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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): Mr. President, I am happy to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are fully confident that you will guide the affairs of this Assembly with tact and impartiality, and we assure you of our full co-operation. We also rejoice in the honour thus shown your country, Poland, a country with a long record of dedication to the cause of disarmament and European détente and a country with which Denmark maintains good neighbourly relations across the Baltic Sea.

2. Allow me, Mr. President, to take this opportunity also to welcome the Secretary-General to his high and exacting office. He may rely upon our whole-hearted co-operation and support in his arduous task. We are happy to witness his determination to uphold the principles of objectivity and integrity which his predecessors have handed down to him.

3. It is a sad paradox of our time that the generally accepted need for increased and closer international co-operation is accompanied by continuing and persistent national self-assertion. This conflict between the true needs of the modern world for global rules to guide the conduct of sovereign States while respecting their individual identity on the one hand and their stubborn sense of self-sufficiency on the other illustrates the dilemma of the United Nations.

4. The choice is becoming increasingly clear: either we decide to co-operate globally so as to deal constructively and impartially with our manifold problems or we miss the opportunity of developing an orderly international society. The choice would appear to be easy; but it presupposes that we are ready to discard old and, indeed, outmoded notions in favour of a rational build-up of a human society within a universal and impartial Organization.

5. The past year has seen some good and promising features. In the political field, progress has chiefly manifested itself in the relations of the major Powers and in the continuing development of a détente in Europe. In other areas of political confrontation the picture is more diffuse. Despite the often active involvement of the United Nations far too many problems remain outside what the Secretary-General has called the emergence of an era of negotiation, dialogue and contact. Throughout the year, and not least in recent months, we have, moreover, witnessed acts of atrocity and random terror that threaten the very fabric of a civilized community.

6. In the economic, social and humanitarian fields, actual progress may seem limited and it certainly remains inadequate. Nevertheless, the Organization is demonstrating both imagination and drive in these spheres. And that should not be under-estimated, because it is through such means that a global community in the proper sense of the word may gradually be established.

7. First of all, a turning-point in United States-Soviet relations was reached through the successful outcome of the meeting of the leaders of the two countries in May. The favourable impact of this development on the general international situation is obvious. In Europe it is already manifest. We hope and trust that the spirit of accommodation and co-operation will prevail.

8. When we consider that for over 20 years there was practically no contact between the United States and China, it is a matter of great significance that the basis for direct communication has now been established and is being developed. We may now hope for an improvement of the international situation, particularly in the Pacific area.

9. It must be fair to assume that we have seen only the beginning of an era of negotiation. In saying that, I do not intend to minimize the vital, legitimate interests at stake, nor do I suggest that the problems involved can easily be solved. But these recent developments may be taken to prove that the major Powers have realized that in international affairs nothing compares favourably with an agreed solution.

10. In Europe the trend towards détente and increased co-operation is gaining momentum. The ratification of the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union¹ and between the Federal Republic and Poland² and the Berlin agreement concluded by the four

¹ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

² Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

Powers³ have prepared the ground for the opening this autumn in Helsinki of multilateral talks preparatory to the conference on security and co-operation in Europe.

11. It is of course premature to anticipate the results of that conference, but in the opinion of the Danish Government the project holds far-reaching new aspects and potentialities. Since the conference will cover security as well as co-operation, we for our part would wish it to deal also with the problem of freer movement of people, ideas and information. For if we do not begin to tackle these problems we shall not be able ultimately to break down the artificial barriers between governments and peoples.

12. My Government hopes that negotiations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic will soon result in a general agreement satisfactory to both parties, thus paving the way to a normalization of their relations with other countries and also with this Organization.

13. In other parts of the world there are also trends towards improved relations between countries which have so far been divided by serious differences. The Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan of 3 July 1972 is an example of two Governments seeking agreed solutions in the face of obvious difficulties. We hope that in spite of recurrent complications the spirit of Simla will prevail, thereby improving conditions on the subcontinent as a whole and not least for the new State of Bangladesh.

14. In this connexion let me emphasize that Denmark firmly supports the application of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations [A/8754]. It is most unfortunate that the Security Council has not been able to agree on a recommendation, and we urge that the Council reconsider the case. We hope, therefore, that a solution will be found during this session that will render Bangladesh full justice, help to create improved conditions on the subcontinent and be beneficial to our Organization.

15. In Korea promising developments are under way. After years of serious disagreements in the wake of war the Governments of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have initiated contacts in order to tackle and in time, it is hoped, solve the many problems dividing them. In 1971 the Danish Government supported the postponement of a debate on the Korean question in the hope that a dialogue might get under way. The agreement embodied in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July this year [A/8727, annex I] justified this hope. We therefore felt that the best contribution which the United Nations could make at this stage towards the peaceful reunification of Korea would be to refrain from an acrimonious debate which could only hamper the efforts of the Korean peoples themselves to find a solution to their problems. Denmark, which already has diplomatic relations of long standing with the Republic of Korea, is taking concrete steps now with a view to developing contacts also with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

16. Even if progress in the fields of disarmament and arms control leaves much to be desired, the spirit of détente is discernible.

17. Denmark welcomes the agreements on the limitation of strategic arms which have so far been concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union.⁴ We hope that the continued negotiations between the two Powers will lead to further results in this vital field.

18. As for the question of a complete ban on nuclear tests, I should like to reiterate that it would seem as if bridging the gap in the question of verification were mainly a matter of policy. The Danish Government urges the greatest nuclear Powers to lend their indispensable co-operation to the preparation of a complete test-ban treaty, thus taking the lead which it behoves them to take by virtue of their power and responsibility. Intensified efforts should now be made to obtain, in the near future, a complete ban on chemical weapons. We welcome the endeavours which the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has made so far in this field, and we hope that the Committee will be able to present concrete and satisfactory proposals to the next session of the General Assembly.

19. Denmark welcomes the prospect of a world disarmament conference, trusting that it may serve to promote progress and bring about constructive results. Clearly, in order to achieve that end, the conference must be thoroughly prepared and enjoy wide support in the international community, particularly on the part of all nuclear Powers. We hope, therefore, that the General Assembly will be able to decide on the preparations for such a conference. My Government would be willing to take an active part in such preparations.

20. So much for the positive trends in the present international situation. If it is justified to say that they dominate the picture, it is nevertheless a deplorable fact that in some cases the possibilities of negotiation have not been exploited to the full.

21. In Viet-Nam the war is still raging, and there is no immediate prospect of peace. The inconclusiveness until now of almost four years of negotiation is tragic in its consequences for the long-suffering population of Viet-Nam. The misery and the losses caused by the war and by the recent escalation and extension of the warfare, and in particular the massive bombings, have deeply upset the Danish people. The conflict in Viet-Nam must be solved through a political settlement guaranteeing the Viet-Nameese people their right to decide their own future without any kind of external interference.

22. In the Middle East political efforts have been deadlocked for a long time, and the recent tragic events at the Olympic Games created further complications. They should not, however, be allowed to jeopardize endeavours to reactivate political efforts aimed at a just and lasting peace in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We reaffirm our full support of the mission of Ambassador Jarring under that resolution and we urge all the parties concerned to co-operate whole-heartedly in such efforts.

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

⁴ Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and Interim Agreement and Protocol on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

23. Like previous sessions, this General Assembly is faced with an almost total absence of progress towards the solution of the serious problems of *apartheid* and colonialism in southern Africa.

24. The only exception is Namibia, where the Secretary-General, under the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council, has been able to establish contacts with the parties concerned. It is to be hoped that this initiative will promote a solution of the question of Namibia based upon the self-determination of the people. But at this early stage it remains to be seen whether such a hope will be justified.

25. The past year saw the rejection by a majority of the population in Rhodesia of the proposals for a settlement⁵ which, it was felt, did not meet just expectations. In the present circumstances there is no alternative to the policy of sanctions. It is to be hoped that the membership in its entirety will live up to its obligations under the relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council in this matter. One lesson has been clearly reaffirmed: any solution of the Rhodesian question must be acceptable to the population as a whole.

26. In the present situation we must assist victims of the conflicts stemming from the continuation of *apartheid* and of colonial rule. This is in accordance with the best humanitarian traditions. Denmark for one has increased its humanitarian and educational assistance to oppressed peoples and groups in cases where the Security Council has called for such assistance or has stated a case of oppression. Our assistance may be rendered through international organizations as well as through liberation movements.

27. A most alarming aspect of the present international situation is the threat against the rights and the security of individuals stemming from the rising tide of terrorism and senseless acts of violence. Such acts are also a menace to the very foundation upon which friendly and peaceful relations between nations are based. International co-operation is required to reverse the current trend towards terrorism, and all nations must recognize their responsibility in this field. The Danish Government for its part is ready to participate in realistic efforts to eliminate this threat to mankind.

28. The most immediate practical measures which could be taken would be to safeguard the security of civil aviation. In this field a legal basis for countermeasures has already been established, and I fully support the call of the Secretary-General for the ratification by all countries of the three existing international Conventions relating to crimes against civil aviation.

