



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. Bomani (United Republic of Tanzania) . .	1
Speech by Mr. Zahedi (Iran)	6
Speech by Mr. Toiv (Mongolia)	9

President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Boutros (Lebanon),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BOMANI (United Republic of Tanzania): May I be allowed, first, to join the many speakers who have preceded me in expressing to Mr. Arenales the heartfelt congratulations of my delegation on his election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. His election is an expression of the high regard the representatives have for his own personal qualities and of the esteem in which his country and people are held. It is my delegation's hope that he will continue to shoulder the challenge of this position with the same ability and distinction which the last few meetings of the Assembly have amply shown.

2. It is also my pleasant duty to express the unqualified appreciation of my delegation to the outgoing President, the Honorable Mr. Manescu, Foreign Minister of Romania, for his able helmsmanship of what, in my delegation's view, was a difficult ship to steer on a straight course. My country may not have agreed with everything which the twenty-second session of the General Assembly adopted by majority vote, but this in no way detracts from my delegation's belief that it was largely through the sense of purpose with which Mr. Manescu applied himself to the great task entrusted to him that that session of the Assembly achieved the measure of success it did.

3. It is with a sense of honour that my delegation today takes this opportunity to welcome the achievement of independence by our sister African nations of Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea. I therefore take this opportunity to convey to the Governments and peoples of Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea our heartfelt congratulations. It is our belief and earnest hope that this newly won independence will naturally be a stepping-stone for the achievement of bigger victories towards development and progress, and for the consolidation of the freedom and unity of Africa. In the same vein we welcome the membership of Swaziland in

this Organization, and we are warmly awaiting the membership of Equatorial Guinea.

4. The inherent weaknesses of this international forum are, however, demonstrated by the agenda of this meeting and, even more clearly, by the events of the past months. In fact, my delegation has been forced to the conclusion that it is the deliberate policy of the powerful world States to limit the power and effectiveness of the United Nations. Yet we believe that, even from their own point of view, they are making a mistake in manoeuvring to keep this Organization weak; for world peace is in the interest of all of us, whether we be small or large, and the principles upon which this Organization is based are the best hope for world peace.

5. My delegation would therefore like to add our appeal to that of the President and call for all Member States to give their unreserved support to the United Nations. Let all of us work steadfastly and persistently towards strengthening this world forum and increasing its powers. I can certainly assure this Assembly that Tanzania will do everything within its power to that end. We recognize that there is no other instrument of international peace even as effective as this. Even now, weak as it is on major international issues, the United Nations provides a forum where we can hope to make our voice heard on international questions. And we know that only through the implementation of the principles upon which the United Nations is based can countries like Tanzania hope to survive and grow in peace.

6. Yet the United Nations must act. My delegation has to express its deep sense of outrage that at the twenty-third session the General Assembly is still considering the question of colonialism. This pernicious system should by now have been relegated to the memoirs of historians and anthropologists; by now this Assembly should be considering the constructive tasks of world development. Yet, despite the fact that the United Nations has been celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, colonialism and racialism still exist. Even worse, the representatives of colonialist nations still listen annually to the demands for human freedom, and respond by paying lip service to the principles of human equality. It was in 1960 that this Organization adopted the historic Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). Since that time, many nations in Africa—including Tanzania—have achieved their freedom. But, in many other countries, oppression has been intensified, and the shackles of colonialism have been tightened. Even in some countries which are technically independent, the forces of neo-colonialism and racialism have increased their power.

7. The position of Tanzania is quite clear on this issue. We uphold the fundamental doctrine of the equality of man,

regardless of race, colour, religion, sex or creed. We maintain that only when this human equality is accepted, and implemented, by all the Governments of the world will peace be secure—or even justified. It is not enough that the representatives of powerful countries should come to this Assembly and assert their belief in equality. We accept the sincerity of these individuals. But it is not their words which matter; it is the actions of their Governments. And the truth is that it is hypocrisy for a national representative to assert his country's support for the doctrine of human equality, while that same country is supporting—or even practising—colonialism and racialism.

8. My delegation is well aware that the representative of South Africa at the United Nations does not pretend to support the principles of racial equality. That representative could hardly do so while the entire policies of his country are based on the iniquitous evil of *apartheid*. Indeed, our only surprise is that South Africa should continue to be a member of an organization which has accepted human equality and dignity as its basic principle.

9. But the evils of *apartheid* and the evils of colonialism could not exist if the words spoken in this Assembly and elsewhere by the representatives of powerful nations were indicative of a real determination on the part of those nations. For who maintains colonialism? Who is it that dominates small nations and humiliates the coloured masses of the world? If the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of France really decided that colonialism and neo-colonialism should end, what would stop its ending? They have only to decide, and to stop their own colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the problem will be virtually solved. They have only to decide to support this Assembly in its condemnation of *apartheid* in South Africa and that policy will be defeated.

10. Yet this does not happen. Year after year we listen to words condemning racialism. Meeting after meeting this Assembly passes resolutions condemning colonialism. And both continue. This can be so only because those nations which have the power to desist from colonial practices do not wish to do so. It can occur only because the powerful nations of the world care less about racialism than about maintaining their own dominance and their own privilege. Through you, Mr. President, I beg them to think of the consequences of what they are doing; the consequences to themselves and to all of us. For if racialism triumphs it will not be the majority of peoples of the world who will be its only, or its ultimate, victims. The nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America can be dominated now by those of Europe and North America, but this will not continue indefinitely. Either we all fight for human equality now, and for national freedom now, or the whole world will be engulfed in the chaos and misery of human conflict and degradation.

11. For it is essential that one thing should be quite clearly realized. The colonial peoples, and the coloured peoples in particular, cannot and will not accept a second-class citizenship in the world. We shall never accept national and individual humiliation. The fight for freedom has begun: we have begun it. The only question which remains is whether blood is to be spilt, and how much. And

that question is not for us to answer. We do not want to fight and to kill. But we must and we will have freedom and human justice. Members of the United Nations have, in words, accepted our right to these things. They now have to decide whether to honour their words or to fight against the things they say they believe in.

