



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. McLoughlin (Argentina)	1
Speech by Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) . . .	5
Speech by Mr. Rinchin (Mongolia)	10
Speech by Mr. Al-Soweidi (United Arab Emirates)	14
Speech by Mr. Karki (Nepal)	15
Speech by Mr. Suhaim Bin Hamid Al-Thani (Qatar)	19
Speech by the representative of Uganda	19

President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. McLOUGHLIN (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Argentine Government, I am pleased to offer you our congratulations on the election as President of the General Assembly of an outstanding son of Poland, a nation with which Argentina enjoys close ties of friendship. We are convinced that your ability and your experience in international problems will ensure success in the deliberations of the Assembly. May I request you to transmit to Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, the appreciation of the Argentine delegation for the brilliant way in which he guided the work of the twenty-sixth session.
2. At the end of that session, U Thant relinquished his post and we elected a new Secretary-General; at that time the Argentine delegation expressed from the rostrum [2031st meeting] its appreciation to U Thant for his untiring work in the service of our Organization. The efforts made by Mr. Kurt Waldheim in the course of this year strengthen our conviction that his election was well advised and that his talents and ability will contribute effectively to the fulfilment of the goals of the United Nations.
3. There seems to be no disagreement that the present international system is a multipolar one, whose various centres of political, economic and socio-cultural power have imposed a dynamism on present-day events that had not been experienced in the post-war years. There can be no doubt that all types of relations among States have become more fluid and articulate and that our Organization has achieved a degree of universality which was unknown during earlier decades. It is also evident that ideological differences have given way to a more pragmatic and realistic approach to problems affecting international life.

4. We cannot but express our satisfaction that the cold-war stance has been abandoned and that dialogue and negotiations have been accepted as a way of achieving peaceful solutions to the controversies among States. Long-divided countries have managed to approach their reunification or have devised procedures permitting more intensive economic, social and cultural relations. All these are also signs of the gradual disappearance of the bipolar system and a relaxation of tensions which have always been encouraged by my country.
5. However, the existence of these events must not lead us to lose sight of the need to watch very closely the development of trends within the system itself. Despite the multipolarity, it is undeniable that the medium and smaller nations remain only marginally involved in the adoption of decisions that affect them directly.
6. In his introduction to the report on the work of the Organization submitted to the Assembly, the Secretary-General has very rightly pointed out that "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]. Pursuant to this line of thought, nothing would be more dangerous than to convert the present multipolarity into a static system of balance of power. This would spell a new division of the world into spheres of influence by the super-Powers and the larger nations, with the obvious exclusion of a large number of States. The peace and security to which we aspire are not those leading to a rigid situation which would curtail development possibilities, because they could alter the balance achieved. Stability in peace does not mean the freezing of acquired positions, but rather the opening up of new possibilities to ensure a more just and worthy world.
7. In the decade of the 1970s, the United Nations cannot confine itself to endorsing the acts of the great Powers. It has often been alleged that voting at the United Nations is the performance of a mere ritual. It well may be that this forum has served on numerous occasions to offer the great Powers a way out—a fitting way of saving face at times when, had they continued to follow a selfish or mistaken policy, they might have plunged our world into new and serious conflicts.
8. This role played by the United Nations should not be disdained. In recent times, however, the membership of the United Nations has altered considerably due to the admission of a majority of countries that either became independent after the Second World War or were not direct contenders in that conflict. Those countries are confronting serious problems of all types and are endeavouring to narrow the gap that separates them from the great Powers

as rapidly as possible. Perhaps precisely because of this development lag, their views may differ from those of the great Powers with regard to the analysis of and solutions to their problems—and presumably they may consider foreign any approach to them that does not take into account their own needs.

9. All this leads us to believe that, if the United Nations is to live up to the purposes that dictated its creation, it must assume new functions more in keeping with the present-day reality. It is a fact, for example, that the policy of great-Power confrontation has yielded, at least in many cases, to a policy of co-operation; talks have started on fundamental matters; substantive agreements have been arrived at on questions of concern to all. We hope that this attitude of co-operation can be extended to embrace all the countries of the system. But the Organization should also give increasing attention to the problems and the needs of each and every one of its Members. The world of today is an indivisible unit, and the conflicts, problems or situations afflicting one State or one region not only interest, but also affect, all the others.