29. It is most deplorable that even States are violating the rights of security of the individual. This year we have witnessed the massacre of groups of people. We have seen arbitrary expulsion of large numbers of people from their country of domicile. We also deplore rigid limitations on the right of the individual to leave his country on legitimate grounds. There is an urgent need for all countries to accede

to and to respect the various instruments on human rights adopted by the United Nations.

30. Permit me now to make a few comments on the role of the United Nations in promoting economic and social progress. Measured against the lofty ideals which marked the beginning of the first United Nations Development Decade, the progress made in the economic and social fields cannot but be considered starkly insufficient by those millions who are still suffering from undernourishment, unemployment and lack of education.

31. However, over the years, our knowledge of the complex nature of development has grown, and more and more aspects of the development process have been included in the international co-operation for economic and social progress which has evolved under the auspices of the United Nations. During 1972 two major international conferences bore witness to this expanded international co-operation, the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held in Santiago in April and May 1972, and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in June 1972.

32. Considering that the months preceding the session of UNCTAD saw the most acute crisis in international monetary and trade relations since the Second World War, the results of the Conference were, in the view of the Danish Government, far from insignificant. Thus, agreement was reached on the principle of full and effective participation of developing countries in the decision-making process of the international monetary system as well as on the principle of participation of all developing countries in the forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]. Another important achievement of the third session of UNCTAD was its demonstration of world solidarity with the least developed among the developing countries. We are satisfied that steps have already been taken to ensure action in these areas in accordance with the recommendations of the Conference.

33. The Stockholm Conference on its part made us more conscious of the limits to growth and of the need for protection and improvement of the human environment in order to safeguard the quality of life. Although conceptions of the nature and the urgency of these problems differed from one group of countries to another, the Conference succeeded in arriving at important recommendations for future collective efforts. We trust that this General Assembly, comprising the full membership of the United Nations, will be able to approve the report of the Conference⁶ without disturbing the very delicate balance which was obtained in Stockholm. The problems covered by the two conferences—although of overriding importance—are but elements in the total challenge facing us in the economic and social field.

34. Within the United Nations family of organizations international co-operation is taking place to solve a wide

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

⁶ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14).

range of other crucial problems such as population growth, urbanization, industrialization, social security, employment, nutrition and health. The steady expansion of human knowledge creates new problems and demands. It is the task of the Economic and Social Council to analyse these trends, to propose new ways of co-operation, to ensure coherence of policies and to co-ordinate work. We support the steps which have been taken during the last year to make the Council more fit to assist the developing countries in their struggle for economic and social progress and to advance scientific and technological co-operation among all Member States. The Danish Government continues to attach great importance to the role of the United Nations family of organizations in the field of development aid. It is our hope that there will be increased recognition among developed countries of the particular advantages to the developing world of these multilateral programmes. As stated in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], the objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvements in the well-being of the individual. My country is confident that the United Nations will have an ever-growing role to play in common efforts towards this goal.

35. I feel bound to make a somewhat discouraging observation about our Organization. In spite of the importance which Member States attach to the proper functioning of the United Nations it has not yet been possible to find a solution to its financial crisis. It is the joint responsibility of all Member States to find a speedy solution of this problem, and the financial implications should not present any major obstacle to such a solution. Some countries, among them Denmark, have already years ago made voluntary financial contributions. It would seem as if determined endeavours by the membership in general are long overdue. We therefore hope and urge that the Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations be enabled to present a proposal in the matter to this session of the General Assembly. A solution of the financial problems is one prerequisite for a better and more efficient United Nations. But it is not the only one, and not even the most important one. If we are to achieve the purposes of the Charter it is necessary that Member States adjust their policies and their behaviour to the principles of the Charter and that they be prepared to co-operate fully in their application. This is the only valid way to strengthen the United Nations for the benefit of the international community. It is a question of the political will and vision of all Member States.

36. I have deliberately set aside for the conclusion of my statement the all-important preoccupation of the Danish Government at this very moment: the entry of Denmark into the European Communities. The Danish Government has signed the agreement of accession to the European Communities.⁷ The Danish Parliament has approved this agreement by an overwhelming majority. The final decision will now be taken in a referendum to be held Monday next, 2 October. My Government trusts that the Danish people will ensure the entry of Denmark into the European

Communities as from the beginning of 1973. The firm position of the Danish Government in this matter is accounted for by important political as well as economic reasons. Politically, after centuries of rivalry, instability, political tensions, and sometimes even war, European countries have agreed to co-operate and thus preclude any recurrence of that unfortunate state of affairs. The Danish Government looks forward to playing its positive role in such a co-operation, which in our view should concentrate on problems of immediate concern to the European countries and avoid duplicating discussions which could more naturally be conducted in other forums—for instance in this forum.

37. Economically, Denmark's accession to the European Communities will make for economic progress and for a rise in production—not an end in itself, but a prerequisite for the continuation of a policy of reforms designed to improve conditions for the entire Danish population. In improving economic and political conditions in Europe, co-operation in the enlarged European Communities will be beneficial to the international community as a whole. It will provide opportunities for greater stability in the monetary field, for increased world trade and for increased aid to developing countries. Therefore, I for my part look upon the "Yes" which I trust the Danish population will voice next Monday as not only a contribution to regional co-operation; I see it in the broader context of the demands of international co-operation.

38. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Comrade President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election to the high post of President of the most important international political forum, the General Assembly of the United Nations. The unanimity displayed in your election is a reflection of the respect which States Members of the United Nations have for the peace-loving policies of the Polish People's Republic and for you personally.

39. We should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim. Although he has occupied the post of chief administrative officer of the United Nations for less than a year, he has already shown his desire to co-operate in ensuring that the role of the United Nations in the maintenance and strengthening of peace is enhanced and its activities in the solution of this main task under the United Nations Charter expanded.

40. It is logical and natural for sessions of the United Nations General Assembly to begin with a general political debate. Representatives of States Members of the United Nations assess the main international events, review the results of past United Nations activities in the light of the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter, and set definite tasks for the future. The political impetus which the United Nations receives during the general debate is helpful in the subsequent consideration of the items on the agenda.

41. Even at last year's session of the General Assembly new trends were observed in relations among States which went some way towards meeting the desire of the peoples to secure lasting peace on the earth. Today there is reason to believe that these trends are growing stronger, although

⁷ Treaty concerning the Accession of the Kingdom of Denmark . . . to the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community, signed at Brussels on 22 January 1972.

the forces opposed to a relaxation of tension in the world have not ceased their activities.

42. In these circumstances the United Nations should make new efforts to promote the solution of acute international problems. As a Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union will continue to make its contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace and the transformation of the United Nations into an even more effective instrument of peace.

43. The Soviet State will soon celebrate its fiftieth anniversary as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Leninist formula of the state unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union contains a powerful potential for peace-building. A profound interest in peace is organically inherent in the voluntary and equal union of socialist republics which have joined efforts in a constructive endeavour for the good of their peoples, and predatory wars and the oppression of other peoples are organically alien to such a union.

44. For the Soviet Union the policy of peace is an adequate reflection, in the sphere of external relations, of its internal social nature. In the decisions of the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our country put forward a programme of peace and international co-operation which, as is universally recognized, reflects not the narrow interests of any State or group of States but the aspirations of all peoples, of all mankind. Every step taken to implement it has a constructive influence on international development as a whole.

45. "Our policy of principle", as Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said, "is the active defence of peace, freedom and the security of peoples. We are pursuing it together with our friends and allies, co-ordinating our steps in the international arena."

46. If aggression is committed, the Soviet Union always sides with the victim of the aggression. If trouble threatens our allies and friends, we always come to their aid. And when we sign treaties, we implement them and fulfil our obligations.

47. The objectives for which the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community have been tirelessly fighting for many years have taken concrete form in the positive changes which have come about in the international situation. Together with our allies and friends we shall continue to fight for peace, freedom and the progress of the peoples.

48. While consistently pursuing a policy of peace, the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community certainly do not claim to have a monopoly in this area. In the interests of peace, we are prepared to co-operate and we do co-operate with all States which are also prepared to do likewise. Whatever their social system and in whatever part of the world they may be situated, the door is closed to no one.

49. The broader the circle of countries pursuing a constructive foreign policy line and the larger the contribution

each of them makes towards reducing tension, the more significant are the changes for the better in international affairs. Recent developments confirm this.

50. In the past, post-war periods have always turned out to be mere respites between wars. In the present circumstances real possibilities exist for a fundamentally different development, namely, a transition to a system of stable peace, in order to ensure which the United Nations was established.

51. This transition requires the solution of problems engendered by the Second World War and the special features of development during the subsequent quarter of a century. If we tried to express in the most general form the essence of the changes that have taken place, we should say that it consists in the fact that there is now a possibility of solving some of these problems, while constructive work has begun with a view to settling others.

