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*President:* Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. MUNGAI (Kenya): I should first of all like to convey the greetings of the President of Kenya, H.E. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2. My delegation also wishes to convey its felicitations to the newly elected President of the General Assembly, Mr. S. Trepczyński, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic. With his dedication to the ideals of the United Nations, his wide experience and exceptional ability, the present session should sail to a successful conclusion.

3. The outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, conducted the business of the twenty-sixth session with dispatch, fairness and exceptional skill. To him we express our deep gratitude.

4. My delegation deems it appropriate to address a word of welcome to the new Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has, indeed, inherited an exacting job. We have no doubt that, with his proven competence and total commitment to what the United Nations stands for, he will perform brilliantly in his high position of service to humanity at large. Those of us who know the Secretary-General well are conversant with his deep interest in Africa. His sustained efforts to promote decolonization and development have been noted with appreciation throughout Africa. His deep commitment to accelerated disarmament is also very well known and appreciated in our continent.

5. Every year we congregate ritually in New York for the General Assembly session. Every year we return to our countries having passed a vast number of resolutions and having poured out endless rhetoric that gets recorded in documents of the United Nations that are produced by the ton. However, strangely enough, a programme of action, particularly in the political arena, is conspicuous by its

absence; expressions of pious hope find no concrete reality; swelling rumbles of economic discontent pass unnoticed; threats to peace continue in ever-widening dimensions. International issues of a complex nature are tainted by competing ideologies and cold war politics and polemics. The Security Council finds itself locked in bitter debate and magnificent inaction in emergency situations. The liberation of over 30 million enslaved and colonially dominated Africans still remains an undischarged responsibility on the part of the international community. Escalation of conflict through massive injections of sophisticated arms to areas of potential and actual war are too frequent. Economic development in the third world remains at an embryonic stage. World markets, advanced technology and international finance are still the zealously guarded preserves of the affluent States. Although new horizons are opening up in space technology, the exploitation of resources of the sea and the application of environmental controls, it remains to be seen how the newly emergent nations would share the ensuing benefits.

6. It is necessary that certain basic needs be met before peace can triumph over conflict, before understanding can dispel mistrust, and before co-operation can replace political inducements and friction.

7. The primary need must necessarily be that the interests of nations, small and large, rich and poor, are equitably accommodated to promote peace. It is necessary that international relations must be democratized to enhance understanding, promote co-operation and ease tension.

8. The historic visits of President Nixon, first to China and later to the Soviet Union, have set in motion the process of détente. This is of monumental importance to orderly world relations and must be carried out to more extensive limits. It is only through personal contact, the objective evaluation of the inextricably bound up interests of all nations, the acknowledgement of existing realities and a certain grant of mutual concessions, that tension can be lessened.

9. East and West Germany have constructively and positively adopted this approach, which promises to bring ultimate political stability, understanding and co-operation to Europe, long and repeatedly subjected to the savagery and horror of countless wars.

10. The recent dialogue between North and South Korea, after years of bloodshed, sustained propaganda and incalculable loss of life and property, is another forceful reminder of the wisdom of a policy of conciliation and restraint as compared with that of armed confrontation and naked aggression.

11. The decades-old bitter dispute between India and Pakistan, which was responsible for four devastating wars in 25 years, has also been made amenable to peaceful settlement through direct contact between the leaders of the two countries. That is why my country warmly welcomed the Simla Agreement for the normalization of relations between the two countries.

12. In the same context I cannot but hope earnestly that the tragic and prolonged war in Viet-Nam will also respond to the same process. Negotiations in Paris to terminate this war seem to be making satisfactory progress. We long for the day when, through negotiation, a permanent, equitable and honourable settlement will be arrived at, not in the field of battle but round a conference table.

13. Kenya applied the same sentiments and hopes to the situation in the Middle East where no peace has been known for almost a generation and where blood-letting, reprisal measures and indiscriminate loss of life and property characterize relations among the embattled nations. The Kenya Government continues to hope that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) will prove to be the corner-stone for a just, durable, and an expeditious settlement of the Middle East crisis.

14. I should also refer to some of the most explosive disputes that were defused peacefully on the African continent. I need only refer to the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which met in June 1972 in Rabat, where Algeria and Morocco buried the hatchet over the territorial dispute that had plagued their relations for a number of years. This is what we call in Africa today "the spirit of Rabat". We hope it will spread like wildfire to all other troubled spots in the world.

15. We certainly hope that the spirit of Rabat will prevail over the present troubled situation in East Africa which imperils the traditionally fraternal relations among the countries of the region. My Government will steadfastly work for the peaceful solution of any problems that have arisen and will demonstrate in action its deep concern for the preservation of the East African community and for the smooth running of its common services. Our salvation lies in accommodation, not confrontation; in peace, not warfare; in understanding, not acrimony. Our common destiny, future aspirations and past heritage only emphasize this necessity.

16. The next cardinal responsibility that we must discharge is that of eradicating colonialism once and for all. Despite the fact that the world has witnessed an era of decolonization where no fewer than 41 States attained independence and sovereign equality in the comity of free nations, vast areas in Africa remain afflicted with minority racist régimes. Millions of Africans in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are held in colonial bondage by supremacist and unrepresentative orders.

17. The Africans, under repressive laws and police terror, are denied fundamental rights to life, liberty and property. The rule of law does not exist. Judicial safeguards such as

they exist in theory are fictional. Arbitrary exercise of authority and abuse of discretionary powers are commonplace and highly rewarded. Large-scale eviction of Africans from settled areas and their replacement by whites from the unemployment pools of Europe is the official policy, which is being carried out ruthlessly without ever arousing qualms of conscience in anyone in authority. Generous supplies of military hardware to the supremacist régimes flow in from countries which never tire of proclaiming their love for liberty, equality and fraternity. Actually they play the role of death merchants under the guise of angels of peace and security. They are openly militarizing the racists to increase their oppressive capacity and to enforce their racist laws with unprecedented harshness. The immense natural resources of these captive lands are exploited to enrich the racist overlords, who live affluently by the toil, tears and sweat of the Africans. *Apartheid*, the epitome of racism and organized State terror, is being systematically and unashamedly extended to Namibia and Rhodesia.

18. In Zimbabwe the categorical rejection of the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement terms by the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe must be followed by concrete steps, such as the following:

(a) A constitutional conference of all interested parties should be convened under the aegis of the United Nations. The fundamental purpose of the conference would be to accelerate the advance to African majority rule in Zimbabwe.

(b) The scheme of sanctions should be strengthened and stringently applied. The sanctions should be made more comprehensive and should be applied to the ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques.

(c) Any country that commits violations of the United Nations-imposed sanctions should be identified and exposed. Member States of the United Nations may thereafter invoke such retaliatory action as they deem appropriate with regard to the offending States.