10. The Security Council bears an enormous responsibility for the analysis and proposal of solutions to conflicts among States. We do not believe that there are universal prescriptions; we believe that each case must be considered on its own merits, and the onus of implementing measures recommended by the Security Council falls on the parties concerned. While serving as a member of the Security Council, Argentina has maintained a position of strict independence in dealing with the different questions raised and has at all times endeavoured to contribute in a constructive way to the solution of the problems examined by that organ.

11. We attach singular importance to the meetings of the Security Council held in Addis Ababa at the beginning of this year. The positive results obtained proved the wisdom of the initiative taken by the three African members of the Council who proposed that the Council should hold meetings away from Headquarters.

12. Latin America is the natural framework for Argentine foreign policy affairs, and my country has concentrated its efforts within that area. The various visits by the President of Argentina to other countries of South America bespeak clearly the priority attached by my Government to the ties with the sister Republics of the continent. Through these visits and the presidential talks held on Argentine soil, we have established procedures for consultation and co-ordination in order to ensure greater success in our joint efforts to solve our common problems. This policy has led to solid achievements aimed at enhancing our physical, economic, scientific and cultural integration.

13. The countries of Latin America are not only linked by a common historical tradition, but they are also part of a community of necessary interdependence. We are all protagonists in a process where the fate of each one affects that of the others and where all are called upon to play a major role.

14. Within the United Nations the Latin American countries have performed and continue to perform a vital

function. We have been unswerving defenders of the Charter and of the principles of international law and advocates of peaceful settlement of disputes. We have made common cause with the new nations that have emerged into independent life since 1945 and we have always given support to all measures designed to end colonialism, eliminate racial discrimination and do away with economic differences among peoples. In this way we have been true to the principles that are deeply rooted in the national character of each of our countries, whose populations comprise all races of the world. This is a matter of particular pride and deserves special mention in a parliament that does in fact represent the international community as a whole.

15. We wish to express our agreement with the comments on the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment made by Mr. Waldheim in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/8701/Add.1, p. 5*] and with your own words, Mr. President, in your opening statement of this session [*2032nd meeting*]. The problems of the environment have been a constant concern to my country and that is why, when the item was first discussed in the Economic and Social Council, Argentina was one of the first countries to support the holding of the Stockholm Conference and participated actively in the preparatory work for it.

16. The most constructive element that emerges from the report of the Conference¹ is the establishment of international co-operation in the field of the human environment. In accordance with its recommendations and its Declaration, this co-operation is carried out through an exchange of information and collaboration among States. The Conference reflects what experience and practice, science and technology, doctrine and jurisprudence have been teaching us for a long time.

17. In this field Latin America was ahead of the Stockholm achievements by including in joint declarations of its Presidents and Foreign Ministers the principles which were later approved by the Conference.

18. In this, as in any other questions touching the international community, the Argentine Republic upholds the principle of the exercise of sovereignty whereby States perform any acts necessary within their own territory to carry out their national policies. Argentina also maintains that modern States must exercise this sovereignty in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, respecting therefore the same sovereign rights of other States.

19. In order to achieve a harmonious interplay of this simultaneous exercise of sovereignty on the part of different States, a system of exchange of information is necessary to comply, effectively and appropriately, with the principles of good neighbourliness. Without it, international co-operation as advocated by the Stockholm Conference would be difficult if not impossible to achieve.

20. Argentina attaches special significance to the problems relating to the law of the sea. We have participated actively

¹ 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).

in the work of the sea-bed Committee² and, together with other countries of Latin America, we have upheld the right of the coastal State to extend its sovereignty over the sea adjacent to its shores to a distance of 200 maritime miles and we have reaffirmed its sovereign rights over the continental shelf. This position is based on the provisions of international law and on the imperative need to protect and defend the resources that lie close to our coasts. The Declarations of Montevideo³ and Lima⁴—and more recently that of Santo Domingo—clearly reflect the responsibility assumed by the majority of the countries of Latin America. Many countries of Africa and Asia that have also had to face the need to adopt measures within the framework of contemporary international law are joining in this process, to preserve and protect the resources of the sea, the sea-bed and the subsoil of the maritime areas within their jurisdiction and adjacent to their coasts.

