will make it possible to have free economic development and social progress. This struggle is being waged by the peoples of Palestine and Viet-Nam and has been waged for more than 20 years. This struggle is also the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique. Algeria is unreservedly behind those peoples. We shall continue to provide them with our moral and material support. It is by strengthening the national liberation movement struggle throughout the world that we shall really be working for peace, justice and international security.

16. The Palestinian people has taken its destiny into its own hands. More than 20 years of joint acts of aggression on the part of the imperialist-Zionist forces have not succeeded in eliminating the Palestine national fact, which is the dominating factor in the Middle East situation. This people exists and fights, but our Organization continues to ignore its existence and its fight.

¹ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

It is today in the vanguard of the liberation struggles, and that is why imperialism has unleashed all its forces and strength against it. The initiators of what is known as the Rogers plan had as their principal object the elimination of Palestinian resistance. American-Zionist imperialism has found in Jordan reactionary forces to carry out a dirty criminal task, the massacre of tens of thousands of Palestinians, old men, women and children. These massacres have been perpetrated under the cover of the military umbrellas of Washington and Tel Aviv and with considerable logistic support from the United States. Never has the co-operation and co-ordination of the imperialists, Zionists and Arab reactionaries been so clear-cut and so flagrant as during the recent bloody events in Jordan.

17. The Algerian revolution, faithful to its principles and its fundamental policies, has ceaselessly been behind all causes for liberty throughout the world. It unconditionally backs the Palestinian people and indeed supports all the Arab peoples struggling against the Zionist aggressor and occupier.

18. The problem of the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression of June 1967 is closely connected that of the restoration to the Palestinian people of its legitimate rights, principally its right to self-determination and territorial integrity.

19. The United States interventionism in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean began with the installation in Palestine by force and terror of a European settler colony, constituting a base at the cross-roads of three continents, with the object of controlling the natural resources of the region and fighting the Arab peoples' emancipation movement. Israel and the Sixth Fleet have an identical mission: that of subjugating, dominating and exploiting the Arab peoples.

20. The Zionist-imperialist threat and its alliance with the Arab reactionaries in Jordan have strengthened the unity of the Arab nation, strengthened its will to fight and developed its capacity to resist.

21. In Viet-Nam the United States aggressors and their lackeys continue to be thwarted by the brave Viet-Nameese people. The extension of the United States aggression to Cambodia has only served to strengthen the united front of the peoples of Indo-China. Algeria is behind these peoples and has recognized the Government of National Union presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and considers that Government as the only representative of the Khmer people.

22. The fighting nature of the Viet-Nameese people has brought the aggressor to the negotiating table, but the interminable talks in Paris only bring into relief the lack of good faith on the part of the United States aggressors. The Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, on 17 September last submitted an "initiative with a view to bringing about progress at the Paris Conference". That programme of eight points is a serious, tangible and realistic contribution towards a peaceful solution of the South Viet-Nam problem.

23. The refusal of the United States Government to consider the recent proposals of the representatives of South Viet-Nam demonstrates that the imperialists have not given up their policy of aggression against peoples. But the Viet-Nameese people and all the people of Indo-China have sufficient strength to throw back the aggressor and impose peace, independence and unity in that part of the world.

24. Also in Asia, the Korean people remains unanimous in its will for independence, territorial unity and progress. It carries the banner of the right of peoples to self-determination, social progress and economic development. We must help that people in its struggle and demand withdrawal of the foreign troops from Korean territory—United States troops under the United Nations flag.

25. Africa continues to be, through its natural resources and its enormous economic potential, a choice target for imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the most hideous expression of those policies, racism and *apartheid*.

26. The fact that certain great Powers continue to provide arms to the colonialists and racists and to develop their economic relations with them — in spite of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly—will change nothing in the course of African history. This history is being forged by the hands of the freedom fighters and of the national liberation movements. The peoples subjected to colonialism and the victims of racism have taken up arms; and the gun is the dignity of today and the freedom of tomorrow.

27. The question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is one of those which will be decisive for the future of our Organization.

28. Since our admission to the United Nations we have ceaselessly denounced the discriminatory, hostile and provocative policy pursued by certain governments towards the Chinese people and its legitimate Government. That policy has as its main objective an attempt to isolate the greatest nation in the world, a nation with tremendous revolutionary successes to its credit and one whose economic, political and social potential constitutes an essential contribution in the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

29. This policy of quarantining the Chinese people and its legitimate Government has completely failed. The fraternal relations which exist between the People's Republic of China and the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America are an example of solidarity in the common struggle. The diplomatic, economic and cultural relations of the People's Republic of China with an ever-growing number of States also constitute proof that the policy of quarantine has not succeeded. The growing influence in the world of revolutionary thought which inspires the Chinese people demonstrates the illusory, naïve and futile

nature of the policy of Governments which believe they can isolate the Chinese revolution and finally stifle it.

30. What we have just said shows that it would be ridiculous to think that the Chinese people needs the United Nations to make progress in its struggle. Quite the contrary, it is the United Nations which needs the presence of the People's Republic of China if it wishes to survive. To survive, the Organization must bring its acts in to line with the principles enshrined in the Charter and it must reflect the international realities.

31. The Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade set up by the General Assembly two years ago is on the point of concluding its work, and we must pay a tribute to it for the considerable work that it has done. Nevertheless, we cannot conceal the fact that the international agreement which has been brought about regarding development strategy is far from responding to the expectations of the less privileged nations and peoples. The slow pace of the achievements of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in implementing agreements relating to primary commodities, the need for the reorganization of international trade and the proper proportion to be allotted to the developing countries within the framework of the creation of new liquidity, only serves to stress most acutely the inadequacies of the commitments of the more developed countries.

32. Algeria is resolutely devoted to a policy of development based principally upon its own resources and means, the preservation of its economic independence in harmony with its neighbours in the Magreb and Africa, and the development of economic and technical co-operation. Our economic plan expressed in our Four-Year Plan is under way and falls within the framework of the development strategy defined by the Algiers Charter which emanated from the Conference of the seventy-seven² and the Lusaka Declaration.

33. Our general debate, which is about to be concluded, has been marked by numerous references to the problem of the security of air transport, and there have been many judgements and assessments made which deserve comment. We would have liked the Assembly to be concerned primarily with breaches of the law and international conventions, which are committed by authorities which have signed the conventions and which claim to be Members of our Organization. The best contribution to a serious debate on the question of air transport security and safety would have been the condemnation of the Tel Aviv authorities responsible for the kidnapping of two Algerian nationals on 14 August last.

34. The gloomy picture of the international situation which we have just painted should not cause us to overlook certain grounds for hope for a better future for the international community. One of the reasons

is to be found in the results of the World Youth Assembly³ which was organized here last summer under the auspices of our Organization. The texts which were published by the Congress indicate in what direction the world is going: the right direction.

35. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Guinea to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, at a time when the international community is preparing to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, joins all the previous speakers in making its contribution to the general debate which is to be concluded today. We do so with all the more faith, conviction and optimism because the date of 2 October marks the anniversary of our accession to full sovereignty.

36. In spite of all the efforts to promote peace, progress and justice, the year 1970 which is coming towards its end presents, in our view, a discouraging and gloomy picture, marked by the ever-growing gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, by the persistence of colonial oppression, injustice and imperialist aggression which seems to be the lot of the oppressed peoples of the third world.

37. In Africa, *apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity and a denial of the elementary rights of man, still remains the only system of government of the white, fascist and racist minority of South Africa. The support by certain great Powers of the Pretoria régime confirms that *apartheid*, unanimously condemned by the United Nations, still remains powerful in practice, in spite of the fine words and declarations of intention made by various people.

38. We still note with bitterness that millions of Africans groan under the unbearable weight of the most barbarous form of racism, the most inhuman which could possibly exist. It goes without saying that this system of government constitutes a real threat to international peace and security. The dictatorship of the white racists of South Africa has been extended to Namibia, a Trust Territory of the United Nations, in spite of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and Security Council resolution 269 (1969), both of which put an end to the South African Mandate over this African Territory.

39. The International Court of Justice is dealing with this matter, but until now it has not handed down any satisfactory verdict with regard to this repugnant situation.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

40. In the face of the persistent refusal of the Pretoria régime to implement the relevant resolutions of the various bodies of our Organization, our Organization should face up to its responsibilities and make the Pretoria Government see reason simply by the application of the Charter.

² Adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-seven on 24 October 1967.

³ Held from 9 to 17 July 1970.

41. The unilateral proclamation of pseudo-independence by the white minority in Rhodesia extends and maintains a permanent threat to peace and security. The use of force and violence to crush liberation movements is without any doubt a permanent source of tension which prevails in that part of Africa. This flagrant denial of justice is a challenge to the international community and particularly to the African peoples.

42. The Power responsible for this state of affairs is undeniably the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. We continue to believe that it is only by the use of force that an end can be put to this injustice.

43. It is easy to note the coalition of the racist, fascist régime of South Africa and of the white reactionary minority of Rhodesia with the slave masters of Lisbon, which constitutes a genuine threat to international peace and security.

44. From another point of view, the arms race and war preparations on the part of the colonialist and racist régimes threaten the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of African States and imperil the rights of the peoples of Africa, rights explicitly recognized by the Charter of the United Nations.

45. We denounce all forms of economic, military and other kinds of aid to racist and colonialist régimes, whether that aid takes the form of foreign investments, military—the provision of arms—or the building of factories on their Territory, since it all constitutes a policy designed to support the oppressor and to perpetuate the oppression.

46. This is the proper occasion for our delegation to raise its voice in energetic protest against the sale of arms to South Africa by certain Member States, particularly certain members of the Security Council, which are thus shirking the international obligations which are imposed upon them by the Charter.

47. In this regard, the seventh session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa in September 1970, deplored the attitude of the NATO countries which continue to sell arms to South Africa and to provide it with financial assistance, thus enabling it to pursue its policy of repression against the innocent African people by intensifying its policy of *apartheid*.

48. Peace, security, justice and progress are indivisible. Peace, as we conceive it, cannot exist so long as there are hotbeds of war, however localized they may be.

49. There are some people who conceive peace as being a balance of power between the great Powers, but that is not real peace. Peace with the continued existence of régimes that exploit and oppress peoples is not peace either. And, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré wrote:

“Peace is not simply an interval between two wars; nor is it the product of a compromise between conflicting interests. It should, above all, be the result of the elimination of the fundamental causes of insecurity in the world; and hence it cannot be a matter of concern to the great Powers only but should require in fact the active and conscious participation of all the peoples in the struggle that must be waged in the light, not of the dangerous strategy of the balance of power, but in accordance with the genuine interests of all peoples. The Republic of Guinea supports unreservedly any decision that may be taken to reduce international tension. We are determined similarly to oppose any attempt to maintain the *status quo*, which would mean inadmissible differentiations, inequalities and discriminations in the living conditions of certain peoples and in relations among nations.”

