

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



**1958th
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 8 October 1971,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Tribute to the memory of Mr. Ramón Villeda Morales, Permanent Representative of Honduras to the United Nations	1
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Kyi (Burma)	1
Speech by Mr. Rinchin (Mongolian People's Republic) . .	4
Speech by Mr. Ofori-Atta (Ghana)	7
Speech by Mr. Shevel (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Repub- lic)	12
Speech by Mr. Potolot (Central African Republic)	16

President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Ramón Villeda Morales,
Permanent Representative of Honduras to the United Nations*

1. The PRESIDENT: We have just learned, with regret, of the sudden death of Mr. Ramón Villeda Morales, Permanent Representative of Honduras to the United Nations.

2. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to extend to his family and to the Government and people of Honduras our profound condolences.

On the proposal of the President, the members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

3. Mr. KYI (Burma): Mr. President, it is my privilege to extend to you the warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma, as well as my own personal congratulations, on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Our sense of satisfaction on your election has been enhanced by our confidence that your wide experience in the affairs of the community of nations will prove to be particularly valuable in discharging the heavy responsibilities that lie upon you as President of this Assembly. We are hopeful that, with the benefit of your wise counsel and able guidance, the General Assembly will be able to consider constructively the very important issues that face it in a year characterized by significant developments in the relations between nations, and that it will act positively in order to provide both the impulse and the momentum towards achieving true international understanding and international co-operation.

4. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey my delegation's sincere appreciation to Mr. Edvard Hambro

who, as President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, assumed the major responsibility for organizing the work of the commemorative session of the Assembly so that it might be imbued with lasting significance.

5. The United Nations has from time to time come in for searching criticism; yet mankind continues to put its faith in the world Organization. An international organization of a universal character has indeed become a necessity of modern international life and there is no alternative to the United Nations.

6. It would of course be unrealistic to expect the United Nations, which is but a product of the nation-State system and is in no sense a supra-national organization, to remain aloof from the conflicts of national interests and of power politics which exist today and which are bound to arise in the future. It is, therefore, obvious that the United Nations can succeed in the pursuit of its noble purposes only in proportion as Member States become willing to subordinate whatever conflicting political or ideological interests may still divide them to the common purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

7. It is a truism that peace and security are the consequence of man's noblest achievement, a generally accepted system of law; and Member States of the United Nations are committed to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained. Yet the United Nations system of peace and security, which envisages the collective enforcement of the rules of international law by the community of nations, has never had much of a chance to operate. The result has been that the basic purpose of the world Organization to maintain international peace and security through effective collective measures remains largely Utopian.

8. The virtual failure of the United Nations system of peace implies the pertinacity of balance-of-power politics. Mankind has to stake once again the maintenance of international peace and security on a precarious balance of power which is mainly a bipolar balance. In this situation, while the possibility of total war is minimized, the dangers of local conflicts have become magnified. The world has thus had occasion to witness the phenomenon of limited wars for limited objectives, to which States other than super-Powers become direct victims. However, there is always present in such limited wars the risk of escalation into a total war, which even super-Powers cannot hope to escape.

9. Fortunately for the world, the two super-Powers, despite their ideological incompatibility and their unresolved conflicts—mostly indirect—in certain parts of the

world, particularly in Europe, East Asia and the Middle East, have developed a strong common interest in preventing the outbreak of nuclear war. It therefore continues to be in the national interests of both to prevent or limit international conflicts in places where both are directly or indirectly involved and where the conflicts might escalate into nuclear war.

10. There are also encouraging signs that significant external and internal pressures operate on both the super-Powers to re-examine their relationships and their legitimate interests and commitments and to determine to what extent they can co-operate in the maintenance of international peace and security rather than persist in fruitless yet costly confrontation.

11. While, over the next decade or so, the effective responsibility for international peace and security may continue to rest very largely with the two super-Powers, either in co-operation or in competition, or in some ambiguous combination of the two, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is not within the power of the super-Powers alone to bring about by peaceful means a lasting adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which today cause international tensions and which might lead to breaches of the peace and imperil the security of all.

12. It has been in the cards for some time now that other centres of power will arise in the world, centres which can provide an element of flexibility for the bipolar balance of the present and even transform it, in the course of time, into a multiple or world balance of power. This is all the more likely as the world today is experiencing a revolution with respect to the place and meaning of force in relations between States. Major Powers are finding themselves in a paradoxical situation in which the development of very destructive weapons operates as a *de facto* restraint on the use of military power. With the advent of nuclear weapons in particular, military power seems less meaningful in State relations.

13. Accordingly, it seems to the delegation of Burma that a view of world politics based on the balance of power affords too narrow a perspective for comprehending the sweep of history and the forces which have shaped and will continue to shape international political behaviour in our age. The consideration of State relations would, in our view, be more meaningful if the focus of attention were not merely on power but also on the sources and well-springs of values and goals which today unite and divide nations.

14. It cannot be denied that there is a growing community of shared values among nations, and this is at least equally as significant as the revolutionary changes in the place and meaning of force in inter-State relations. Increasing co-operation among nations and even integration in some cases would therefore seem to be the trend of the future, and the United Nations may yet play an increasing role in spear-heading international co-operation not only in promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples but also in safeguarding international peace and security.

15. In this changing international situation, it is highly significant that the United States of America and the

People's Republic of China have come to adopt a realistic approach to the question of their relationship and, hopefully, to the various issues that have divided them. This development may well have far-reaching implications not only for the peace and stability of East Asia but also for the world generally.

16. Let me now turn to the subject of disarmament.

17. In the time that has elapsed since the last Assembly, the international arena has been marked by fresh initiatives which give a reasonable basis for hope that the impasse in disarmament negotiations will at last be ended.

18. After a year and a half of bilateral negotiations at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] concerning the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapon systems, it is gratifying to note that the two major nuclear Powers have reached an understanding on the framework of future negotiations by agreeing to secure early agreement on the issue of defensive anti-ballistic missile weapons, while making parallel progress on the limitation of offensive weapons. Burma hopes that the impulse generated by this welcome first step will prove productive in the entire scope of the negotiations.

19. At the same time it is a disturbing fact that the same nuclear Powers are vigorously pushing ahead in the qualitative improvement of nuclear arms, concurrent to their efforts in SALT, thus placing no brake on the current arms race. As weapons develop in effectiveness, they also tend to outgrow current possibilities of control and pose completely new problems for negotiations. Such developments militate against the reaching of solutions. In the light of this concern, surely it would not be asking too much to urge the two nuclear Powers to co-operate and halt their nuclear arms race as an urgent matter.

20. Among other things this means the complete cessation of all nuclear weapons tests. A comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty is the most important disarmament measure needed to help dispel some of the factors that fuel the arms race and to establish a climate for further progress in disarmament negotiations.

21. The current session of the General Assembly will soon consider the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [A/8457-DC/234, annex A], proposed by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. This convention, in our view, would operate as a disarmament measure for those few Powers which actually possess stockpiles of such weapons or have accumulated a vast fund of knowledge for their fabrication. Burma has all along advocated that the banning of chemical and bacteriological weapons should preferably not be mutually exclusive; we have co-operated in the banning of bacteriological weapons as an initial component of a larger process towards the ultimate elimination of chemical weapons.

22. At present, international efforts in the disarmament field are concentrated in SALT, meeting alternately at Helsinki and Vienna, and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. It is not impossible

that the recent opening of possible negotiations on mutual troop reductions between the contending blocs in Europe might yet add another arena to disarmament negotiations. All in all, the mere fact of negotiations being carried out somewhere or other would appear to offer the prospect of being interesting and of yielding possible movement in the disarmament field.

23. The improvement in the situation in Berlin serves to highlight this thinking. The four-Power talks succeed in obtaining agreement on Berlin.¹ Burma welcomes this happy turn of events as signifying an important and encouraging turn for the betterment of inter-European relations. The Berlin accord paves the way for more meaningful negotiations on the problems of European security and for the solution of broader questions affecting world peace in general.

24. The question of an international sea-bed area and of a conference on the law of the sea to be held in 1973 will again, this year, call for the concentrated attention of the Assembly. Burma recognizes the importance of the forthcoming conference. In order to ensure a constructive approach towards reaching a just and widely acceptable solution of all outstanding problems, prior systematic preparations for the conference are essential.

25. A heartening aspect is that the Assembly will again be able to register yet another step in the development of international space law. After eight prolonged years of negotiations, the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has now achieved a widely acceptable draft Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects [A/8420, para. 32]. This is the first space agreement of direct advantage to "non-space" nations. Burma supports, in principle, all United Nations efforts for the progressive formulation of international space law as serving the common interests of the international community.

26. While on the subject of space, the delegation of Burma would like to pay a high tribute to the memory of those pioneers in space, American and Soviet, who, in their selfless and courageous exploits, have made the ultimate sacrifice for country, the world and all peoples. Our full admiration and appreciation goes to those others who, at similar risk to their lives, are piercing the secrets of space so that the world may be richer in knowledge and experience.

27. I now turn to the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our family of nations. This matter is of great importance to the world community. The People's Republic of China contains almost a quarter of the human race, and it would be unrealistic for the United Nations to continue to prevent it from taking its rightful place amongst us by creating the "two-China problem". The carving out of a portion of the territory of an existing State to create artificially two Governments for a single territory is not morally right. Therefore the delegation of Burma recognizes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legal Government of China.