21. The task of the future United Nations conference on the law of the sea is to harmonize these rights and interests with those of the international community; its results should bring the benefits of juridical security and justice of a new and more equitable order to this important area of international relations. Therefore, careful study should be given to the preparatory work of the Conference that will be convened, we understand, when the general lines of agreement have been reached and when the enlarged Committee on the sea-bed has fulfilled its mandate. These preparatory efforts and the careful timing of the conference should ensure its positive outcome.

22. The Argentine Republic continues to follow with increased interest the evolution of events in the Middle East. Our logical concern over the state of affairs prevailing in that region is due to our conviction that international peace is indivisible. For this reason it is imperative that a just and lasting peace be established in that area. We repeat that the strict implementation of the principles and obligations set forth in resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council—to whose adoption the Argentine delegation contributed significantly—is still the basic point of departure to achieve that goal. The conflict has lasted far too long and the different stages that mark its development have left many wounds that are difficult to heal, but they have also taught lessons and given much experience that must not be wasted.

23. To conclude peace, the highest gifts of statesmanship are required from all. They must manifest themselves not only in the sincere will to negotiate and to moderate their positions, but also in their sense of timing, which, I would venture to say, is a trait of fundamental importance. The tragedy of opportunities missed haunts peoples for generations and the Argentine Government is ready to continue contributing actively to avoid such a tragedy occurring in the Middle East.

24. The Argentine Republic has always stated from this rostrum that it totally and unconditionally rejects all types

of discrimination and colonialism. For this reason we note with concern that forms of domination still exist that are incompatible with human dignity and with the clear awareness of present day man, who does not accept so-called racial superiorities.

25. It is a commonplace to state today that colonialism has been overcome. It is a fact that a wide majority of the territories that suffered foreign domination have now acceded to independent life and have taken their place in this Organization. But the unfortunate fact is that a number of colonial situations still exist and it is our duty not to waver for a single moment in our efforts until the last vestige of that unjust and anachronistic dependence has been totally and forever eradicated.

26. Namibia is a typical example, among others. Solely and exclusively to obtain self-determination and independence for Namibia as soon as possible—a step too long postponed—Argentina has proposed legal and political formulas that were given unanimous support by the voting members of the Security Council in February and August of this year [*Council resolutions 309 (1972) and 319 (1972)*]. We prefer to believe in the evolution of governments, governments that cannot forever turn their backs on the realities surrounding them. Therefore, we still trust that good sense will prevail and that the aspirations of the peoples of Namibia and of the international community, endorsed by a decision of the International Court of Justice,⁵ will be satisfied, and that this will take place immediately in a peaceful and orderly manner.

27. The unwavering anti-colonialist stand of the Argentine Republic, which I reaffirm now, is not the simple expression of a feeling that we share with the vast majority of nations represented here. In our view, colonialism is not a historical phenomenon whose consequences afflict others—nor is it a problem of which we have acquired vicarious knowledge. It is an actual fact that we ourselves are experiencing.

28. At present, after more than a century and a half of independent life, there still subsists on Argentine soil a residue of that outgrown stage of imperial expansion. It is precisely in order to wipe out that negative vestige of an obsolete past that the Argentine Government is conducting negotiations with the Government of the United Kingdom within the framework of General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) in order to find a final solution to the dispute over the sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands.

29. In order to encourage ties between the Malvinas Islands and the mainland and as a result of instruments approved by both countries, efforts have been made which facilitate communications, increase mutual knowledge and benefit the population of the Malvinas. In May of this year, notes were signed and exchanged in Buenos Aires which provided for the construction in the islands, by the Argentine Republic, of an airport which will be capable of dealing with the regular transport of passengers, cargo and

² Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the limits of National Jurisdiction.

³ Montevideo Declaration on the Law of the Sea, adopted in Montevideo on 8 May 1970. See A/AC.138/23 (mimeographed).

⁴ Declaration of the Latin American States on the Law of the Sea, adopted at Lima on 8 August 1970. See A/AC.138/28 (mimeographed).

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

mail and which will begin to operate in the next few weeks to replace the amphibious aircraft at present being used.