50. For 25 years now there have been hotbeds of war in the world. The brave, valiant people of Viet-Nam for 25 years have been the victim of aggression by imperialist Powers. The people of Laos and now, unfortunately, the people of Cambodia have also fallen victim to foreign aggression and flagrant intervention in their internal affairs. Those people are waging an armed struggle to safeguard their liberty and sovereignty and to restore their unity. Puppet régimes installed here and there by colonialism cannot overcome the will of those people, however many tons of bombs, shells, cannons and other arms of mass destruction are used against them.

51. The peoples of Asia, like the peoples of Africa, have always suffered from injustice and the arbitrary whim of the aggressor. The valiant and courageous people of Korea, divided for 20 years, seeks only to achieve its national unity, from north to south. At this point, let me recall that the People's Democratic Republic of Korea has expressed repeatedly its wish to participate in the work of the United Nations as a sovereign State, and hence fully subscribe to the Charter of our Organization. The division of the Korean people and the maintenance of foreign troops on its soil under the flag of the United Nations constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter itself.

52. A state of war continues in the Middle East—and we speak with particular sadness and distress after the premature and unexpected death of the great Arab leader, the late lamented President Gamal Abdel Nasser—and the military occupation by Israel of Arab territories remains a painful and distressing fact. The resolutions of the Security Council, in particular its resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], have remained dead letters. If certain plans and certain good offices gave rise to a glimmer of hope, that hope was snuffed out very quickly by the adjournment *sine die* of the Jarring mission. For our part, we remain convinced that peace in the Middle East can be brought about only by the active and effective participation of all the parties, particularly the Palestinians. Peace cannot be restored in that part of the world without the total and unconditional evacuation of all territories occupied by force.

53. The stubbornness with which the Portuguese Government continues to consider African Territories still under its domination as an extension of its own national territory is an aberration, an anachronism which should be ended immediately. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the fascist slave-master Government of Lisbon, supported by the NATO Powers, using chemical weapons, including napalm, poison gas and defoliants, is systematically exterminating the freedom fighters and innocent African peoples. Assured of the support of its NATO protectors and convinced of the ineffectiveness of the United Nations, Portugal continues deliberately to violate the Charter and the resolutions of this international Organization. This being the case, African countries like the Republic of Guinea have repeatedly brought to the attention of the United Nations violations by Portuguese forces of their national territory, their air space and their territorial waters.

54. We bring now to the attention of world public opinion the military and psychological preparations now under way in Guinea (Bissau) against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guinea. Those preparations which are taking place in special training camps in Guinea (Bissau) include the military training of stateless Africans in the pay of imperialism and white mercenaries for the purpose of invading the national territory of Guinea.

55. All those diabolical and Machiavellian plans being hatched by imperialism are designed to curb and jeopardize the economic and social development of Guinea, but they are all doomed to failure. We repeat that the violation of our air space by Portuguese military aircraft occurs all the time. The most recent incident took place on Saturday, 19 September 1970, at 1615 hours GMT, in the administrative regions of Boké in lower Guinea and Labé in mid-Guinea, along the river Komba.

56. We cannot overlook the maintenance of military bases in Africa and the existence on our continent of enclaves of foreign domination. Our delegation condemns the presence of those bases and the continued existence of those enclaves. Disarmament, while a major problem, can be effective only if all mankind is involved in its aspiration to genuine peace. Disarmament is therefore a matter of concern not only to the great Powers but to mankind as a whole and we cannot speak of effective disarmament so long as there exist hotbeds of war, the arbitrary and artificial division of States and so long as a great Power like the People's Republic of China is absent from the forums where that problem is discussed.

57. The policy of ostracism pursued by the United States of America towards the People's Republic of China must be ended. Indeed, we cannot keep the People's Republic of China outside the United Nations any longer without doing serious damage to the spirit of universality of our Organization. The People's Republic of China, a country of 750 million inhabitants, or a quarter of mankind, as everyone knows, has made tremendous progress in all fields and has, by the cour-

age of its valiant people and its scientists, undoubtedly become an atomic Power.

58. In the field of the exploration of outer space, the People's Republic of China has victoriously joined the circle of the great Powers.

59. The Government and the people of the Republic of Guinea, faithful to their ideals of peace and justice, demand the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations by the expulsion of the puppet clique in Formosa. The People's Republic of China is a peaceful country which maintains fruitful and friendly relations in the diplomatic, economic and cultural fields with the Republic of Guinea.

60. Economic problems certainly constitute a major concern for a genuine balance in the world. The First United Nations Development Decade, which failed, is to give way to the Second Development Decade. The various development plans, even if well designed technically, cannot achieve positive results unless we succeed in avoiding the errors of the past and only if we take account of the clearly expressed will of the third world countries.

61. We believe that we must have effective international solidarity in the conception and implementation of a policy of assistance. This assistance for the development of the developing countries should not be considered either as alms or as serving the purposes of propaganda and subversion in those countries. The danger for the third world of an imbalance created through technical and financial assistance is not just a matter of empty words.

62. International co-operation must be disinterested. It must respect the political, economic, social and cultural institutions of the recipient countries in order to avoid a return to camouflaged forms of colonialism, that is to say, neo-colonialism.

63. Permit us to pay a sincere tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for his great contribution to the achievement of United Nations objectives.

64. Twenty-five years ago, in the name of and with the knowledge of mankind, the peoples of the world signed in the historic city of San Francisco the United Nations Charter and thus undertook:

“to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

“to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

“to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

“to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.”

Never has a human act given rise to so many hopes, confidence and faith in the future of peoples.

65. Twenty-five years have elapsed from 1945 to 1970, 25 years of thought, action and experience, 25 years of efforts crowned with some victories of course, but, above all, with failures, disappointments and bitter disillusionment.

66. Therefore, in the view of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, this session should be the occasion for the international Organization to undertake a rigorous, searching self-criticism of its past actions in order to create the best possible conditions of effectiveness for its actions in the satisfaction of the profound and legitimate aspirations of the people to freedom, justice, peace, and social and democratic progress.

67. If we can on the one hand take pleasure to a certain extent from the balance sheet of the activities of certain specialized agencies of the United Nations and on the other hand of the partial results of decolonization, we are nonetheless forced to note that foreign intervention, colonial domination and the designs of imperialists against the sovereignty of the peoples in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America, disarmament, the question of faithful and sincere international co-operation, the universality of the Organization today still constitute the major concerns of mankind.

68. Indeed if the United Nations has not always remained passive in the face of permanent and flagrant violations of its Charter, it still has been reduced to impotence and inaction by the behaviour of the great Powers which, anxious to establish an artificial balance of power among themselves, deal arbitrarily with world problems which they settle to suit themselves and in the light of their exclusive interests which, of course, takes us further away from the principle of the equality of all nations great and small.

69. But in spite of its inadequacies the United Nations is indispensable for the maintenance of a certain necessary balance if humanity is to survive. It is important therefore to fill in these gaps and to make up for the inadequacies which are inherent in it.

70. Basing ourselves on the 25 years of experience of the Organization, we should, before concluding our statement, like to make a few suggestions.

71. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should, in our view, be reaffirmed so that decolonization can really and finally become effective.

72. The colonial Powers should finally be brought to see reason by our conscious and effective solidarity with the freedom fighters. If Africa, by the Lusaka Manifesto,⁴ recommended a dialogue with the colonial

Powers, it has now become quite clear that this appeal has not received the required response.

73. Africa considers any aid, direct or indirect, material or political, provided to the racists and fascists in Pretoria, to the minority régime in Rhodesia and to the slavery-minded régime in Lisbon as *de facto* complicity.

74. The financial aid provided to Portugal for the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam constitutes direct aid to a minority, reactionary and fascist régime which is represented by the white minority in South Africa.

75. On the particular and specific problem of the seabed and ocean floor, we think that today, even more than in the past, the national sovereignty of a Member State should embrace a more extensive area. It is well known, and positive international law endorses this, that the sovereignty of a State applies to its territorial area and air space, all delimited by the frontiers of fact or law of the State in question. The recognition and juridical protection of this status is of extreme political and strategic importance for the international community. All international meetings of any kind stress the need for respecting the sacrosanct principle of the national sovereignty of States.

76. But if one glances at the political map of the world, one realizes that a State is not always separated off from another State by natural frontiers, in fact or in law. There are States which border on rivers, seas and oceans. But one cannot confine their frontiers to the point where the sea meets the land. To delimit the zone of territorial waters over which the sovereignty of a State is exercised fully and without obstruction remains one of the imperative concerns for States and the international community.

77. In any case, the Republic of Guinea does not intend for the time being to make any modification in the arrangements already made by it to guarantee its security and its sovereignty.

78. We are convinced of the necessity to reshape the United Nations Charter. This need is all the more imperative because our Organization, which had 52 Member States when it was created, now has 126, three quarters of which are from the third world.

79. The United Nations, conceived as an institution serving mankind, must necessarily take account of the economic, political and social evolution of this very mankind and should not remain a fixed and fossilized institution in a world which is in perpetual flux.

80. The United Nations should adapt itself, first of all, by a reframing of its Charter; secondly, by the abolition of privileges enjoyed by certain Member States; thirdly, by the expansion of the Security Council; fourthly, by the effective implementation of the principle of universality within the United Nations.

81. It is by taking into account all these principles that the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, faithful

⁴ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

to its fundamental policies and its ideals of true freedom, peace, justice and democratic and social progress, will whole-heartedly contribute to the work of this session.

82. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea is convinced that Ambassador Hambro's election to the presidency of this important session guarantees the success of our work. The policy of Norway, his country, which is essentially neutral and has no colonial past, his distinguished and eminent personality and his long experience of international problems constitute a sure guarantee of the success of this session.

83. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is my pleasure to speak at a time when you are presiding over our meeting. I should be very obliged to you if you would transmit the following message to Mr. Hambro:

“Mr. President, I have the pleasure of placing in younger and stronger hands the torch they will hold higher than we have done in order to light the way towards greater freedom for men and for nations.”

Those words were spoken on 8 April 1946 by President Hambro senior at the close of the last session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the last meeting of the body of which our Organization is the successor.

84. It is now for our President, the worthy son of an illustrious servant of mankind, to be the torchbearer at a historic turning point in the life of the United Nations. On this twenty-fifth anniversary we must, by our thoughts and acts, rise to the challenge of history. The election of Mr. Hambro to the Presidency of this Assembly in this historic year is symbolic and is a reassuring sign. Is there need to extol his high capacities as a diplomat chosen by history to guide our debates?

85. The peoples we represent expect positive decisions of us, decisions that will strengthen international peace and security and make it possible to illuminate our path everywhere in the world. Throughout the world, because of the possibilities of modern technology, problems and their repercussions might well darken our horizon. As it exists today, the world is subject to the misfortunes of conflicts, poverty and injustice. Under these conditions where shall we find the high moral principles and values necessary in order to preserve human civilization from collapse and to see to it that scientific, technical and cultural progress is a source of happiness for mankind? Our individual and collective selfishness is unfortunately very often our prime motivation, while peace can only be conceived of as a triumph over our instincts, justice as a continual quest for equity, and progress only as a continuous ongoing effort.