12. Recent history is not encouraging to those of us who value human life as we value human liberty. The tragic history of Zimbabwe has been fully discussed in the United Nations. And, at every turn, the full responsibility for the present situation there has been laid squarely on the shoulders of the British Government. Indeed, successive British Governments have claimed this responsibility: for many years they refused to allow the United Nations to intervene and did their best to prevent the situation from even being discussed in this Assembly. Even now the British Government comes to the United Nations only for assistance in policies it has already decided upon.

13. Let us be quite clear what this means. It was the systematic policy of creating so-called "native reserves" within Southern Rhodesia which created the racist white settler community. It was the systematic pursuit of a cheap labour policy which allowed the growth of oligopolistic capitalist exploitation by an immigrant community. It was a combination of deceit and force which led to the exploitation of Zimbabwe's minerals for the benefit of capitalists of Britain, America, and South Africa. It was the systematic denial of human rights to the African people which led to the establishment of a white-minority Government in Rhodesia. It was the subsequent transfer to that minority Government of all the instruments of military force which led to the final usurpation of power by the settler minority under the tyrannical flag of white supremacy. And all of these things, except the last, have been done by, or under the protection of, the successive British Governments. These are the things for which the British Government is being held responsible, and for which it is even claiming responsibility. The final declaration of independence by the illegal régime in that area is the culmination of a series of events for which Britain, and no one else, is responsible.

14. The United Republic of Tanzania has been, and still is, deeply concerned at the situation which exists in Zimbabwe. We are concerned much less about the legality or illegality of the Ian Smith minority régime than we are about that continuation of colonialism and racialism which its existence represents. The continuation, and indeed the intensification, of racialism and colonialism in Rhodesia in recent years is now an active and positive threat to the safety and integrity of neighbouring African States. Further, it represents an expansion of the *apartheid* doctrine of South Africa, and is in fact part of a deliberate design to protect and perpetuate the forces of racialism in South Africa against the liberation struggle of its people. Tanzania, and all supporters of human dignity and freedom, must be concerned about this.

15. Yet what has been the reaction of the British Government? Before the usurpation of power occurred, the British Government declared publicly that in no circumstances would it use force to prevent such action by the racist minority. This very sudden conversion to the

doctrine of non-violence as a means of struggle against a rebellious colony apparently did not, and does not, apply to any other British colony. But it has allowed the Rhodesian racists to maintain their position for three years, with the support of those other allies of Britain—Portugal and South Africa.

16. And what has been Britain's alternative to force as a means of bringing down the Smith régime, and beginning Zimbabwe's progress to independence? It called the racist leaders traitors. Various "voluntary" trade sanctions were applied; after six weeks had elapsed an oil boycott was announced. Later, a few more financial sanctions were applied. When this "little-by-little" minimum action was unsuccessful in rectifying the situation within "weeks, not months", the United Nations was asked for support. Not until this year were mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations; before that Britain would not agree. And even now, capitalist firms—with British money involved, if nothing else—still trade with Rhodesia. Britain's allies still act as middle-men between the Rhodesian racists and other capitalist firms. At no point has the British Government accepted firm and universal action against the régime in Rhodesia. It still does not accept it.

17. Is this Organization, which is committed by its Charter to the freedom and dignity of man, to wait forever upon the decisions of the very country whose actions precipitated the present crisis? Is the United Nations going to remain idle while the forces of *apartheid* and colonialism, backed by the inaction of Britain, persecute and suppress the people of Zimbabwe? Or will the United Nations accept the obligations of the Charter we all claim to have accepted?

18. The British Government has failed, and is still failing, to take the action which is necessary to resolve the situation in Rhodesia. Despite all that has happened, it has reiterated its determination not to use military force. My delegation will speak on this question again at a later stage, but even now it is surely clear that the United Nations must take some decisive action if it is to remain true to itself. Under Chapter VII of the Charter, the United Nations must impose total mandatory sanctions in a manner that would seal off all possibilities of approach to the Territory. At the same time, this Organization must call upon the British Government to take the necessary action—that is, to use force—to crush the racist white régime. Such action would be belated, but every week that passes increase the dangers of a continued failure to take effective action.

19. Unfortunately, Zimbabwe is not the only area in Southern Africa which is suffering under the yoke of colonialism. The continuing war launched by the Portuguese Government against the peoples of Mozambique, of Angola, and of Guinea (Bissau) is causing ever greater suffering as the success and the determination of the freedom fighters increase. This war is being fought at the instance of the Portuguese Government. But that country can continue its endeavours to retain a hold over the African peoples only because of the active support which it receives from the other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Mozambique and Angola form a large reservoir of rich natural resources; and these two countries are strategically located on the flanks of *apartheid* South

Africa. Every victory of the people's liberation forces reveals further evidence of the material support which is being given to the Portuguese forces by international imperialism. But, if this imperialist conspiracy with the Portuguese Government is not surprising, it is certainly contrary to the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations. It therefore remains the duty of this Assembly to condemn the attitude of those Western Governments which are rendering material assistance to the colonial aggressors, or which are allowing such material assistance to be given. It is the duty of this Organization to take the necessary action now to ensure compliance with its decision in favour of the freedom and independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

20. On the question of Namibia, it is obvious that the South African fascist Government is impudently defying the demand by the United Nations that it should withdraw from the Territory. South Africa is continuing with its oppression, its racialism, and its slave policies in a Territory over which it has not the slightest legal or moral right. Again, it is obvious that South Africa is able to persist in its defiance because of the support it receives from its friends in the Western alliance. Without such support South Africa would not dare to defy this world Organization. In fact, if these countries honoured the decision of the United Nations, and used their power in support of freedom for Namibia, then the peoples of that country would be able to begin the task of overcoming the long years of oppression and degradation which they have suffered while the world has talked.