(d) The United Nations should consider recommending to States the refusal of landing rights to national airlines which land at Salisbury and whose Governments permit Rhodesian airplanes to land in their countries.

(e) All postal, telegraphic and related communications between Rhodesia and the States Members of the United Nations should be cut off.

(f) The United Nations should work out a scheme of confiscation of Rhodesian exports of tobacco, asbestos, chrome and other Rhodesian minerals at the place of entry in the importing country.

(g) Ways and means should be found to secure the expulsion of the South African military units and police contingents now stationed in Rhodesia.

(h) All Governments, organizations and private institutions should be urged to render moral and material assistance to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, which operate both internally and externally, in order to oblige Smith to disgorge his political power in Rhodesia.

(i) All States bordering Rhodesia which fear aggression from Rhodesia, South Africa and the ruling Portuguese clique should be given guarantees of protection by the United Nations. Considering the armed aggression that continues to be unleashed systematically by the Portuguese colonialists against Guinea, Senegal, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania, the need for such guarantees is obvious. What is most important is that these guarantees should be made enforceable and should not remain mere paper commitments.

19. With regard to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), increased assistance of every form to the gallant liberation movements operating in those Territories is essential. Already vast areas have been liberated. Rehabilitation facilities are being made available with the assistance of world churches and other Governments, institutions and individuals that espouse the cause of African independence. The enlightened elements within Portugal, aware of the turbulent winds of change, must recognize the futility of a Portuguese colonial war in Africa. The States Members of the United Nations must not be fooled into believing that weapons and equipment supplied to Portugal through the sources of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] for the defence of Europe are not systematically channelled into the Portuguese Territories to annihilate the African aspirations to independence.

20. Large countries which are friendly to both Africa and Portugal and which share and maintain political, social and cultural ties with Portugal can exercise decisive influence in changing oppressive Portuguese policies. Such countries are sympathizers with the African cause for freedom and independence. We should ask them to use their unique position and good offices to advance self-determination in the Portuguese Territories in Africa.

21. With regard to Namibia, my Government shall support every endeavour aimed at securing an effective United Nations presence and control in this Territory. This is in conformity with the decision on Namibia taken by the International Court of Justice, last year,<sup>1</sup> the resolutions of the General Assembly and the various decisions of the Security Council on this subject. I also wish to register the strongest condemnation and indignation on the part of my Government at the attempts being made by South Africa to extend the discredited system of *apartheid* to Namibia. The spontaneous and wide-spread reaction against this policy in so-called native homelands constitutes a clear verdict of its rejection by the people of Namibia as a whole.

22. The position of free Africa on the vital question of decolonization is crystal clear. We have made every concession, explored every possibility and consulted every interested party to arrive at a peaceful solution. However, all these efforts have been met with an unresponsive, rigid and uncompromising stance. Faced with this attitude of the minority régimes of southern Africa on the one hand and the immense suffering of the African people on the other, Africa can only work for a peaceful solution if possible, for diplomatic accommodation if just, and for resort to arms if necessary. All these options have been kept open.

<sup>1</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

23. The Committee of Liberation of the OAU is continuing with the armed struggle designed to liquidate colonialism and its last vestiges from the soil of Africa. We ask for the help of every State member of OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations in the discharge of this sacred and inescapable duty. We ask for this help in the interests of world peace, justice and the orderly conduct of inter-State relations throughout the world.

24. The OAU mission on decolonization has travelled extensively and explained free Africa's viewpoint to leading world capitals. The results of this exercise have been encouraging. Enlightened world opinion, exposed to the new depths of savagery of the colonial régimes, has rallied to the African cause of freedom and independence. The World Council of Churches, the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden and many private institutions and individuals have given assistance to the victims of colonial aggression in those Territories. Swedish and Italian firms have been persuaded to withdraw their participation from the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique. In the present circumstances it can only be regarded as a colossal scheme of exploitation of the vast natural resources of Mozambique. It is also noteworthy that member States of NATO, like Norway, have in the NATO Councils openly condemned Portuguese colonialism in Africa. We appeal to the other members of that alliance to emulate the courageous Norwegian move, which will greatly accelerate decolonization in the Portuguese-held Territories of Africa.

25. Now that world opinion is focused on the untold suffering, injustice and humiliation heaped on the colonized people, the United Nations must give a renewed lead to liquidate colonialism and its consequences from the world scene.

26. Political independence by itself lacks substance unless it is complemented by economic freedom. This can only be derived from developing a self-generating economy to produce wealth for the benefit of all the citizens of a State. To achieve this objective all national resources, human and material, must be marshalled intelligently for nation-building on a basis of self-reliance. Foreign aid alone is not sufficient for nation-building; the self-help effort is of paramount importance in reducing total dependence on foreign aid.

27. The development effort must be identified with intensified trade and co-operation, diversification of industry, modernization of agriculture, and the provision of facilities for employment, education, social welfare, and so on. This exercise, in turn, can only produce beneficial results if it is based on access to technology, capital and planning techniques. If their proper utilization in the development endeavour can be ensured, corrosive poverty can be eradicated, wide-spread illiteracy progressively reduced and rampant disease substantially controlled.

28. On the international plane the developing countries in collectivity must gain liberal market access in the developed countries for their primary commodities and manufactured and semi-manufactured articles. Newly emergent nations must ensure that they enjoy an increasing share in world trade, which has been markedly shrinking every year.

Stability of prices for their primary commodities must be secured if their fragile economies are to withstand successfully the thrusts of unpredictable economic changes. International monetary reforms must take account of the vital interests of developing countries, whose economic system can fall an easy prey to the decisions of a few rich countries. The development endeavour can only become concrete and effective if transfer and implantation of technology in developing countries can be achieved. It is necessary that the receiving State should be able to develop technical capacity as well as a capacity for inventiveness. This should be the essential role of technical assistance and co-operation. All these objectives form part of the International Development Strategy for the implementation of the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. It is therefore essential that, through a co-ordinated exercise, the developing countries in collectivity exert maximum pressure on every platform to achieve the objectives outlined above.

29. The developing countries must take full advantage of the new vistas opened by science and technology in the field of outer space and the environs of the oceans.

30. New scientific and technological break-throughs have enabled man to exploit the vast resources of the oceans and the seas which have been inaccessible hitherto. It is now universally recognized that these resources, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, constitute the common heritage of mankind and are not subject to national appropriation by any State, and that this area should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. It remains to give substance and detail to these important principles. This should be done through effective international machinery and subject to equitable and orderly exploitation and utilization of the resources of the sea for the development of all countries.