86. How pleased I was to hear the President say, in his opening address on 15 September 1970:

“The ideology of national sovereignty has been an instrument for national liberation, and it remains

in the minds of many the ultimate guarantee for the safeguarding of national identity and for maintaining the cultural diversity which we value. But in dealing with the problems of the future, problems which embrace and go beyond the field of political conflict, we must learn to co-operate in a new way in order to reach agreed solutions.” [1839th meeting, para. 51.]

In that address he also said that “the world has become smaller and more interdependent” [ibid., para. 50].

87. Therefore we must create in this ever-shrinking world the conditions necessary for us all to live together and flourish. Is that a dream? How many dreams have become realities? And does not mankind need lofty dreams in order to transcend itself and draw nearer to peace, greater justice and greater progress?

88. In carrying out our task we must concentrate our attention on very difficult problems, problems which, because of their effects and because of the horizons they open to us if solved, will promote peace, justice and progress, which are the theme of our work this year and therefore are priority matters. A certain number of the items included in this session's agenda are very important—the problem of peace, the future of our planet—while others are routine matters to which we return year after year at each session without solving them. Our assistants and we ourselves try to consider these matters but the documentation piles up, the procedure becomes more complicated, and the need for reform of the system has begun to be felt. Voices are raised in favour of reform of the machinery and procedures of the Assembly as well as of the ancillary bases of the system, particularly the Economic and Social Council.

89. The Tunisian delegation has made it its duty to participate actively in any initiative for reforming the methods and procedures of the United Nations. All living bodies change. That is one of the laws of existence. Therefore, the initiative taken by Canada [A/7992 and Corr. 1] has merited the full support and sympathy of my delegation. Furthermore, we shall try within the Economic and Social Council, in which we have been participating for a year now, to contribute to an urgently needed reform. But we must stress that however urgent and effective these reforms may be, they can only facilitate our future work but they cannot solve those problems the solution of which depends on complex political factors. Political determination is at the root of any progress in our work. We must whenever necessary bear in mind that the objective of our institution, as defined by the Charter, is primarily to maintain international peace and security, to protect and promote human rights and to promote the economic and social progress of all peoples.

90. It is therefore in the light of these objectives that we must decide on the priority to be given to the agenda items before us.

91. Is the world better today than it was 25 years ago when the Second World War was about to end?

Has the United Nations accomplished its task? Have the appreciable efforts of the specialized agencies produced the results expected? Are there any signs of relaxation in the world? The Soviet-German Treaty⁵ which is so opportune and so full of promise, the independence of Bahrein, the progress of the Helsinki and Vienna negotiations as well as the Jarring negotiations which have been resumed—will all these events provide better prospects for peace? All those questions require analysis and each of them is of obvious interest. But to distinguish between the essential problems and those which are less so, we must recognize that our session and our Organization can deal with only a limited number of items, for which a solution is not only urgent but in fact vital—vital for the United Nations as an organization and still more vital for mankind and its future.

92. One problem which is not on our agenda but which might well provide a severe test for international peace and security if it is not kept in check and if efforts are not made to solve it successfully, is that of Viet-Nam.

93. If we had understood in time the value of a solution by which the Viet-Nameese people would have been able to exercise their rights to self-determination, war would not have devastated that country for so many years and would not have extended throughout the Indo-Chinese peninsula. This conflict might well involve all of South-East Asia with all the danger of enlarging the field of battle which this implies. Nothing at present indicates that the long-suffering people of Indo-China will soon see an end to their Calvary.

94. If all parties at the Paris Conference were determined to end this conflict, this would suffice to restore for these people the hope of a more serene future.

95. Our concern is even greater with respect to the Middle East conflict. Our Organization is directly concerned in this problem, whose origins go back not only to the June 1967 war but also to the resolution of 29 November 1947 [181 (II)], which created Israel. The United Nations at that time undertook a great responsibility to history. At that time this act was justified by the suffering of the Jews in Europe throughout the Second World War as a result of the nazi repression and by the desire of the Zionist movement to provide the Jewish community with a national home. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, one of the leaders of the Zionist movement, wrote in an article which was recently published in the American magazine *Foreign Affairs*:⁶

“Theodore Herzl, the author of *Der Judenstaat* (the Jewish State) of the Zionist movement, once said that the Zionist idea is a very simple one—that all it has to do is to ‘transport a people without a country to a country without a people’. This formulation, like all oversimplifications, was wrong in both its premises: a large part of the Jewish people after the Emancipation was already a people with a country, and Palestine, inhabited for centuries by

the Arabs, was certainly not a country without a people.”

96. Unfortunately it is the Arab people of Palestine who are today without a country and a good part of the Jewish people have two countries, and sometimes even two nationalities. Events of recent weeks and the fratricidal struggle in Jordan have proven this. While a large number of Palestinians are living under Israeli domination in their own country, another part of them have been living as refugees for more than 20 years and trying to organize themselves to survive until the Palestinian people can recover their legitimate rights to their country.

97. In order to put an end to the struggle of two nationalisms fighting for Palestine—Arab nationalism and Jewish nationalism—and to promote reconciliation and understanding, Yassir Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Movement have proposed a solution which could well be studied. It is the formation of a democratic State in which Arabs and Jews could live as equals as in Lebanon, where Moslems and Christians have a stable balance through institutions supported by all. This solution might at first hardly seem realistic to those who could not imagine the possibility of a reconciliation between Arabs and Jews, but it has the merit of providing possibilities for discussion, provided the Israeli leaders cease to see in the Palestinians merely an object for their domination. Israel, by viewing itself as a theocracy, does not accept the intermingling of people of different religions. Everything it offers to the region is a series of aggressions: the war of 1948, those of 1956 and 1967, and expansionism at the expense of the countries of the Middle East.

98. The Palestinian problem which opposes two nationalisms has developed and become more complex, since today Israel and all the Arab countries are facing each other. The generous movement of the latter since 1948 to assist their Palestinian brothers who have been victims of Zionist aggression is not only distorted by all sorts of propaganda but has also become a source of problems for all Arab countries, particularly for those a part of whose territories is occupied after an armed aggression contrary to Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations which created Israel and which Israel, like every other Member State and even more so, should obey—that very Israel which from the very outset overstepped the borders assigned to it under the 1947 resolution on partition.

99. Today while the Israeli troops are occupying the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Jerusalem itself which has been the subject of special resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and in the Security Council—Gaza, Sinai, the east bank of the Suez Canal and Sharm-El-Sheikh, Israel—armed to the teeth and enjoying a frequently repeated guarantee from the great Powers, claims that its main concern is to achieve a peace treaty guaranteeing it secure frontiers. But who is the victim in the Middle East? Whose frontiers, whose life, whose property and whose existence is threatened? Is it Tel Aviv or is it Ismailia and Suez which have been destroyed? Doesn't Israel know that

⁵ Signed on 12 August 1970.

⁶ Vol. 48, No. 3 (April 1970).

it cannot survive unless it accepts its neighbouring countries? And is the best way to do this aggression, occupation and disregard of the rights of the Palestinians?

100. Resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council was accepted by the parties as a basis for an equitable solution. The Security Council did indeed accomplish its task on the evening of 22 November 1967. Technically, it carried out its functions. Although that resolution is a useful document, it is the fruit of compromise. It is vague. It reveals weakness and even human cunning because the four Powers tried after very long inconclusive negotiations to provide an acceptable interpretation of it and to pinpoint certain points of agreement which would enable Ambassador Jarring to make progress. The Rogers plan has reactivated this mission which is still encountering great difficulties. However, we must warn all parties concerned in the Jarring mission against any attempt to solve the Middle East crisis without taking into account the essential factor: the fate of the Palestinian people. Any solution which did not take this factor into account would, in the view of my country, be imperfect and fraught with danger for the future.

101. I should like to recall here the speech made by the President of the Tunisian Republic, Habib Bourguiba, in this hall on 20 May 1968. Speaking of a solution to the Middle East problem, he stated: "In any case, whatever this solution may be, it can only be conceivable with the participation and support of the principal party concerned, the Palestinian people." [1658th meeting, para. 15.] The problem which is still at hand is becoming ever more complicated. Once again we must observe that a problem which is not solved adequately at the first phase of its evolution may become more complex.

102. The efforts of the Big Four in this area would, in our opinion, become more fruitful if they were more insistent. Each Member of the United Nations has its share of responsibility in this matter, although the responsibility of some is greater than that of others. In any case, the time has come for Israel to abide by the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations. The time has come for the international community to realize that the Palestinian problem is not a refugee problem. For its part Tunisia has always viewed those matters from that standpoint. It is this position which, after the events in Jordan, has guided my country in its recent efforts for peace. In the present crisis the concern of Tunisia is to contribute to the restoration of conditions of peace and brotherhood between Jordan and the Palestinian community, thereby permitting the restoration of peace in the area. But, once again, in the view of my Government, that task falls on all peace-loving countries and the Big Four in particular.

103. Israel is not the only country to defy international morality! Twenty-five years after the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations and 10 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples millions of human beings are still living under the yoke

of colonialism, particularly in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Portugal, enjoying certain covert support, maintains its domination over those Territories on the pretext that they are overseas provinces of the metropolitan country. That is an anachronistic argument which does not stand up to objective analysis. Liberation movements are endeavouring to shake off the yoke of that colonial Power. The struggle of our brothers sometimes becomes an armed struggle. Resolutions on the subject are certainly not lacking nor is international sympathy. History, however, seems to be marking time with respect to the Portuguese colonies. Confrontation seems to have reached a dead-end between anti-colonialist movements in the world and the forces of colonialism. We in the newly independent countries are worried. Should Portugal succeed in maintaining itself by colonial domination in Africa might not the colonialist and reactionary forces seek to reorganize, to regain influence and even to rebuild new colonial empires? Thus the struggle against Portuguese domination is a primary duty for all of us who believe in the United Nations Charter, in human rights and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

104. Colonialism has been a source of misfortune for a great segment of mankind. All efforts should be mobilized to liberate the Territories that are still dependent. Of course, our Organization has recognized the legitimacy of the liberation movements. It has made an appeal to the specialized agencies to assist the peoples in Territories still under domination. Our action in this field must be strengthened. It is regrettable that Portugal, which claims to follow a policy of racial integration, is joining forces with the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes which have been condemned by our Organization on many occasions, the former for its policy of *apartheid* and the latter for its illegal domination of the African majority in Rhodesia.

105. In Namibia the United Nations has shown itself to be impotent because it lacked the strength to impose legality. We are of course against the use of force between States. But a people which has no other alternative than armed resistance to defend itself, and the United Nations which utilizes adequate security forces to ensure respect for universal decisions, cannot be included under the prohibition of the use of armed force.

106. What the people still under the colonial yoke must do is to organize themselves effectively and pay the necessary price to obtain their liberation. There was a time when peoples fought for independence and liberation without outside help. We must pay a just tribute to the United Nations which has adapted itself to the peremptory requirements of decolonization. It cannot be said that the struggle of countries still under colonial domination is not supported by the international conscience. All that needs to be done is to bolster that support by practical measures, particularly through the specialized agencies. Action by those agencies could help to reduce the sufferings of the colonial peoples, reduce recourse to violence and prepare for the necessary reconciliation between the men who

are temporarily on opposing sides in the struggle. The message of the United Nations must be one of co-operation in dignity. Namibia is doubtless one of these difficult tests for the United Nations.