21. In brief, it is quite clear that the continued suppression of freedom, the continued racialism and the continued colonialism which are being suffered in southern Africa owe their existence to Members of this Organization. The Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis of defence for racist minority régimes is effective only because of the support it receives from countries which come to this rostrum and affirm their dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

22. In fact, these nations are acting in direct contradiction to the Charter. For the Preamble to the Charter commits the Member nations of the United Nations 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". Yet, in southern Africa, the blood of countless people is being shed in defence of capitalist monopoly exploitation, and to uphold the slavery of millions of African men and women. The United Republic of Tanzania cannot be a party to this cynical disregard of the principles adopted by this Organization. We are committed to the liberation of man from the tyranny of colonialism and the exploitation of imperialism. We shall continue to render support to the peoples engaged in the honourable struggle for the freedom of their countries.

23. I have spoken at length on the position in southern Africa. I have done so because my delegation believes that the situation there represents the greatest challenge to the principle of peace through justice, and to the principle of human dignity and human brotherhood. Yet, unfortunately, international imperialism is also active in many other parts of the world.

24. The Viet-Nam war continues unabated in its ferocity and ruthlessness. The hopes for a peaceful settlement which

we had earlier placed in the Paris talks have proved to be misplaced. It is difficult now to visualize the possibility of an early settlement of this vicious conflict, and every day thousands of innocent people are gunned, bombed, maimed and killed. The United Republic of Tanzania cannot pretend to have a ready and quick answer to this terrible problem. None the less, it is our conviction that there is no legitimate basis for the intervention by any foreign nation in this conflict. There is no justification for the United States and its allies to wage war against the people of Viet-Nam, and to do this under the pretext of maintaining peace and security in that country is an added insult to the conscience of the world. What peace, what security exists in Viet-Nam as a result of the intervention of these Powers? Is it not clear that because of this intervention there is more suffering and more insecurity? The United Republic of Tanzania believes that the people of Viet-Nam themselves hold the key to a peaceful settlement of the conflict there. We are convinced that if the people could speak for themselves, without foreign interference, this conflict could be settled.

25. The Viet-Nam war is a most tragic example of a denial of basic human rights and respect for man's dignity. It represents most blatant disregard for the right of small nations to self-determination. We cannot fail to condemn it. We cannot fail to request that those foreign Powers which are intervening in an internal conflict should withdraw and leave Viet-Nam alone. Tanzania is convinced that when this happens the people will show their desire for peace, and a war that has lasted for more than twenty years will cease. In particular, the United Republic of Tanzania calls upon the United States of America and its allies to cease unconditionally all acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

26. The United Republic of Tanzania has also been profoundly shocked this year by the military occupation of a Member nation of this Organization, in direct contravention of the Charter. Our shock was the greater because the occupation of Czechoslovakia was carried out amidst professions of friendship and solidarity and was justified by the aggressors on the grounds of strengthening socialism. Tanzania categorically rejects these justifications. We do not accept that any nation has the right to appoint itself as the messiah of another nation. In particular, as a nation dedicated to the building of socialism, we reject the claim that this moral and political doctrine involves the right of any one nation to dominate another. We recognize that the tragedy of Czechoslovakia has nothing to do with socialism. It has to do with power. For the events in that country have really been nothing else but a demonstration of the basic insecurity of small nations in the face of big-Power adventurism. It is this insecurity of the poor and weak which the United Nations was intended to rectify.

27. In the Middle East also the situation remains as tense and explosive as ever. It continues to pose a real and imminent danger to the peace and security of the world. For the ray of hope which emerged following the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), of 22 November 1967, and the subsequent appointment of Dr. Gunnar Jarring as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General appears to have been a mirage. There is, in fact, no evidence whatsoever, so far, that Israel is prepared to accept

and implement the Security Council resolution. It is this disregard of world public opinion, the contempt displayed towards resolutions of this Assembly as well as those of the Security Council, and the continued occupation of Arab lands by Israeli forces, which constitute the most serious threat to peace and security in the Middle East.

28. The United Republic of Tanzania accepts that Israel, as much as any other State, has the right to exist in peace. But it does not have the right to occupy the territory of its neighbours, and as long as Israel continues to occupy the Arab lands it is not possible to have peace and security in the Middle East. It is imperative that the international community should take more concrete measures to ensure that the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 is fulfilled. Only then can we hope to avoid another conflagration in that area.

29. My delegation notes with profound concern the continuation of the Nigeria-Biafra war. By now the international community is fully aware of the magnitude of the suffering which is involved in this genocidal conflict. It is not necessary for me to remind this Assembly that, for over fifteen months, this terrible slaughter has been continuing. Even the most conservative estimates speak of the massacre of thousands of innocent people, to say nothing of those thousands of women and children who are dying a slow and lingering death due to starvation.

30. Tanzania is convinced that there cannot be a military solution to this grave problem. Guns can cause massive extermination and severe devastation; but they cannot subdue the will of a determined people. Guns cannot convince a people that those who wield them are their friends and fellow citizens. A military conquest is no substitute for the peaceful solution of a problem of unity. It is for this reason Tanzania again appeals for an immediate cease-fire. Let this bloodshed stop now, so that the problems of rebuilding a spirit of brotherhood can be tackled.

31. But whether the war ends now, or continues for more bitter months, the United Nations cannot remain unconcerned about the suffering of those millions of Biafrans who have been made refugees within their own homeland. Let us, at the very least, find ways and means of effectively assisting in the supply and delivery of humanitarian relief supplies to the victims of this war.

32. Human conflicts may be inevitable. But the suffering, misery, and degradation which arise from these conflicts are multiplied a million times by the level of armaments which exists in the world. It is our conviction that only through general and complete disarmament can there be attained some measure of security amongst our nations, and the United Republic of Tanzania will, therefore, continue to give maximum support to all genuine endeavours in this direction. We are not so naive as to expect that this goal will be achieved quickly, or all in one step. We recognize that every limitation of armaments, or of their use, can make a contribution to this end; and we shall support every step which is really designed to reduce the threat which armaments represent. But it is not only important that steps should be taken in this matter. They must be the right steps. It is our conviction that the Treaty on the Non-

Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in its present form [*see resolution 2373 (XXII)*] is not a step in the right direction. On the contrary, it is an exercise in self-delusion and Tanzania is unable to indulge in it.