31. It will of interest to the General Assembly to note that my country put proposals to the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction which met in Geneva [*A/8721, pp. 180-182*]. We have proposed the establishment of exclusive economic zones beyond national waters for the primary benefit of the peoples of the coastal areas and of their economies. It is intended that such States should exercise sovereign rights over natural resources within the economic zone for purposes of the exploration and exploitation of living and non-living resources of the sea and for research. Such States should be empowered to prevent and control pollution without prejudice to freedom of navigation, freedom of over-flight and freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines in conformity with recognized principles of international law. It should be noted that our proposal expressly guarantees the rights of land-locked States of every description. We hope that it will be received sympathetically by States Members of the United Nations.

32. Environmental control is a subject that has aroused intense interest on the part of every State throughout the world. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment recognized that for developing countries the problems of the human environment arise from conditions of poverty and under-development, whereas for developed

nations such problems arise from affluence and pollution. We must ensure that these questions of the human environment are treated within the context of development. Therefore all environmental actions of the United Nations must be integrated within the existing objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

33. The Stockholm Conference recommended the establishment of a 54-member governing council for environmental programmes.<sup>2</sup> The capital of my country, Nairobi, was mentioned as a possible location for its secretariat. My Government would be happy to accept that suggestion.

34. In conclusion, I have outlined my Government's position on some of the fundamental issues that confront us today. In the spirit of the United Nations Charter and in conformity with its aims and objectives, the world community, through the United Nations, must work together for the liberation of the colonially-dominated peoples, for the economic advancement of all peoples, for the conquest of disease and illiteracy and for the improvement of our environment and the exploitation of the vast resources of the sea for the benefit of all peoples. Let us work to replace confrontation with negotiation, mistrust with good faith and impressive rhetoric with effective action.

35. Mr. ZAITON IBRAHIM (Malaysia): Allow me at the outset to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by those before me and to offer my congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is an eloquent tribute not only to your great country, Poland, but also to your eminent personal qualities of statesmanship, which make you highly qualified for this high office. The task before us is a heavy and a responsible one. As you have eloquently stated, we are meeting at a time when "signs of a good augury have appeared on the international horizon" [*2032nd meeting, para. 30*]. Despite these encouraging signs there are still great problems facing us at this session. I am more than certain, however, that with your wise guidance the deliberations of this Assembly will be conducted briskly and effectively. Indeed, Mr. President, you have already set the tone and the tenor of our deliberations by your inspiring address at the opening of the session. May I therefore assure you of my delegation's utmost co-operation in the execution of your task.

36. I would like to take the opportunity here of expressing, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our warm admiration and great appreciation to your predecessor, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, whose patience, wisdom and statesmanship guided the historic twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion. The admirable manner in which Mr. Malik had conducted that difficult and historic twenty-sixth session is, indeed, a clear reflection of his qualities of statesmanship and leadership. I would just like to add that his untiring efforts and dedication to work towards peace, stability and progress in the region of South-East Asia exemplify further this quality of leadership of which Indonesia in particular and we in South-East Asia in general are justly proud.

<sup>2</sup> See *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), p. 29.



37. May I also extend on behalf of my delegation our tribute to the Secretary-General, for whom this General Assembly session is his first full session since taking office. Mr. Waldheim, as we all known, is not new to the United Nations. His vast experience with this Organization should enable him to serve in his office with distinction. I would like to take this opportunity, therefore, to wish him every success in the execution of his immense task and to pledge our fullest co-operation with him in the performance of his duties and responsibilities.

38. We meet today in a world that is fast changing—changing amidst the visible signs of détente and reconciliation that have emboldened us to hope and believe that we are moving to a more stable order, and if I may add, to the beginning of a sober and rational international world order based on peace and co-operation.

39. Perhaps the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly was the turning-point. In the General Assembly at its last session and in this very hall we witnessed the seating of the People's Republic of China. And then, in quick succession, we witnessed the visit of the President of the United States of America to the People's Republic of China and, subsequently, to the Soviet Union. The Shanghai communiqué of 27 February 1972 and the declaration entitled "Basic Principles of Relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" issued on 29 May 1972, at the end of the Moscow summit, had at once given us encouragement in our belief that we are indeed moving from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiations, accommodation and of peaceful coexistence. This is indeed an encouraging and powerful trend, which holds the promise of a bright future for us and the generations after us.

40. But, as we are caught up in this general excitement, let us not be led into a state of over-optimism. Encouraged as we are, we are also aware that this trend could very well lead us into an era of big-Power collusion in which there would exist a multipolar world broken up into spheres of influence and in which the fate of the smaller countries are decided not by themselves but by others. What we would like to see and what we seek is a non-polar world where universality of action and the process of democratization of the conduct of international relations prevail.

41. I do not want to sound pessimistic or over-optimistic, but the trend towards détente between and among the big Powers is certainly an important and encouraging one, encouraging because we see today that it is not impossible to resolve outstanding problems through consultations and negotiations. For the present the impact of this important and noteworthy aspect of the trend, however, is a healthy one and is already being felt throughout the world. I refer to the renewed efforts for the relaxation of tension between East and West Europe. Then there are the agreements to limit the stock of nuclear armaments and other logistic weapons signed by the United States and the Soviet Union, which no doubt have far-reaching implications, leading us to hope that the end of the armaments race is not too far ahead.

42. Of closer interest to us in Asia is the Simla Agreement reached between India and Pakistan, an understanding

which, we hope, will move towards eliminating antagonism and confrontation from the Indian subcontinent.

43. And while on the subject of the Indian subcontinent, if I may be allowed a little deviation, that one of the problems which confront us is the acceptance of Bangladesh by the United Nations. We hope that at this session the principle of universality will be upheld and the problems in the way of Bangladesh's admission into the United Nations and into the world community will be overcome.

44. We welcomed and were also encouraged by the initial contacts made between North Korea and South Korea, and the Joint Communiqué issued on 4 July 1972 [*A/8727, annex I*] bears testimony to their desire to work towards the peaceful settlement of the problem in that important area.

45. Further, while I am addressing this Assembly, another historic occasion in this chain of events is taking place. I refer to the visit of the Prime Minister of Japan to China which, we hope, will begin a new era in the relationship between the two countries and which will have far-reaching and, we hope, beneficial effects, particularly in our region of South-East Asia.

46. We see that bilateral contacts and dialogue are already becoming accepted as one of the high points in our search for peace and stability, and it is the hope of my delegation that this significant trend will continue in the future. While we are concerned, and continue to concern ourselves, with problems that remain unsolved, problems that tend to endanger international peace and security, we should not, however, allow ourselves any action that would jeopardize efforts made by those concerned to solve their problems by themselves. Indeed, the only action that we may allow ourselves is that which would encourage further the present trend towards bilateral talks and negotiations.