107. When our Organization is strengthened by the admission of the People's Republic of China and other countries which are not yet represented here it may perhaps be in a position to use more effective measures to force South Africa to respect the decisions of the international community.

108. The consideration of historical necessities should guide the international community in its attitude toward China which is still debarred from participation in the affairs of the United Nations.

109. Densely populated, powerful and sure of itself and its right to participate in the settlement of the world's problems, China exists in the political sense and it demonstrates this every day. Hence, no useful purpose can be served by continuing an ostrich-like policy. The rights of China are more than legitimate, they are natural; that is to say, they are embodied in the very nature of its power and rank. Naturally, it is for the United Nations to study the best formula for admitting within the framework of the international community this immense country which would be called upon to carry its share of world responsibility and to show itself to be equal to the hopes of the peoples.

110. Peace and justice, the solution of thorny problems, decolonization, the strengthening of the United Nations by the application of the principle of universality, peace and international security—will these objectives be guaranteed and will mankind finally reach the universal peace which it has so ardently longed for?

111. The authors of the United Nations Charter foresaw the importance of economic, social and human factors in strengthening peace. The Economic and Social Council was created for this purpose. The task of the Council and the role it has played and must continue to play in United Nations action is an essential one. All the agencies that emerged from its deliberations are proof of its importance. With the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade the role of the Economic and Social Council is indeed very important. But it is also important for our Assembly to adopt a strategy for this Decade. Behind-the-scenes negotiations are doubtless under way in the Second Committee, but we the developing countries are very often faced with incomprehension and—if not the remote interests at least the immediate interests—of a certain number of Powers, and sometimes with concepts hardly in accordance with our ever-more urgent desire to promote development and progress.

112. We are indeed aware that the responsibility for development falls primarily on those countries which wish to overcome the gap separating them from the rich countries. But the latter, acting also from a sense of justice, or at least from a sense of realism, and

in order to maintain world peace, must also contribute substantially to this grandiose effort of raising the standard of living of three fifths of mankind.

113. During the first Decade a praiseworthy effort was undertaken by the developed countries to assist the new countries that had just emerged from colonial domination, either through bilateral assistance or through the intermediary of the UNDP, and I should like to stress the effective action taken by that body, as well as by the world Bank, which gives much assistance to several of our countries.

114. During that first Decade, diverse machinery was set up to facilitate co-operation between the developing and the developed countries. We could cite in this connexion the work done by the UNCTAD Conference, as well as by UNIDO.

115. Thanks to those organs and to the practical experience they have acquired, the problems of underdevelopment have now been pin-pointed and their solution made clear in many cases. The guidelines of a bold plan of action sought by Dr. Prebisch after the New Delhi Conference⁷ are outlined in the international development strategy that has been prepared by the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/7982, para. 16], and have been transmitted to our Assembly with many recommendations and statements by the Economic and Social Council. Long discussions at the forty-ninth session led to greater clarifications of the positions of the various parties, although the desired agreement was not reached.

116. The Tunisian delegation is anxious to see our Assembly adopt a draft strategy for the Second Development Decade which would confirm the determination of the United Nations to create the necessary conditions for a more equitable distribution, based on the necessary sacrifices and efforts, of development possibilities that would enable our peoples to live in harmony, safe from privation and poverty.

117. It is ever more inadmissible to countenance the perpetuation of the coexistence of two parallel worlds: one, a rich world in which 40 per cent of the earth's inhabitants share 88 per cent of the combined gross national products, while the other, a poor world, torn by hunger, poverty and ignorance is a world in which 60 per cent of the earth's population benefits only from the remaining 12 per cent of the gross national products.

118. Moreover, the share of the developing countries in world exports decreased by 15 per cent between 1960 and 1969, and we may well expect this trend to continue in the near future. During that same Decade we have noted a very serious reduction in that portion of the gross national product of the rich countries allocated to feeding the economies of the underdeveloped countries. That sum has been estimated by UNCTAD to be 0.67 per cent of the gross national

⁷ Second session of UNCTAD held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

products of the developed countries, which was the lowest proportion ever recorded up to that time.

119. Fortunately, the UNCTAD study, from which we have quoted these figures, also states that the First Development Decade was not a complete failure, since it recognized that the poor countries would probably reach and even exceed the target growth rate of 5 per cent, although the distribution might be unequal amongst them. In order that such progress be strengthened and that further progress be made in the course of the Second Decade, it is essential to reach agreement on a draft strategy which would make it possible to look to the future with more confidence.

120. When we speak of assistance we always call to mind the reluctance of certain countries in this respect, and the sometimes understandable difficulties which they invoke when asked to make a still greater effort.

121. We also recall the problem of disarmament, which, if solved, would make it possible to earmark very great financial resources to assist the developing countries and help them exploit possibilities created by modern technology, in promoting more rapid development and thereby ensuring lasting peace among nations.

122. There is still another problem facing the United Nations, which has been the subject of very lengthy discussions. It is indeed our duty to stress with satisfaction the progress that has been recorded in this area and to reaffirm the desire of our peoples to see the possibilities for peace improved, thanks to better understanding of the ways of destroying conventional as well as nuclear armaments. History provides opportunities for men to distinguish themselves by means other than war: the fight for prosperity, progress and the conquest of space will offer poets subjects as inspiring as the battlefield. The struggle against pollution, the conquest of the sea, the exploitation of the sea-bed, the defence of human rights, and the development of man's capacities—all these offer bold and fascinating subjects to challenge the imagination of anyone willing to undertake such efforts.

123. Must we revise the United Nations Charter in order to accomplish our task in this twenty-fifth anniversary year—in order to solve the urgent problems that I have mentioned and to take up the study of the various problems confronting us?

124. The Tunisian delegation does not reject *a priori* the idea of participating in a study of item 88 of our agenda without considering it as an urgent or priority matter. An exchange of views on that matter might lead to some useful formulae. However, it is not the Charter which prevents us from taking decisions on the Middle East problem, on the fate of countries still under colonial domination, on the strategy for the Second Development Decade, or on any other point which requires an appropriate and urgent solution—and I stress the word "urgent".

125. It is for us to fulfil our duty as it is for the peoples we represent here, and our Governments, to co-ordinate their efforts and facilitate our mission through political decisions so that one day we may be able to hand over in worthy fashion the torch of the United Nations to the younger generation, which, confused by our own inability to resolve our conflicts and to take effective decisions in this changing world, might well refuse to accept the extinguished torch from our trembling hands.

126. Mr. KHALID (Sudan): In this anniversary year the General Assembly of the United Nations is indeed fortunate to have Ambassador Hambro, a man of vast knowledge and intellectual dynamism, at its helm. In this anniversary year, marking the lapse of one quarter of a century in the life of the Organization, the United Nations needs more than ever before the critical outlook and the fresh initiative which we so much hope to find and exercise under his able stewardship.

127. Twenty-five years are but a small parenthesis in the life of a world organization. But the attainment of the age of 25 years, even in the eyes of the most conservative of laws, signifies also the attainment of majority, of adulthood, and of the age of civic and political responsibility.

128. So let us take this occasion for a candid *auto-critique*. Let us sincerely appraise the past, for it is only through such an honest appraisal that we can brave the challenges of the future. Let us sincerely see whether the United Nations has shown, now that it has come of age, the adult sense of responsibility expected of reasonable adults. In so doing I am not only adducing a personal argument, but also reflecting the outlook of a disenchanted but determined new Sudan; disenchanted because of the failures of the past, and determined, together with her many sisters and friends, to help realize the hopes of the future.

129. The United Nations was born 25 years ago out of reaction to war and revulsion to its carnage. Its basic constituent document was meant to chart the path for the establishment of a universal society dedicated to the achievement of peace for every nation and liberty for every man. It was meant to mark an end to the international law of the great, based on zones of influence and balance of power, and replace it by an international code of conduct prevailing over inconsistent domestic legislation and design. But 25 years after the promulgation of the Charter the world of the United Nations continues to be ill-mannered and full of vulgar contradictions. Empires still exist and imperial traces linger. The armadas of the great are still patrolling the high seas under the guise of a self-imposed policemen'ship. Their imperial outposts are still studding the globe in the name of the advancement of liberty and civilization, and this, indeed, is reminiscent of something far beyond the world of the 1940s when the United Nations was born. It is reminiscent of the Roman Empire with the only difference, perhaps, that we are made to deal today with emperors and consuls who are lacking in the grace of Augustus and Cato.

130. It is here that we have to look for the deficiencies of the Organization, and they are legion. The failure of the United Nations does not lie in the Charter, as many people seem to suggest, but in the lack of allegiance to it. It does not lie in the guiding principles of the Organization, but in the subordination by the big Powers of those principles to their short-term national interests. The United Nations, let us face it, is marginal in the foreign policy formulation of the big Powers, and those of them who support it only see in it an adjunct to their national policy and see in its organs an annex to their overseas chanceries. The recent attitude of the United States Government to the International Labour Organisation is but the last case in point.

131. The collective will that was envisaged in San Francisco had emanated from the Allies' joint effort against fascist tyranny. But that was a short honeymoon. That will withered away to be replaced by new pacts and alliances that virtually torpedoed the authority of the world Organization to maintain peace and security. What was left for the United Nations in this field was the marginal role which was so aptly described by Dag Hammarskjöld in his introduction to the twelfth annual report to the General Assembly in October 1957⁸ when he spoke of the United Nations as a modest stepping stone to world society, an imperfect but indispensable instrument of nations working for peaceful world order. Where the national interests of power collide, united nations can find a possibility of acting as a buffer, a stabilizer. The greatest need is to blunt the edges of conflict among nations, not to sharpen them.

132. So the role of the United Nations, in the words of one of its greatest protagonists, has been reduced to this: an ante-room in which contending gladiators can find a breathing space, a conduit for channelling communication between two adversaries who have ceased to be on talking terms, or a dispenser of face-saving formulae. And in this neo-Roman era of mutual terror even the great Powers are often looking for a face-saver.

133. All of this represents an abdication of international responsibility by the great Powers, and all of this has led to an erosion of faith by the smaller States in the United Nations and its workings. It is a loss of faith that has amounted in some cases to open contempt and disregard.

134. The last 25 years may have seen the end of war in Europe and North America, but the rest of the world continues to suffer outrageous fortune, suffocation of human rights, usurpation of territory, and the rape of liberty and independence. This is hardly the universal peace that was conceived in San Francisco. The pessimists among us see, in the cynical attitude of some of the great Powers towards those problems in Africa, Asia and Latin America, a betrayal of a deeper sentiment still envisioning peace as the perpetual peace

of Utrecht, a luxury to be enjoyed by the concert of the great in the best tradition of the Abbé Castel de St. Pierre.