52. The territorial realities that have arisen in Europe, the continent where both World Wars originated, are gaining universal recognition and being formalized under international law. The entry into force of the well-known treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with the USSR, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970, and with the Polish People's Republic, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970, confirms the inviolability of European boundaries, including the boundary between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and the western boundary of Poland.

53. The conclusion of the agreement on West Berlin⁸ eliminates a chronic source of friction between States in the very centre of Europe.

54. The clearing of the legacy of war from European soil must be completed through the normalization of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with the requirements of observing the sovereignty and independence of both those States and settling relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of recognizing the Munich Agreement as invalid from the very beginning. As you know, negotiations are being held on this matter and I should like to express the hope that they will have a positive outcome.

55. Negotiations will soon take place on the conclusion of a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan which should play its part in closing the book on the Second World War in Asia and in providing a lasting basis for peace and co-operation on that continent as well. For our part, we shall make efforts to ensure the success of these negotiations, but the same desire must of course exist on the other side too.

56. On the whole the "cold war" is being replaced by recognition of the truth that in the nuclear age there is no other basis for relations between States having different social systems but peaceful coexistence. More and more often this is taking the form of binding international legal documents.

⁸ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

57. The prerequisites for many-sided and equal co-operation among States, in the political and other fields, are multiplying.

58. The high level of such co-operation attained in relations between the USSR and France is an especially conspicuous reflection of these new trends. Soviet-French relations are growing increasingly stronger and we note this with great satisfaction. The trends I have referred to are increasingly manifest in the Soviet Union's relations with a number of other States as well.

59. As a result of the Soviet-United States summit talks in Moscow in May of this year, a start has been made in the process of rebuilding relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

60. Our country attaches great importance to its relations with the United States, a great Power with a different social system. For our part we shall do everything in our power to develop these relations and we believe that this is in the interests of the Soviet and American peoples and in the interests of maintaining and strengthening international peace. The broadening of co-operation between the two countries has already begun to become a reality, although there remain and will remain political and ideological disagreements of principle between the Soviet Union and the United States as States having different social systems.

61. Naturally, we proceed from the assumption that no improvement in Soviet-United States relations should be achieved at the expense of other States. This is an important principle of our policy in relations with any State. It is our conviction that all States should be guided by this principle in their mutual relations and it is this criterion which we apply in assessing the significance of various developments in relations between different countries.

62. Since the first years after the Second World War, international relations have been complicated by the division of the world into military and political groupings which set some States against others and constantly carry the risk of a military conflict. The architects of the policy of establishing military blocs, pursuing the arms race and whipping up international tensions, who for a long time determined the foreign policy of the major Western capitalist Powers, worked hard to bring the world to the dangerous brink of a military conflict. Even today we are constantly encountering the consequences of that policy in various parts of the world.

63. We can therefore scarcely over-estimate the importance of even the first steps which are now being taken to lay the foundations of security on the basis of the collective efforts of all interested States.

64. We are now on the eve of an all-European conference on questions of security and co-operation. Preparations for such a conference are to enter the practical phase very shortly. The great importance of this planned meeting of States lies in making Europe genuinely peaceful and in transforming relations among States on the European continent on the basis of mutual understanding and trust; we are in favour of such a policy and such a course of action in European affairs.

65. In the well-known Prague Declaration,⁹ the European socialist countries have already put forward their suggestions as to how, in their view, a system of security in Europe should be built up. Many other States have also expressed their views on this score. This is a great and extremely important task and the all-European conference is expected to make an important contribution to its solution.

66. We are convinced that, if all interested States and Governments show a proper responsibility and a readiness to seek solutions which would be in the common interest, the conference will go down in the history of our time as a great success for the cause of peace.

67. In Asia, too, the idea of ensuring security, which is equally in the interests of all Asian States, is also beginning to gain ground. The Soviet Union considers the question of security in Asia to be an important task also. Those who, for some reason, are not now in sympathy with it should understand that the countries of Asia are no less interested than the Soviet Union in strengthening peace in that area.

68. Although there has been noticeable progress towards a relaxation of international tension, it is hardly likely that anyone would dispute the fact that so far only a beginning has been made and that much more remains to be done. What is more, unless further progress is made and unless the efforts to achieve greater détente are intensified, all that has been gained could be lost. There have been such cases in history.

69. Some of the problems awaiting solution within an international framework affect the interests of practically all States. If we consider the substance of any of the problems leading to international complications and if we focus our attention on what directly generates the danger of war and the unleashing of military conflicts, we can only come to the conclusion that it is the use of force by some States against others for the purpose of territorial annexation and for the purpose of subjugating peoples and establishing domination over them, in other words, for predatory purposes.

70. This has been true up to now and remains true today.

71. In the past tens and hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and America were reduced to slavery by colonial force. Today, when almost all of them have freed themselves, the slightest opportunity is used to restore direct or indirect colonial domination over them.

72. Those who ventured in the past, and venture now, to use force for purposes which have nothing in common with the interests of the peoples are not greatly troubled by the fact that no dispute between States has ever been, or could ever be, settled on a lasting and just basis by means of force. The use of force for the purpose of aggression, territorial annexation and oppression of other peoples has as a rule laid the foundations for further hostility and further conflicts. For this the peoples have to pay, human

⁹ Declaration on Peace, Security and Co-operation in Europe, adopted at the Conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Prague on 25 and 26 January 1972.

beings perish and the great material treasures created by their toil are destroyed.

73. That is why progressive political leaders for almost as long as States themselves have existed have recognized the need to eliminate the use of force from relations between States. But mere understanding of this is, of course, not sufficient. Practical efforts by States are required. This is all the more necessary now that the presence and stockpiling of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of States have radically changed the concept of the consequences which military conflicts can have for the peoples of the world.

74. Although varying views can be held as to the likelihood that this or that crisis or conflict will develop into a nuclear confrontation, as long as nuclear weapons exist, this possibility and this danger also exist. No State, no Government can ignore this. Our country believes that it is possible to eliminate or, at least, to reduce drastically the danger of a conflict between States provoking a nuclear catastrophe. That can be done if renunciation of the use of force in international relations is elevated to the level of international law and if at the same time—I repeat, at the same time—the use of nuclear weapons is prohibited.

75. The Soviet Government is convinced that serious consideration of these questions cannot be put off any longer. The conditions for this are already more favourable now than before and the possibilities for adopting positive decisions are broader.

76. For those reasons, and because it is aware of its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union has submitted for consideration at the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly the item entitled "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" [A/8793].

77. The essence of our proposal is that it provides for the renunciation by States of any use of force to resolve international disputes; including the use both of nuclear weapons and of such types of weapons as are commonly called conventional. It is proposed that this renunciation be of such a nature that no one could avoid observing it strictly; this is possible if the United Nations shows the necessary understanding of its responsibility for the fate of the world.

78. Such an approach is fully in accordance with the fundamental principle proclaimed in the United Nations Charter under which the Members of the United Nations "shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations" [Article 2].

79. The real state of affairs in the world makes it necessary to solve the question of the non-use of force in general and the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons in conjunction with each other.

80. Ever since they first appeared, nuclear weapons have always been considered the most dangerous weapons of

mass destruction. This is even truer now since the strength of these weapons is not a constant but is growing.

81. It would be wrong to lose sight of another aspect of the question: with the development of conventional types of weapons, the danger that they might be used in military conflicts has also increased several times even by comparison with the period of the Second World War. In the last quarter of a century nuclear weapons have not been used in military conflicts, yet who can be unaware of how many tragedies have been brought about by the use of conventional weapons and how numerous have been the victims of their use?

82. All this argues in favour of the prohibition of the use of force in violation of the United Nations Charter in conjunction with the prohibition of the use, first of all, of nuclear weapons, which are especially important.

83. The wisdom and expediency of such a decision have also been demonstrated by the experience which the United Nations has already gained in the consideration of problems of security and disarmament. The repeated attempts of the United Nations to find a solution to both these problems are fresh in everyone's memory. Attempts have been made now from one side, now from the other, now in terms of considering the question of the non-use of force, now in terms of considering the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. And what has transpired?

84. To take only recent years, the States Members of the United Nations have unanimously adopted a resolution on strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations [*resolution 2160 (XXI)*], a Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], and a Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

85. At the real core of all these documents is the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and of the settlement of all disputes between States solely by peaceful means. All the necessary formulations have been carefully worked out and weighed on the political scales and all aspects of the problem seem to have been taken into account, but it is no secret that the goals set have still not been fully achieved; force is being used and human blood is being shed.

86. More than 10 years ago, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Declaration in which it proclaimed the use of nuclear weapons to be a crime against mankind and civilization [*resolution 1653 (XVI)*]. Since then the United Nations has repeatedly advocated the signing of an appropriate international convention by all States. However, the Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons was not supported by all the nuclear Powers and it has still not been possible to initiate productive negotiations on the conclusion of an international convention on the question.