47. The Government of Malaysia therefore welcomes this present development of the international scene. It is particularly meaningful to us in Malaysia and all the countries of South-East Asia.

48. I need not remind the Assembly that there is a tragic and devastating war raging in parts of South-East Asia. We in South-East Asia have been living with this war for over two decades. A generation has grown up in our parts for whom war has been accepted as the natural order of things and peace has been a complete stranger. However, we are not sitting idly. Encouraged by the present trend in international relations, we are ourselves working to speed the wheels of change towards peace in our area and are making proposals with the object of bringing about lasting peace and stability within our region.

49. You will recall that at the last session of the General Assembly my Prime Minister had at some length discussed the proposal for the neutralization of South-East Asia [*1948th meeting*]. Since that time Malaysia, in association with its neighbours—the Kingdom of Thailand, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Singapore—have worked closely towards bringing into reality the ideals and aspirations of this proposal.

50. Our determination and resolve in this endeavour finds its fullest expression in the Declaration issued by the meeting of foreign ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*], held at Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971, in which the five countries of the region declared their determination "to exert initially necessary efforts to secure the recognition of, and respect for, South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers".<sup>3</sup> By this modest beginning the five States of South-East Asia have, for the first time in recent years, boldly and imaginatively sought, through their own efforts, to bring home the ever-elusive dove of peace to our peoples. Whether our efforts will be reduced to nothing more than just an eternally dim and flickering hope or whether they become a catalysing agent ushering in a peaceful era for South-East Asia depends to a very great extent on the willingness and resourcefulness with which we in the region grasp the full significance of this singularly unique opportunity, which the present pervasive climate of peaceful dialogue and détente affords us, to initiate immediate and positive actions for our own security and well-being. The proposal for the neutralization of South-East Asia demonstrates the recognition by the States of South-East Asia of the importance which such an opportunity affords them for the creation of a viable and efficacious security arrangement for the region. It is an eloquent testimony of their strong involvement in the world-wide efforts towards creating the conditions for a better and more peaceful world and reflects our optimism and faith in this new world order which has yet to blossom to its fullest extent. We are secure in the thought that our proposal, which is so much in harmony with the spirit and the ideals which have motivated the many historic and epochal events of our time, will find easy acceptance and recognition by everyone who shares and cherishes these values.

51. In pursuance of the provisions of the Kuala Lumpur Declaration efforts have been and are being made to bring its contents to the attention of the non-signatory States of South-East Asia and to encourage them to associate themselves with the aspirations and objectives expressed therein. Initially a committee of senior officials of the countries members of ASEAN was appointed to study and consider what further necessary steps should be taken to bring about the realization of their objectives. The committee has already had its first meeting and will continue its studies with further meetings in future. Since the signing of the Declaration, the Foreign Ministers of the ASEAN countries have met on several occasions for mutual discussion and an exchange of views on matters affecting the region. And it was at the last of such meetings, which was held in Manila from 14 to 16 July 1971, that the ASEAN countries agreed to request the Foreign Minister of Indonesia to take certain initiatives on their behalf which we hope could contribute towards a peaceful and durable solution to the conflict in Indo-China.

52. All these initiatives that we in South-East Asia are at the moment undertaking could not have been possible had there not existed today a sense of regionalism, political cohesion and solidarity. The desire to co-operate in matters of common concern and to consult with each other and the

need to work towards a common objective have been manifested in the formation of ASEAN, a regional organization indigenously initiated and inspired.

53. Through the co-operative and joint actions that I have exemplified we hope to create conditions for the attainment of peace and stability. Because in the final analysis international security is the sum total of the prospect for peace and security in each and every country, each and every region. The trend towards détente has therefore a considerable effect on us. Indeed we believe that the move towards détente should not be the monopoly of the super-Powers alone. It should be the property of us all who set high in value the attainment of global peace and stability.

54. While noteworthy and important developments are taking place on the political front, it is dismaying to find that this is not matched in the field of economic and social development. The picture we get here is one of gloom and pessimism. The world is still divided between the developing and developed countries. In this respect, it is still very much a bipolar world. Owing to the vast strides made by the developed countries in the technological and industrial fields the developed countries are far ahead of the developing countries and the gulf between them is ever widening. It is becoming increasingly clear, that the burden of the world's poverty is increasing rather than declining. Such a situation will not promote peace and stability, unless it be accompanied by economic and social progress as well.

55. The subject I am referring to is not a new one. It has been raised and will continue to be raised at every opportunity not only to demonstrate our concern and anxiety but also to bring home the point that such an unbalanced international growth will not be conducive to a stable world order. We therefore cannot continue to be apathetic or unresponsive to problems of the developing world, which is still facing mass poverty, unemployment and illiteracy—problems which appear to be intractable although we are now in the Second Development Decade. In addition to these problems, we are threatened by growing trade protectionism, when there is a need for expanding markets for the primary products and manufactures of developing countries, signifying the reluctance of richer nations to help the poorer. This reluctance has been reflected in the falling off of official development assistance to developing countries, thereby increasing their debt-servicing problems, which are becoming crucial, and it strikes at their national efforts for greater income distribution and the alleviation of poverty and mass unemployment.

56. The third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], held at Santiago in April and May 1972, was characterized by the unwillingness of the richer countries to face up to these problems and to commit themselves to the attainment of the aid targets laid down in the International Development Strategy [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], both in respect of the 1 per cent of gross national product volume target by each economically advanced country and in official development assistance flows of 0.7 per cent of gross national product, which are now almost less than half their stated target. One

<sup>3</sup> See document A/C.1/1019 (mimeographed).

of the goals and objectives of the Second Development Decade is the attainment of a 6 per cent average annual rate of growth in the gross product of the developing countries as a whole. However, this growth rate cannot be achieved if official development assistance continues to decline. I might point out here that three quarters of the world's resources go to one quarter of the world's population where per capital income averages \$US 1,000.

57. It might be appropriate to recall resolution 2880 (XXVI), on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which emphasizes the close connexion between the strengthening of international security and development and which calls on the United Nations to evolve a concept of collective economic security designed to promote the sustained development and expansion of national economies.

58. In this context, in the interests of both the developed and the developing worlds, we look forward to a greater liberalization of trade, since that would accelerate expansion of international trade to the mutual benefit of the developed and developing nations. Only in this way—by a collective effort on the part of both developed and developing nations—can we all tread the path to collective economic security called for in resolution 2880 (XXVI). We are living in an interdependent world where what affects one affects the other. For the developed as well as the developing countries, the interest is mutual and the stake is common. If it has been possible to improve the political climate of the world after years of antagonism and mistrust, it is surely timely now for us to take stock of the economic scene and to look forward to an era of greater and more meaningful international economic co-operation between the developed and the developing worlds.