135. To save time and patience I wish to single out of the record two areas of conflict representing today the main sources of international preoccupation; the Middle East and South-East Asia.

136. First, the Middle East; here again the authority and prestige of this Organization is being exposed to a serious challenge that threatens its very effectiveness as an instrument for the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security. We believe that the core of the so-called Middle East question lies in the proper understanding of the essential nature of the Palestinian tragedy.

137. The question is essentially related to the existence of the Palestinians as a people, and the right of this people to struggle by every means at their disposal to maintain their national identity and exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. The Palestinians are a nation who, in consequence of the joint and persistent collaboration of world imperialism and Zionism, have been physically displaced from their homeland and turned into a scattered nation of refugees living in camps. This is a bitter reality which we have to grasp before we should embark on finding ways and means to solve the problem of the Middle East. The failure of the United Nations in many of its efforts to deal with similar situations is precisely due to its refusal to go into the roots of evil.

138. Only very recently the Lusaka summit conference of non-aligned States, representing more than half of the entire population of the world, reiterated the views expressed by this Assembly in its resolution 2535 (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, and adopted a resolution in which the Conference declared its full respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab People of Palestine in their usurped homeland and reaffirmed its support in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racism, and declared that full respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab People of Palestine was a prerequisite to peace in the Middle East.

139. As we see it, the Palestinian people have a cause not only recognized by this Assembly, but also by a sizable portion of international public opinion. We know of no freedom-loving people who have withstood humiliation forever, and the Palestinian people are no exception. The heroic struggle waged today by the Palestinian revolutionary movement indicates the degree of the political awakening of a great people who have resorted to arms to face an armed enemy.

140. On the other hand, Israel still arrogantly insists on the occupation of territories belonging to three States Members of this Organization, thus creating a dangerous situation in the Middle East and constituting a grave threat to world peace.

141. Various resolutions have been adopted by this Assembly and by the Security Council calling for the

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 1A.*

withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories since the June war of 1967. We particularly refer to resolution 242 (1967) adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967, providing for the withdrawal of Israeli forces. This resolution still remains unimplemented and will ever remain so as long as the leaders of Israel still boast of their aggression and cherish the dream of reaping its fruits, and so long as they continue to receive the unrelenting support of the United States, both overtly and covertly.

142. We are firmly convinced that Israel could have never taken this arrogant and defiant attitude had it not been for this continued political, military and economic support accorded to it by the Government of the United States of America. What we expect of a great Power like the United States Government in this conflict is a demonstration of impartiality and a genuine attempt to understand the true nature of the Palestinian people's problem. Without this the desire for establishing a permanent peace in our area will continue to be a remote one.

143. The concerned Arab countries which have accepted that resolution—despite its shortcomings and the unusual circumstances under which it was adopted—have displayed a marked degree of moderation and flexibility in their sincere effort to reach an acceptable solution. Contrary to these countries, Israel has persistently obstructed all endeavours to implement this resolution and sought to exploit its shortcomings to achieve its expansionist goals and impose a settlement on the Arab countries tantamount to surrender. But, as the late President Nasser has said, while the Arabs are ready to knock at all doors that may lead to a just and honourable settlement there is one door that they will never knock at—and that is the door of capitulation.

144. We have been waiting to hear some happy tidings from Tel Aviv reflecting a change of heart and only a few days ago [*1851st meeting*] the Foreign Minister of Israel came before this Assembly to elaborate on the Middle Eastern problem with wit and word. But his speech, eloquent as it may have been, was replete with inexactitudes and distorted through omissions. He asked us to take as a point of reference for his analysis of the problem what he called the still unforgotten drama of 1967. But to us and to all fair-minded people the inception of the drama was not in 1967. The history of the Palestinian tragedy goes back to 1948 and beyond. It goes back to the days of the double dealings of Whitehall in the 1930s and the tragic episodes of the 1940s that ensued from it. It goes back to the days of the stealthy usurpation of land through the connivance of British administration. It goes back to the days of the criminal intimidation of which the assassination of Lord Moyne in Cairo and the blowing-up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem were but examples. It goes back to the days of the wilful extermination of the Arabs in their villages of which the massacre of Deir Yassin was just an episode. It goes back to the days of the physical eradication of the more conscientious and vocal against violence of which the slaying of Count Bernadotte was just a sample. That

is our point of reference not to the unforgotten drama of 1967, but to the ever-living tragedy of Palestine. And because of this, Mr. Eban did not sound as convincing as he professed to be. More deeds and a genuine change of heart are needed before anybody can even dream of seeing the twilight of the peace depicted by the Foreign Minister of Israel. And till the contrary is proven, we are entitled to rest assured in our belief that peace-loving usurpers are as probable as well-meaning burglars.

145. "The dark side of the world", the Secretary General said almost four years ago, "shows itself in its most abhorrent and dangerous form in South-East Asia." He described the war in Viet-Nam as "a war more violent, more cruel, more damaging to human life and prosperity, more harmful to relations among the great Powers and more perilous to the whole world than at any other time during the generation of conflict which that country has known". This war still rages in Viet-Nam and it has been extended to Laos and Cambodia.

146. The United States Government embarked on that war, and continues its relentless conduct of it, in flagrant disregard of the most vehement opposition from its own citizens and the censure of world public opinion.

147. The United States war in Viet-Nam violates the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Agreements of 1954 which prohibit any foreign military build-up in Viet-Nam, including the establishment of military alliances. The United States is pursuing this war allegedly in exercise of the right of collective self-defence, a pretext that neither satisfies the requirements of Article 51 of the Charter, nor—even if it does—gives the United States Government the right to destroy civilian settlements and crops by indiscriminate saturation-bombing and the use of chemical weapons.

148. The United States Government in pursuing such a policy is not only transgressing the principles of the Charter but also betraying the great heritage of the American revolution. I hold many things in this country in great esteem, having been here for a significant length of time, having sat at both ends of a classroom and rubbed shoulders with the better elements of American culture. So it would not be presumptuous on my part if I said that it is the greater part of valour if the United States Government heeds the call of the sane elements in this country. It was indeed gratifying the other day to read one of the sober conclusions of Governor Scranton in his report on the campus crisis in which he said:

"The American young believe that their own country has lost its sense of human purpose. They see the Indo-China war as an onslaught by a technological giant upon the peasant people of a small and harmless nation."

149. The open question today is not whether the United States Government shall abide by the dictates

of the Charter but rather whether America shall recapture the spirit of its own revolution.

150. While evading the living issue of Viet-Nam and Cambodia, the United Nations shamelessly devotes much time, money and effort on the so-called Korean question—a remnant of the grim days of the cold war. In Korea, as well as in Viet-Nam, foreign interventions have been justified with reference to the right of collective self-defence. But in the case of Korea the interventionists have acted fraudulently under the flag of the United Nations — in the name of assistance to a beleaguered nation. It is time for the United Nations to extricate itself from this ugly predicament. It does not honour this Organization to serve as an alibi for a perpetual foreign occupation. It does not honour the flag of the United Nations to hover over imperial outposts. The question of Korea, in the last analysis, can be solved only by the Korean people themselves. The role of the United Nations is to ensure evacuation of all foreign troops and afford the free atmosphere in which the people of Korea, split and torn against their will and interest, would determine their own future and achieve a much cherished unification.

151. Twenty-five years after the re-affirmation by the Charter of “faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women” the world is still witnessing increasing manifestations of repressions of those ideals. The dream that each may walk in freedom and pride so as to enjoy the fruits of the world is still a scant hope. Practices of discrimination continue to exist and shocking violations of human rights increasingly plague the world.

152. Here again I do not intend to dwell on the subject in unnecessary detail, leaving the matter to my colleagues in the appropriate Committees, but two questions under this rubric come to the fore and need a special reference: decolonization and racialism.

153. The United Nations can take pride in its endeavour to help dismantle the old empires. The Charter has re-affirmed beyond equivocation the principle of self-determination of peoples in its opening Article. But that Article continued for too long a time to be a dead letter and the United Nations interest in it continued to be peripheral and academic. The advent of the new Member States in the late 1950s prompted a new initiative and a more radical and liberal interpretation of the Charter. Article 1, paragraph 2, became in effect the launching site of the general offensive against colonialism that culminated in resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

154. But ten years after the adoption of that Declaration the people of the southern part of Africa still have no reason to rejoice. Vast areas are still plagued by the presence of the last of the unjust; Portuguese colonialism supported by a complex military apparatus and NATO weaponry. The steps taken by this Organization to persuade Portugal to desist from its criminal policy and implement resolution 1514 (XV) were only

met by a deaf ear on the part of that country. In the face of this Portuguese intransigence, the African peoples had to take to arms with the full and active support of all African countries and peace-lovers outside our continent. No person can deny the right of the oppressed to rise and break their fetters.

155. As in Portuguese Territories the people of Zimbabwe found themselves integrated in the cruel system of *apartheid* through the criminal unilateral act of Ian Smith and the complete abandonment by the United Kingdom of its responsibility to act energetically when action was possible. The United Kingdom has failed to use all the means available to it to put an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable its citizens to achieve independence on the basis of one man one vote.

156. The development of the principles of human rights enunciated in the Charter ensued from the experiences of the gas chambers. For that reason one would expect the post-Charter world to be a more wholesome place where the dignity of man is preserved, but, unfortunately, the world is still peopled by some of the vilest specimens of human beings, who advocate the supremacy of race and cherish the logic of the last solution.

157. The Secretary-General has, some time ago, warned against an impending racial war. I refer here to U Thant's speech before the Algerian National Assembly on 4 February 1964:

“There is the clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and finally eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels. Such a conflict will eat away the possibilities for good of all that mankind has hitherto achieved and reduce man to the lowest and worst bestial level of intolerance and hatred.”

158. U Thant has qualified those who engage in such practices as “the most emotionally backward and most spiritually bankrupt members of the human race”. It is with that background in mind that we view the perilous situation in South Africa, which has extended to encompass Namibia, a Territory that has been handed to us in trust.

159. Men have ceased to hope that Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa will adhere to the dictates of reason. It is time the United Nations realized that half-hearted measures will never put an end to this disgrace to mankind. The United Nations is called upon to use all measures within its power, including those provided for in Article 41, if there is any loyalty left to our obligations under the Charter. The barbarism of Pretoria, the crimes of Lisbon and the bestial callousness of Salisbury would not have been possible were it not for the connivance of London, the cynicism of Paris and the hesitations of Washington. If Africa means anything at all to those countries, then Africa wishes to call upon them to show a genuine support for it in its most sacred war: the war for the dignity of the African man.

160. The fathers of the United Nations at San Francisco promised us a world organization, and it takes all sorts of people to make a world. What was envisaged at San Francisco was a heterogeneity of composition and homogeneity of will. The failure of the United Nations to achieve that heterogeneity — due to the deliberate and irresponsible disruptive attitude of some of its Members — has curtailed the capacity of this Organization to make peace and come to grips with problems in many parts of the world. The Secretary-General was correct in stating at one of his press conferences:

“The greatest impediment to the discussion of the question of Viet-Nam in the United Nations is the fact that more than two parties directly concerned in the question are not Members of the Organization.”