87. Many reasons can be found for the ineffectiveness of the decisions adopted by the United Nations on these questions, but one of the most substantial is unarguably

that they were considered and decided upon by the United Nations in isolation from one another.

88. When the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons was raised, several States had doubts as to the possibility of taking such a step if the use of force was not precluded in relations between States. We shall not now enter into a discussion of the question of the extent to which those doubts were justified but, whatever the case, they became an obstacle to agreement.

89. At the same time, when the question of prohibiting the use of force was considered, the significance of any decisions adopted proved to be limited in the absence of agreement concerning nuclear weapons, that is to say, the most powerful weapons of mass destruction. The separation of one question from the other introduced a certain lack of understanding and suspicion and weakened the effectiveness of the best decisions of the United Nations. Furthermore, their effectiveness was further restricted because they were all in the form of recommendations, or, at best, declarations of intent. They were not given the force of law.

90. The proposal of the Soviet Union [A/8793] envisages the adoption of the most realistic and effective decision possible in modern conditions. It is precisely such a decision which is in the interests of all States, regardless of their social systems, the size of their territory and population, or whether or not they possess nuclear weapons.

91. As a result of such a decision, those States which are militarily stronger, and above all the nuclear Powers, will obtain greater mutual assurance that they are under no threat from one another. The security of each of them will be safeguarded more reliably and at the same time on an equal basis, that is to say, no one will gain a unilateral advantage at the expense of another in comparison with the situation which prevails at present, and no one would lose anything.

92. Those States which are militarily less powerful, including all those which do not possess nuclear weapons, would also gain. Now, they are justifiably concerned at the danger that nuclear weapons might be directed against them if aggression is committed. The prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons in conjunction with the renunciation of the use of force would remove this threat and greatly strengthen the security of all States.

93. It goes without saying that the obligation of States to renounce the use of force, including nuclear weapons, can in no way impair their right to individual and collective self-defence as laid down in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. On the contrary, that obligation would reinforce the right to self-defence against aggression and the right to struggle to eliminate the consequences of aggression in cases where it has already been committed and the aggressor seeks to benefit from it.

94. No one can challenge the inalienable right of States and peoples subjected to aggression to repulse it by employing all possible means so long as the aggressor continues to use force, encroaches upon their freedom and sovereignty and tries to retain territories seized by force. It

will suffice to refer to the examples before everyone's eyes: Indo-China and the Middle East. Who would dare to contest the incontestable fact that brute force has been and still is being used against the peoples of Indo-China and against the Arab States and that they are entitled to use all the necessary means to rebuff the aggressor?

95. Renunciation of the use of force in relations between States in no way limits the right of the peoples of colonial countries to fight for their freedom and independence using any means which may be necessary in that struggle. This right is recognized by the United Nations as being a legitimate one. It is based on the fact that violence was used against those peoples, who have been the victims of colonialism and aggression, and, in resorting to force to liberate themselves, they are only restoring justice and their flouted rights.

96. The adoption of a decision on non-use of force and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would thus be beneficial to all. But this also makes it necessary for all States, particularly all those Powers which possess nuclear weapons, to participate in its elaboration and adoption. Otherwise no decision, not even the very best one, could attain the desired objective.

97. The Soviet Government has given thorough consideration to the question of the most appropriate form for a decision by the United Nations on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. We propose that consideration of this item should result in the adoption of a clear-cut decision, which, in the interests of maximum effectiveness, should bind together appropriate actions by the two main organs of the United Nations—the General Assembly and the Security Council. On behalf of the Soviet Union, the Soviet delegation is submitting the following draft resolution for consideration by the General Assembly:

[The speaker then read out the text of a draft resolution which was subsequently circulated as document A/L.676. For the text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh session, Annexes, agenda item 25.]

98. The proposed draft speaks for itself. It envisages a major step on the part of the General Assembly—a decision on behalf of States Members of the United Nations on their renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. It contains an appeal to the Security Council to take action to make this declaration binding on all States. For this purpose, and in accordance with well-known provisions of the United Nations Charter, a meeting of the Security Council should be convened at the level of members of Governments or other specially designated representatives.

99. The Soviet delegation is authorized to state that the Soviet Union will stand ready to participate in the convening of such a meeting of the Security Council and in its work. We shall be ready to join in this political action with all other States which are permanent members of the Council. We are convinced that there can be no higher duty for those States on which the Charter of the United Nations places a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

100. We appeal to all States represented in the General Assembly to study carefully the draft we have submitted and, on the basis of it, to adopt unanimously a resolution which will reflect the firm will of this world Organization to put an end to any use of force in relations between States in violation of the United Nations Charter and to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

101. In so doing, the United Nations will be giving strong support to the cause of a further relaxation of international tension, the strengthening of peace and increased mutual understanding in relations between States. This step will be in the interests of all those to whom peace, security and peaceful coexistence are not merely words but a guide for action.

102. The task of building a lasting peace requires the adoption of effective measures to prevent and avert military conflicts in the future. But it is no less important to put an end to the conflicts which are poisoning the international atmosphere now and to put out the military fires in areas where the right of peoples to be masters of their own destinies is being encroached upon. Lack of progress in settling these problems cannot but cause deep anxiety for the future course of world affairs.

103. The position of the Soviet Union concerning the war against the Viet-Nameese people is known to all. The continuation and expansion of the United States intervention in Viet-Nam and other countries of Indo-China provoke indignation and condemnation. Probably never before have so many declarations been made containing promises to leave Viet-Nam and to stop the war as have been made recently. And never before has there been such a striking contrast between words and deeds. No matter how much the United States manipulates reports on reductions in the strength of the United States infantry in Viet-Nam in order to appease the public, behind those reports there is in reality an unprecedented expansion of military activities and of their cruelty and inhumanity. No matter how many assurances it gives us that it does not wish to settle the internal affairs of the Viet-Nam people for them, it is in fact pursuing a policy that is aimed at eliminating the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the people's armed forces of liberation and at preserving the Saigon puppet administration as the sole legitimate authority in South Viet-Nam.

104. One can only wonder why the only correct conclusion has not yet been drawn: namely, that the Viet-Nameese people cannot be defeated. Their resistance will not be broken either by heavier bombing, the blockading of ports or damage to hydrotechnical installations. The Viet-Nameese people are fighting heroically against aggression and fighting for just aims, in order to be master in their own country. They cannot allow anyone from outside to prescribe a political and social system for them or to impose puppets who uphold interests that are foreign to the Viet-Nameese people.

105. A way out can be found, but only through serious negotiations, for which a constructive basis has been provided by the well-known proposals contained in the statements by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam of 11 September 1972

and by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam of 14 September 1972.

106. The essence of these proposals is clear and simple. The United States of America must respect the right of the Viet-Nameese people to genuine independence and the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to self-determination. It must stop the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, put an end to the bombing and mining, the blockade and all military activities in Viet-Nam, renounce the policy of the "Viet-Namization" of the war, immediately withdraw all United States troops from South Viet-Nam and discontinue its military participation and support of the Saigon puppet régime. In the solution of the internal problem of South Viet-Nam, it is essential to work on the basis of the real situation: two authorities, two armies and other political forces exist there. The basis for the solution of the problem lies in the equality of the parties and a rejection of annexation. To that end it is necessary to set up in South Viet-Nam a provisional Government which has been agreed on nationally on a tripartite basis and which will handle all matters during the transitional period and organize general elections on truly free and democratic lines.

107. All those who respect the rights of the peoples and all those who have not lost the ability to assess the state of affairs objectively cannot but recognize that these proposals are very well founded, reasonable and logical and that they express the goodwill of the Viet-Nameese people. They cannot but reject categorically allegations that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is trying to impose a "Communist régime" on South Viet-Nam.

108. If the United States of America wants the negotiations in Paris to lead to the restoration of peace, it should reply positively to the statement by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam of 11 September 1972. If, however, it is pursuing some other goal, then the talks in Paris can only lead to a deadlock, the war will continue and the full responsibility for it will rest with the United States of America.

109. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it fully supports the proposals by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. All those who cherish the ideals of freedom and independence cannot fail to have a sense of solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people in their struggle.

110. A solution to the problems of the Middle East must be found. Recent events linked with the new criminal acts of aggression by Israel against Arab countries, including Lebanon, show how serious is the danger and how far the Israeli leaders are going in their reckless policy.

111. The responsibility which rests with the aggressors is shared by all those who protect them and whose support enables Israel to defy the United Nations and its decisions regarding the elimination of the consequences of the aggression and the restoration of peace in the Middle East. The Israeli leaders must know that an adventurist policy can lead only to apparent success and that in the final analysis it will inevitably entail retribution.

112. The attempts to appropriate Arab lands and repeated military acts of aggression cannot be tolerated. The United

Nations has the necessary right and the possibilities to put the aggressor in his place.