28. Let us decide, therefore, once and for all on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, based solely on the principles of the Charter and the realities of the situation and without emotion based on political influence or ideological differences. The delegation of Burma fervently hopes that in this way international peace, security and co-operation will once again prevail when we have solved this problem of representation successfully and truthfully.

29. The delegation of Burma has always felt that under the conflicts in Indo-China lie all the while the deeper and ultimately decisive conflicts between more powerful outside Powers. While such outside interference can prolong and aggravate the conflicts in Indo-China, we are of the view that any indigenous group or faction in Viet-Nam, or in Cambodia or Laos, which is able to mobilize and maintain effective popular support by meeting to a sufficient degree the political and economic imperatives of the evolving society will ultimately prevail. No outside Power can hope to prevent such a group from gaining power in the country, even if it so desires, and even if it is willing for a time to pour out human and material resources to that end. In the last analysis, therefore, it is not for outside Powers, but for the people of Indo-China themselves, to work out the kind of political settlement they want, which outside Powers should respect.

30. The continuation of tension in the Middle East is a matter of profound and abiding concern. Our position on this is too well known to bear any reiteration. It is our earnest appeal that all interested parties will continue to persevere in the search for a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution and that contending parties will exercise the greatest of restraint. We believe that a just and equitable solution could be reached on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which is broad enough to provide a sound basis for a political solution to the problems of the Middle East.

31. Let me now briefly deal with the twin evils of colonialism and racial discrimination with which we have been seized for more than 25 years and which have persistently defied solution in some parts of the world, particularly in southern Africa, causing enormous human misery. A continuation of this situation obviously cannot but have serious international repercussions. The delegation of Burma appeals to all the Powers which have given their support to these minority régimes in southern Africa to co-operate with the United Nations so as to bring a speedy solution to the problems.

32. Turning now to the question of the economic development of the less developed countries, it is gratifying to note the important role the United Nations has been playing in this area over the years. Organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme are also becoming increasingly active in providing technical assistance. It is our hope that the United Nations will continue to expand and strengthen its programmes of multilateral economic assistance and that further efforts will be made to make these development programmes more available to meet effectively the needs of the less developed countries in the days to come.

¹ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

33. Now that the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade has been agreed upon [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], it is of utmost importance that ways and means of implementing the strategy and tactics of development, so to speak, should be immediately formulated and put into practice. Member countries should have the political will to co-operate and to bear their responsibilities so that the high ideals and goals of the Second Development Decade will become a reality. In the view of my delegation, the continuing and increasing disparity in living standards between the developed and developing countries do not portend well for international peace and security, and indeed it would be a major tragedy if these inequalities lead to a serious North-South confrontation. Rapid progress in the economic field is therefore necessary to lessen international tensions, and it is our hope that the impending difficult economic problems that are facing the developing countries will be settled in a spirit of international co-operation, understanding and mutual benefit.

34. The world today is confronted as never before with new problems and new issues that transcend geographic and ideological borders and call for a new dimension of international co-operation. Whether the United Nations will be able to rise to this historic opportunity and play an increasing role in spearheading international action to meet these unprecedented challenges of our era will depend on each and every one of the Members of the world Organization.

35. Before concluding, the delegation of Burma would also like to take this opportunity of extending a very warm welcome to four new Members to our Organization—the Kingdom of Bhutan, the State of Bahrain, the State of Qatar and the State of Oman. We are confident that our family of nations will be further strengthened by their presence.

36. Mr. RINCHIN (Mongolian People's Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, congratulate you on your election to the high post of President of the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly and wish you every success in the performance of your important duties. I also take great pleasure in congratulating, on behalf of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, the delegations of Bahrain, Bhutan, Qatar and Oman on the admission of their countries to membership of the United Nations.

37. Since I have the honour to address this great forum for the first time and moreover as the representative of a nation which in July this year celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the achievement of its national independence and of its successful development along the path of progress and revolutionary change, I should like to begin my short statement with a few words about my country—the Mongolian People's Republic.

38. The quintessence of the historical transformation that has taken place in Mongolia over the last 50 years has been the transition of our country from a mediaeval feudal society to a socialist society, completely bypassing a whole stage in social development, that of capitalism.

39. Mongolia, where formerly nomadic cattle-breeding was almost the only branch of the national economy, has now become an agrarian-industrial State with a rapidly growing economy, a country of universal literacy with a modern culture and a constantly increasing standard of living for the people.

40. Today our nation, relying on close co-operation with fraternal socialist countries, is working towards a solution of the vast and sometimes complex problems of building a developed socialist society.

41. Since its foundation, the Mongolian People's Republic has consistently followed a policy of peace and peaceful co-operation among States. It has constantly sided with peace-loving peoples against the forces of international reaction and war and supported the struggle of oppressed and enslaved peoples. That policy stems from the very essence of socialist society and is determined by the constructive tasks of building a new life.

42. It is therefore quite natural that the Mongolian People's Republic, like the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, should believe that the cardinal issue of international life today is to maintain and strengthen universal peace and security and stave off the threat of another war. Our Government therefore welcomed the consideration by the General Assembly of the item on the strengthening of international security and the adoption of a Declaration on that question [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which has commanded wide support among the Members of the United Nations and the world community. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contains a whole series of measures which are necessary for the maintenance of peace on the basis of the strict implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The aim now is to work out specific measures and recommendations designed to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and to find a positive solution to the urgent problems of international life today, the first task being to eliminate existing hotbeds of military conflict and prevent any acts of aggression or any arbitrary conduct in international affairs.

43. This clearly means that the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security should be the major subject for consideration at this session of the General Assembly, too. In this connexion, we are glad to see that the communiqué of the consultative meeting of non-aligned countries agreed that the General Assembly should discuss the status of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security on an annual basis.

44. We feel that the task of preserving universal peace and eliminating the threat of a world-wide thermonuclear war is becoming more and more practicable and realizable as that an increasing number of favourable preconditions exist which can guide the United Nations.

45. The activization of the struggle of peoples in all countries for international security and the growth of the forces of peace and social progress are determining factors. Recognition of this genuine reality paves the way for the

normalization of international relations and the stabilization of peace. Of special importance in this connexion is the active struggle of the socialist countries against the forces of war and reaction, a struggle which they are waging in alliance with and with the co-operation of peace-loving States and the anti-imperialist democratic forces.

46. The consistency and purposefulness of the policy of the socialist countries is reflected, for example, in the comprehensive peace programme announced at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. That programme contains constructive proposals aimed at the relaxation of international tension, the achievement of new agreements on disarmament and the development of international co-operation in various spheres. The Soviet peace programme is commanding increasingly wide support and recognition throughout the world community.

47. A great responsibility rests on our Organization, which can, and must, make a real contribution to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This is even more important in the present circumstances when the world situation is becoming increasingly tense and precarious, although positive elements can be discerned in some areas.

48. The Mongolian People's Republic is vitally concerned with maintaining peace and security in Asia where acts of aggressions and flagrant interference in the affairs of the peoples of the region still persist.

49. The continuing war of aggression waged by the United States against the peoples of Indo-China is causing great concern to the peoples of the world. The United States, under the cover of the "Viet-Namization" of the war, is intensifying its punitive activities against the population of South Viet-Nam, escalating its aggression against the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and resuming the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. At the same time the United States of America is sabotaging the quadripartite Paris talks in every possible way and avoiding giving a positive reply to the constructive proposals advanced again and again by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, in particular the famous seven-point proposal which provides a practical basis for a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam problem.

50. The successes achieved in their heroic struggle by the Viet-Nameese and other peoples of Indo-China receiving increasing support from peace-loving forces convincingly demonstrate that any imperialist intrigues against the cause of national liberation and social progress are doomed to total failure.

51. The Indo-Chinese problem can be settled only on the basis of an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from the region. People throughout the world are demanding that there should be a speedy end to the neo-colonialist war against the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia and that these peoples should be given the opportunity to decide their own fate independently and without outside interference.

52. The situation in the Middle East is fraught with danger to universal peace; that that situation is still an explosive one on account of the continuing consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab Republic of Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

53. It is a well-known fact that at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly the majority of States Members of the United Nations voted in favour of resolution 2628 (XXV), calling once again for a speedy settlement of the Middle East crisis in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Yet Israel not only continues to hold the occupied Arab territories, but is also taking criminal measures with a view to the complete annexation of a large part of those lands. Tel Aviv is challenging the United Nations and world public opinion in this manner, because it has secured the political, military and financial support of the United States of America and of Zionist circles in some Western countries.

54. The Mongolian People's Republic and other peace-loving States strongly support the implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution, which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories as a first precondition for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

55. We think that the United Nations should make more energetic efforts to eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression and restore a just and lasting peace in this region in full accordance with the legitimate interests and rights of the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian Arabs.

56. There are other hotbeds of tension too. In particular, the situation in the Korean peninsula is becoming increasingly tense owing to the continuing military occupation of South Korea by the United States, the rapid rearmament of its puppet army and the fact that South Korea is being made into one of the links in the plot against the peace and tranquillity of the peoples of Asia. The United Nations must find an immediate solution to the problem of the withdrawal of American and other foreign troops from South Korea, and dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. It has a duty to do so because its flag is still being used illegally as a cover for the United States military presence in South Korea and for interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

57. The presence of occupation forces in South Korea and the existence of the so-called United Nations Commission are the major obstacles to the peaceful unification of Korea on a democratic basis. The urgent need for a positive solution to these problems is self-evident. Consequently, our delegation deeply regrets that the United Nations has postponed consideration of these problems, because that postponement is contrary to the interests of the Korean people and the aim of strengthening peace and security in that region.