161. The United Nations can no longer continue to close its portals to the people of China, Korea, Viet-Nam and Germany only because of the self-righteousness of one of its senior Members.

162. The People's Republic of China is celebrating today its twenty-first birthday. The China I refer to is the country that comprises one fourth of the human race, occupies an area larger than that of the United States of America, enshrines within its confines a civilization that has continued longer than any other civilization on this earth, and holds a people with a capacity for sustained effort and industry which is evidenced by their remarkable achievements in technology in the past 20 years.

163. Do we honestly think that this Organization can establish peace in Asia without China? Do we honestly think that we can achieve disarmament without China? Do we honestly think that the world will take this Organization seriously if it continues to deal with such a major problem in the most frivolous manner, hiding its abdication of responsibility behind diplomatic craft and constitutional artifice? The United Nations, which is now chronologically adult, must behave like a political adult on the China issue. Those who have lost their reason or were made to lose their reason in the past must live up to their international responsibility. They must have learnt by now, and at what a price, that the east is red.

164. If we feel so strongly about the question of China, a country with which my Government entertains the best of relations, we do so particularly in view of the words about new initiatives and reactions. If we want to act, it should be now or never:

“There is a tide in the affairs of men,

“Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune”.

So let us take the current when it serves, lest we not only lose a venture but lose above all our sense of responsibility, our serious-mindedness and our self-respect.

165. This is our record over 25 years behind all the rhetoric of parliamentary, and the rituals of private, diplomacy. It leaves an unpleasant taste in my mouth

to say that the debit side of the ledger, after all this accounting, leaves one wondering about the moral solvency of the Organization. Our political Organization has even failed to match the ethical standards set and observed by some of its own specialized agencies. The self-righteousness and lack of breadth of outlook on the part of some of the senior Members of the United Nations has left this Organization with a tragic vacuum in moral leadership. We still ask: whither the United Nations?

Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.

166. Allow me, in conclusion, a few minutes to recapitulate my thoughts.

167. First, the ills of the United Nations lie neither in the Charter nor in the procedure. In the present scheme of things it is highly improbable that a revision of the Charter, even in the unlikely event of its being universally acceptable, would lead to greater effectiveness of the Organization. Similarly, it is not abundantly evident that the United Nations suffers so much from the weight of its cumbersome machinery and amorphous bureaucracy that its effectiveness is impaired.

168. Second, where the United Nations has failed in its mission, it was essentially due to the subordination of its principles to the interests of its Members, an attitude which represents a serious abdication of international responsibility.

169. Third, the United Nations cannot hope to realize mankind's dream of universal peace till there is a realization, especially by the major Powers, that the defiant posture of deterrence is ultimately self-defeating.

170. Fourth, in pointing out the dangerously opportunistic attitude of the big Powers, we are not losing sight of some of the bitter facts of international life. We are not calling for the undermining of their power, which is inherent in the Charter; but we are rather underlining a basic jurisprudential maxim which says that for every power there is a correlative responsibility. I hope I am correct in presuming that the United Nations is conceived as a lawful and civilized society rather than an unruly jungle.

171. Fifth, the great Powers will have to realize also that neither the political nor the jurisprudential concept of power should be construed as giving them sway over other Members. Jurisprudentially, the principle of sovereign equality still holds good, and politically no man is good enough to be another man's master.

172. Sixth, the logical conclusion of the above arguments requires from all States, big and small, a readiness to coexist and tolerate and respect one another. I say that with particular reference to the wanton references these days to weighted voting and mini-States. Such arguments betray in many quarters a sense of condescendence, with undertones of racial and cultural superiority.

173. Seventh, as a corollary of the reversal of the attitude of subordinating the principles of the Organization to the policies of its Members, the United Nations must be enabled to be truly representative of the interests of mankind. In this connexion, I sincerely believe that the admission of China will help rejuvenate the already hardened veins of this Organization.

174. It is only then, when all those hopes are achieved, that the United Nations can regain the faith of mankind in its ability to contribute towards the relaxation of international tension.

175. The hopes of San Francisco are yet to be realized. U Thant was no Cassandra but a wise visionary when he said that the States Members of this Organization had only 10 years to avert a threatening doom. Let us not count the days. Let us instead take courageous and adult steps in this anniversary year to reverse the trend.

176. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): Mr. President, the delegation of Ceylon and I, personally, are very happy to see you preside over this, the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It often happens that an individual can adorn a high office just as much as a high office can add lustre to its incumbent. In your case, your estimable qualities add to the prestige and standing of an office already held in the highest regard both within and outside the United Nations. To the two priceless attributes of scholarship and skill which you possess in full measure, you bring to your office the advantage of vast and varied experience and, not least of all, the distinction of noble diplomatic lineage. On behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, I extend to you our warmest congratulations and best wishes for your success in guiding our deliberations. For my part I would say that one of the most gratifying features of your presidency so far is that you have not used it to preach sermons to us down below on our responsibilities, whether as individual members or as groups. None of us becomes superior to the rest, except in altitude, through elevation to the chair. It is a mark of your greatness that you recognize this fact.

177. It is no reflection on you, Mr. President, that we miss the feminine charm and honoured presence of our former President, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph.

178. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity of saluting our chief executive, the distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, who continues to maintain unblemished his record of devoted and conscientious service to the international community. As always, he has demonstrated in his treatment of international problems the compassion of the humane and the humanity of the compassionate.

179. It was my expectation that my Prime Minister, the Honourable Sirimavo Bandaranaike, would attend the commemorative session and address the General Assembly. Regrettably, she has been obliged to cancel the arrangements she had made to visit New York for this purpose and it has fallen to me, therefore, to represent Ceylon in the general debate.

180. Institutions, like individuals, are inclined to attach an exaggerated importance to the periodical recurrence of certain significant events in their history or their life. This tendency could not have been better described than it was by the Foreign Minister of Brazil when he referred to our preoccupation with clepsydras, calendars and clocks [1841st meeting]. The United Nations has shown a marked propensity towards this preoccupation. It has become a habit with us to proclaim a year for this and a decade for that. There is no denying the fact that man derives moral sustenance from recollections of the past. Experience has, however, shown that in the United Nations we achieve little more by this process than to create a new committee, generate a fresh and repetitive cycle of rhetoric in more than one forum and produce or fail to produce a resonant declaration or resolution. All this activity insulates us from the world of stark reality and may give us a respite from responsibility. My delegation would sincerely hope that one of our good resolutions on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter would be to change our habits in this regard and to pay more attention in the future to substance than to form, to the causes of conflict rather than to its ephemeral manifestations. This session is already being described as an historic one. Whether it proves to be so or not will depend entirely on what we achieve during it. Let us not be too hasty in according it a place in history, which ultimately it may not be found to have deserved. It would be better for us to show the determination, through concrete and positive achievement, to assure it such a place.

181. Before I turn to the problems that face the United Nations today and to the measures that might be taken to give it greater vitality and to resurrect it from its present state of almost complete ineffectiveness in the political sphere, I should like to refer to recent developments in Ceylon's foreign policy. In May of this year a new Government took office in Ceylon, elected by the freely exercised vote of all men and women above the age of eighteen. It was a dramatic demonstration of the power and the glory of democracy and above all of the value of the electoral process, free from any extraneous influences, as a means of selecting the government of a country. It was the authentic voice of the people choosing between parties whose alternative programmes, promises and pledges were openly available for free choice. Critics of our foreign policy would do well to remember that it represents the expression of the will of the people, the sovereign element in a genuine and robust democracy. The decisions taken in the sphere of foreign relations by the new Government in Ceylon are not directed against any particular Power or group of Powers or against any particular interest or group of interests. They are not calculated, nor do we believe that they will tend, to impede progress towards the settlement of any of the problems that have been plaguing the world for years, the unhappy legacy of the Second World War, such as the problem of the division of countries according to the ideological affiliations or predilections of their divided parts. We believe that nations or States are no more than the legal and constitutional aggregate of their peoples and that the purpose of international

relations is to promote contact and, thereby, understanding and goodwill between peoples in different parts of the world. Long years of separation without any perceptible progress towards reunification prove the futility of external attempts at such reunification. A divided people must be left to heal their divisions by negotiation among themselves without external pressure or interference.

182. On all sides we have heard delegations of widely divergent political persuasions stressing the importance of making the United Nations more effective and emphasizing the need for strict compliance with Security Council resolutions as the best means of ensuring United Nations effectiveness. In organized society, defiance of authority or any transgression of the law is punished with sanctions. Respect for authority can be fostered if individual Members express in some overt manner their disapproval of any State which disregards United Nations resolutions and, more particularly, the resolutions of the Security Council adopted in the discharge of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This type of moral sanction, if exerted in appropriate cases and in an appropriate manner by an increasing number of Members of the Organization, could be a powerful instrument in the preservation of international law and order.

183. Ceylon professes a policy of non-alignment and has made it the corner-stone of its foreign policy; we shall not waver in pursuing such a policy. There are no weapons, material or physical, by which such a policy can be enforced. As my Prime Minister stated in her address at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lusaka last month,

“ . . . the main instrument of non-alignment continues to be that of moral persuasion. Our priorities today are full recognition and acceptance by all nations of the fundamental dignity and equality of all peoples. . . . We seek to preserve our true independence without interference with the rights of others.”

184. During the general debate, now drawing to a close, Member after Member has appeared in the role of diagnostician, subjecting the ailing United Nations body to an embarrassing clinical examination. Some have been bold enough to prescribe forms of treatment which would be no more efficacious than aspirin as a remedy for cancer. The methods of treatment that have been suggested can serve as little more than temporary palliatives; they take no account of the causes of international disputes, conflicts and tensions that threaten the peace. The only form of treatment that holds out any hope of success is one which treats the cause of the condition that it seeks to heal.

185. Procedural devices must not be neglected. They deserve a trial but they can fulfil only a limited purpose and have a limited range of efficacy, whether they be regular meetings of the Security Council at the level of Foreign Ministers, fact-finding missions or conciliation panels. We must not allow the newly exhibited

zeal for hitherto unused forms of procedure to divert our attention from the origins and the real causes of the very serious situations that are an ever-present danger to the peace of the world. The principal cause is injustice.

186. The United Nations has adopted “Peace, justice and progress” as its slogan for the twenty-fifth anniversary, thus proclaiming its objectives as it embarks on the next phase of its existence. We would place justice as the first of our aims, since there can be no peace without justice, nor can there be progress without peace.

187. The chief forms of injustice still prevalent in our world are the denial of the right of self-determination to peoples still under colonial rule and the monstrous policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Member States which honestly subscribe to the principles of the Charter could have fervently hoped that we would celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Charter and inaugurate, simultaneously, the second phase of United Nations existence with the consummation of the process of decolonization formally endorsed 10 years ago by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV). The Government of Portugal has frustrated that hope and continues, with the moral and material support and encouragement of its military allies in NATO, to hold the African peoples in its colonial Territories under bondage and servitude.