33. We had hoped, in connexion with a non-proliferation treaty, that the nuclear Powers would make visible endeavours to reciprocate that surrender of rights which the non-nuclear Powers were being asked to make. For the events in the world over recent years and months give us no reason to trust vague assurances of goodwill. Specifically, the United Republic of Tanzania had wished to see a definite and categorical pledge by the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States under any circumstances.

34. During the debate in the First Committee at the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, at the 1570th meeting, the Tanzanian delegation spoke on the question of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is not my intention to repeat that statement. But our call for a greater spread of the uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes does not allow us to accept the beggar-and-benefactor arrangements envisaged in the present non-proliferation Treaty. We continue to believe that atomic energy can be of great importance in the struggle for economic development, and we believe that it is of the greatest importance that all countries—without discrimination—should have access to it. We are fully aware of the possibility that States may misuse atomic energy and convert it from peaceful to warlike purposes. For that reason we are in full support of all the international machinery which may exist, or could be instituted, to prevent such actions. But this machinery must apply to all; it must not discriminate against the weaker nations. It is for such reasons that we cannot accept the proposals in the present Treaty.

35. The fact that we cannot accept the present non-proliferation Treaty does not mean that we have become uninterested in disarmament. I must stress that fact. We are very interested, and we shall continue to watch, and to participate in, the disarmament discussions at Geneva and elsewhere. Our concern is that every step along the road to disarmament shall be a genuine one.

36. Let me turn now to the problems of development; for the world economic situation provides very little possibility of comfort for the developing nations. We have seen a continuation of the trend whereby the terms of international trade move more and more in favour of the developed nations of the north. The prices of manufactured and capital investment goods continue to rise, and the prices of primary products remain static or fall. This situation nullified the constant efforts which developing nations are making to improve the lives and welfare of their peoples. In addition, foreign aid from developed countries continues to decline—in absolute as well as in real terms. This is happening despite the pledges by the developed countries to maintain foreign aid at a level of about 1 per cent of their gross national products. The pledges exist; the action does not honour them.

37. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development¹ was clearly a failure. I think it

would be absurd for us to pretend otherwise. Despite the great efforts made, nothing concrete or substantial emerged from the New Delhi meeting. That was the more to be regretted because the first UNCTAD meeting had set the tone and had laid down the general directions of principle and policy which should govern a new—and more equitable—order of international trade.

38. Many reasons have been put forward for the failure of our development efforts so far. Some have argued that it is due to the expense of armaments and the so-called “local wars” with which our world is plagued. Some have attributed the failure to balance-of-payments problems and devaluations of currency among the developed nations. Some have maintained that the lack of a sense of self-reliance and horizontal integration of the economies of the developing nations lies at the root of the failure to reform international economics. Still other explanations have been put forward: the reluctance of the advanced industrialized nations to increase the prices they pay for primary products or to receive more manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from developing countries without insisting upon reciprocity; the reduction of aid; the lack of effort to stabilize market prices of both manufactured and primary products; and so on. Perhaps the truth is that all those things are involved and that action on any one could help to deal with this problem. Yet, underlying all the failures, is a failure of will, as well as a failure by the world to recognize the importance of the present inequity in international economic relations. If the will to reform existed, the real and technical problems would be half-way to solution.

39. In fact, it appears to my delegation that the failure of the United Nations Development Decade to lead to great advances in development may have occurred because emphasis was placed on the wrong things. The major emphasis was placed upon the improvement and achievement of the basic condition of man in this era of modern technology. In the last decade man has made great conquests in outer space. We have refined and extended the power of weapons of destruction. We are in the process of conquering the vast domain of the deep sea and ocean floor. Great buildings and vast engineering projects have been undertaken. However, the basic condition of man remains as wretched as ever; the uplift of human dignity has found but few champions. In our development plans we have tended to forget the purpose of development.

40. In the coming years let us rearrange our priorities. Let us put the dignity and worth of the human person—everywhere in the world—at the top of our list of priorities. Let us deal with man and men's problems.

41. There is only one other thing I have to say to this Assembly today and, in this connexion, I am unfortunately forced to repeat what has been said many times before by the Tanzanian delegations to this Assembly. It has also been said by many other delegations. I refer to the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China from this Assembly and from the other organs of the United Nations. By the constitution of this Organization the people of China have an important and honoured place. It is absurd that, more than nineteen years after the Chinese people replaced their Government by one more to their liking, this

¹ Held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

Assembly should pretend they are represented by the Government they discarded. It is time we corrected this anomaly and reinstated the representatives of the People's Republic of China in their rightful place. Only when we have done so will our talk of self-determination, of nationality, of peace and of disarmament begin to make sense; for these things cannot be given proper consideration while the most populous nation of the world is excluded and while a powerful nuclear State is prevented from participating in our deliberations. At this session, as at previous sessions, Tanzania will co-operate fully with those delegations that are working to correct this deliberate attempt to reduce the effectiveness of the United Nations.

42. As the twenty-third session of the General Assembly coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, it would be fitting that Member States of this Organization pledge themselves to work with renewed vigour and dynamism for the elimination of injustice and oppression in all its forms. On behalf of Tanzania, I make that pledge.

43. Mr. ZAHEDI (Iran): I should like first of all to congratulate Mr. Arenales on his election to the presidency of this Assembly. The Iranian delegation views his election as both an affirmation of the increasing contribution that Guatemala is making to world affairs and a tribute to the personal qualities as a statesman and diplomat which he has displayed so consistently in the course of his long association with this Organization. It is our earnest hope that, under his guidance, the twenty-third session of the General Assembly will make substantial progress towards resolving some of the problems that have confronted this Organization for a long time.

44. I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the outstanding and dedicated service rendered by his predecessor, my dear colleague Mr. Corneliu Manescu of Romania, whose able and objective guidance of the very difficult debates during the last session have earned him our esteem and admiration. His skill, discretion and wisdom became familiar to us all and he was unanimously hailed as a spokesman for moderation.