30. Despite these practical steps of undisputed importance, there still remain differences between the two Governments regarding the circumstances required for a final solution of the question of sovereignty. Further talks on the matter are to be held and we trust that they will be fruitful. The final outcome can be none other than the return of the Malvinas Islands to the Argentine territorial heritage.

31. The United Kingdom is a country to which we are linked by traditional and cordial ties of friendship and one which has given repeated proof of its clear-sighted approach to the realities of the present day world. We are therefore confident that this case will be no exception. We reiterate that only thus can the obstacle affecting good relations between our two countries be removed for once and for all.

32. The Argentine Government, which has given proof of reflection and moderation throughout these negotiations in the search for a peaceful solution to the question, hopes that it will not be delayed without justification. We shall thus have fully complied with the terms of paragraph 1 of resolution 2065 (XX), which, furthermore, coincides with the universal desire to put a speedy end to colonial situations all over the world.

33. Disarmament still continues to be one of the most urgent and important questions of the day. During the last two sessions of the General Assembly, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament submitted for our consideration the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction, which were subsequently adopted [*resolutions 2660 (XXV) and 2826 (XXVI)*]. My Government has subscribed to both, since they were instruments that had been the subject of delicate multilateral negotiations in which all parties acted with the greatest care and flexibility in order to arrive at balanced formulas which undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

34. With regard to chemical weapons, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is not, this year, submitting to the General Assembly an agreed draft convention on weapons of mass destruction of this type, whose dangers are obvious and whose elimination is imperative. We must remember that, because of the relatively low costs of these weapons, they can be developed and produced by many countries. Therefore an agreement on chemical weapons should be acceptable to all States, not only to the great Powers. The negotiations are thus much more complex, since so many views reflecting well-founded concerns must be brought together.

35. Thanks to the patient work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the international community has made some progress in the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. Little enough has been achieved, how-

ever, in regard to nuclear weapons, apart from some collateral measures of dubious practical effectiveness and, in some ways, of a discriminatory nature.

36. Within the more restricted framework of bilateral talks on strategic arms, the agreements signed in Moscow are a first step in the right direction; yet these are not measures of nuclear disarmament but efforts to stabilize a precarious military balance between the super-Powers. In other words, they are not enough to stem and turn back the nuclear arms race.

37. In this discouraging picture of the field of nuclear disarmament, new life must be given to the negotiations, and, in order to do so, the competent organ must ensure the participation of all the nuclear Powers, in a manner satisfactory to all the States concerned. So we note with pleasure that, for the first time in its history, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has given this problem special attention and that its report [*A/8818*] shows a certain degree of flexibility regarding possible alterations in its organization. My delegation has been particularly interested in this important matter and we venture to hope that this will be the starting-point for informal consultations to rectify an anomaly that is prejudicial to the development of the international community.

38. Argentina has supported the idea that this General Assembly should deal with measures to prevent international terrorism that endangers innocent human lives, costs lives or threatens fundamental freedoms. Elsewhere, and at different times, my country has condemned irrational violence and has appealed for reflection in the face of the wave of hatred and destruction that has swept the world of today. This phenomenon constitutes a serious affront to mankind and to our civilization. Therefore, the United Nations must not and cannot remain indifferent to the danger it implies for peaceful coexistence among men.

39. In matters of economic co-operation, the international community will have a new and significant opportunity during the rest of 1972 and particularly in 1973 to make progress in the improvement of relations among States of differing degrees of development, through a more just and effective regulation.

40. The reform of the international monetary system and the planned multilateral trade negotiations are important occasions for those countries that bear the major responsibility to turn their sights beyond their own strictly national interests and allow these new efforts to be fitted into the provisions of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

41. We believe that the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], held in Santiago, Chile, in April and May of this year, constituted a promising point of departure for that international undertaking. During the course of that session the convergence of the policies for co-operation in that field reached new heights.

42. Both at that session of UNCTAD and at other international and regional meetings on economic and

financial matters, Argentina has pledged its determined support so that such initiatives will achieve the success that the international community is eagerly seeking.

43. In the fields of science and technology, Argentina is determined to make rapid advances in a dynamic process of modernization through the maximum use of the resources offered by these branches of knowledge in order to secure better standards of living for its population.