58. The Mongolian People's Republic firmly supports the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem proposals which were set forth once

again in the eight points of the appeal of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

59. Another cause for concern is the development of events in the Indian subcontinent. We think that the abnormal situation which has arisen in East Pakistan should be settled through political channels in accordance with the interests of its population and on the basis of guaranteeing the safety of refugees returning home.

60. A further aggravation of the situation could not only seriously worsen relations between India and Pakistan but could also adversely affect the international climate. We hope that the leaders of those countries will display statesmanship and a spirit of mutual understanding in the interests of peace and tranquillity in the subcontinent and in Asia.

61. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that the expansion of contacts between States in Asia and the development of fruitful co-operation on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs would undoubtedly help to establish a stable peace in that part of the world.

62. In this connexion, our delegation welcomes the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union this year with the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Republic of India. We regard these instruments as an important factor which serves to strengthen peace and the spirit of co-operation in Asia and the Middle East.

63. As I have already said, the Mongolian People's Republic supports the development of normal relations between States in the general interests of strengthening peace and international co-operation.

64. In this context, dialogue between China and the United States on the normalization of relations between them does not surprise us in any way. But time will show how this "normalization" will meet the long-term interests of peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples in Asia and elsewhere.

65. Developments in Europe show that positive improvements are taking place there which could lead to a thaw and improve the climate of relations between European States. These changes have been made possible mainly through the purposeful policy and tireless efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Europe. The treaties with the Federal Republic of Germany concluded by the Soviet Union² and the Polish People's Republic³ are of great importance and reflect the reality of the political and territorial changes that have taken place in central Europe as a result of the Second World War. We believe that a rapid ratification of these treaties would enhance their constructive role in reducing tension and creating an atmosphere of trust between States in Europe and throughout the world.

66. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic shares the view that the agreement on West Berlin⁴ recently reached by the USSR, the United States, France and the United Kingdom will be a real contribution to the relaxation of tension in Europe and the improvement of the prospects for peace and security in that region. Yet another step in this direction would be the normalization of relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany based on the recognition of the non-validity of the Munich Agreement from the very outset.

67. Another constructive development is that the idea of convening an all-European conference on matters relating to security and co-operation is becoming more and more feasible. If such a conference were convened and if it were successful, it would help to reduce international tension and would establish a solid basis for a system of collective security in Europe.

68. Among the most serious causes of increased international tension are the last vestiges of colonialism, the intensified intrigues of colonialist and racist forces aimed at impeding the exercise of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

69. The situation which has developed in southern Africa is a cause of concern to the world community.

70. The United Nations must seek more effective means to ensure the full implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*].

71. Our delegation welcomes the steps taken this year to co-ordinate and combine the work of three United Nations bodies—the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia. It is to be hoped that concerted and effective measures to eliminate colonialism and racism, which derive from an inhuman ideology, will follow.

72. The strengthening of universal peace and security depends essentially on finding a solution to the problems of limiting and halting the arms race and on reaching agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control. In present circumstances, when the arms race and, in particular, the nuclear arms race is continuing unrestrained and consuming vast human and material resources, the problem of disarmament has become more urgent than ever before.

73. An important act of the last anniversary session of the General Assembly was the approval of the 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 [*resolution 2660 (XXV)*]. Our delegation welcomes the first results of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic arms. We feel that agreement on more substantive measures in this field would be a real contribution to disarmament.

² Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

³ Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

⁴ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

74. The problems of halting the nuclear arms race and averting the threat of a nuclear missile war should have a special place in the system of disarmament measures. In this context, the proposal of the Government of the USSR to convene a conference of the five nuclear Powers to consider problems of nuclear disarmament [A/8491] is most timely. Merely to convene such a conference would be an important event in that the talks would, for the first time, involve all the nuclear Powers. It would be hard to find any real justification for refusing to participate in such a conference, particularly in view of the responsibility of the nuclear Powers towards humanity.

75. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches particular importance to the Soviet proposal to convene a world disarmament conference [A/L.631]. We hope that this peaceful initiative will receive unanimous support from all States. The Mongolian delegation welcomes the position taken by the non-aligned countries which have also called for such a conference at the proper time, and with the participation of all States.

76. The Mongolian People's Republic, like other socialist countries and peace-loving States, attaches great importance to the problem of eliminating other types of weapons of mass destruction, namely, chemical and bacteriological means of warfare. We hope that at this session the General Assembly will approve the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons [A/8457-DC/234, annex A], submitted by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The real importance of this convention is that when it enters into effect it will for the first time remove from the arsenal of weapons one type of weapon of mass destruction. Once again our delegation stresses the need for an early agreement on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

77. Our delegation agrees with the view that an important factor in the strengthening of international security is the normalization of international economic relations, the development of co-operation between States on a basis of equality, mutual benefit, justice and due regard for the legitimate interests and requirements of developing countries.

78. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the fact that on the whole the position of developing countries in the capitalist economy has been noticeably deteriorating in recent years. The intensification of the monetary and financial crisis of capitalism is seriously affecting the economies of developing countries and aggravating this already difficult situation.

79. The United Nations can and must play an effective role in introducing new and just democratic principles into international economic relations and in removing artificial discriminatory barriers to the development of trade and economic co-operation between States.

80. In present conditions it is particularly important to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations. Our delegation believes that its effectiveness should be ensured above all through the strict observance of the Charter. As experience has shown, the slightest deviation from the

principles and purposes of the Charter has always dealt a blow to the prestige of our Organization and prejudiced the cause of peace and international security.

81. Another important matter is the observance of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. That principle derives from the very essence of the aims and tasks of our Organization.

82. Proceeding from this premise, we have supported and continue to support the admission to the United Nations of all independent peace-loving States which recognize the high purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and wish to participate in its activities. This could only redound to the benefit of international co-operation and result in the strengthening of the peace and security of peoples.

83. The Mongolian People's Republic continues to support the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from all United Nations bodies.

84. We support the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The crux of the matter is that the United Nations and, in particular, some of its organs, continue to discriminate against the German Democratic Republic, a socialist State on German soil. That country is making a constructive contribution to the normalization of the situation in Europe, and the strengthening of peace in that continent and throughout the world. The German Democratic Republic, as one of the highly developed countries of the world, maintains extensive political and economic ties with other countries and advocates the strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations in relations between States. Our delegation is firmly convinced that the time has come to put an end to discrimination against the German Democratic Republic.

85. May I express the hope that this twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly will contribute to the solution of the urgent problems of international life for the sake of strengthening mutual understanding and co-operation among States, and consolidating the peace and security of peoples. Any positive move by the United Nations in this direction will have the full support of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, the constant aim of whose foreign policy remains the promotion of peace and friendly co-operation among peoples.

86. Mr. OFORI-ATTA (Ghana): It is with deep regret that we have this morning learned of the death of Ambassador Morales, Permanent Representative of Honduras. I should like to extend to his family and to the delegation of Honduras our profound sympathy on their tragic loss.

87. Sir, your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly gives me the opportunity to recall the happy record of cordial relations between our two countries since we attained independence. Your election does honour not only to the dynamic people of Indonesia but also to the peoples of the third world, of which Africa forms an inseparable part. The spirit of the

African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, continues to animate our policies and forms an important part of the tenets on which our foreign policy is constructed. It is in the light of these sober reflections that I wish you to accept the sincerest congratulations of the Government and people of Ghana on your election to this high office. We are confident that your long and devoted service to your country will enable you to undertake your new and arduous task with the highest sense of statesmanship, competence and distinction.

88. While congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election to this office, I wish to extend our deepest gratitude and congratulations to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Hambro of Norway, who brought considerable experience, statesmanship and dedication to the many problems that faced the historic twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

89. Our warmest congratulations and best wishes also go to the four States—Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman—that have been admitted to membership in the United Nations within the last few days. We welcome them wholeheartedly. Ghana voted for their admission in the confident expectation that, with their rich cultural heritages and their known attributes as freedom-loving peoples, they have a valuable contribution to make to the furtherance of the objectives of this Organization.

90. The United Nations has just completed 25 years of existence. At the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the record and achievements of this Organization were reviewed. Some of the basic questions uppermost in our minds at the commemorative session concerned the way in which the United Nations could play an increasing role in the decade ahead. We were also concerned with how that role could be made more effective in the settlement of disputes and the narrowing of the ever-growing gap between the rich and the poor nations.

91. At the last session the Assembly made a considerable effort to tackle some of the major problems of the world when it adopted important documents on the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], the anniversary itself [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*], decolonization [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], international security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] and the principles of international law governing friendly relations among States [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]. Despite that achievement we must continue our self-criticism and our re-examination of the role the United Nations must continue to play in the future. Consequently, at this session of the General Assembly, the Organization must establish its priorities and begin to define precisely its strategy for the solution of the many problems that confront the Organization in the political, economic, social and humanitarian fields as well as in the area of science and technology.

92. Many speakers who preceded me addressed themselves sufficiently to the problems confronting the world. Prominent among them is the maintenance of world peace. The Ghana delegation would wish to emphasize what has been generally regarded as a vital contribution to the solution of this problem—namely, the need for a comprehensive world disarmament agreement.