45. I should now like to say a word about the recent earthquake in my country, as a result of which over 10,000 people lost their lives and many thousands became homeless and had their lives disrupted. In this painful hour of trial, we were assisted morally and materially by Governments and peoples from all corners of the earth. In expressing our profound appreciation for the spontaneous and generous response with which help and relief were poured into Iran, I shall also like to point this out as a vivid example of the spirit of co-operation and solidarity that could exist among all nations of the world.

46. The last session of the General Assembly met in a gloomy atmosphere. Confronted, as we are now, by the continued existence of numerous situations of actual or threatened armed conflict, by failures in the economic field and an increasing disenchantment throughout the world with the efficacy of the United Nations in fulfilling its basic responsibilities, we are unhappily conscious of the fact that we have made no real progress in solving these problems. However, in our preoccupation with persistent international

crises, we should not fail to note some of the encouraging achievements made in other areas.

47. In this respect, the relentless efforts of our distinguished Secretary-General should be praised. His personal dedication to the principles of justice and peace is worthy of the esteem and admiration of all of us.

48. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*see resolution 2373 (XXII)*] certainly represents a positive step on the road to nuclear disarmament. We can also draw encouragement from the intensified national and international efforts in the field of human rights which culminated in the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran in April and May of this year.

49. The progress in developing provisions governing exploration of outer space, and the examination of the question of reserving the sea-bed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes hold great promise for the future of mankind.

50. However, our lack of success in assaulting the imperative and urgent problems that confront us now overshadows these gains. As we begin this session, the world is faced with dangerous and destructive conflicts that are just as far from being resolved today as they were when we met a year ago. The war in Viet-Nam continues. Efforts to resolve the problems of the Middle East in the aftermath of the war continue to be frustrated. In addition, this year we have witnessed the development of a new situation in Europe. The Development Decade and the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have proved to be, to all intents and purposes, failures. We have failed, in short, to make progress in the vital areas of peace-keeping and peace-building.

51. I should like, therefore, to turn my attention briefly to each of these areas and begin, more specifically, by addressing myself to one of the accomplishments which affect the safety and survival of the whole human race—the problem of preventing the spread and use of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is the fruit of a good deal of hard work. The conclusion of such a treaty was vital. While we recognize that this Treaty will open the way to negotiations on the basic problems of disarmament and stopping the nuclear arms race, it has not entirely fulfilled our hopes or calmed our anxiety.

52. As events during the past few years eroded our confidence in the efficacy of this Organization as the guardian of our security, the importance of security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States has played an increasingly important role in our consideration of the non-proliferation provisions. My Government would have liked to see non-proliferation and security assurances as parallel, inseparable and integral parts of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

53. It is, therefore, a matter of deep regret for my Government that the Conference of the Non-Nuclear-Weapon States was unable to fulfil its promise of devising a solution for the problem of the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States. Its failure was neither a surprise nor a set-back. The Conference does not represent a final trial,

but rather a first effort. We dare not be dissuaded by its results, nor could we evade its hard realities. The time is, therefore, now, for all States, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, to try once again, more realistically and less selfishly, to build together this essential ingredient of the régime of non-proliferation. For its realization so much time and energy have been consumed, and by its failure we shall all suffer. I do not wish, however, to minimize the importance of the contributions made by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, especially in the area of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

54. The polarized power and the gap between the industrial and under-developed nations threaten the vital interests of all nations, both rich and poor, and the development of conditions for creating a stable world community. The glaring disparities in the living standards which separate the developing nations and industrial Powers are paralleled by the abhorrent gulf that still separates millions of human beings from the full enjoyment of their basic human rights. The importance of this inter-relationship was recognized again at the recent International Human Rights Conference in Teheran and was eloquently reflected in the Conference's various resolutions as well as in the Proclamation of Teheran.²

55. In fact, this historic and solemn document is the first text of its kind which does not limit itself to freedoms in the "classical" sense, but covers a broad range of economic, social and cultural rights. It is an oath by the international community reflecting the common will to accomplish the full realization of human rights in order to eliminate from our planet the evils of illiteracy, racism, violence, hunger and disease.

56. We are well aware of the shortcomings of that Proclamation, but we also believe that twenty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights such a proclamation had to be adopted. Indeed, it was imperative to show to the world that, despite the existing differences, the notion of human rights remains one and indivisible.

57. The Teheran Proclamation represents the aspirations of a new generation, marked by the experience acquired during the last two decades. By its wide contents which cover a multitude of problems varying from *apartheid* to disarmament, from illiteracy to the ever-widening gap between poor and rich nations, the Proclamation reflects the necessities as well as the hopes of our time.

58. I should like to reiterate, once again, that we condemn the policy of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and the continued denial of the right of self-determination to subjugated peoples. We endorse the right of all people to self-determination and the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms. We reaffirm our view that the gap between the developed and the developing countries impedes the realization of human rights in the international community. It is imperative for every nation to make the maximum effort to close that gap.

59. I should now like to turn to yet another and more immediate concern of the world community and this Organization—to those obstacles which preclude our enjoyment of peace.

60. Although the bitter war in Viet-Nam still constitutes a matter of the gravest concern to the international community, it is gratifying to note that a door has, at last, been opened to negotiations. The position of my Government on this issue has had public expression before. While, to date, no substantive progress appears to have been made, I believe that the very initiation of those talks is an important first step along the road to the end of the war.

61. The Middle East crisis, which continues unabated, is, naturally, uppermost in our mind. The danger that this tragic and explosive situation represents to peace and over-all progress in the area cannot be overstated. The tragedy inherent in the fact that more than a year has elapsed since the end of the Arab-Israeli war without a solution of the problems or any changes in the *status quo*, reproaches us, threatens the lives of millions of innocent victims as well as the hopes for peace in the area, and blights the development of constructive and co-operative relations not only in the area but throughout the world.

62. At the last session of the General Assembly, we rejected war as a means of settling disputes. We agreed that titles obtained by force could not be recognized as valid. No State must be allowed to extend its frontiers as a result of war. We called for arrangements to be made for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories, and opposed the unilateral measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem. We stressed the urgency of implementing the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on this question. My country follows developments in that area with a sense of anxiety for the future and sympathy for the innocent people who are the first victims of war.