44. We are disturbed over the prevalence of certain views in the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] which, ignoring the multiplying effect of the efforts of co-operation made by peoples at different stages of development, are trying to change the present system of distribution of resources, reserving them almost exclusively for extreme cases of optimum development.

45. At the same time as Argentina makes use of UNDP as a helpful instrument to complement its needs in that area, we must stress that we also contribute a considerable number of national experts who service projects in different parts of the world and that we welcome yearly more than a hundred fellowship holders from other countries for training in our country.

46. At the beginning I pointed out the dangers for the medium and small nations of being left on the fringes of a multipolar system based on the balance of power among the great Powers. We are also disturbed over any attempts to slow down the process of updating the economies of the developing countries by limiting the transfer of science and technology to them.

47. To concede that growth must be stemmed would be tantamount to admitting that there are countries doomed to remain halfway on the road to civilization and would further imply a frustration of man's capacity for permanent creation. As was the case in economic matters, in the fields of culture and the preservation of the environment, here too active international co-operation is imperative.

48. If we wish to achieve international peace and security, which are fundamental objectives of our Charter, then we shall have to make real the aspirations to a better life for which all peoples yearn. There can be no peace without international justice, and there will be no justice until each and every country assumes fully its responsibilities. In 1945 our Organization was born to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Man's survival is still paramount today, but there is a clear awareness that it must rest on the firm foundations of freedom and the dignity of the human person so that he can develop to the utmost his creative potential. These drives, which are the features of our day and our society, must be reflected in the action of the United Nations.

49. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, my first and very pleasant duty is to congratulate you, on behalf of the Tanzanian delegation, on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are convinced that your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and statesman constitute a valuable pledge for the success of this very important session. Our delegation would also like

to place on record its appreciation of the able way in which the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, your distinguished predecessor, guided the deliberations of the last session.

50. We have read with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/8701 and Add.1] and I would like to express, from the very outset, our appreciation for this report, which is a masterly presentation and appraisal of the developments in the international community during the past 12 months.

51. Looking back over the annals of our Organization, the events of last year stand out remarkably as milestones on the road to the realization of the aims and purposes of the United Nations. I refer in particular to the reinstatement of the People's Republic of China in its seat in the United Nations and to the rest of the chain of events which have dramatically influenced the pattern of power both within the Organization and outside it.

52. With the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization, the principle of universality was once more recognized in practice, and above all a sense of realism started to guide the foreign policies of many countries which had been till then Sinophobic. It was indeed inconceivable that world peace and justice could be achieved and maintained while the most populous, and one of the most important, countries in the world was excluded from this instrument of world peace and justice. We therefore once more welcome this long-overdue event and, while doing so, we hope that a complete realization of that principle of universality will continue to be our goal in this Organization.

53. Since the last session of the General Assembly, we have witnessed a growing trend towards détente, particularly between the major Powers. We believe that the softening of hearts where there had been prolonged hostilities, and the adoption of a conciliatory spirit where there had been hard-and-fast differences, could pave the way to understanding and to peaceful solutions to the many problems that bedevil our planet. We welcome not only the détente between the big Powers, but also the rapprochement between the different parties in Korea, Germany and the Indian subcontinent.

54. In welcoming this process, my delegation would nevertheless echo the caution repeatedly expressed by the smaller nations, particularly those belonging to the non-aligned movement, that bilateral and other limited arrangements between the major Powers cannot be a substitute for the responsibilities of this Organization. The improvement of relations among the big Powers is a necessary aspect of the efforts to bring about peace. Yet, any dealings among the major Powers that bypass the United Nations cannot accommodate the interests of all the Members of this Organization and cannot therefore guarantee a lasting peace. Durable peace and security must be worked out with the participation of all countries, big and small.

55. The principle of collective responsibility and collective decision on the issues of peace and security in our world must equally be observed even if for one reason or another

efforts towards international peace and security have to be undertaken outside the ambit of our Organization. Any attempt to evade this democratic procedure will inevitably be somewhat suspect. Indeed, while these bilateral agreements and understandings may serve the interests of the Powers concerned, they do not necessarily take into account the interests of the rest of the world community, notwithstanding representations to the contrary.