93. The momentum of the armaments race and the alarmingly high expenditure it involves still remain a great burden for all mankind. It is a sad reflection on our sense of priorities—indeed it is a crime against humanity—for States to be spending more than \$200,000 million a year on the manufacture and perfection of weapons of destruction when they are unable to spend 1 per cent of their gross national product on the elimination of poverty, disease and squalor in the world. My delegation was pleased to note that the United Nations recognized the implications of that fact when, in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Assembly for the first time established a link between progress in disarmament and economic development and security.

94. That is why we must condemn the increase in the arms race and the lack of progress in disarmament. We appreciate the fact that in the field of arms control some agreements have been reached over the last few years, but we cannot conceal our disappointment at the lack of progress by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva on general and complete disarmament including the simultaneous elimination of chemical and biological weapons. In this regard we regret the inability of the nuclear Powers to reach agreement on the banning of underground nuclear tests.

95. We welcome the changed circumstances that are now making it possible for the People's Republic of China to play a useful role in disarmament affairs. We also support in principle the Soviet draft resolution proposing a world disarmament conference [*A/L.631*], which is generally in line with suggestions made by my delegation in the First Committee at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions.

96. The Ghana delegation is aware of the fact that there can be no disarmament without trust among the nations. Nor can there be peace without an effective machinery for resolving the conflicts which divide the nations. We are also aware that the United Nations, as a machinery for peace, cannot achieve the objectives for which it was established unless Member States constituting it develop confidence in its ability to do so. Consequently, the Ghana delegation supports all efforts aimed at increasing the effectiveness of this Organization and engendering mutual trust among the nations.

97. In this connexion, the Ghana delegation has followed with keen interest the efforts being made to reach settlements in the Middle East, Europe and Asia on outstanding political problems in these regions.

98. In the Middle East, Ghana is happy that the cease-fire continues. The lack of progress, however, in moving forward toward some tangible settlement of the basic issues still continues to cause my country considerable disquiet.

99. My delegation is of the view that there is danger of the Middle East issue reaching a stalemate and becoming a volcano, so to speak, which could erupt and engulf not only countries in the Middle East, but the rest of the world as well.

100. The Government of Ghana cannot subscribe to permanent occupation by force of the territory of any

State. Neither can Ghana support doctrines and policies aimed at the annihilation of any people or nation. The challenge of the Middle East crisis resides, in the view of my delegation, in the search for a just, fair and permanent solution to the refugee problem and other related problems in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We believe that there can be no permanent peace in the Middle East unless a secure existence for all the States in the region is guaranteed.

101. In Europe, the delegation of Ghana recognizes the gains so far made in the search for a political solution to the German problem. We can only wish the Berlin talks now going on between the two German authorities great success.

102. Peace in Europe and the Near East is inextricably bound up with peace in the Far East. That is why the Government and people of Ghana welcome recent developments in bilateral United States-Chinese relations and consider them worthy of note and commendation. My Government hopes that this new trend will be considered by all concerned in a spirit of understanding and international co-operation. It is our hope that the normalization of the bilateral relations between China and the United States will contribute to political stability and peace in Asia and in the world at large.

103. While the new United States initiatives on its bilateral relations with China are important, it is the related problem of the representation of China in the United Nations which creates the greatest challenge for the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In this regard, it is urgent and important to underscore the relevance of the universality of membership to the effectiveness of the United Nations in facing up to its responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security. In an age of unprecedented and rapid changes in the political, economic, scientific and cultural spheres, it is imperative that the United Nations, which has more than doubled its membership, would be able to adjust to changed conditions and respond decisively to new challenges.

104. I am aware that some of the problems posed by the universality of membership in the United Nations do not lend themselves to easy solution. However, if we mean to strengthen this Organization, if we are determined to do right and justice, then it is incumbent upon us to open the doors of this Organization to all States regardless of their political systems.

105. It is against this background that the Government of Ghana once again asserts that the Government of the People's Republic of China must be seated in the United Nations General Assembly now. It is the inherent right of the People's Republic of China to be a Member of this world body. It is our view that the People's Republic of China should take its seat not only in the Assembly but also in the Security Council, as well as in all other United Nations bodies. Ghana's position with regard to the related issue of the Republic of China has been reiterated from this rostrum on a number of occasions and I have no intention of repeating arguments which are now well known. Now I would merely wish to express the firm hope of the Ghana delegation that the realism that is inspiring the international community on this and other questions will lead to a

solution that will generate greater confidence in the effectiveness of this Organization.

106. The whole world is saddened by the plight of the refugees from East Pakistan who have fled into India. This is without doubt the most dangerous and the most serious refugee problem that has confronted the United Nations in recent decades. Humanitarian considerations compel the international community to provide all necessary means to alleviate this great suffering and to help in establishing conditions for the early voluntary return of these refugees to their homeland. This great crisis calls for the highest form of statesmanship, courage and wisdom if a lasting settlement of the problem is to be achieved.

107. The spirit of realism which now seems to inform present international relations can provide a favourable atmosphere for the solution not only of the question of the representation of China, but also of the question of the divided countries. In this regard, the Ghana delegation accepts the view often advocated by our distinguished Secretary-General that the divided States must be enabled to participate in the deliberations and work of the United Nations and its subsidiary organs on an equal basis.

108. In working towards this, my delegation believes that the United Nations should refrain from doing anything that would have the effect of prejudicing serious efforts being made by the two sides of any divided country to resolve their own differences.

109. I shall now deal with recent developments in southern Africa. A few moments ago, I welcomed the new spirit of realism in international relations, a spirit which generates some optimism in this Organization's ability to resolve outstanding international problems. I regret that I cannot say the same about the African scene, particularly regarding racialism and self-determination in southern Africa.

110. A careful study of the reports of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Committee of Twenty-Four, and the Trusteeship Council leaves us with the depressing conclusion that no major progress has been achieved in recent years in the area of decolonization in southern Africa. On the contrary, *apartheid* continues to be strengthened in South Africa, and is spreading to Southern Rhodesia under the illegal régime of Ian Smith. South Africa's control over Namibia shows no sign of weakening. In the Territories under Portuguese administration in Africa, the liberation struggle continues unabated. This situation is not only a challenge to the credibility and capability of the United Nations in the eyes of Africa's millions; it is also an invitation, unfortunately, to the oppressed peoples of Africa to pursue violent means of achieving their political rights, freedom and human dignity.

111. Although South Africa has rejected the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia,⁵ it is the hope of my delegation that deliberations in the Assembly will produce concrete proposals that will

⁵ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

lead to the early implementation of that advisory opinion. The Ghana Government will support any realistic proposals to this end.

112. After the unilateral declaration of independence five years ago, and after the imposition of sanctions against the resultant illegal and unconstitutional régime, that régime continues to deny the Africans, who form the majority of the population in Southern Rhodesia, their basic human rights and freedom.

113. In spite of the evasions which have contributed to making sanctions less effective than they could have been, it is the hope of my delegation that sanctions will continue to be enforced against that régime till justice based on the five principles laid down by the United Kingdom Government has been firmly established. My delegation would urge the United Kingdom Government not to abdicate this position in any talks or "talks on talks" with the Smith régime; for any settlement which sacrifices any or all of those principles will be considered by the Government of Ghana and other Governments within the Organization of African Unity and, we hope, by the rest of the world as a complete sell-out.

114. The problem posed by *apartheid* and the expansionist policies of South Africa constitutes one of the greatest obstacles to a just and peaceful solution to southern African problems. As long as South Africa continues to practise a policy of *apartheid*, its hopes of reaching out to the rest of Africa are doomed to failure. As far as Portuguese colonialism is concerned, the Ghana delegation calls on Portugal to comply with the numerous United Nations resolutions calling for self-determination for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). My delegation calls on the big Powers to use their political and economic influence to assist in ensuring that the decisions of this Organization on these vital issues are respected and universally enforced.

115. Any solution to these problems should be guided by or based on the Manifesto on Southern Africa (the Lusaka Manifesto),⁶ which has been endorsed by both the Organization of African Unity and this Assembly [resolution 2505 (XXIV)]. If the racist and colonialist Governments of South Africa and Portugal demonstrate that they accept the principles of the Lusaka Manifesto and adopt concrete measures aimed at eradicating racial discrimination and applying the principle of self-determination, Africa will be ready to explore new bases for better relations with them.

116. At the commemorative meetings of its twenty-fifth session last year, in a unique act of international co-operation and in accordance with one of the cardinal aims of its Charter, this Organization launched the Second United Nations Development Decade and adopted the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)]—a set of positive policies which aim at accelerating, within the Decade, the growth of material production and its equitable distribution among the peoples of each country.

117. The uniqueness of this act of international co-operation for development, as contrasted with the effort of the first United Nations Development Decade, lies in the fact that the international community has, this time, set itself a comprehensive and consistent set of objectives and outlined measures for realizing them. In a most encouraging act of international partnership, the developed and the developing countries have agreed to co-operate in adopting and implementing policies aimed at complementing and supplementing each other's efforts in the task of eradicating hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease in the third world.

118. It is well to remind ourselves that the problems which we set ourselves to solve in the post-war period are still with us. They have, in fact, worsened in many respects. For most developing countries, the targets and policy measures adopted under the first Development Decade have not engendered any perceptible improvements in living conditions. The peoples of the developing world continue to be plagued by a lack of basic necessities of life, and the gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to widen each day. Unless the international community, therefore, applies itself resolutely to the commitments which have been solemnly undertaken, the Second United Nations Development Decade, like its predecessor, will be for most of us another decade of frustration and unfulfilled promises.