113. Only a long-term and just settlement in the Middle East in accordance with the well-known decisions of the United Nations can ensure the peace and security of all—we repeat, all—States in this region. The Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

114. For the Soviet Union, support for the legitimate demands of the Arab countries, for the United Nations decisions regarding a political settlement of the Middle East conflict, and for the mission of Ambassador Jarring is a policy of principle. We are pursuing it and we shall continue to pursue it unswervingly.

115. We also support the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the restoration of their inalienable rights, which have been recognized by the United Nations. At the same time, we cannot, of course, condone the acts of terrorism committed by certain elements among the members of the Palestinian movement which have led, among other things, to the recent tragic events in Munich. Their criminal acts also strike a blow at the national interests and aspirations of the Palestinians and are used by the Israeli criminals to cover up their own piratical policy against the Arab peoples.

116. On the basis of positions of principle, the Soviet Union opposes acts of terrorism which disrupt the diplomatic activities of States and their representatives, transport communications between them and the normal course of international contacts and meetings, and it opposes acts of violence which serve no positive end and cause loss of human life.

117. Peace will not be truly lasting until an end is put to the arms race, which is one of the main sources of distrust among States and of an increased danger of war. The struggle for disarmament has been going on for a long time. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community see in the struggle for disarmament one of the main orientations for their foreign policy activities. And this policy will be continued. Some of the things that seemed almost unattainable even 10 or 15 years ago are now reflected in treaties and agreements that have entered into force. These include some which to a certain extent curb the nuclear arms race and reduce the threat of nuclear war: the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the three environments,¹⁰ and others. In addition, the first agreement in history on the elimination of a type of armaments which falls within the category of means of mass destruction, namely, bacteriological and toxin weapons, has now been concluded.¹¹

118. To the sum total of obligations in the field of the limitation of the arms race and disarmament already

assumed by the majority of States, one more has recently been added: it concerns those types of armaments which have the greatest destructive force. I am referring to the Soviet-United States strategic arms limitation agreements, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972. Limiting to the minimum the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems, the agreements eliminate one of the main motives for unleashing a competition between offensive and defensive missile weapons, the full consequences of which are difficult to predict. By establishing quantitative limits for strategic offensive arms for the first time, the agreements curb the most dangerous trend in the arms race.

119. The conclusion of the Soviet-United States strategic arms limitation agreements is an important step which will help to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to curb the arms race and which will open up new prospects for progress towards general disarmament. Both sides have agreed to continue the talks with a view to arriving at further agreements in that direction.

120. Each successful step in the struggle to limit the arms race is important in its own right and is, at the same time, important as a starting point for further efforts. The possibilities for further progress towards the solution of new disarmament problems will increase with each new step on which agreement is reached. Our country has always desired this and we shall spare no effort in continuing to work, together with all other States, to relieve the peoples of the burden of weapons.

121. The Soviet Union favours the earliest possible solution of the question of the halting of the production of chemical weapons and their destruction, concerning which negotiations are being held in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. It also favours the halting everywhere and by everyone of nuclear weapon tests, including underground tests, the elimination of foreign military bases on alien territory and the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

122. States have acquired a great deal of experience in negotiations on disarmament. Various methods have been used and are being used; some of them have fully justified themselves and should be used further. At the same time it can hardly be considered proper that, since the advent of the nuclear age, there has not yet been a single occasion on which States have all gathered together to consider the question of disarmament, which affects all States, socialist and capitalist, large and small, developed and developing, nuclear and non-nuclear. We can therefore only welcome the fact that the idea of convening a world disarmament conference has become one of the most popular ideas among the States of the world and among world public opinion.

123. The General Assembly will be considering in a specific manner the question of convening a world disarmament conference [item 26]. Our views on this are well known. We consider that this conference should be a forum at which all countries without exception could present and compare, on an equal basis, their views on the whole range of disarmament questions and come to agreement on practical steps designed to curb the arms race and achieve

¹⁰ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

¹¹ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

disarmament. This applies both to weapons of mass destruction and to conventional weapons.

124. The Soviet Government believes that full advantage should be taken of the opportunities that are now taking shape for the convening of a world disarmament conference. We, for our part, shall continue to do everything in our power to ensure that it is held and is successful.

125. The question of the strengthening of international security is once again on the agenda of the General Assembly [item 35]. This problem is an urgent one and will remain so as long as there are forces at work which are interested not in implementing the principles of the United Nations Charter but in aggravating international tension and suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples.

126. Great victories have been won by the peoples in their struggle to eliminate colonial oppression. But this problem has not yet been completely solved and millions of people are still living under the colonial and racist yoke.

127. The Soviet Union, which was the first country in the history of the world to eradicate national oppression and to ensure genuine prosperity for dozens of nations and nationalities, is irreconcilably opposed to all manifestations of racism, *apartheid*, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Our country opposes all attempts to exert pressure—direct or indirect—on States which, after a hard struggle, have won the right to independent development and are now building their national economies, carrying out progressive social and economic reforms and defending their rights to own the natural resources that belong to them. It is the duty of the United Nations to assist those States in every way possible to strengthen their sovereignty and independence.

128. In international politics it is necessary constantly to take account of the various questions posed by scientific and technological progress and the requirements which such progress is making on an ever-increasing scale in the field of international co-operation. This applies to economic, scientific and technological links, which are becoming ever richer in content. It applies directly to new areas in which States are active, particularly outer space.

129. It was on the basis of those considerations that the Soviet Union submitted proposals on principles governing the activities of States in outer space, on the conclusion of a treaty concerning the moon and on a number of other matters. At the current session of the General Assembly we are proposing that consideration should be given to the item entitled "Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting" [item 37]. Our purpose in raising this question is to link inseparably, from the very beginning, the use of this new type of space technology to the noble purposes of strengthening peace and friendship among peoples.

130. The United Nations must promptly acquire a genuinely universal character. Universality could lend the United Nations new strength and enable it to consider world problems with greater results. We therefore see no justification for attempts to create artificial obstacles to the admission of new States to the United Nations.

131. We consider it necessary to ensure the earliest possible admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic, which is fully entitled to be admitted, as is, of course, the Federal Republic of Germany too. This will be in the interests of the further development of co-operation among States and will be in line with the political situation taking shape in Europe.

132. No one should cast doubt on the legitimate right to membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, which has recently gained its national independence. That State has a legitimate right to become a Member of the United Nations.

133. In general, the United Nations should rid itself as quickly as possible of the burden of the past, which is still making itself felt in its activities in various spheres. One such sphere is that of questions relating to Korea. This year there are new possibilities before the General Assembly for a constructive approach to the discussion and solution of these questions. Such possibilities had been afforded by the proposal put forward by the non-aligned and socialist States concerning the "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" [A/8752 and Add.1-10]. But those who in the past created a hotbed of tension in the Korean region and are now trying to maintain it have prevented the General Assembly from considering this proposal at the current session. Everyone understands that an artificial delay in this case can only be harmful and that those States which resort to such methods are showing themselves to be opposed to a just settlement in the interests of the normalization of the situation in Korea and the strengthening of peace in that area.

134. As to the Soviet Union, our position on the question of Korea has been set out many times. We are in favour of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and support the measures and efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the independent and peaceful unification of the country.

135. During the period in which the United Nations has existed, attempts have been made on more than one occasion to destroy its Charter. Whatever the subjective intentions of those who are now raising the question of the review of the United Nations Charter, the objective reality is such that this will entail great dangers for all the activities of the United Nations.

136. The Soviet Union considers that the interests of all States without exception require that attention should be focused not on a revision of the United Nations Charter but on its strict observance and on fuller utilization of the possibilities it affords.

137. What is necessary for the United Nations to succeed is the readiness and determination of Member States to act together in the interests of solving the problems facing the Organization. This should make the United Nations a real centre for concerted action by nations to achieve common goals, which is an obligation under the United Nations Charter.

138. Those who seek to divide the United Nations either according to the principle of the size of the territory or

population of States or by classifying them as "rich" and "poor" are doing a disservice not only to the United Nations but also to the cause of preserving and strengthening peace as a whole.

139. That is not what inspired the founders of the United Nations. They wanted the United Nations to be strong and firm in rebuffing aggressors and to be capable of promoting co-operation among all countries irrespective of their size and level of economic development.

140. As to the Soviet Union, it has invariably done and will continue to do everything it can to ensure that the United Nations acts precisely in that manner. The policy of the struggle for peace and security is the general policy of the Soviet Union in the international arena. That policy was adopted half a century ago by the socialist republics which joined together to form the Soviet Union and it is still the policy today.

141. The twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly is a regular session. But it could become a prominent landmark in the formation of a new system of peaceful relations among States. For this purpose it should focus its attention on the main and most acute political problems brought to the fore by life itself and the whole course of international development.

142. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the Assembly and assure you of the whole-hearted co-operation of my delegation and its Permanent Representative in the arduous task ahead of you.

143. I should also like to thank the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, for the way in which he presided over the affairs of the General Assembly.

144. I am very happy to see sitting on your right, Mr. President, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the new Secretary-General, who has already shown keen interest in the affairs of the United Nations by apprising himself personally of the views and aspirations of the peoples of the world. Mr. Secretary-General, may your endeavours bear fruit.