188. The Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, held last month, noted with deep concern that Portugal is waging a colonial war of suppression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) with NATO arms, and called upon the members of NATO to prevent the sale or supply of weapons and military equipment to the Portuguese Government and to stop the sale or shipment to the Portuguese Government of equipment and materials for the manufacture or the maintenance of weapons and ammunition. The member countries of NATO should take note of this appeal and be mindful that they will be judged by the opponents of colonialism and the advocates of the right of self-determination for subject peoples, not by their pious professions of loyalty to the concept and policy of decolonization but by their positive response to the Lusaka appeal and their willingness to abandon their present cynical policy.

189. *Apartheid* remains the ugliest and crudest of policies and practices in our time. The United Nations has failed to arrest its spread from South Africa and Namibia to Zimbabwe, where an illegal racist minority and rebel régime survives and thrives under the direct patronage and support of its avowed allies, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal. There can be no hope of peace in Africa until those forms of injustice are erased completely.

190. The Lusaka Conference strongly deplored the declared intention of the United Kingdom Government to resume the sale of arms to South Africa. A propos of this proposed change of policy, may I be permitted

to introduce a lighter note into this long and serious debate. It seems to me that the United Kingdom delegation to this session might, with apologies to Alfred, Lord Tennyson, say:

“We come from haunts of Heath and Home
 “Who’ve made a sudden sally
 “To ponder now the sale of arms
 “And bolster Vorster’s folly.”

191. We trust that the recent report to the effect that the United Kingdom Government is reconsidering this policy is true and that that Government will abandon the dark and armoured route to Simonstown.

192. Next to the eradication of injustice, the prospects of peace and security rest largely in the steady advance towards general and complete disarmament. Although this objective has been adopted by the United Nations it has not yet been clearly defined. There is a tendency today to treat disarmament as a reduction in the lethal capacity of weapons; on the other hand, there is no indication of any willingness on the part of those Powers which are capable of producing the deadliest weapons to forgo one of the means by which they can continue to be refined, that is, the testing of nuclear weapons underground. Strategic arms limitation will reduce the expenditure of the two super-Powers on the most expensive types of weapons and will, in one respect, arrest the arms race, but it will not appreciably diminish the aggressive and destructive potential of the super-Powers.

193. What is needed immediately is a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests, the cessation of the production of further nuclear weapons, the gradual reduction in the volume of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction that have already been accumulated, and the prohibition of chemical and biological warfare together with the production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons. A disarmament policy, even in the modified form which it has hitherto taken of a partial test-ban treaty, a non-proliferation Treaty and treaties for the peaceful uses of outer space and Antarctica, can be of full effect only if it is accepted by all Powers capable of producing nuclear weapons or of introducing such weapons into prohibited areas. As long as one of the nuclear Powers, the People’s Republic of China, is left outside the international pale through the denial of its lawful rights in the United Nations, these measures of disarmament are doomed to failure. A vital contribution to peace is therefore the attainment of universality in the membership of the United Nations. This requires the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People’s Republic of China in this Organization.

194. The third element in the slogan for this twenty-fifth anniversary session is progress. One of the principal aims of the Charter is the promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom and to this end Members pledge themselves to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. In any community economic inequality and social injustice are the chief

causes of unrest and instability. This is equally true of the relations between States. It is universally recognized that steady economic growth in the developing countries, with the improvement in living standards that it brings, is in the general interest of all, and therefore any contribution made by the developed half of the world towards greater economic growth in the developing half is a contribution to the prosperity of all. Such a policy provides a proper mixture of altruism and self-interest.

195. The General Assembly will soon be called upon to adopt an international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/7982, para.16] which analyses the problem of development and proposes definite measures of policy. The draft international development strategy acknowledges that the primary responsibility for development rests with the developing countries, but also recognizes the need for assistance from the developed countries in the form of an increased flow of financial resources to the developing countries and the adoption by the developed countries of more favourable economic and commercial policies towards the developing countries. The best informed opinion has found that although the total volume of the net flow of financial resources from the developed to the developing countries increased in 1968 over the previous year, it represented a smaller percentage of the gross national product of the developed market economies than in 1967 and that the share of the developing countries in the world export market was declining, a sign of the widening gap between the developed and the developing sections of the world. The international development strategy, if it is to be successful, requires a firm commitment on the part of each economically advanced country to adhere to the quantitative and temporal targets that are proposed for the net transfer of financial resources to the developing countries. It is not necessary here to go into the details of these targets.

196. The agreement recently reached within the International Monetary Fund to create an addition to international liquidity in the form of special drawing rights, amounting to \$9.5 thousand million over a period of three years, could be turned to the fullest advantage in the service of the international development strategy if the developed nations agreed to augment their contribution to programmes of economic development in developing countries by releasing a portion of their share of the special drawing rights or its equivalent in national currencies, depending on the mechanics of the operation, for the purpose of financing development in developing countries.

197. Ceylon’s experience has proven that foreign aid as a means of financing development has severe limitations and many disadvantages. It creates serious problems of debt servicing which impose a heavy and recurring burden on the country’s foreign exchange budgets for successive years. We believe therefore more in trade and better trade than in aid. Foreign aid should be no more than a temporary means of financing development. Increased trade on better terms, on the other hand, would help developing

countries to build up their own external reserves for the financing of development and would give them a greater degree of self-reliance which is one of the best guarantees of steady and self-sustained economic growth in the true sense of the term. Developing countries have of late been warned of the price that has to be paid in the form of environmental pollution for industrial development. All developing countries are aware of the risks, but I am sure that they would be quite prepared to accept from the developed countries even 1 per cent of their gross national pollution if thereby they could diversify their economies through industrialization.

198. The question of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and the use of their resources for the benefit of mankind has been before the General Assembly for almost three years. It is recognized that arrangements must be made for the orderly exploration and exploitation of this new source of seemingly limitless wealth. At the twenty-fourth session the General Assembly called upon the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction to expedite its work of preparing a comprehensive and balanced statement of principles designed to promote international co-operation in the exploration and use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and ensure the exploitation of their resources for the benefit of mankind, irrespective of the geographical location of States, taking into account the special interests and needs of the developing countries, whether land-locked or coastal.

199. During the two sessions it held this year, the Committee was unable to reach agreement on a comprehensive and balanced statement of principles that would provide the framework of the new régime for the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the area. My delegation would like to see a régime supported by appropriate international machinery, established through an international agreement open to adherence by all States which would provide for the orderly development and rational management of the area and its resources as the common heritage of mankind and for the equitable sharing by States of the benefits so derived, special consideration being given to the interests and needs of developing countries, whether landlocked or coastal. The draft declaration of principles will be the first stage in this process. We have not abandoned our efforts to reach agreement on a draft declaration, and even now consultations are in progress to resolve our remaining differences.

200. It is my hope that the Committee on the sea-bed and ocean floor will be able to place before the First Committee and General Assembly at this session a draft declaration which will command the support of all groups. Those of us who belong to the non-aligned group of nations have been enjoined by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that met in Lusaka last month, specifically

to exert efforts towards the adoption of a declaration of principles at this session. A special statement adopted by that Conference sets out five essential elements which should, among others, be incorporated in such a declaration. I should like to stress that the Lusaka statement is not exhaustive of the elements that should find a place in the declaration of principles.

201. We believe it to be essential for the development of the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor that the area be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes and that its use for military purposes be prohibited. We are glad to note that the first step towards that end has been taken by the co-Chairmen of the Committee on Disarmament, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States, with the preparation of a draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof,⁹ which is expected to come before the General Assembly at this session.

202. There are several outstanding issues relating to the law of the sea which require the urgent attention of the international community. To mention some of them: the establishment of the maximum breadth of the territorial sea; the navigation of international straits; preferential fishery rights for coastal States; measures to combat the growing menace of pollution in the marine environment and the limits of national jurisdiction over the continental shelf.

203. My Government would like to see an early start made on preparations for a conference on the law of the sea at which those interrelated issues could be discussed and resolved.

204. Let me refer, in conclusion, to one of the most tragic problems of our day, a problem for which the United Nations bears a responsibility and which is a blot on the United Nations record. A few months ago I had occasion to visit some of the refugee camps in the Middle East. Here the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and other humanitarian organizations are performing a heroic mission with severely limited resources. Those who contribute towards the maintenance of these — according to reliable estimates — more than a million refugees deserve our warmest thanks and appreciation. But that is no answer and gives the United Nations no absolution. Here are the human remnants of a people who once had a country of their own — the British mandated Territory of Palestine. It was created at the end of one war only to be destroyed after the next. Their experience is without parallel even in the shabbiest records of the human race. They have been condemned to live in squalid shacks and tattered tents in a wasteland of ruined hopes and empty dreams, most of them for almost 22 years. They are without a State, without a community and without an organization in which they can lead a decent human existence, rear their children as other humans rear theirs and

⁹ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

rise above the degrading necessity of living on an international dole.

205. There are people all over the world living in huts below subsistence level, but they belong somewhere. Not so the Palestinians. They are being held up to ransom in a much cruder and more brutal form than the airline passengers of hijacked planes. Their tribulations are a life sentence from which only the United Nations can grant them a reprieve. We would hope that something of the strenuous diplomatic energy that is being displayed in regard to the problem of hijacking would be diverted towards a search for a satisfactory solution of the Palestine problem. The United Nations believes in justice. Here is its opportunity to prove itself. This is only a part, though a very important part, of the whole Middle East problem for which we hope a just settlement will soon be found — a settlement just to all.

206. My Government continues to support without qualification the form of settlement contemplated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which is founded on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all Arab territories occupied after 5 June 1967.

207. In conclusion, the Foreign Minister of India reminded us that today is the 101st anniversary of the birth of the noblest apostle of peace and justice this modern age has known, Mahatma Gandhi. The world has long forgotten the weapon he forged and used with such telling effect, the weapon of *satyagraha* or non-violence. If we can revive the Mahatma's message of peace and justice we can still bring out the best in ourselves and make the principles of the Charter a living reality.

208. The PRESIDENT: We have now reached the end of the list of speakers in the general debate, and before I call on the speakers who have asked to exercise their right of reply I want to take the opportunity to thank all those representatives who have congratulated me on my election. First of all I thank them for what they said about my country. Those words caused me great pride and they will be highly appreciated by my Government. Next, I want to thank representatives for the words they have said to me personally and even to my family. Those words were always too kind and, at times, even extravagant.

209. Such compliments are remnants of the exquisite courtesy of gentler times and they are very pleasant to listen to. We say in my country that flattery is a deadly poison but that it works slowly. I sincerely trust that the cups of poison which have been handed to me so generously in this hall will not have shortened my life to any appreciable extent. Thank you all very much.

210. I shall now call on the two speakers who have asked to exercise their right of reply.

211. Mr. PATRICIO (Portugal): Speaking for the first time from this rostrum, I wish to express to you, Sir,

in the name of the Portuguese delegation our sincere congratulations on the well-merited distinction conferred on you through your elevation to the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We feel confident that your distinguished career as jurist diplomat is a guarantee that this session of the General Assembly will be conducted in the best and most efficient manner.