119. The peoples of the third world, of course, must accept, and have in fact accepted, the primary responsibility for their own economic development. The experience of international development in the 1960s, however, has amply demonstrated that the poor results which often attend the efforts of developing countries are to a large extent determined by forces beyond their control. The present upheavals in the international monetary system provide convincing proof of this. The policies enunciated in the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade constitute a recognition of the essential and indeed crucial complementary and supporting role that developed countries must play if the efforts of the developing countries are to result in raising living conditions in the third world. The Ghana delegation, therefore, fervently hopes that a spirit of international co-operation will imbue all proposals which aim at solving the present international monetary crisis.

120. The constraints frustrating the efforts of developing countries to achieve a rate of economic growth which will ensure decent living conditions are well known and do not need elaboration here. They include balance-of-payments problems, aggravated by widely fluctuating prices of the primary products on which the economies of developing countries depend, as well as pricing policies of developed countries and uncontrolled inflationary tendencies. The result of all this is the creation of a situation where the developing countries sell cheaply to the developed countries and pay dearly for consumer and industrial goods purchased from developed countries. These problems have been further worsened by excessive indebtedness, which is fast becoming characteristic of the economies of developing countries. These debts have been incurred principally as a result of developing countries being compelled, by their anxiety to generate economic development, to raise financial assistance on very hard terms and conditions. These

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

hard terms in most cases have had no relationship to the ability of the projects for which assistance was given to amortize themselves within the agreed period of repayment.

121. It is for these and other reasons that my delegation looks forward to seeing the result of the study on the problem of the growing indebtedness of developing countries which the President of the World Bank has undertaken with a view to formulating general principles for its solution. I should like to observe, however, that, if developing countries are to derive maximum benefit from any form of financial assistance, then a greater part of it should be given to them on a Government-to-Government basis rather than as financial transfers from the private sector of developed countries.

122. It is also for these reasons that Ghana, along with other developing countries, has advocated and pressed for the conclusion of international commodity agreements which would stabilize commodity prices and ensure steady foreign exchange earnings on which meaningful development planning could be based. It is the view of my delegation that the principle of international price stabilization agreements supported by realistic buffer-stock policies is one of the most effective ways by which developing countries can help themselves in their efforts to build viable economies.

123. With that consideration in mind, my delegation would like to urge the developed countries to co-operate in reaching agreement on cocoa and other commodities. As will be readily recalled, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade set the target date of 31 December 1972 for the conclusion of international commodity agreements or arrangements on commodities defined by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] at its second session as being suitable for management through such commodity arrangements. It is our fervent hope that, long before this target date, there will have been concluded an agreement on cocoa.

124. In the face of an unfair international economic system, developing countries have in most cases had to resort to a number of measures to correct the constraints on their development created by balance-of-payment difficulties. These have included import restrictions which have invariably led to severe cuts in development and worsened their circumstances even further. Even when they have embarked on programmes of export promotion, their products have had to face high tariffs and other trade barriers in the markets of the developed countries.

125. My delegation had entertained great hopes when, at the first session of UNCTAD seven years ago, proposals for giving non-reciprocal, non-discriminatory tariff preferences to the exports of developing countries were launched. We had particularly welcomed the principle, which the proposals tried to establish, of treating unequal partners differently in international economic relations. The present system which has been adopted by UNCTAD and which various important developed countries are beginning to implement, however, does little to further this principle and does not help the developing countries in their attempts to gain access for their products to the markets of the

developed countries, an imperative so essential to their orderly development.

126. The generalized, non-reciprocal system of preferences adopted by the Trade and Development Board⁷ is unrealistic in its products coverage, for it seeks, in effect, to give generous tariff preferences to products which most developing countries do not at present produce and gives little or no tariff concessions in respect of those goods that developing countries actually do produce. To illustrate, the tariff barriers which cocoa products face in the European Economic Community, even after the introduction of this new scheme, range from 12 per cent to 16 per cent. For a country like Ghana, whose main product is cocoa, industrialization based on cocoa is the most natural path for the development of the economy, but the protective effect of the tariff structure of developed countries seriously impedes our efforts at exporting cocoa in any processed form. These examples can be multiplied with reference to the products of most developing countries.

127. We have welcomed the principle underlying the move for a generalized scheme of non-reciprocal tariffs as a hopeful movement towards more equitable relations between developing and developed countries in international trade. My delegation therefore hopes that, even as the present imperfect proposals are being implemented, this Organization would take another look at the arrangements in order to make them more relevant and more responsive to the conditions of the developing countries.

128. At this session the General Assembly will be performing a most important function. It will be taking some important decisions with regard to the review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The aim of the deliberate formulation of international development targets that was involved in the Development Strategy is to induce progress at a faster rate than would have occurred in the absence of such concerted action. Whether or not those targets are achieved will depend not only on the political will and sense of commitment with which they are implemented, but also on the machinery for appraising and evaluating implementation efforts. It is the view of my delegation that any machinery devised by this Organization for appraising and evaluating progress in the implementation of the undertakings which Member States made when they adopted the International Development Strategy must be simple and effective. It must make the maximum use of existing institutions. It must have mechanisms for adjusting objectives and policy measures in the light of inevitably changing circumstances. Above all, it must command the confidence of all Member States.

129. I think it is appropriate for me at this stage to pay a special tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant. For 10 years U Thant has served the United Nations and the world community with unselfish devotion and great vision, courage and integrity.

130. The United Nations and the world community owe him a great debt of gratitude, and I wish to avail myself of

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 15*, part three, annex I.

this opportunity to express the sincere and warm thanks of the Government and people of Ghana to U Thant, and to extend to him our heartfelt good wishes for his future.

131. This session, the first after last year's session marking the twenty-fifth birthday of this Organization and closing a decade, is an important one. Its deliberations should set the perspectives and objectives of the new decade it initiates; they should, above all, ensure that in the decades to come mankind shall live in a world free from the threat of war, free from annihilation by nuclear weapons, free from the conflicts that divide us and free from poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease. On the vision and courage with which this session accepts the challenge of the new decade will depend the success of our experiment in international co-operation for peace and progress.

132. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of our delegation, congratulate you on your election to the high post of President of this session of the General Assembly and express our confidence that you will discharge your high responsibilities successfully.

133. We should also like to express our profound respect for the Secretary-General of the United Nations who is making great efforts, which we all appreciate, to turn our Organization into a genuine instrument for the peace and security of peoples.

134. We are living in an age of immense historical change. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the peoples who have freed themselves or are now freeing themselves from colonialism and national and social oppression, and the peace-loving and democratic forces of all countries are now exercising a decisive influence on the whole course of world development. And of course there is hardly a single Government which would not take this into account to some extent in its approach to international affairs.

135. Since the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the various trends in the foreign policies of States have become more pronounced. Yet the predominant trend which has been reflected in the debates at this session is the striving for a relaxation of international tension on the basis of the peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems.

136. The consistently peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is contributing increasingly to the normalization of the international climate. The foreign policy programme of peace and friendship between peoples, which was announced at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has become a document of genuine world-wide significance. It is both wide in scope and realistic in its approach, and its implementation will promote the solution of urgent topical problems in the interests of a further relaxation of tension and the establishment of a stable and lasting peace.

137. This programme, which was welcomed warmly by the people of the Ukraine, has confirmed the steadfast determination of our country to persist in its foreign policy line aimed at peaceful coexistence, the solution of difficult

problems through negotiations, and at the same time the repulsing of aggression wherever it may occur.

138. The practical measures taken by the socialist countries on behalf of the whole world bear witness to the fact that they are strictly and unswervingly fulfilling their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and in the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

139. In our opinion the primary task of the United Nations and all States at this time is to implement the provisions of the Declaration and thus help to attain the main objective of the United Nations, to ensure universal peace and security. This means, first and foremost, to halt aggression as soon as possible and restore peace where it has been disrupted.

140. In voting for the Declaration, the Members of the United Nations have solemnly reaffirmed that it is their duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation.

141. It is only natural that the overwhelming majority of delegations, in their statements during the general debate, should have devoted so much attention to imperialist aggression in Indo-China.

142. The real objectives of the United States in that region have, of course, been clear to many from the very outset. But the well-known developments of recent months have finally exposed the falsifications that have used the umbrella of anti-communism as a cover for aggression. How appropriate, in this context, are the words of the great Lenin, that in the capitalist world "the most important questions of war and peace and the problems of diplomacy are decided by an insignificant handful of capitalists, who deceive not only the masses, but often deceive Parliament too".

143. The determination of the peoples of Indo-China, struggling for their legitimate right to determine their own fate, is unswerving. Their resolve cannot be shaken by further military provocation, even by the massive bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam which occurred literally a few hours before the beginning of this session of the General Assembly. Every act of this kind only serves to strengthen opposition to the aggressor.

144. Nor will the attempts of the ruling circles in the United States to achieve their objectives through manoeuvring behind the backs of the peoples who are fighting for their independence or through new and widely publicized diplomatic activity meet with success.

145. The only realistic way for the United States to get out of the impasse which it has itself created is to withdraw its troops immediately and to halt the aggression. A constructive and reasonable basis for a solution to the Viet-Nam problem is to be found in the new seven-point programme of the Provisional Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which has been welcomed by world public opinion and the Governments of many countries.