145. I do not think it would be out of place to pay a tribute to U Thant, who retired last December after years of untiring efforts to enhance the power and the prestige of this Assembly. He had always pursued his duties with utmost understanding and devotion.

146. Speaking at this rostrum at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations [1875th meeting], I pointed out that the Organization had not fulfilled all the hopes and expectations which the poor, the weak and the disinherited of the earth had placed in it. While we recognize that it takes time to establish a new world-wide order of peace, justice and prosperity, to which we aspire, there has been good progress for peace and international agreements during the past months. The fact that the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China have come nearer to one another augurs well for the world; and the dialogues

between West and East Germany and the discussions between North and South Korea are no less significant.

147. I believe that we all share the Secretary-General's view that "the United Nations . . . remains the best long-term basis on which the international community as a whole can opt for survival, justice and progress" and that "in the long run there is no substitute for such an instrumentality" [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2]. I submit that the Member States should endeavour to make the United Nations more and more effective with each passing year and that it is incumbent on the General Assembly at each regular session to see to it that we progress steadily towards the goals that we have set for ourselves.

148. I should like now to come to a few specific points. There is no doubt that by restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China and by admitting five new States the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session took a decisive step towards ensuring conditions for the increased effectiveness of the United Nations.

149. Mauritius welcomes the initiative of Member States to request the General Assembly to consider the question of the admission of the new State of Bangladesh into the comity of nations. This question should not be tied up with any extraneous issue but should be considered by itself and on its own merits. Mauritius—like other countries—is of the view that with the admission of this important country to the United Nations most of the issues which are now pending between Pakistan and Bangladesh would be resolved.

150. In this connexion we are gratified that under the Simla Agreement of last July India and Pakistan have agreed, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to renounce the use of force to settle their disputes. The normalization of relations between these two countries will contribute in a large measure to the solution of outstanding differences between Pakistan and Bangladesh. All three nations should be encouraged by the United Nations to restore conditions for a durable peace on the subcontinent. It is our view that it is not by keeping Bangladesh out of the United Nations family that we shall contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes that affect peace in South Asia.

151. I appeal to the People's Republic of China to look on the admission of Bangladesh with sympathy and generosity and not to pursue the path of ostracism, for through ostracism it was itself denied for over a quarter of a century its rightful place in this Organization.

152. Now I come to the very delicate issue which preoccupies the minds of most Governments at present. We have from time to time censured South Africa for its policy towards the black peoples of Africa; but to my mind South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and discrimination against our brothers and sisters in Africa has paled into insignificance against the recent action of Uganda, namely, the expulsion of Asians from that country and the expropriation of their property. We have all been put to shame, and in the name of humanity and peace I appeal to President Amin to search his own heart and reconsider the situation. Otherwise there will be no distinction between the policies adopted by

Uganda and those adopted by South Africa. After all, South Africa has not dispossessed and expelled people because of their origin or race, thus bringing about the great hardships which would have followed such a policy of utter disregard of the principles on which this world Organization is based.

153. Without interfering in the internal policy of any State, I should like to deal now with another problem facing our brothers still struggling for their respective independence.

154. In our own lifetime peoples of all countries have fought two World Wars for justice and freedom and for equality of opportunity for all, and the last World War has now been behind us for over 27 years. Yet, despite the efforts of this great Organization and of the economically backward peoples of the world, there are still colonial Territories struggling for their rights. Four years ago I touched upon this problem in the Assembly [1765th meeting], and we are still in a dark tunnel groping our way towards a dawn that we should like to see for each of these Territories.

155. There can be no justification today for a country to be under the domination of one colonial Power or another. I am not making an indictment of these Powers; my purpose today is to appeal to their conscience and to countries represented in this Organization. I feel that the big Powers which are now holding large tracts of territories inhabited by other peoples should relinquish their hold over these territories, preserving, if they so wish, their economic, cultural and other ties with them.

156. Friendly Governments to which I am appealing must not take my remarks amiss, but rather search their own hearts to see whether there is any more justification whatsoever for keeping colonies in this decade. There are ugly aspects to these dominations of territories, for such territories are used as bases for the economic and political subversion of the neighbouring countries which have become independent. If freedom *per se* cannot come to these countries, I again suggest to this Assembly that we should revive the Trusteeship Council, under whose umbrella all the remaining Territories should live and be enabled to secure their independence at some future time; otherwise I see no hope for them. I know that I am touching on a very sensitive issue, but in the name of God and in the name of justice I ask the Powers concerned to pursue a policy of live and let live. I leave this problem to the representatives here for consideration and action.

157. I am glad that the subject of terrorism has been discussed. Let us hope that moderation and wisdom will bring about a better state of affairs. But it will be necessary in the first instance to define terrorism and to exclude from its connotations the freedom-fighters and liberation movements for which the Organization of African Unity has doubled its contribution this year. But after they have been excluded, to whom will terrorism refer? To the Arabs and the hijackers? We can see immediately how delicate the problem becomes. We all deplore and condemn terrorism, and I am glad that in his statement at the 2038th meeting Mr. William Rogers, Secretary of State of the United States, has defined at great length the several aspects of terrorism

and given a new and, no doubt, acceptable orientation to this problem. I am convinced that all States will consider favourably the draft convention submitted by the United States for the prevention and punishment of certain acts of international terrorism [A/C.6/L.850].

158. While on my way to the United Nations I had the opportunity of visiting the Middle East, and I am more than ever convinced that it should be the first aim of this Assembly—with the help of the super-Powers, which are really responsible for the tension in that part of the world—to bring about peace with honour. I am sure that it should be possible for the Federation of Arab Republics and other neighbouring Arab countries to recognize the frontiers of Israel and live in peace with it, provided Israel withdraws from the territories it is occupying against the wishes of its neighbours. Otherwise, the peace of the world will continue to be threatened without any hope of reconciliation.

159. As I have just emphasized, the main concern of this Assembly should be to promote peace everywhere in the world, and it is heartening to think that the General Assembly at its last session declared that “the Indian Ocean . . . is hereby designated for all time as a zone of peace” [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and in that resolution called upon the great Powers and all other States concerned to enter into immediate consultations with each other with a view to halting the further escalation and expansion of their presence in the Indian Ocean and eliminating from the Indian Ocean all bases, military installations, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great Power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great Power rivalry.

160. In the framework of resolution 2832 (XXVI) containing the declaration, Mauritius will continue to co-operate with all other parties concerned in order to make the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free zone and an area of peace.

161. Further, considering the achievements of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], of which Mauritius is a proud member, we share the conviction of the Secretary-General that “regional organizations have a vital role to play in any workable world order” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 3]. Without divesting itself of its prerogatives with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations should encourage regional organizations set up in accordance with the principles of the Charter to play their role as agencies of first resort to deal with local disputes and conflicts among Member States. The success achieved by OAU in this regard is important. At our last summit conference,¹² we had occasion to witness once again peaceful methods of solving disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. As often as possible the regional organizations should be given the opportunity to maintain regional peace, in accordance with Article 52 of the Charter.

162. Turning now to the main requirement for lasting peace, namely, the question of general and complete

¹² Ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Rabat, Morocco, from 12 to 15 June 1972.

disarmament, we have to note that the most decisive measures to end the arms race remain to be taken. Of course, we are gratified that agreements on partial measures of disarmament have been reached and that the talks on strategic arms limitations have been concluded successfully. But as long as there is no comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, we cannot genuinely speak of the possibility of peace. It may be that such a world disarmament conference as proposed by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the answer. We believe that such a conference, if adequately prepared as suggested in resolution 2833 (XXVI), will bring about the desired results, provided that the fundamental issues, including the stopping of all nuclear testing and the destruction of all existing nuclear weapons, are fully gone into beforehand.

163. If we consider all the problems of social and economic development facing two thirds of mankind, we realize how essential it is to take the bold steps that are called for in order to take measures for population control. Mauritius, as one of the countries plagued by a population explosion and consequent unemployment, is aware, perhaps more than most countries, that lack of economic development breeds social unrest which may result in serious internal conflicts. Accordingly, Mauritius is engaged seriously in mobilizing all its population-controlling institutions under the aegis of the State. It is in this way that Mauritius hopes to provide increasing opportunities to its people for a better life, by removing obstacles to their economic and social progress.

164. Finally, it is our firm belief that the United Nations could best serve mankind if it could become the centre for harmonizing human endeavours in the political, economic and social fields.

165. Mr. MOORE (Ghana): Mr. President, on behalf of the Ghana delegation and on my own behalf I congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is an honour not only to yourself but also to your country, Poland, with which Ghana has had such friendly and useful ties for many years. Colonel Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the National Redemption Council, has expressly asked me to convey to you fraternal greetings of the Government and people of Ghana. He also wishes me to assure you of the support of the Government of Ghana for your efforts as President of this session of the Assembly. I am mandated to assure you, Mr. President, that the Government of Ghana will continue to support and to play its role in the affairs of this Assembly, despite its preoccupation with its difficult economic and social problems.