212. My delegation has asked for the floor in order to exercise its right of reply. As in past years, and this year also, adverse references have been made in the course of the general debate to Portugal and its policies in the overseas half of its territory. Almost all of them, however, are repetitions of what has been said again and again, in the General Assembly, in the Fourth Committee and in other bodies of this Organization, and for that reason they do not deserve specific replies. We have replied to them in the past, and we do not think it necessary to repeat our answers here. Wild and baseless allegations have also been made against my country and Government. These too, do not call for specific repudiation, since they have already been rejected and repudiated on more than one occasion. Today we wish only to add that these allegations, and the language in which some are made, are wholly incompatible with the dignity of this world Organization at a time when it is engaged in commemorating the silver jubilee of its birth.

213. Thus, in effect, very little that is new has been said in the course of this year's debate concerning the Portuguese Government's policies in the overseas provinces, and the Portuguese delegation might well have dispensed with this right of reply since we do not believe that false allegations made against my country become true simply by repetition. However, allusions have been made within the context of this emotionally hostile criticism to the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric project which my Government is engaged in constructing in the northern part of the province of Mozambique as part of our national development plans. Among other speakers, there was one who even described this project as "intended to perpetuate" white, racist domination in Mozambique, and charged that there is here a plan for "opening up this vast and fertile area for white settlement".

214. Nor is this trend in the propaganda campaign against Portugal new. The Cabora Bassa scheme has become for some months past the main theme, the *piece de résistance*, as it were, of the attacks levelled against Portugal by our critics and adversaries, who have never ceased to label that project with all the worst sounding names they could imagine for describing it — even calling it a "crime against humanity", utilizing distorted logic, with their well-known ulterior motives, in order to twist facts and their motivations and present to the world at large, as part of a diabolical scheme for holding in continued subjection millions of Africans, something that is truly constructive and bound to be immensely beneficial to the populations of Mozambique and the surrounding regions of southern Africa, no matter what the political situation in those areas should be.

215. In order to unmask this conspiracy of propaganda and set the record straight I should like your permission, Mr. President, to state a few facts about the Cabora Bassa scheme. Far from being what it has been described as being in this hall, Cabora Bassa is a joint national endeavour for development in which all sectors of Portuguese populations in the province — black, white, mixed and Asiatic — are loyally collaborating to common advantage. The Cabora Bassa complex, when completed, will serve as a much needed, basic infrastructure of a vaster, more ambitious plan, the general plan for the development of the Zambesi valley worked out by the Portuguese Government and designed to bring to the populations of the province of Mozambique and their neighbours — and we hope it will be all neighbours — who can take advantage of them, the benefits foreseen since the drafting of Portugal's first national development plan of 1953. Enormous sums of money have been invested by my Government since then, in the preparation of studies for projecting the solution of problems of the social and economic advancement of the populations of the area involved.

216. The idea of racial discrimination, the idea of separation, let me repeat here, is not ours, not Portuguese. Everyone knows that, even those who oppose our policy in Africa, although they will not readily admit it. To say therefore that the Cabora Bassa project is designed to further the domination of the whites over other races is the height of absurdity.

217. Allegations are repeatedly made that as part of the project Portugal is opening up a way to settle more whites in southern Africa on a massive scale. In fact, in some quarters the figure of one million new white settlers is mentioned in order to bolster a failing charge. To this now is added the charge that the project would have great negative implications, not only for the independent and colonial countries of southern Africa but for the continent as a whole. Charges like this could only be the fruit of a fertile imagination. Such a plan to import one million settlers would be both impracticable and out of tune with the traditional policies followed by Portugal in its overseas provinces. In this connexion, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the statement to the international press made by the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Rui Patrício, on 23 July 1970 on the subject of Cabora Bassa, in the course of which he said:

“There is no truth whatever in the malicious rumour circulating as part of the campaign against Cabora Bassa that through the project the intention is the settlement in the region of ‘one million white settlers’. It is incredible that such a rumour should gain credence in certain circles. In the first place, the number itself is absurd. It would be quite outside the immediate physical resources of air or sea transportation, not to mention the economic, social and financial aspects involved. There is nothing in the development plan tied to large-scale, directed, unbalanced installation of settlers of any race. What we do foresee is a natural and desirable expansion of population in the area, without distinctions of race, arising from economic development.

“Those who are familiar with Portuguese policy — and past facts and achievements are even more eloquent than statements of purpose — know very well that respect for the rights of the population and concern for a balanced development and a harmonious intercourse of the races have always characterized our agricultural and industrial development plans in Africa. What better example could be given of the coexistence and fraternization of different races than the townships and villages set up as a result of the plan to harness the Limpopo?”

218. This statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal ought to be sufficient in order to set at rest the fears and apprehensions of those African leaders who have chosen to see, on the horizon, dangers from the Cabora Bassa project when they should have welcomed it as a truly praiseworthy endeavour to implement plans for the accelerated progress and prosperity of the populations of Mozambique, in keeping with the ideals and aspirations which lie behind the grandiose schemes of the Development Decades in which we live.

219. Indeed, this attitude of reprobation of a project of this kind, recommended by the Economic Commission for Africa, in which huge investments will have to be made and which will benefit the population of the area for a long period, looks like a paradox, taking into account the aims foreseen in the Second United Nations Development Decade with regard to helping less favoured zones of our globe.

220. Indeed, it is a matter for sad reflexion that so far Portugal has all along been criticized by many delegations for not contributing to the development and progress of its overseas territories and even resolutions have been adopted in the past reflecting this attitude. And now those very delegations and even an organ of this Organization insist on condemning us for making a gigantic effort towards development which, had it been made in some other part of the world, would have received, I am sure, words of praise and unreserved admiration.

221. The Secretary of State of the Republic of Guinea, speaking here a little while ago from this rostrum made fresh allegations regarding the violations of his country's air space by Portuguese armed forces in our province of Guinea. Naturally, those allegations will be investigated by the Portuguese Government and the results of that investigation will be made public in due time. In the meantime, I should like to state here and now most emphatically that there is no truth whatsoever in his charge that preparations are being made in Portuguese Guinea with a view to threatening or imperilling the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea.

222. The Secretary of State of Guinea knows well that Portugal is not interested in attacking the Republic of Guinea or any other neighbouring country but wishes to exercise its legitimate right of self-defence, expressly recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, whenever Portuguese territory is attacked by elements

infiltrating from the outside. We are aware that during last September alone several groups coming from the Republic of Guinea launched attacks against the population of Portuguese Guinea.

223. It is thus clear that responsibility for those acts remains not with us but with those who, coming from outside, try to disturb the peace and tranquillity of our population.

224. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): In the ordinary course of a right of reply, it would be superfluous here before this Assembly, to answer the representative of a Government — the Government of Portugal — which, as we all know, deliberately refuses to apply the decisions of this Assembly. However, we feel there are some points that should be made.

225. In the statement he just made, the representative of Portugal mentioned, not without some scruple, the "overseas part" of his country's territory. I repeat, the "overseas part" of the territory. That alone is already an anachronism which this Assembly will have noted for itself. In the middle of the twentieth century, at a time when we all unanimously condemn colonialism and consider it a crime, a scourge, a shame to mankind, the representative of Portugal did not hesitate for a second to speak proudly from this rostrum of the "overseas part" of his country's territory.

226. We can say very simply that this "overseas part" of Portuguese territory would already have ceased to exist had Portugal not enjoyed the support of the NATO Powers. Portugal, an under-developed country in the heart of Europe, unable to meet the most elementary needs of its population, a country where poverty and unemployment are forcing young people to enrol in its colonial expeditionary army — and we state this clearly so that it may be well understood — Portugal, in the face of all the arguments advanced by the African countries, has no other reply than to deny, to deny the facts.

227. Mention was made of the Cabora Bassa dam, and eminent African Heads of State, including President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, have already clarified this point, before Portugal's very allies. We African countries have all already welcomed the friendly gesture of a country that is a friend of Africa, Italy, in withdrawing from that project whose sole object is to perpetuate segregation and racism in that part of Africa, purely and simply to annex the areas which are to be flooded for the benefit of populations whom those responsible say they want to work, but who for five centuries have enjoyed no benefit but extermination.

228. People should take care, when they mount the rostrum before this august Assembly, which we respect, to be a little more willing to admit their mistakes. Africa might then have a more constructive dialogue with Portugal, which it wishes no harm.

229. To turn to the specific question raised by the representative of Portugal when he tried to reply to

my country's Secretary of State, I should like to say that the over-flights of Guinean national territory, and of all territories bordering on zones where Portugal pursues its colonization, are continuous and daily acts. They are low-altitude, hedge-hopping flights carried out by aircraft which are not manufactured by the Portuguese, but are on loan to Portugal as part of NATO assistance. Let NATO cease giving assistance to Portugal, and parties will be more evenly matched. It may even be said — and we say this not in any warlike spirit — that Portuguese colonialism would in that case have ended long ago.

230. The over-flights are a daily event, and when the representative of Portugal talks here about the right to pursue certain groups, he means those whom we call freedom fighters, who have rejected Portuguese colonization, who have already reconquered a considerable part of their territory and who, we repeat, but for NATO aid would by this time have reconquered their territory in its entirety.

231. The training of stateless African mercenaries is a new tactic employed by the Portuguese Government against neighbouring African States, and we have already told the Security Council, last year, of the injustices, the provocations, the violations of basic human rights perpetrated by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea.

232. Concerning the right of pursuit, hardly a year ago one of our civilian boats, which had only peaceable peasants on board, was attacked by Portuguese colonial troops who killed two persons. The other passengers, as well as the boat, to this day remain in the hands of the Portuguese colonial authorities.

233. Two years ago, one of our aircraft, through pilot error, made a forced landing in Guinea (Bissau). That airplane and its two crew members are still being held by the Portuguese colonial authorities.

234. When the representative of Portugal comes to this rostrum and tells us the Portuguese are not racists and that they love the Africans, our reply is that the only gesture of love they can make towards Africa is to stop colonizing Africa. Only then as another African leader has said, can Africa and Portugal come to a fraternal understanding and start building a better future.

235. The PRESIDENT: The general debate is now concluded. I wish to thank all representatives for the fine spirit of co-operation which they have shown. This spirit of co-operation has permitted the general debate to be concluded in two weeks in this anniversary year, rather than in the usual three weeks. That, in itself, is a significant contribution to speeding up the work of the General Assembly at this particularly busy session.

236. As we are all aware, the commemorative session will commence on 14 October, and culminate on 24 October with the solemn adoption of a number of important documents, as envisaged in General Assem-

bly resolution 2499 A (XXIV) of 31 October 1969. In the time which elapses before the commemorative session, much significant work remains to be done on certain of those documents, particularly in some of the main Committees and also in plenary. I should like to take this opportunity to appeal to those Committees, through their Chairmen, to use their best

endeavours to complete in the time remaining all those items for consideration during the commemorative session as this is an essential prerequisite to the success of that session.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.