63. In our view, it is only through the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations in this respect, and in particular the resolution of the Security Council, adopted on 22 November 1967, that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East can become a reality. Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, charged with the difficult task of paving the way for the implementation of this resolution, has already earned our high esteem. In paying tribute to him for his tireless efforts and great diplomatic skill, I wish to express the hope that he will, in the end, overcome the difficulties that have so far marred his mission.

64. The developments in Czechoslovakia have also given rise to international concern and disquiet. For our part, the position of my Government has been made abundantly clear by its prompt reaction to that situation. It is our view that the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia, which has taken place without an appeal from the legal government of that country, is unjustifiable. My Government hopes that a just and equitable solution safeguarding the rights of the Czech nation like those of any other independent nation, and in accordance with the wishes of the people, will be found.

65. Another field in which the United Nations failed to achieve concrete results is that of peace-keeping operations.

² See *Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights, Teheran, 22 April to 13 May 1968*, (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.XIV.2), pp. 3-5.

Here we must be honest with ourselves about the very real limitations that exist as far as our ability to take effective action is concerned. While we, the Members of the General Assembly, may vote for peace-keeping operations and for resolutions containing clauses which would require enforcement action for their implementation, we are, none the less, essentially cast in the role of the public forum.

66. By giving expression to the conscience, outrage, hopes and expectations of the world, we can only hope to persuade the Security Council to take action to enforce the peace and suppress acts of aggression. The hesitation of the Security Council to approve peace-keeping and enforcement operations makes it our paramount duty to improve the machinery for peace-keeping and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

67. It goes without saying that, unless our world Organization is transformed into a truly viable and effective machinery for peace, as it was intended to be, the international community will continue to be plagued by an ever-increasing recurrence of crises. It is equally axiomatic to say that, had the United Nations succeeded in firmly establishing the rule of law in place of the rule of force, many of the conflicts, especially armed conflicts, could have been averted. But United Nations success depends largely on the actions of its Members, especially with respect to their obligations under the Charter. Only through a strict observance of the basic principles enshrined in the Charter—in particular, the pledge to refrain from the use of force and to refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of other States—can we ever hope to approach the establishment of the rule of law. Here, those Powers which both in practice and under the Charter have undertaken a large share of the responsibility for the maintenance of peace could do much to create the necessary conditions under which nations would be deterred from resort to force.

68. The Government of Iran believes that the maintenance of peace is a collective responsibility, requiring the co-operation of all. My Government is ready to participate in such efforts, and I should like to reaffirm today the pledge we made some time ago to place permanent peace-keeping forces at the disposal of the United Nations, whenever such forces might be required.

69. I should now like to turn to a matter of equal importance to peace and stability in the world: the question of economic development.

70. Many believed that the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would give new impetus to international co-operation in the field of development. Many hoped that as a result of the consultations between donor and recipient countries a new sense of purpose would be injected into the first United Nations Development Decade, as well as the preparations for the second.

71. There was a general expectation that recognition of the fundamental truth that economic development is a joint endeavour, depending for its success on the effective interrelationship between both developed and developing countries, would persuade the developed countries to

accommodate the exports of developing countries, ease conditions for aid, and increase the volume of assistance offered.

72. The second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a failure. The industrial countries would not, or could not, commit themselves to the trade and aid provisions that would ensure a prosperous future for all. That goal, we are firmly convinced, must form the basis of the second Development Decade.

73. However, as far as Iran is concerned, we have made significant economic and social progress during the first Development Decade. As a result of intensive efforts in the social, political and economic fields and by the institution of far-reaching revolutionary reforms, our economy is developing rapidly. Iran's gross national product last year increased by almost 12 per cent. Joined with our neighbours, Pakistan and Turkey, in regional co-operation for development, we have already seen favourable evidence of the advantages that each of our countries would enjoy from co-operative efforts in economic and trade fields.

74. We have already begun the implementation of our fourth five-year development plan, in which great attention is being focussed on the development of the industrial sector. In other areas the use of army conscripts in literacy, health and development programmes continues to yield important results. It is, in fact, the success of this campaign which affords our young recruits an opportunity to contribute to various social development programmes.

75. But, in this age of international interdependence, we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world and remain indifferent to the sufferings and miseries of others. In our view, happiness can be fully enjoyed only when one can at the same time witness the prosperity of others. It has been with this sense of solidarity that His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr has, on several occasions, recommended the direction of the altruism and capabilities of volunteers to a broad spectrum of human welfare programmes. In June 1968 in an address before Harvard University my august Sovereign observed:

“I propose the creation of an international organization to be known by some such name as the Universal Welfare Legion, in which individuals irrespective of country, class, race, religion, sex, age, economic level or social status will render service. Their only common denominator will be the fact they should have decided to devote a part of their lives to the service of mankind. The headquarters for the general administration of this organization should be attached exclusively to the United Nations; that is, to the greatest organization which has been created internationally to serve the whole of humanity.

“Let those who wish to devote themselves to the service of humanity”—His Imperial Majesty went on to say—“gather together and make the voice of selfless service reach the ears of hundreds of millions of their shelterless, despondent brothers and sisters throughout the world.”

76. This eloquent appeal for all men of conscience to enter the arena and join their combined strength against the destructive forces of apathy, hopelessness and belligerency defines and summarizes, I believe, the noble goals of this

Organization, as well as the ardent hopes of men throughout the world. It is on this note of hope and expectation that I wish to conclude my statement.

77. Mr. TOIV (Mongolian People's Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you most heartily on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, and to wish you every success in carrying out that responsible duty. The Mongolian delegation has great pleasure in adding its voice to those speakers who have paid a tribute to the President of the last session of the General Assembly, Mr. Corneliu Ciobanescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

78. The present, twenty-third, session of the General Assembly comes at a time when the international situation is complex and tense.