146. The Ukrainian SSR will continue to participate in the efforts of the socialist States to provide effective support and assistance to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and will consistently and resolutely side with the liberation movements in South Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

147. In order to improve the situation on the Asian continent, particularly in the Far East, the United Nations must put an end to the interference in the internal affairs of Korea under cover of its flag.

148. The withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea are what is required now. Guided by this principle, the delegation of the Ukraine has once again co-sponsored the relevant proposals on matters relating to Korea. It is with regret that we note that a decision to postpone consideration of these matters until the next session has been imposed on the Assembly. This has been done under the pretext of promoting the contacts recently established between the Red Cross organizations of North and South Korea. Yet the withdrawal of foreign troops and the dissolution of the aforementioned Commission would not only not hinder, but would in fact promote, mutual understanding and easier contacts between the two parts of this divided country.

149. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in a statement issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, strongly condemned the removal of these two items from this session's agenda and insisted that the United Nations should immediately take steps to ensure the withdrawal from South Korea of the aggressive forces of United States imperialism which have been occupying South Korea under cover of the United Nations flag, and dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. That is the opinion of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

150. As many speakers here have already pointed out, one task of primary importance is to eliminate the hotbed of military tension in the Middle East whose continuous smouldering threatens to escalate into a major conflagration.

151. For over four years, Israel, relying on United States support, has been sabotaging the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) refusing to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories, conducting a planned policy of "developing" these territories, or, in other words, openly annexing them, and provoking an aggravation of tension in the region. Ruling circles in Israel disregard United Nations decisions, reject the peaceful proposals made by the Arab countries, and paralyse the efforts of the United Nations, its Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Ambassador Jarring, to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

152. In order to attain its objectives, Israel and its protectors resort to all possible means in order to undermine the unity of the Arab nations and weaken their resolve to eliminate the consequences of aggression.

153. In order to divert attention from their expansionist policy and also in order to ensure financial, military and

political support in the future, the Israeli leaders have launched anti-Soviet and anti-Arab campaigns through Zionist lobbies in a number of Western countries, in particular the United States. In the course of these campaigns, diplomatic missions have been subjected to acts of provocation and hooliganism that are incompatible with the elementary norms of civilized society.

154. Of course, it is common knowledge that Israel's policy would not be so defiant if it did not enjoy the support of, in particular, the United States of America. It is characteristic of the situation that there is such a distribution of roles between Washington and Tel Aviv. While the Israeli aggressors are developing the territories they have seized, United States ruling circles are covering up the aggressor's acts by diplomatic manoeuvres and claiming that they are playing a self-styled role as peacemakers while in actual fact they are encouraging the aggressor.

155. The representative of Israel, speaking from this rostrum a few days ago [1946th meeting], was so generous in his "peace-loving" attitude that he suggested as many as five ways that he alleged would lead to peace. But he omitted one way, the most direct and the surest way to peace in this region, namely the one contained in the well-known Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967.

156. But time is not working in favour of the aggressor. The legitimate struggle of the Arab peoples for the return of the lands occupied in June 1967 is gaining increasing support throughout the world and at the United Nations. Their political, economic and military position is improving. The Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation recently concluded between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, signed at Cairo on 27 May 1971, strengthens the position of the Arab countries and is an important factor for peace in this region.

157. The Ukrainian SSR supports the just cause of the Arab peoples and feels that the United Nations and all its Members should take every opportunity, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to force Israel to reach a peaceful and just political settlement of the Middle East conflict as soon as possible, and withdraw its troops from all occupied Arab territories.

158. During the general debate at the Assembly, many delegations have remarked on the favourable trend towards a *détente* on the continent of Europe, the importance of which extends beyond the boundaries of Europe and exerts a considerable influence on the fate of peace and security throughout the world.

159. History reminds us that in our time, in the lifetime of a single generation, two world wars have broken out in Europe. As we all know, those wars took over 70 million human lives, 50 million of them in the Second World War.

160. The Soviet Ukraine, which lost many millions of lives in the war unleashed by Hitler's Germany, has a vital stake in the strengthening of European and international security. Expressing the will of our people, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Mr. Peter Efimovich Shelest, declared in a statement on 23

June 1971 to the youth of Kiev: "The most important, the most rewarding and the most noble task we have to do, in the name of the countless victims, and to ensure the happiness of all people and of future generations, is to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of the past. We must build a really durable peace that will last for many years and many decades."

161. The people and Government of the Ukraine welcome the fact that there is growing trust and mutual understanding between European countries. Proof of this can be seen in the expansion of friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and France and in the development of mutually advantageous relations between the socialist countries and many countries in Western Europe. We think it reasonable that the *détente* in our continent is based on the recognition of European realities, namely the inviolability of the present frontiers and the existence of two German States. The conclusion of treaties with the Federal Republic of Germany by the Soviet Union⁸ and the Polish People's Republic,⁹ and the four-Power agreements on matters relating to West Berlin¹⁰ give hope for the future of Europe.

162. The peace-loving policy of the German Democratic Republic is actively promoting the establishment of a reliable system of European security. The realities of our time confirm—as an ever growing number of States are realizing—that a durable peace on the continent of Europe without the participation of the German Democratic Republic is inconceivable.

163. The idea of collective security, which through the initiative of the socialist countries has taken the form of a specific political programme, is commanding ever wider support. The proposal of the socialist countries for the convening of an all-European conference is based on the current situation on the continent and the fundamental interests and aspirations of all European peoples. No one disputes the usefulness of convening such a conference in principle; its tasks are clear, and there are no objections as to who should participate in it.

164. All the preconditions now exist for proceeding to specific preparations for such a conference.

165. The Ukrainian SSR supports the idea of convening such a conference and believes that, given the goodwill of the participants, it can do a great deal to strengthen European security and to expand co-operation in the economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural fields on a basis of equality and mutual benefit.

166. While we feel optimistic about the future of Europe, we are not forgetting that there are certain circles which are impeding a *détente* by resorting to far-fetched pretexts and even to provocative action, as has been seen lately in some countries. Naturally the danger posed by the forces of *revanchism* and militarism to the process of normalizing the situation in Europe cannot be discounted.

167. However, it is not those forces which are now determining the state of affairs on the European continent. The necessary conditions for the establishment of genuine collective security and a stable peace do exist here. It is the duty of the Governments and peoples of all European countries to translate the existing possibilities into realities. This requires increased efforts in the search for a stable and lasting peace in this region, which in its turn would promote the strengthening of universal peace.

168. It is hardly necessary to prove that the path to a lasting and secure peace on our planet lies through general and complete disarmament. The problem of disarmament has been discussed in the United Nations literally from the earliest days of its existence, and it is not the fault of the socialist countries that the progress achieved in this sphere has been far less than the interests of the strengthening of the security of peoples require. Rhetoric, unsupported by action, will not build a durable peace or establish relations of trust between countries. A constructive approach and a desire to co-operate and seek mutually acceptable solutions to the disarmament problems under discussion are essential.

169. Long experience of disarmament negotiations shows that delays in finding solutions to questions related to the halting of the arms race inevitably lead to more difficulties. It is essential to intensify negotiations on general and complete disarmament and at the same time reach agreement on partial disarmament measures.

170. In this context, the important new initiative taken by the Soviet Government on the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States of the world is particularly timely. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, has spoken of this emphatically and convincingly in his statement here at the 1942nd meeting. We are firmly convinced that a world disarmament conference would hasten agreement on urgent major disarmament questions. Although some people here have been sceptical about the idea of convening such a conference, it is clear that the idea is gaining increasing support.

171. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR welcomes the fact that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has completed its work on the draft convention on the prohibition, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [A/8457-DC/234, annex A]. An agreement to prohibit biological weapons will be another valuable step forward in disarmament. Our delegation feels that at this session, the General Assembly, in approving the above-mentioned Convention, could also call upon all States to find a solution as soon as possible to the question of prohibiting chemical weapons and, to this end, to refrain from any acts that might hamper the conclusion of agreement on this issue.

172. The advance towards the final elimination of colonialism is irreversible. But the imperialist forces and international monopolies are not abandoning the attempt to stifle the national liberation movement. They are seeking to perpetuate the rule of the colonialists primarily in southern Africa and to resuscitate that rule in overt and covert forms.

⁸ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁹ Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

¹⁰ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

173. The President of Mauritania, Mr. Ould Daddah, speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, drew the attention of our Assembly [1938th meeting] to the urgent problems of Africa and particularly to the pressing need for the total liberation of the continent, the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination. The President called the remaining colonies in African territory "lands that are still occupied", thus emphasizing the fact that colonialism poses a constant threat to peace and security in that continent.

174. More than 15 per cent of the territory of Africa has been turned into a colonial preserve. Over 30 million Africans are suffering from exploitation, racism, *apartheid* and other inhuman forms of colonialism. Slave-like conditions are maintained in the colonies in order to secure vast profits for the monopolies of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western States.

175. The peoples living in the southern part of the African continent have in fact come up against a particular kind of collective colonialism, against a conspiracy to which not only South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal but also the United Kingdom, the United States and some of their NATO allies are parties. In the last year alone, the investments of international imperialist monopolies in the economy of South Africa amounted to \$1,000 million. Portugal's colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the systematic acts of aggression against Guinea and Senegal, the violation by the United Kingdom and other Western countries of the United Nations embargo on deliveries of weapons to the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and the expansion of trade and economic co-operation with those countries, the attempts to impose a "dialogue" with the racists of southern Africa—all these are individual links in a single chain which is to be used to strangle the national liberation movement of the peoples.