166. The economic development of Ghana, like that of other developing countries, is plagued by an inequitable system of international trade and by a world financial structure which seems to maintain an iniquitous *status quo*—the poor shall become poorer and the already prosperous, richer. It is in the face of this grim reality that we in Ghana are striving not only to survive but to create for ourselves a decent standard of living. Time was when we thought foreign aid was the answer to our economic difficulties. Experience has now taught us that the present terms under which foreign aid is given generates not

prosperity and plenty, but misery and privation. We have learned that the answer to our economic difficulties is not to continue to parade the corridors of the big Powers with cap in hand, begging for alms to feed our people and to develop our country. Our economic salvation lies in our own hands, and our success can be measured only by the effort we ourselves are prepared to make. That is why, since assuming the administration of Ghana barely nine months ago, the National Redemption Council, under the inspiring leadership of Colonel Acheampong, has insisted on a total mobilization of the entire resources of the country.

167. But are the difficulties and sacrifices which a "go-it-alone" policy implies necessary in our world today? Are all the professions of international solidarity mere empty phrases? It is the view of my delegation that the United Nations has since its inception been too preoccupied with the containment of political problems, important though these are. The larger issue, in the view of my delegation, the far more dangerous tension arising from indefensible disparities in economic levels of well-being, has not received the attention it deserves, especially from the big Powers of the world which, given the will, have the capacity to create a world without hunger, a world without poverty, a world without disease.

168. As far back as 1944, at Dumbarton Oaks, the founding fathers of the United Nations recognized the dangers inherent in economic and social disparities, and accordingly entrenched in the Charter the need for their eventual elimination. The Charter envisages the employment of international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

169. The United Nations has already celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. But in spite of the launching of the two development decades, the gap between the rich and the poor countries continues to grow. Indeed, international trade and national fiscal systems and institutions make such a trend inevitable. It is true that some developed countries have taken some steps to meet the targets of the Second United Nations Development Decade. A scheme of generalized preferences in favour of the imports of developing countries has been put into effect by some advanced countries. Temporary measures have also been adopted to stabilize and restructure the international monetary system. But on the basis of the evidence, it is hard to escape the conclusion that for many developed countries the solemn endorsements given to the strategies and programmes of action of the two development decades were only words of exhortation, and that we in the developing world were too naive in taking public pronouncements of the rich and powerful seriously.

170. The shortcomings of the International Development Strategy are in a large measure due to a lack of generous, over-all response in terms of official development assistance to be provided by the advanced countries. An alarming decline in public and legislative support in certain significant donor countries is progressively hardening into national policy. Unwillingness to liberalize tariffs, restrictive commercial and trade practices, and failure to agree on stable commodity prices have all adversely affected the prospects for improving the terms of trade of developing countries.

171. In contrast to the attractive prices of the products of advanced countries which are progressively going through an upward adjustment, primary products, which sustain the economies of developing countries, are constantly suffering a catastrophic plunge. It should be obvious to the international community that, given the fluctuations in the prices of primary products, the prospect of the developing world earning enough to meet its foreign exchange and investment needs is very, very slim. Yet since the advanced countries continue to be dependent on primary products to feed their growing industries, it is to the mutual advantage of both parties to come to an early agreement on a system of stabilization of commodity prices on the implicit understanding that such an encouraging booster to the production of primary products will, by the same token, assure the continued success of the dependent industries in the advanced countries.

172. That is why it is a matter of considerable regret to my Government that no international cocoa agreement has yet been concluded. Cocoa provides nearly 80 per cent of Ghana's foreign-exchange earnings, and it is therefore the fervent hope of the Ghana Government that, at the United Nations Cocoa Conference currently meeting in Geneva, positive conclusions can be reached in respect of cocoa.

173. Nor has this lack of significant economic progress been much helped by the monetary and financial crises and the floating of currencies by developed countries. If anything, these have largely served to accentuate the problems of developing countries. What has so greatly affected the capacity of developing countries to accomplish the planned targets of the International Development Strategy is the growing debt burden. If Ghana's experience is any guide, the debt disability imposed on developing countries is not the sole consequence of the depletion of foreign exchange earned through their export trade. In Ghana's particular case, for instance, a number of the projects, financed by suppliers' credits, were not preceded by the usual feasibility studies, which would have assured their profitability. Commissions of inquiry and other investigations conducted in Ghana have clearly established that some of the contracts were tainted with corruption. Undue inflation in respect of the prices quoted has also come to light. Added to this were the harsh repayment terms which closed the door to reasonable resources being generated to allow amortization of the debts. No wonder that many projects have turned out to be white elephants, deficient in productive results. In the light of this, the Government of Ghana expects other countries to view with understanding and sympathy the action taken by the Ghana Government in respect of its debts.

174. These disappointments brought about in our development by a host of factors, not the least of which was the sharp business practices of some creditor countries, have only increased Ghana's resolve to be self-reliant. In adopting this policy of self-reliance, we do not imply that the door is shut for genuine foreign aid from friendly countries. Our aim is to enhance the living standards of Ghanaians and to lay the foundation of institutions which will cultivate the cultural and spiritual values of the individual in an atmosphere of peace and justice. For foreign aid to be accepted, it would have to come on the most generous terms satisfying the liberal repayment arrangements of the

International Development Agency. Ghana is also persuaded of the advantages that would accrue from diversification of its trade links with new and growing markets. In consideration of this potential benefit, plans are under way to reactivate trade and payment arrangements with Ghana's non-traditional trading partners.

175. Notwithstanding the noble objectives of the International Development Strategy, there is a growing credibility gap between intentions and performance. Technology is accentuating the inequalities between the advanced and the developing countries. While the nations of the northern hemisphere live in affluence and unprecedented comfort, the greater number of countries are condemned to a life of abject poverty, afflicted by innumerable diseases and lacking adequate social services to make life worth living. And yet the developing countries have contributed a great deal and continue to contribute significantly to the economic well-being of the affluent. Do we have to live with this situation or is it our bounden duty as an international community to remedy it through our joint efforts?

176. It was this same concern which prompted the President of the World Bank to remark recently that the rich nations of the world possessing 25 per cent of its people but 80 per cent of its wealth should have to provide the additional assistance in the form of aid and trade which the developing nations need to meet minimum national goals. That additional assistance can be financed by diverting but a tiny percentage of the incremental income which will accrue to the developed countries during the 1970s.

177. Scientific and technological advances have made the world a global village and increased the interdependence of nation-States. The problems of a section of our closely-knit world can only be ignored by the rest at its peril. We are reminded that the astronauts who went into outer space dramatically realized the world's smallness and oneness on looking back. As Woodrow Wilson warned, "You cannot have peace, you cannot even have your legitimate part in the business of the world, unless you are partners with the rest."

178. We believe that the philosophy of interdependence should be reflected in an appropriate and sound foreign policy which would provide the framework for the real progress of man. This brings me to the foreign policy of Ghana. In this respect I can do no more than to quote the words of our Head of State, Colonel Acheampong, on 17 January this year. He said:

"Our foreign policy will first of all be based on a vigorous and dynamic African policy. We intend to foster the closest and most cordial relations with all African brothers who are still not free and who suffer deprivations, degradation and indignity on the continent of their birth. Accordingly, we shall vigorously support the eradication of the last remnants of colonialism and racial discrimination from the African continent. Our fellow Africans, struggling for control of their own destiny under the racists of South Africa, under the rebel régime of Ian Smith, in Namibia and in Portuguese-held parts of Africa will have our unflinching support."

179. On the OAU, Colonel Acheampong stated:

"We subscribe unreservedly to the charter of the OAU, and it is our resolve to lend effective support to all efforts aimed at making it an effective body for the expression and the realization of African aspirations."

180. On non-alignment, Colonel Acheampong said:

"Ghana's traditional policy since we became independent has been one of non-alignment The Government of Ghana would pursue a truly non-aligned policy; we shall be friends with all who would like to be friends with us; Ghana will not interfere in the internal affairs of any sovereign State and we expect all States to observe the same principle in their dealings with us."

181. On the United Nations, Colonel Acheampong stated:

"The new Government of Ghana reaffirms its support for the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and we intend to play our full part in the United Nations and in its various organs for the achievement of the aims and purposes of the United Nations Organization".

182. It is in the light of our declared foreign policy that I shall proceed to make a few observations on the world political situation.

183. The world political picture, as we see it from Ghana, is far from satisfactory. Strife and conflicts continue to disturb the peace of the world: the guns of war are still booming, bombs are still falling on helpless persons in many parts of the world; and the legitimate rights of sections of the world population are still being trodden upon by men who nevertheless profess high moral principles.