59. What is needed here is the political will on the part of the developed countries to come to the assistance of the developing countries, for their assistance is crucial in the International Development Strategy. I would not like to give the impression that the developing countries are seeking charity from the developed countries. What we are trying to achieve is the bringing about of a sound investment in global peace and progress consonant with the views and ideals of the United Nations Charter.

60. That we have arrived at an era of reconciliation and accommodation is timely as we have spent time long enough to arrive at an attitude of mind that we have today. Although we anticipate far-reaching consequences, I do not at this somewhat early stage entertain visions of a profound and immediate change for peace. For in the behaviour of nations, as in man, antagonism, rivalries and competition will continue to remain a feature of life. What we must do is to blunt these features and minimize the threat to international peace and security. At the same time, I do not, however, minimize the golden opportunity that today's developments present to us. Our only course of action is to seize this opportunity and to build upon it a strong framework for peace and stability to prevail, a peace with progress and justice. Indeed, we believe the United Nations can guide the new changes in the international scene and lead it to the realization of the ideals of the Charter. This is an opportunity for us and for the United Nations. We cannot miss it. Towards these ends, my

Government continues to pledge its sustained effort to play its part. These are the thoughts that are the uppermost concern of my Government, and despite my note of caution we look forward to that brighter future.

61. In conclusion, I wish to thank the Assembly for the patience and understanding with which it has listened to my remarks, lengthy though they may have been. But I do so with the humble hope that they will contribute in some small way towards the search for peace and security, which we all fervently aspire to attain.

62. Mr. EFON (Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I am speaking from this rostrum for the first time as the head of my country's delegation, permit me first of all to convey to you my warm and sincere congratulations and the congratulations of the entire Cameroon delegation on your brilliant election to the Presidency of this Assembly. This choice is a just tribute to your distinguished statesmanlike qualities and to your long and rich experience of international problems. It testifies to the high esteem in which your country is held by the world community. We are convinced that under your enlightened guidance and with the continuing co-operation of all those around you, and particularly the members of the General Committee, whom we associate in this act of tribute, our work will be as successful as we hope.

63. I should also like to associate myself with previous speakers in conveying our gratitude and thanks to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, for the skill and competence with which he presided over the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly one year ago.

64. We should also like to welcome the presence at your side of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose understanding of the complex problems of our day and valuable experience in the field of multilateral diplomacy permit me to predict that the difficult problems confronting our Organization will be pursued and dealt with competently and effectively.

65. Having lived for so long in a world where the apprehensions created by the rivalry between the great Powers have generated the fear that at any moment large-scale conflicts might break out, we have just witnessed signs of the relaxation of tensions in international relations. This year in the course of a few months we have just lived through historic moments characterized by contacts which would formerly have been deemed to be impossible between the great Powers. These encounters have been followed with interest and much hope by the international community as a whole, and should be greeted as the dawn of a new era.

66. The restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in the United Nations and the summit meetings between the United States and China, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the United States, on the other, are evidence that positive developments are occurring in the relations between the great Powers. For its part, Cameroon, which has a standing interest in international peace and security, is gratified at these felicitous initiatives.

67. Similarly, we note with a great deal of optimism the ratification of the treaty of 12 August 1970 between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, the treaty of 7 December 1970 between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971. We believe that these agreements have removed a major obstacle to East-West relations.

68. These signs of an easing of tensions have created conditions favourable to the search for a solution to the problems of divided countries through direct and independent negotiations between the parties concerned.

69. We may thus hope that the two Germanys and the two Koreas will finally in the not too distant future be in a position to redefine the course of their own destiny.

70. But along with these positive aspects, we are unfortunately constrained to note that these efforts on the part of the great Powers have not yet led to a general easing of tensions. If peace is indivisible, détente, understanding and co-operation should also be indivisible. However, that does not seem to be the case for the moment.

71. Indeed, in Viet-Nam the war is continuing. We in the Cameroons have never ceased to express our indignation at the long war thus imposed upon that country. The courage of the people of Viet-Nam, their patriotism and their determination to be independent have earned them the admiration and support of the international community.

72. More than 10 years of fighting involving the great Powers directly or indirectly, and to a lesser degree the rest of the world, thousands of millions of dollars poured out by both sides, about a million soldiers confronting each other in the field, tons of bombs dropped every day: is not all that enough to cause the parties involved in that distressing conflict finally to give serious thought to reaching a negotiated solution which will enable the great people of Viet-Nam to devote themselves to the building of their destiny in independence and peace?

73. There is no question that all the proposals and programmes put forward by the parties directly concerned do contain some positive elements, and we for our part are convinced that with a minimum of mutual trust, and good-will on both sides, it should be possible to make substantial progress at the Paris peace talks.

74. The situation in the Middle East, the cradle of so many brilliant humanistic civilizations and the treasure house of so much natural wealth, is of equal concern to us. Five years have elapsed since the adoption of the Security Council resolution on the Middle East which gave rise to such great hopes; nevertheless the solution seems as uncertain as ever. Indeed, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains the elements which constitute an acceptable basis for carrying forward negotiations between the parties to the dispute with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

75. The United Nations in general and the great Powers in particular should spare no effort to try to restore peace to that part of the world, which is so dear to our hearts.

76. My delegation is deeply convinced that all these situations of tension and confrontation which have been of concern to us for so many years would be completely eliminated if the policy of natural supremacy and egoism pursued by certain great Powers with their pernicious effects of material and ideological domination, could cease.

77. That is why we unreservedly support the correct position taken by Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned countries who, when they met in Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 11 August 1972, reaffirmed their devotion to peace and called for the immediate democratization of international relations which would guarantee peace to all States, large and small, and would respect their natural right to participate freely and equally in the common search for solutions to the great problems of the world.

78. Cameroon will therefore tirelessly continue to seek world peace and to oppose with increasing determination all forms of aggression as well as the threat or use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. My country, with growing determination, will support the struggle of all peoples against colonialism and racial discrimination, which are a denial of the equality and dignity of man.

79. It would be ungracious of us not to recognize the interest which the United Nations as such has always shown in the problems of the liberation of the African countries which were subjected to colonial oppression and racial discrimination.

80. How indeed could it be otherwise, since this Organization was born of the will of a group of men determined to put an end for all time to the wrongs engendered by the denial of freedom and equality to all men?

81. There is no need to recall the long list of resolutions which have been adopted in this area, both by the General Assembly and by the Security Council. But we must stress two acts which have engendered so much hope among the oppressed peoples of Africa. I refer, first of all, to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Then there is the welcome accorded by the General Assembly to the Manifesto on Southern Africa [*resolution 2505 (XXIV)*], which the Head of State of Cameroon, in his capacity as the then President of OAU, had the privilege of presenting from this very rostrum.<sup>4</sup>

82. These two documents contain all the principles whose implementation should be ensured by the international community to remedy a situation which is clearly deteriorating and jeopardizing more and more each day the conditions necessary for the maintenance of peace.