176. The repeated violations by the colonialists of the sovereignty of independent States are proof that until there is not a single colonial régime left in the African continent, until all the colonialists' troops and military bases are withdrawn from this region, the peaceful and independent development of African States will be threatened.

177. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the just struggle of the peoples against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We think that today the need for the full implementation of the anti-colonial decisions of the United Nations by all its Members is as urgent as ever. Our Organization should promote increased support for the national liberation struggle and should hasten the approach of the day when the last colonial régime will be buried for ever in the graveyard of history.

178. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the critical problem of ensuring their economic independence. The Western Powers, which forcibly chained the economies of many of the now liberated countries to their own, are thrusting on them the additional burden resulting from the instability of the capitalist economic world. The developing countries are acutely sensitive to the periodic recessions and instability and the crisis phenomena and monetary inflationary processes which are inherent in the capitalist system.

179. As a result of the policy of neo-colonialism, the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries exceeds \$60,000 million. For example, in Latin America 87 per cent of the new loans is now being used to pay off debts from previous loans, while in Africa the figure is 75 per cent and in eastern Asia it is over 50 per cent. Payments for so-called aid from Western Powers have risen during the first Development Decade more than three times as fast as the output of the gross national product and more than twice as fast as the export earnings of the developing countries.

180. It is the fault of the Western countries that the principles of international trade approved by the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have not been applied. The Western States continue to adhere to restricted trade groupings and to discriminate against other countries.

181. In the opinion of the Ukrainian delegation, specific measures should be taken at this session to ensure the application of progressive principles in international trade and economic co-operation, without discrimination and on the basis of mutual benefit.

182. We understand the actions of those developing countries which, in order to affirm their economic independence, are making fundamental social and economic changes, asking the colonialists to pay compensation for the age-old exploitation and plunder of their national wealth, taking into their own hands control of their national resources, nationalizing the most important branches of their economies and demanding an end to the continuing looting of the developing countries by imperialist monopolies.

183. In keeping with its international duty, the Ukrainian SSR will continue to make its contribution to the general efforts of the Soviet Union and the States in the socialist community to help developing countries to establish their own economies and develop their own cultures.

184. Let me just remind you that our Republic exports industrial equipment and other goods to over 60 developing countries. Ukrainian specialists are participating in the construction of 190 industrial enterprises and cultural projects in various parts of the world. Over 3,000 young people from Asia, Africa and Latin America are studying at higher educational institutions in the Republic.

185. The Ukraine maintains scientific and technical links with 60 countries in the world. Every year over 500 Ukrainian scientists travel to other countries to exchange experience with foreign colleagues on various aspects of science and technology. In turn the Ukraine welcomes over 1,000 foreign experts and scientists every year. The Ukrainian SSR also gives technical assistance to developing countries on a multilateral basis, through the United Nations Development Programme.

186. The international situation does not give us reason to feel complacent or satisfied. The United Nations must intensify its efforts to strengthen peace and security. It is only on this basis that we can successfully solve problems in the economic, social and other fields.

187. The achieving of real universality in the United Nations would be of great significance in further enhancing its authority and effectiveness. We are glad to see that the majority of States Members of the United Nations support this approach. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is in favour of the immediate admission to the United Nations of the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

188. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is long overdue, although some States have only recognized this more than 20 years too late. In so doing, some individual countries, in particular the United States of America, are trying to keep the Chiang Kai-shek delegation, which represents nobody, as a Member of the United Nations and for that purpose they advance one argument, among others, relating to the fact that the Ukraine and Byelorussia are Members of the United Nations. The logic of such comparisons reminds us of the logic of a well-known Ukrainian proverb which runs something like this: "This man can't tell the Crimea from Rome or either from a priest's bald dome".

189. Now can you compare the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist State, which was created in 1917 by the free will of its people and voluntarily joined the mighty federation of the new socialist type formed in 1922 by previously oppressed peoples—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—to part of the territory which legitimately belongs to China and which was forcibly torn away from it by the Chiang Kai-shek clique with the support of the imperialists? The international legal personality of the Ukraine is affirmed in the Constitution of our Republic and the Constitution of the Soviet Union and is recognized in international law. Those who resort to such comparisons do so, not because they are ignorant people, but because they recognize the weakness of their "two Chinas" policy in whatever form it is presented and try to use completely untenable arguments.

190. In conclusion I should like to say that every State Member of the United Nations must make a maximum contribution to the solution of all problems facing the United Nations. The Ukrainian SSR, as always, will be among those which will spare no effort to strengthen peace and security, to rebuff the forces of aggression, and to combat colonialism and racism; it will be among those which favour active international co-operation in all areas.

191. Mr. POTOLOT (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Before delivering my speech, I should like to express the condolences of my delegation to the delegation of Honduras on the occasion of the death this morning of Mr. Ramón Villeda Morales. The family of the deceased may rest assured that it has our greatest sympathy.

192. Mr. President, first I should like to convey to you the sincerest congratulations of the Central African delegation on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This inspired choice is a well-deserved tribute to your qualities as a statesman and distinguished diplomat who has contributed to a greater knowledge of international problems. I am convinced that, under your guidance, the business of this session, which now appears to be so delicate, will be crowned with success.

193. I am also pleased to join in the tribute paid to your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who conducted the business of the commemorative twenty-fifth anniversary session of this Assembly with great talent and ability.

194. Finally, it is with genuine pleasure that I wish to pay tribute to Secretary-General U Thant and to express to him, on behalf of the Government of the Central African Republic, our admiration for his qualities as a courageous and upright servant of the international community; we wish to say to him how much we appreciate his services to the Organization and his constant efforts in the cause of peace and justice throughout the world.

195. May I now be allowed to perform the pleasant duty of welcoming, on behalf of the Government of the Central African Republic and my entire delegation, the fraternal States of Bhutan, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, which have just recently joined the great family of the United Nations. We would express to their respective peoples our sincerest wishes for their prosperity and well-being.

196. The last session of the General Assembly, in choosing to commemorate its anniversary with the central theme of "peace, justice and progress", succinctly summed up all that mankind hopes and expects from the United Nations and its work.

197. It is our task first, to ensure peace, freedom and independence for the people of the world, excluding all forms of hegemony, and, secondly, to create conditions in which the achievements of science and technology may serve the development of mankind.

198. The United Nations, created 26 years ago, had the mission of establishing a lasting peace and improving the fate of mankind. That mission is clearly defined in the Charter of our Organization and in the Declaration of Human Rights whereby the Central African Republic has most solemnly reaffirmed its belief and firm conviction that men are born free with equal rights. We have, of course, gone a long way towards the realization of this lofty ideal. But, in view of the perils which still loom on our horizon and the concern which has been created by the present international situation, we believe that the United Nations is far from having achieved all our hopes.

199. Our Organization looks today very much like a fragile vessel adrift on a dangerous sea: millions of men are still prey to conflicts, oppression, poverty and despair. Furthermore, a whole host of new threats and challenges lies ahead: population growth, deterioration of the human environment, the scourge of drugs, and attempts at subverting States internally, to name but a few. But in the face of these scourges, how have the ideals laid down in San Francisco fared?

200. It is high time that we renewed the commitments which we have to peace and which all States, great and small, have the overriding duty to respect. Simply reaffirming our faith in the United Nations is not enough. We must express our faith by acting in such a way as to resolve the problems which disrupt international relations—in a peaceful way under the Charter.

201. We live in a world where peace is constantly threatened, even disturbed; and that can be denied by no one. Today we are witnessing an unbridled nuclear arms race, the proliferation of which can only serve to increase the concern of all mankind.

202. When my country, the Central African Republic, signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], we clearly demonstrated our determination to do away, once and for all, with nuclear arsenals in the interest of general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, in the near future, so that the entire world may regain full confidence in a lasting and universal peace.

203. The negotiations which have already been begun to reach agreement on the limitation, control and verification of nuclear and biological weapons command our complete support.

204. As a positive step towards a relaxation of international tension, we also welcome the proposal for an early Conference on European security and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.¹¹

205. After stating the position of my delegation on disarmament, I now wish to set forth as briefly as possible our views on other equally important problems which command attention throughout the world.

206. The situation in Indo-China remains one of the concerns of world public opinion. The war which was limited to Viet-Nam has spread to the entire area, and we whole-heartedly welcome the decision of the United States of America to withdraw its troops from Viet-Nam. We earnestly hope that this withdrawal will be accelerated and that the Paris talks on Viet-Nam will soon enjoy a successful outcome.

207. The crisis in the Middle East continues to be one of the major concerns of our Organization. The Central African Republic supports any action that will ensure implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) on the Middle East. Here we welcome the position of the parties concerned in favour of maintaining the cease-fire, which is at present in force, and we trust that the Jarring mission, as well as the very recent mission of the Organization of African Unity, will command everyone's support, which is needed if these missions are to be pursued successfully.

208. What can be said of the persistence of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa, and in particular in southern Africa?

209. Eleven years ago the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. We are entitled to question the genuine determination of the international community to ensure the triumph of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, and in particular of the peoples in the southern part of our continent, for the recognition of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence.