184. I turn now to Viet-Nam. If Indo-China still continues to hit the world headlines it is because the tragic war in Viet-Nam is still with us. The cost in terms of economic and ecological waste, not counting the toll in human lives and suffering, is a blot on this Organization, which has found itself powerless to bring an end to this human tragedy. There can be no doubt now that force cannot settle the Viet-Nameese problem, as the massive bombing of North Viet-Nam has amply shown. The answer lies in negotiations. The understanding which is emerging between the two Germanys, and between North and South Korea, assures us that this is possible. In our view the complete withdrawal of foreign forces already initiated should allow the Viet-Nameese people freely to settle their differences. We therefore call for a halt to the bombing of the North, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Viet-Nam, and the recognition of the principle of self-determination in Viet-Nam.

185. I turn now to the Middle East. Under the relative calm in the Middle East lies a potentially explosive situation in regard to which we have a joint responsibility to forestall a fresh outbreak of hostilities in an area which has known so much human suffering. In the considered view of the Ghana delegation, the key to an enduring peace in the Middle East involves the surrender of territories acquired as prizes of war in return for the recognition of the rights of

all States in the area and the finding of a just solution to the Palestinian problem. The conditions embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contain the balanced objectives to which my delegation wholeheartedly subscribes.

186. With regard to southern Africa, as I have already indicated earlier in my statement, the National Redemption Council has declared as a cardinal principle of Ghana's foreign policy the total emancipation of Africa from foreign domination. The Ghana Government is concerned about the continuing existence of colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination not only in Africa but also in various parts of the world. These phenomena constitute a glaring anachronism while at the same time posing a potential danger to world peace.

187. Of particular concern to my Government is the increasingly grave situation in southern Africa, whose problems pose a challenge to the aims and purposes of the United Nations. As I speak now, Portugal is waging a senseless war in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous populations and to prevent them from enjoying a decent existence in the land of their birth. Again, as I speak now, rebel Ian Smith is riding high on his illegal usurpation of power, and continues to exploit the African majority for the benefit of the white minority. As I speak now, Vorster's *apartheid* system is further consolidating itself and extending its grip to Namibia. These hardened colonialists and racists, with the connivance and support of their friends, have defied civilized world opinion and have flouted with impunity all decent human values. How long can we remain indifferent to the persistence of these ills, which not only negate all that the United Nations stands for but also constitute a veritable threat to world peace? My delegation strongly believes—and would issue a warning—that if the deplorable and disgraceful situation in southern Africa does not change by peaceful means it will be changed by violence, the repercussions of which will go far beyond the borders of southern Africa.

188. It is no secret that the situation in southern Africa has persisted for so long because of the aid and comfort which certain countries, particularly in the West, have been giving to these colonialist and racist régimes. The sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the Smith régime are constantly being breached by all sorts of devious means, and in this connexion it is a matter of deep regret that some major Powers are great offenders. Portugal, poor and under-developed as it is, could not have continued with this senseless war in Africa but for the material and diplomatic support of its NATO allies. Vorster's South Africa continues to enjoy the support and massive investment of international capitalist organizations, and so grows fat on the slave labour of Africans. It has even been emboldened to attempt to extend its obnoxious policies into Namibia, which is a United Nations Trust Territory. The Government of Ghana condemns without reserve all those countries which, for selfish financial gains, lend support to these régimes. The Government of Ghana adheres to the OAU declaration rejecting dialogue as a means of bringing about a change in the *apartheid* policies of the racist Republic of South Africa. We have taken this position because we do not believe that the conditions for such a dialogue exist.

189. Since it is quite obvious that the forces of colonialism and *apartheid* have defied all persuasive arguments for change, is it any wonder that the African nationalists have been compelled to take up arms against these régimes?

190. The Government of Ghana will continue to support, both morally and materially, the liberation movements in Africa, and to work within the framework of the OAU for the realization of their aims. In line with our declared support for those liberation movements, the Ghana Government has offered to host the next meeting of the OAU Committee of Liberation, scheduled for January 1973, and preparations for it are already well under way.

191. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate the appeal launched by my Government's delegation at the August 1972 Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Guyana for material support for the liberation movements in Africa. That appeal is now directed to all peace-loving States represented here at the United Nations which have at heart the welfare of all mankind, including the peoples of Africa. The liberation movements in Africa enjoy the official recognition of the OAU and continue to receive material assistance from it. In other words, there already exists the machinery within the OAU through which such material assistance can be channelled, and I would propose that for a start we all use that machinery.

192. Furthermore, my delegation strongly supports the proposed United Nations special fund to aid the liberation movements in Africa. Those liberation movements need all the assistance they can obtain from all peace-loving peoples, and we should contribute generously to aiding them. The liberation movements in Africa are fighting for their freedom, and victory will surely be theirs. We can all hasten that victory by contributing generously towards the success of their efforts. The time for fine words of sympathy and concern is over. This is the time for action.

193. It is a sad fact that the world's arms race is ever sky-rocketing, having now reached a record of expenditure of some \$200,000 million, an all time high, of which the two super-Powers alone are responsible for over 70 per cent. In spite of the parity in nuclear second-strike force reached between the two super-Powers, which would discount, if not eliminate, any nuclear knock-out victory through a surprise attack, the dangerous and vicious circle of arms build-up continues.

194. It is admitted that in the absence of a reliable system of international security, national security will continue to assume a high priority in the consideration of all Governments. Even so, there is hardly any justification for allowing the arms race to reach such alarming proportions. The Ghana Government joins the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in calling for a comprehensive moratorium on all nuclear testing, underground as well as in the atmosphere, as a necessary step towards general and complete disarmament [see A/8701/Add.1, p. 3]. In this regard my Government welcomes the progress made at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and hopes that the modest beginning made in reaching limited agreement will lead to further progress in all fields of disarmament. Savings made in the area of disarmament could not only be usefully

employed in meeting the social and economic demands at home but could also be applied in ridding the world of much of its squalor, poverty and disease.

195. It is the view of my delegation that disarmament cannot be left at the mercy of the super-Powers and the big Powers. The Government of Ghana therefore looks forward to the proposed world disarmament conference. Disarmament is an issue of universal concern. The Government of Ghana is convinced that this very desirable conference should be open to all States. My Government would be happy to participate in such a conference and to contribute to its success.

196. I have tried to outline, as briefly as possible, the world political situation as we see it from Ghana. As I have already stated, the situation is far from satisfactory.

197. We acknowledge, however, that over the past year there has been some significant improvement in certain areas of international relations, which gives us hope for a brighter future. I would cite particularly President Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow, and the various moves for rapprochement between the two Germanys, and between Eastern and Western Europe generally. The efforts of North Korea and South Korea to normalize their relations are welcome moves in the right direction, and the Simla Agreement reached between India and Pakistan is a commendable step on the road to peace between the two countries. My delegation also notes with gratification the current talks, between the Prime Ministers of China and Japan. The Government of Ghana welcomes all those encouraging trends in the world political situation, and lends them its full support.

198. Aided by advances in science and technology, man has conquered distance, found a cure for many diseases and, on the whole, improved living standards to an extent undreamed of by his forefathers. The frantic search for an affluent society and the uninhibited use of technology have naturally had their adverse consequences. The imbalance between population, industry and natural resources is already posing a threat to human existence on this planet; the depletion of natural resources, pollution and other forms of nuisance are threatening the very foundation of human life itself.

199. Environmental neglect, with its threatening disaster, is not the exclusive concern of the more industrialized countries. It is as much a problem of the developing as of the advanced countries. Soil erosion and exhaustion, whether brought about by shifting cultivation or by deforestation; the pollution of rivers and seas caused by dumping of waste and filth; the increasing pollution of the air; insufficient sanitary facilities; unchecked soil erosion; overcrowding of the cities—these and a host of other environmental issues are all matters of universal concern.

200. Ghana participated in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm from 5 to 16 June 1972. Together with other concerned nations we worked out a strategy to prevent the further deterioration of our natural heritage.

201. As a developing country, Ghana has its share of polluted rivers and the threat they pose both to aquatic life and to the millions of people in the villages who depend on those rivers as their source of drinking water. That was why Ghana called for a fund to provide potable water. We reiterate that call here. As my delegation emphasized at the Stockholm Conference, we shall continue to use technology and industrialization to improve the quality of human life without necessarily sacrificing the need for environmental protection. Industrialization and preservation of the environment need not be mutually exclusive, for it is the belief of my delegation that determined research into the technology of industrialization could minimize, if not eliminate entirely, the pollution which is at present incidental to industrialization.

202. The Stockholm Conference appropriately had as its motto "Only One Earth". Our destinies are linked together. Our problems cannot be solved in isolation. Peace and prosperity are indivisible. Our protestations for peace in Viet-Nam and other parts of the world and our preoccupation with the well-being of their people will ring hollow unless they are accompanied by sincere concern for the oppressed people everywhere, including the oppressed black peoples of southern Africa and all people of African descent. Finally, the Government of Ghana reaffirms its determination to work in concert with freedom-loving people everywhere to build a world of peace, justice and freedom for all.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.