83. Since our last session, the minority and racist régimes which are oppressing millions of men in southern Africa have only further strengthened their hateful system. In South Africa repression has been intensified: priests, professors, journalists and students by the hundreds are

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1780th meeting.



crowded into the gaols of Pretoria. Everyone is aware that that country has the largest prison population in the world and also holds the infamous world record for executions. Far from being upset by this, the white minority which holds sway in Pretoria is even extending its Nazi-type system beyond its frontiers, in particular, to the international territory of Namibia, and is strengthening its administration there, despite the repeated appeals of the General Assembly and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice given last year.

84. We should like to take this occasion to state that we have followed with much interest the efforts of the Secretary-General to discharge the exceedingly difficult mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council. We are bound to add, however, that for us there can be no compromise or concession on the question of the dignity and freedom of peoples. Any steps must be directed towards persuading the racist Government of Pretoria to withdraw from Namibia and replacing the illegal South African occupation by the administration of the international community with a view to preparing the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence.

85. Throughout the previous session we, together with the other African delegations, tried in vain to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the tragicomedy which was being rehearsed in Rhodesia. There was talk then of negotiation with the racist rebel régime in Salisbury. Hence it was with indifference that we witnessed the failure of an undertaking which had been marred by injustice and immorality from the very outset.

86. The people of Zimbabwe, which some believe have no voice, did in fact make themselves heard unambiguously despite countless acts of intimidation and repression. It is with the representatives of this people that negotiations should be held on a footing of equality in order to reduce the tension prevailing in that area.

87. The United Kingdom, which has in the past given so many examples of its devotion to freedom and to the rights of peoples, should today have a clear awareness of its responsibilities to the people of Zimbabwe. It is for that Government to take effective measures to enable that people to exercise their inalienable right to sovereignty. Such measures require no special study because they should simply follow the democratic process which has been repeated so many times by the United Nations, namely: first, the restoration of all democratic freedoms and the release of the African militants; secondly, negotiation with the nationalist leaders representing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe; thirdly, submission of the terms of the agreement to the universal suffrage of the entire adult population of Rhodesia, under the supervision of the United Nations; and fourthly, no independence before the setting up of a government chosen by a democratically elected majority.

88. If these principles are not respected, we can be sure that the people of Zimbabwe will have no recourse but to pursue with even greater vigour the course of violence taken by frustrated peoples, with the help of the OAU and with the assistance of all freedom-loving peoples.

89. We are also aware that such a warning has but little chance of being heard by the racist forces of Salisbury, since they draw their inspiration directly from the principles and methods of blind Portuguese colonialism.

90. Portugal, which would be better off devoting its resources to the prosperity of its own people, for more than 10 years now has been stubbornly pursuing a genocidal war although it knows that war is doomed to failure. Furthermore, feeling the ground crumbling under its feet, as was demonstrated by the special mission sent to Guinea (Bissau) from 2 to 8 April 1972 by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is making crude attacks on independent African countries, and is also engaged in installing millions of new settlers in Cabora Bassa.

91. We cannot cease stressing the heavy responsibility for this criminal enterprise that is shared by certain Powers. The sordid commercial ties between these Powers and the oppressors of African peoples in fact constitute the principal factor delaying the victory of the just cause of the freedom-fighters.

92. That is why Cameroon will not hesitate to intensify the moral and material assistance it is providing to the African liberation movements in order to offset the persistence of colonialism and the cynical reinforcement of racial discrimination.

93. The efforts of the international community to tackle jointly, through the organs of the United Nations system, certain major economic problems of the day relating to trade and development, the international monetary crisis and the environment, because of their importance and their long-term effects, merit particular attention.

94. In this area there have been two recent developments: the third session of UNCTAD held at Santiago, Chile, in April and May of this year, and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June.

95. Everyone agrees in recognizing that the third session of UNCTAD did not yield the hoped-for results despite extremely thorough preparation for the work and the huge organization, which was practically perfect; credit for this of course goes above all to the Government of Chile and to the secretariat of UNCTAD.

96. We must recognize that the paucity of results is owing primarily to the highly negative attitude of the rich countries, which share the primary responsibility for this failure. To the rightful claims of the countries of the third world they adopted an attitude of deplorable selfishness. As a result of the third session of UNCTAD we must record an atmosphere of despair which may poison relations between the third world and the developed countries. True, the richer countries undertook to associate the third world with the forthcoming monetary and trade negotiations; they also agreed to grant special assistance to the 25 developing countries which are identified as the least developed. But the great problem of stabilizing commodity prices was left

unsolved, as was that of access of manufactured goods to the markets of the developed countries.

97. It is true that in this area of international trade relations vast interests are at stake. It is also true that these problems can only be solved over the long term. We must also deplore the lack of cohesiveness in the group of under-developed countries and the lack of any strategy. The fact remains, however, that the essence of the unsolved problems will be taken up at subsequent conferences, for which thorough preparation must be made, taking into account the experience we have gained. For its part, Cameroon will strive to give its utmost support to UNCTAD and to the forthcoming negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] with a view to eliminating tariff barriers. In this regard, we hope for the co-operation of GATT and UNCTAD with a view to reaching solutions likely to satisfy the countries of the third world.

98. We also place much hope in the negotiations on the International Cocoa Agreement, which is a strategic commodity for some countries, including Cameroon.

99. The outmoded Bretton Woods monetary system has been so severely criticized that my delegation will not dwell on the process of collapse which has afflicted it since its creation.

100. With the collapse of this system, new solutions must be found, but with the co-operation of all those who are affected by this monetary system during great crises. The whole world knows that the developing countries have paid a very heavy price as a result of the successive devaluations of the so-called strong currencies, to such a point that the increased participation of these countries in discussions with regard to monetary reform has proved indispensable.

101. Despite their hesitation at the early stages of the preparation for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the African countries finally made a positive contribution to the work of that Conference.

102. The developing countries have acquired an increased awareness of the problems involved in improving the human environment.

103. In so far as concerns the United Republic of Cameroon, a knowledge of the natural environment and in particular its effects on the problems of health, hygiene, and housing is a matter of high priority. Similarly, the safeguarding of the environment for the well-being of mankind requires that remedial action in the management of natural resources must be taken here and now. In saying this, we wish to emphasize our interest in anything which concerns the problems of the environment.

104. We are happy to note that problems of development have been kept constantly in mind by the representatives of the 114 countries participating in the Stockholm Conference, and we hope that, whatever the forum, those problems will be mentioned at any meeting convened to give further consideration to this burning problem.