210. In Namibia, as in the Territories under Portuguese domination, in Zimbabwe as in South Africa, we cannot fail to note that the most elementary human freedoms continue to be flouted, notwithstanding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

211. While the United Nations record in the area of decolonization may be very impressive, inasmuch as so many of the Territories formerly colonized or under trusteeship have become independent and today usefully participate in the work of the United Nations, the fact remains that the situation is explosive in the regions that I have mentioned. Colonialism must be uprooted from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The international community must see to it that the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly will signal the beginning of the end of colonialism, wherever that anachronistic and retrograde phenomenon exists.

212. The Central African Republic, therefore, preaches the need by all available means to ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

213. Aware of the dangers threatening Africa in our sorely troubled world, my country, the Central African Republic, recognizes that peace in our continent with absolute neutrality is a prerequisite for the successful development of African countries.

214. It is consistent with this belief that the Head of the Central African State, H.E. General Jean-Bedel Bokassa, has relentlessly opposed the use of force and violence and advocated dialogue and negotiations to settle all disputes and to maintain peace in Africa and peace between Africa and the rest of the world.

215. With respect to *apartheid*, I wish to remind the Assembly that in February 1965 the second regular session of the Defense Commission of the Organization of African Unity was held on problems of defence at Freetown, Sierra Leone, under the presidency of H.E. General Jean-Bedel Bokassa, then Chief of Staff for National Defence. That Conference adopted certain steps to settle gradually the distressing problems of racial discrimination in South Africa.

216. The intention was, of course, to endeavour to settle this question through the use of arms. After the conference, the Government of the Central African Republic created a section of its national army which could at any time be mobilized in the event that the Organization of African Unity should decide to take action against South Africa in order to liberate our oppressed brothers in that area.

217. Regrettably, however, with the passing of the years Africans seemed less and less inclined to consider such action through the Organization of African Unity, notwithstanding the militant speeches and slogans which have become traditional at each session of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations General Assembly.

218. Furthermore, the entire world has witnessed the constant efforts of the United Nations in the form of

¹¹ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

economic and other sanctions against South Africa, which, unfortunately, have proven ineffective because, on the one hand, certain European countries allegedly friends of Africa continue to maintain relations of all kinds with Pretoria and to supply it with weapons and, on the other hand, it must be recognized that products produced in South Africa may be found in most of the African continent.

219. In the face of these contradictions and dilatory moves which only serve to delay a settlement of the disturbing problem of South Africa, the Central African Republic has advocated a dialogue. The idea would be to try this course in the same way as many others have been tried, because we are convinced that violence could only serve to harden the resistance of the white minority in South Africa to all change and development.

220. We believe that for the African countries primarily concerned in this problem there can be only two ways to stamp out *apartheid*. The first is to wage war against South Africa; secondly, on the opposite hypothesis, which is the present situation, to engage in a dialogue with South Africa. That solution appears to us in the Central African Republic to be the only realistic way out of the present impasse—to promote the indispensable dialogue between white and black citizens in South Africa.

221. The Central African Republic, consistent with the principle of universality of our Organization, has followed developments in the question of the representation of China in the United Nations with interest. However, in the opinion of my Government the universal character of our Organization should not be promoted to the detriment of its moral authority. We are not opposed to having the People's Republic of China join the efforts of the international community to carry out the goals and principles of the United Nations. My country, however, will not tolerate the idea of expelling the Republic of China, a peace-loving country which has maintained excellent relations at all levels and in all ways with the people of the Central African Republic, a country which, in addition, ever since the creation of our Organization has been a responsible and loyal Member.

222. It is with this in mind that my delegation considers that any draft resolution which would have the effect of depriving the Republic of China of its representation in the United Nations should be considered an important question, requiring a two-thirds majority vote under Article 18 of the Charter. My delegation will therefore support the draft resolution of the United States of America on this subject [*A/L.634 and Add.1*].

223. Peace is not only the absence of war. It has also and above all an economic, social and cultural content. In a world where States are independent and economies interdependent, the lack of economic co-operation is dangerous, for if material well-being is not in itself the only goal of men and nations, it is unquestionably one of the foundations of a decent life. The tragedy of our times lies in the fact that material well-being is not very widespread in the world. For us, in a low income country, the most important objective is and remains the economic and social progress of our people. That is the top priority.

224. We are aware of the fact that assistance for development goes through two essential channels: one is bilateral and multilateral, and the other is international. In the former case, we shall never cease to say that assistance should from all points of view be free of all political considerations. Financial organizations should adopt a more flexible attitude, especially by granting longer repayment schedules and reasonable interest rates, making it possible for the disadvantaged countries to increase their economic capacity.

225. In the latter case the United Nations should bring together the industrialized countries and the developing countries in a network of more effective co-operation in economic, commercial, technological, social and cultural fields. In so doing it would be making a major contribution to alleviating the plight of mankind in what is becoming increasingly one world.

226. This inequality, as is well known, is increasing daily as a result of the constant deterioration in the terms of trade which, while depriving the developing countries of sizable resources in their struggle for progress, contribute to widening the gap between the well-to-do countries and the disadvantaged countries.

227. Last year, two United Nations initiatives commanded our attention and should serve to remedy this inequality.

228. In October 1970, the General Assembly adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], which, it is to be hoped, will succeed in co-ordinating further the action possibilities of the international community and thus assisting the developing countries in their efforts. As the fundamental objective of the Strategy is an average rate of growth of 6 per cent of the gross national product of the developing countries and a programme covering the whole range of economic and social development, each developed country should ensure the transfer to the developing countries of an amount from public and private sources equal to 1 per cent of its gross national product.

229. Later last December the General Assembly adopted a series of provisions [*resolution 2688 (XXV)*] making it possible for the United Nations system of development to provide greater resources more effectively. These changes should ensure closer co-ordination within each recipient country of the activities of the various United Nations agencies.

230. All these measures justify considerable hope. We are anxiously awaiting their prompt and effective implementation.

231. But assistance is not enough. The developing countries need new outlets in the industrialized countries for their manufactures.

232. In this connexion we intend to support the proposal put forward by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly [*1765th meeting*] to ascribe greater importance to the

processing and marketing of raw materials at the places where they are produced or developed.

233. In this regard we would call on the United Nations to use its influence with the specialized agencies dealing with loans and development to promote greater assistance to the less developed countries. As was stressed from this rostrum last year by H.E. General Jean-Bedel Bokassa:

"We believe also that the United Nations specialized agencies should be freed from the abusive influence of certain States which do not hesitate to delay, even to thwart and to boycott, consideration of background material presented by certain other States whose political leanings are not to their liking.

"The Central African Republic, for its part, has denounced and will continue to denounce these manoeuvres, whoever may be their perpetrators.

"Those bodies should in particular lend a more sympathetic ear to certain projects of paramount importance to developing countries, and particularly to the less favoured among them such as the land-locked countries, when, for various reasons, such projects cannot be financed within the framework of bilateral assistance or by those who can offer private funds." [1875th meeting, para. 136-138.]

234. We are aware of the fact that foreign aid cannot be fully effective unless it is supported by an intense effort at the national level. The Central African Republic, under the guidance of its dynamic Head of State and within the framework of "Operation Bokassa", is resolutely engaged in a sustained national effort for social and economic development.

235. The social and economic objectives of my country have been clearly set forth in the Charter of our National Party, the MESAN [*Movement for the Social Development of Black Africa*]. "To feed, house, care for, clothe and educate" is our slogan.

236. "Operation Bokassa", a vast development strategy set up by the Head of State of the Central African Republic, General Jean-Bedel Bokassa, directly after he took power in 1966, has mobilized all the vital forces of the nation to develop harmoniously its economic, social and cultural potential, and has made it possible for my country to double and treble the output of its main products: cotton, coffee, tobacco, wood, diamonds, etc., thereby exceeding our fondest hopes.

237. The development of the Central African Republic is then first and foremost a national effort. We are, however, convinced of the virtues of co-operation in all fields and at all levels: bilateral, multilateral, regional, subregional and international. However, as was stressed here last year by H.E. General Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the President of the Central African Republic, we want this co-operation to be dispensed unconditionally, without any thoughts of domi-

nation or intimidation, so as to ensure the attainment of the goals and the requirements of the United Nations.

238. On the subject of the United Nations, one observer has pointed out that endless speeches are made here.

239. Like other speakers, we have spoken about disarmament, the maintenance of peace, *apartheid*, decolonization and economic and social co-operation between all the peoples of the world. We have all mentioned the purposes and the principles that the distinguished founders of the United Nations laid down in the Charter as the basis and the objective of our Organization, which can be summed up as follows:

"To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which . . . 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."

240. Unfortunately, the recommendations and the resolutions adopted by our Organization in the implementation of these noble objectives have not always met with the results which the peoples of the United Nations had a right to expect.

241. All this illustrates the thinking of the philosopher Karl Jaspers, who stated that the United Nations is a place where endless speeches are made, and an ill-intentioned observer might be tempted to say that it is a place where fruitless votes are taken.

242. Will the international community be able to ensure international peace and security? Will it be able to ensure respect for human dignity by doing its utmost to stamp out the last bastions of colonialism? Will it be able to ensure economic, social and cultural well-being? Those are all questions which are of concern to mankind and whose solution constitutes the hope of peoples of the world.

243. May the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly prompt all nations to share and respect the spirit and the letter of the Charter, which remains the foundation of peace and fraternity among all peoples. May it also provide proof that the United Nations is not a place where one is satisfied with endless speeches and fruitless votes.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