79. The war waged by the United States in Viet-Nam, the unredressed and worsening consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab States and other imperialist intrigues against the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in various parts of the world continue to aggravate the international situation and to hinder the solution of urgent present-day problems, thus increasing the threat to world peace and security.

80. The colonial war still being waged by the United States against the people of Viet-Nam is causing growing concern throughout the world. The United States Government continues to disregard the world-wide outcry against this barbarous war.

81. Almost six months have elapsed since official discussions initiated by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam opened in Paris between that country and the United States on the cessation of bombing operations and all other military action against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. A satisfactory solution of this problem would open the way to a political settlement in Viet-Nam and to the restoration of peace in South-East Asia. However, through the fault of the United States Government, no progress has so far been made.

82. The United States side, in fact, refuses to discuss the basic issue constructively, but resorts to delaying tactics and procrastination in order to gain time to prepare for a further escalation of its aggression in Viet-Nam.

83. At the same time, the United States representatives, referring to President Johnson's statement of 31 March 1968 on the so-called limitation of bombing in North Viet-Nam, have been calling upon the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to exercise matching restraint or reciprocity. This is clearly an attempt to obliterate the distinction between aggressor and victim. Moreover, the United States is trying to obtain at the negotiating table what it cannot win on the battlefield. This shows what the United States representatives really mean when they speak of securing an "honourable peace" in Viet-Nam.

84. The position of the Mongolian People's Republic on the Viet-Nam problem is clear. The United States has unleashed a colonial war against the people of Viet-Nam. It

must stop that aggression if it really desires a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam problem. The United States must unconditionally cease its bombing and other military operations against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. This is not merely the latter country's legitimate standpoint, which it has steadfastly upheld at the Paris talks; it is the demand of peace-loving opinion throughout the world, including a broad cross-section of the people of the United States. The progress of the Paris talks depends on the United States alone.

85. The attempts of the United States to settle the Viet-Nam question by force have no prospect of success and are doomed to failure. People fighting for a just cause are invincible. The heroic people of Viet-Nam, helped and supported by the socialist countries and all progressive forces throughout the world, are fully determined to uphold to the end their inalienable right to independent development along the path of peace and progress. This is borne out by the powerful and telling blows which Viet-Nam's armed forces and people have dealt the aggressor and which materially changed the situation in Viet-Nam in 1968.

86. The Mongolian People's Republic will continue to give the people of Viet-Nam every possible assistance and support in its just struggle against United States aggression, for its homeland, for the cause of peace and for its national independence and social progress.

87. We consider that the well-known four-point proposals put forward by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the political programme of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, which are based on the 1954 Geneva Agreements, provide an equitable basis for a political solution to the Viet-Nam problem.

88. The Mongolian delegation wishes to emphasize in particular that the United States must recognize the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam as the only legitimate representative of the people of South Viet-Nam. This is a major factor in the settlement of the Viet-Nam problem.

89. The situation in the Middle East is becoming increasingly alarming as a result of Israel's continued aggression against the Arab countries. Israel not only retains possession of the territories it has seized, but is stepping up its acts of provocation against those countries. Israel's rulers are thus openly defying the clearly expressed wishes of the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, and brazenly refuse to implement the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. Tel Aviv would obviously never have dared to do this had it not felt that it had the support of certain Western Powers, especially the United States of America.

90. The United Nations must take decisive, effective steps to redress the consequences of Israel's aggression—first and foremost by ensuring that Israel's forces are immediately and unconditionally withdrawn from occupied Arab territories to the other side of the demarcation lines existing up to 5 June 1967. Only such a step will pave the way for lasting stability in the Middle East, based on recognition of and respect for the right of each State in that region to

independent existence and on the principle of territorial inviolability and integrity. In this connexion, we wish to state that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the constructive proposal of the United Arab Republic for step-by-step implementation of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967.

91. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic still strongly condemn Israel's expansionist policy and resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab peoples in defence of their countries' independence and territorial integrity. We in Mongolia follow with genuine fellow-feeling the Arab countries' efforts to strengthen Arab unity in the struggle to restore peace in the Middle East and defend their own vital interests.

92. The imperialists' policy of overt interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and suppression of national liberation movements is creating more sources of tension in other parts of the world.

93. United States occupation forces and the puppet régime of Chung Hee Park have turned South Korea into a base from which the United States can pursue its policy of aggression in the Far East and South-East Asia. The United States and the South Korean régime continually violate the terms of the armistice in Korea and intensify their acts of armed provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Clear proof of this is the incident involving the United States spy ship, *Pueblo*, which was caught red-handed in the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

94. We believe that the basic condition for eliminating this dangerous source of tension and enabling the Korean people themselves to settle the question of their country's peaceful reunification is still the immediate withdrawal from South Korea of United States and other foreign forces which are there in the guise of so-called "United Nations forces". In accordance with this belief, the Mongolian People's Republic and ten other countries proposed that the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly should again include an item entitled: "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations" [A/7184 and Add.1-2]. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the notorious "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" should be dissolved. Satisfactory solutions to these problems would help to ease tension in the Far East.

95. My delegation wishes to state once again that the constructive proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis are entirely in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people and the promotion of peace in that part of the world.

96. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the increasingly frequent encroachment by United States armed forces on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia and Laos. These criminal acts are likely to extend the colonial war in Viet-Nam to the whole of Indochina.

97. The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian country, views with great concern the schemes of the United States and its Asian allies to strengthen its military and strategic position in Asia and the Pacific and, in particular, to consolidate and expand the Asian and Pacific Council as a military-political bloc.

98. A characteristic feature of the present world situation is the increasing activity of the most reactionary and aggressive protagonists of imperialism in the face of the irresistible growth and consolidation of anti-imperialist and progressive forces. Meeting stiffer opposition in such overt adventures as the colonial war being waged by the United States in Viet-Nam, they are resorting to more devious means of pursuing their evil designs against the forces of peace and social progress.