105. The picture which we have just sketched of the international situation in the world today contains many dark spots and the conditions in which we are living, despite a tendency towards a relaxation of tension, are unfortunately still far from encouraging.

106. The principles of equality among States, respect for national sovereignty and non-intervention in the affairs of other States are little respected throughout the world.

107. Racial discrimination and colonialism of the most backward kind continue to devastate the African continent, despite the condemnation of world morality.

108. Lastly, inequality persists in international economic relations, widening the gap which separates the developed nations from the under-privileged nations.

109. These various aspects of the world situation today make of inestimable value the search for peace. Whether bilaterally, within OAU, or at the level of the United Nations, my country has constantly worked, within its means, to find a solution to the problems which create tension. We shall continue along this course and we hope that peace, which is mankind's most precious asset, will prevail.

110. This hope, although not a certainty, rests on certain recent changes in the international climate.

111. There is no doubt that these positive developments in the international climate will lead to a realignment of relations among States both in the political area and in the economic field.

112. This is the conviction which guides us and the groups to which my country belongs, namely, the group of non-aligned countries at the political level, and the Group of 77 developing countries at the economic level. The Cameroons remains solidly aligned with these groups, which represent the developing countries.

113. In the world of today peace, security and progress are achieved through the democratization of international relations.

114. This assertion, which emanates from the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, is worth thinking about. The Foreign Ministers of this group, who met at Georgetown last August, noted the development of an expanding multipolar system which will replace the present division of the world into two antagonistic blocs. They also noted that, in the course of this evolution, new centres of power are appearing, while at the same time the aspirations of many countries to independence are being reaffirmed. We note that this analysis coincides with that which the Secretary-General of our Organization expressed recently, when he gave what we consider a valid opinion on the very concept of the Security Council itself. At the conclusion of his analysis he stated:

"The interests, the wisdom and the importance of the vast majority of medium and smaller Powers cannot, at this point in history, be ignored in any durable system of world order." [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2.]

115. That means that in order to bring about peace, true peace, we have no choice but to appeal to all nations, large and small. As the Head of State of Cameroon has said:

“What we must do is to build upon the material solidarity of mankind a moral solidarity based on common values—build a universal civilization based upon the original and unique contribution of each people. That being said, it is not surprising that the foreign policy of the Cameroons is based upon the dual principle of peace and international co-operation with all nations of the world without discrimination. That concept provides our non-alignment ~~With~~ one of its corner-stones, which reflects the will of my country to participate, in freedom, in the building of the common destiny of mankind.”

116. Mr. GÓMEZ BERGÉS (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I wish to convey to you my congratulations on your election in the certainty that your wisdom and your qualities as a statesman and a student of the problems which affect the international political scene are guarantees that the tasks before us will lead to effective results to the satisfaction of all peoples of the world.

117. An outstanding thinker of the Antilles and foremost sociologist propounded the thesis that the moral progress of peoples runs in the opposite sense to the course of their material progress. That sociological concept applies to the successive periods of the history of civilization.

118. In the world of today we are witnessing technological and scientific progress of such dimensions that we could almost say that it has outstripped man's fantasy, which has always been governed by his tremendous imagination. Thus we have come today to the invention of destructive weapons which could wipe out the human race; and, similarly, with the arrival of man on the moon we can say that we have entered upon the stage of the domination of outer space.

119. Today, almost everyone concedes that at this juncture in civilization, material progress, spurred by science, has changed the characteristics of a natural process in man—that is to say, the structure of the individual and collective mentality.

120. It would be difficult to forecast how far nations can be carried by the undeniable, realistic postulate which suggests the existence of an inverse ratio between material progress and moral progress in society today.

121. From those considerations we could reach the view, which has been repeated since ancient times, that truly man is his own worst enemy. Hence the idea of domination at the cost of destruction and war has still not disappeared.

122. The work done by the United Nations to achieve peace and eliminate the scourge of war, the events that have occurred and the actions that have been taken from the San Francisco Conference to the present day to avoid the spreading of wars beyond the areas of conflict leave no doubt about how exposed nations find themselves to ruin and the violence of a third world war, perhaps of nuclear dimensions, which would wipe out any vestiges of a society

which was always in ferment but which in the depths of its being cherished a noble vocation for peace. Here again, this is a threat that we all view with trepidation, because, despite the years that have passed and the efforts that have been made, we have still not been able to avoid the international tensions which appear to be the major enemy to peace.

123. The picture that I have just sketched is, as we know, in no way encouraging, and it should not really be presented here by the delegation of a country small in territory such as ours; rather it should be presented by the great Powers, which inevitably govern the destinies of mankind. However, as we are fully aware that all States are equal, and as experience teaches us that ideas are the heritage of all mankind, we are repeating a concern which we know is shared by a large part of mankind.

124. We should add to the foregoing considerations that we are convinced that these facts alone are not the only cause of the abnormalities which exist in the international order.

125. It is possible that in the world of today there exists a specific causal divisive element which makes possible this imbalance between moral progress and material progress in the world in which we live. We are referring specifically to the crisis in law. Thus we see that the more we progress towards the development of legal standards, enshrined in treaties and conventions, the weaker and more ineffective they become in the enforcement of those norms, thus ensuring the necessary maintenance of peace and reasonable coexistence. Take, for example, the failure to observe treaties setting forth a lofty humanistic vision of man, specifically in international conflicts, as has occurred in the case of the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war, on inherent rights, on smuggling and the illicit traffic in drugs, international delinquency aggravated by the hijacking of aircraft and many other violations of the law.

126. From these considerations we conclude that if such things are happening in the international community it would not be at all venturesome to assert that the obstacle which stands in the way of peace and the elimination of international tensions is, as we have already stated, the crisis in law.

127. We have recognized that this is not the sole cause of the anguish in which we, the peoples of the world, live, but we cannot deny that such a crisis has a great deal to do with the fact that viable solutions are not being found to the problems whose solutions are the direct responsibility of the States involved in a dispute, as well as of the United Nations, which is the repository of the most powerful machinery which we can count upon for the solution of such conflicts.

128. It is not incumbent upon us to spell out in terms of doctrine a policy of such magnitude in order to break the vicious circle in which we find ourselves confined. It is certainly up to us, however, to organize, to find a way out of the critical realities with which we are confronted today, and we could discover the way out if there were a meeting of the minds on the necessity to work out a system to

restore confidence, without which no permanent peace is possible.

129. Despite the conviction that this is a difficult task and that many paths will have to be smoothed in order to reach this system of security, to which reference has been made so many times by so many voices in this hall, it is equally certain that specific sacrifices are required which will test the real desire for peace which prevails in the world today.

130. One of the methods that my delegation considers would be effective would be the one referred to in resolution 2864 (XXVI), which empowers Member States to take positions on "means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations". We are convinced that an enhancement of these methods would be a step forward towards the possibility of reaching a point where we could work out the system of security to which we have referred.

131. But we must recognize that the desired enhancement of the methods to improve the efficiency of the Security Council would require a revitalizing of certain fundamental instruments available to the Council. Accordingly, my Government stresses the criterion that the Charter should be revised in respect of the provisions on the right of veto.

132. We are absolutely certain that it will be impossible to increase the efficiency of the Security Council just so long as we do not remove from the Charter a privilege which is at odds with the very essence of democracy. We say this because, far from being a notable step forward in the features characteristic of our era, which is typified by its revolt against old structures, this privilege is in itself an archaic institution. Perhaps it was justified when the victorious Powers were laying the foundations of this world Organization and wished by the veto to rule out alternatives for international equilibrium.

133. However, we would agree that the method should be attenuated in such a way that this exceptional right should be exercised only in circumstances in which we obviously face the alternative of a conflict that could endanger world peace.

134. The Dominican Republic, which has always been known for the support it has given to the predominance of human rights in our Organization, is firmly convinced that never before has our civilization been under a greater obligation to make freedom and dignity for man a reality. Accordingly we cannot possibly concede that States may infringe or make conditional the respect for and protection of the inherent rights of the human person. It is not difficult to understand that there can be no freedom where these rights are infringed.

135. For all of those reasons my country is opposed to acts of violence in all their forms of social upheaval; hence we reject the attacks which, like the one which took place recently in Munich, constitute acts of barbarism that are the "fruit of the most savage form of terrorism", as our Chief of State, H.E. Joaquín Balaguer stated. This is all the more true when by such acts innocent persons who are not involved in the motives that blindly lead people to take up

arms and engage in destructive activities become the victims.

136. In a period of such tremendous progress, such as that which has been made in the field of human rights, we cannot close our eyes and remain indifferent to the recent tragic events which occurred in the emotion-torn Olympic Village. For this reason, my Government could not fail to give its support to the request for the inclusion in the agenda of item 92 concerning measures to prevent international terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms, in the conviction that, in addition to energetic protests, there will emerge from this hall the necessary action to put an end to such horrendous acts.

137. Nor can we fail, on this occasion, to refer to the development process which is under way in the Dominican Republic today, in accordance with the plans that are being pressed forward by our constitutional Government with relentless vigour.

138. While it is true that one of the reasons for the state of anxiety in which mankind is living today is a result of the crisis in law, it is equally true that the most effective way to deal with this situation is to obtain balanced development for all of our peoples. Hence, the words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, who said: "Development is the new name of peace". This message has reached all peoples with great conviction and force.

139. Accordingly, at this time, my Government is deeply involved in the most thoroughgoing revolution of our structures which was ever recorded in the history of Hispaniola, with the introduction and implementation of the Agrarian Code which sets up the machinery to hand over to the farmer the land that he cultivates and to take from over-greedy hands the principal sources of the wealth of the Republic.

140. My Government hopes that after having doubled the *per capita* income of our country after barely six years, we will be able in a few years to continue to develop our vast wealth of resources which heretofore has been practically unproductive, so that we can continue strengthening the soundness of our democratic institutions and uproot, once and for all, the causes that have led to such frequent upheavals as are recorded in the history of the Dominican Republic.

141. As another trend within this spirit of progress which pervades the Dominican Republic, we can point to the importance that my Government has attached to the conclusions that are summarized in the Declaration of Santo Domingo [A/8721, annex I, sect.2], a basic document of the Specialized Conference of the Caribbean Countries on Problems of the Sea, which was held in Santo Domingo from 5 to 9 June and which was attended by 13 Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Caribbean region.

142. On that occasion our attention was devoted not only to the problem of the exploitation of the resources of the sea, but also towards everything that is required to preserve the species as an inseparable aspect of the fundamental question of exploitation. Thus we were also able to



contribute to a subject matter which involves the human environment, a matter to which this Assembly is to devote special attention. We were trying thereby to take one more step forward in respect of the complicated problem of pollution and development.

143. For those reasons it would be most appropriate if we could succeed at this session in persuading the countries represented here to find concrete solutions while we prepare effectively to apply the principles already accepted under existing conventions on the problem of the contamination of the sea, which affects us all, aware as we are that we shall have to find adequate solutions, in view of the interrelationship between pollution and the whole process of the development of nations.

144. The importance and the dissimilarity of the items on the agenda of this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly explain the interest felt by the foremost leaders of the world in finding day by day solutions more in accordance with the reality in which we live. Hence, after objective analysis of the importance of youth today and, above all, noting the fact that more than half the world is less than 25 years of age, the United Nations has endorsed this categorical statement: "The young generation is a segment of the population whose needs are growing day by day and whose contribution to development is vital."

145. As we are all aware of the responsibility that devolves upon us within this Organization to exert our efforts to work out national development plans, there is nothing more urgent for the full discharge of this duty than to incorporate youth in the serious tasks of renewal and development. Therefore we view with great satisfaction the fact that we are going to discuss the question of youth, its education, its principles, its needs, its active participation in development and international co-operation.

146. We have seen with great hope how in this past decade youth has begun to play a decisive role in the inevitable process of transformation of our social, political and economic structures and how efficiently it is carrying out its great responsibilities.

147. We can assert that we are witnessing today a phenomenon characteristic of this century and that the

time will come when the new generations will have to inherit this world Organization, at which time we are sure they will champion the most cherished hopes of past generations.

148. The coming generations recognize that the United Nations is the repository of the principles and ideals for which they are fighting so dynamically and wisely in order to advance the ideas of the new era. Therefore we will advocate a re-examination of policies concerning youth, in each country's national plans, so that the organizations of the world system can redouble their efforts towards the creation of new projects that will satisfy their just desires for progress.

149. In his Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio* His Holiness Pope Paul VI summarized the overriding importance of development in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of progress when he said:

"All of you who have heard the appeal of suffering peoples, all of you who are working to answer their cries, you are the apostles of a development which is good and genuine, which is not wealth that is self-centred and sought for its own sake, but rather an economy which is put at the service of man, the bread which is daily distributed to all, as a source of brotherhood and a sign of providence."

150. Allow me to conclude my statement this afternoon by adopting for ourselves this other appeal by Pope Paul VI, contained in the same Encyclical:

"Government officials, it is your concern to mobilize your peoples to form a more effective world solidarity, and, above all, to make them accept the necessary taxes on their luxuries and their wasteful expenditures in order to bring about development and to save the peace. Delegates to international organizations, it depends on you to see that the dangerous and futile rivalry of powers should give place to collaboration which is friendly, peaceful and free of vested interests, in order to achieve a responsible development of mankind, in which all men will have an opportunity to find their fulfilment."

*The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.*