99. The so-called "bridge-building" policy, with its Bonn version, the "new Eastern policy", towards the socialist countries is the king-pin of world imperialism's global strategy. The imperialists spare no effort to intensify subversive activities and ideological sabotage against the socialist countries and to dismember the socialist system, which is the decisive factor opposing imperialist reaction and a reliable bulwark of the peoples in their struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

100. The unseemly commotion created in the Security Council by the Western Powers over the events in Czechoslovakia, and the defamatory remarks of their representatives here in the General Assembly about the Soviet Union and its allies clearly reflect the consternation and mortification of the imperialists at the collapse of their ambitious plans to prise Czechoslovakia out of the socialist system. Their behaviour has again exposed their insidious schemes to the whole world.

101. In the present situation, where all problems of an international nature are ultimately linked to the struggle between the forces of reaction and war, on the one hand, and those of peace, progress and socialism, on the other, the help given by five socialist States to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the defence of its socialist achievements not only met the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people, but was also a timely and effective step in defence of the world socialist system, and of peace in Europe and throughout the world. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic therefore resolutely supported the position taken by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic in rendering fraternal aid to the Czechoslovak people in their hour of need.

102. The question of European security plays an important part in the efforts to strengthen world peace and avert the threat of a new world war.

103. A key issue in the matter of European security is still the peaceful settlement of the German problem, which can only be based on recognition of the European frontiers established as a result of the Second World War and of the co-existence of two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. European security cannot be regarded as sound so long as

the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany continues to claim the exclusive right to represent the entire German nation and to redraw the map of Europe. The danger of this policy, which has made Western Germany the main source of a new threat in Europe, is heightened by the fact that revanchist and neo-nazi forces are becoming increasingly active in the Federal Republic of Germany.

104. The existence of the German Democratic Republic, the German people's first worker-peasant State, exercises an important restraining influence on the dangerous trend in Western Germany.

105. The Government of the German Democratic Republic firmly and consistently pursues a policy of international peace, friendship and co-operation, thus making a constructive contribution to European security.

106. The interests of peace and security in Europe, where two devastating world wars have broken out, require all European States, irrespective of differences in their political and social systems, to strive to establish a system of collective security. The 1966 Bucharest Declaration of the Socialist States³ and other constructive proposals made by those countries offer a sound basis for a satisfactory solution to this important issue.

107. In the present international situation, the most important task in safeguarding international peace and security is to eliminate the threat of nuclear war by stopping the arms race and banning and destroying nuclear weapons. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] was an important step which helped to create favourable conditions for progress towards nuclear disarmament. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic was among the first to sign that Treaty, regarding it as an international instrument expressing the desire and determination of all peoples to prevent the perilous spread of weapons of mass destruction.

108. In our view, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons accords with the interests of all countries and imposes mutual obligations on nuclear and non-nuclear Powers alike. The early signature and ratification of this Treaty is therefore of great importance for strengthening world peace.

109. New measures must be taken soon to stop the arms race and bring about nuclear disarmament. Of great significance in this respect is the memorandum of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning certain urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament [*A/7134*], which was placed on the agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly as an urgent and important matter.

110. The Mongolian delegation considers that this memorandum contains constructive proposals and is a clearly defined programme for the efforts of peace-loving

forces to avert the threat of a nuclear war and to create favourable conditions for general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government is again introducing—in addition to proposals on other pressing disarmament problems—a proposal for prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons [*1679th meeting, para. 41*]. This is a particularly timely move, as the United States is using chemical weapons in Viet-Nam. We fully share the concern expressed by many representatives here about the accelerating pace of chemical and bacteriological armament in a number of Western countries, especially the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

111. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic still believes that the United Nations must make more strenuous efforts to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. The year 1970 will see the tenth anniversary of this historic decision by the United Nations; before then effective measures must be taken to liberate the fifty million human beings who are still languishing under the yoke of colonialist and racist régimes.

112. Our Government is deeply concerned at the failure to implement many important United Nations decisions in regard to decolonization and the eradication of racism and its most evil manifestation, *apartheid*. The main reason for such an anomalous situation is the opposition of the alliance of colonial Powers and racist régimes. A particularly serious situation has developed in southern Africa. The illegal régime in Rhodesia and the racists in the Republic of South Africa, allied with the Portuguese colonists and backed by the imperialist Powers, are not only strengthening the colonial bastion in that region, but are increasingly threatening the independent States of the African continent. This threat must be countered primarily by united efforts on the part of all Africa's anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

113. We also believe that a major counter-measure to the joint efforts of the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism should be closer and fuller co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in implementing the United Nations Declaration and other decisions on decolonization.

114. An important place in the Organization's activities should be assigned to problems of international economic co-operation and of strengthening the economic independence of new States. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at New Delhi showed that the United Nations will have to make further efforts to promote equitable and mutually advantageous economic co-operation among States, regardless of their social and economic structure, in order to eliminate the invidious system of discrimination in international trade and to create conditions conducive to the economic advancement of the developing countries.

115. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of strengthening the United Nations as an instrument for peace and international co-operation, and is opposed to any attempts to violate or revise the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Observance of the principle of the universality of the United Nations is of major importance.

³ Declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe, signed at the Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, held at Bucharest, 4-6 July 1966.

116. Our delegation, as in the past, advocates the speediest restoration of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek régime from all United Nations bodies.

117. The Mongolian People's Republic is also in favour of admitting both German States to the United Nations. The German Democratic Republic, which informed the United Nations long ago of its desire to become a Member of this Organization,⁴ fully complies with the Charter requirements regarding membership. The firm adherence of the German Democratic Republic to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, its consistent

⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1966, document S/7192.*

efforts to promote international peace and security, and its extensive international co-operation, backed by a high degree of economic, scientific and technological potential, are proof that the country would be an active and effective Member of this Organization.

118. I have briefly outlined our Government's views on certain basic international problems, which are burning issues in the present-day world. The agenda, of course, includes many items on which my delegation has not given its views, although they are unquestionably of great interest to us, and we hope to have an opportunity to speak about them in due course.

119. I would like to assure you that the Mongolian delegation will, as in the past, do its utmost to contribute fully to the success of this session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.