56. Yet, even if we assume that all the negotiations, some of them secret, that have taken place between the major Powers of the world have been conducted in the interest of our collective humanity, we must at the same time recognize that the process of active détente that we have witnessed over the period since the last session of the Assembly has not significantly lessened the threat to world peace and security. Thus, for example, while Europe has been witnessing a détente, tensions have been building up elsewhere in the world. Nor, for that matter, has the slight thaw in the frozen waters of the cold war of the 1960s and early 1970s appreciably reduced the misery and injustice under which millions of people in the world have so long suffered.

57. The war in Indo-China continues to inflict disaster, misery and suffering on the people of that unhappy area. On 8 May, the President of the United States ordered the blockade of North Viet-Nam, and since then that small country has been subjected to some of the most destructive and barbaric bombings that have been experienced by any country since the time of Hiroshima.

58. The methods employed by the United States in its futile and senseless attempts to subjugate the Viet-Nameese people have no parallel in the history of warfare. Indeed, even some American news media sadly report that the people of North Viet-Nam are being bombed back to the stone age. This is both inhuman and outrageous. The present killings conducted by American naval and air forces in Viet-Nam are being undertaken, so it is said, to save the face and honour of the United States. But nothing would be more honourable than for the United States to order an immediate end to all the annihilation being carried out by the American forces in Viet-Nam.

59. An immediate end must also be put to the United States intervention in the affairs of Cambodia so that that traditionally non-aligned country can be allowed to pursue its progressive policies of peace and neutrality in complete freedom and security. Tanzania, in consonance with the position of many other non-aligned and peace-loving nations, wishes to reiterate its indignation at the continued aggression perpetrated by imperialism against the people of Indo-China, and its full support of these heroic people who have demonstrated their strength, tenacity and perseverance in the struggle against gross injustice and bullying by the forces of reaction and international imperialism.

60. The highly explosive situation in the Middle East continues to preoccupy the attention of the international community. Few will challenge the fact that the *status quo*, apart from being a fragile and uneasy "no peace, no war" situation, also constitutes a gross betrayal of the Charter of the United Nations. Israel seems to be determined to flout with impunity decisions and resolutions of the Security

Council and the General Assembly. Since the General Assembly last addressed itself to the question there have been no positive changes in the situation. If anything, we have witnessed a further consolidation of Israeli conquests with concomitant repercussions affecting the possible peaceful solution of the conflict.

61. The question that arises now is no longer whether the international community can condone such arrogance and intransigence on the part of the occupying forces, but rather whether we can afford to be satisfied with mere moral condemnations. I wish to reiterate here the call my Government has made in the past both in this Organization and in other international forums. Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the Arab territories that it now illegally occupies resulting from its 1967 war of aggression. It must also fully respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Only when it fulfils these conditions will there be hope for a durable peace in the Middle East.

62. My delegation has been very encouraged by the hopeful developments that have taken place in the Korean peninsula. While welcoming these encouraging developments, it is our conviction that, left to themselves, the Korean people are capable of solving their own problems in a brotherly and peaceful atmosphere.

63. It is the view of the Tanzanian delegation that it is now more necessary than ever before for this Organization to respond favourably to these developments by putting an end to all foreign intervention in Korea. Such a move will not only help to remove suspicions between the parties concerned but will also be a reassurance to them that the United Nations favours the methods of approach they have taken. We strongly call upon this Organization to withdraw its so-called military command from the area and to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. In particular, we call upon the United States to stop abusing the United Nations flag and to withdraw all its troops forthwith. The so-called military command serves neither any purpose useful to our Organization nor, for that matter, the interests of the Korean people. It is our sincere belief that the initiatives already taken by the Koreans themselves should receive the encouragement of our Organization. We therefore deeply regret that the General Assembly will not be addressing itself to the question in the current session.

64. Let me now turn to the events which tragically continue to cause much suffering and misery in our continent.

65. With the exception of South Africa and Portugal, there is not a single country represented in this hall which has not, at one time or another, condemned colonialism. Yet colonialism continues to ravage vast areas of the world. This is the greatest tragedy of our time. It is, at the same time, the most obnoxious and pernicious scandal perpetrated by some Members of this Organization, particularly those Member countries which have the power to end this evil system.

66. But although the pace of decolonization is still painfully slow, we are conscious and appreciative of the role that the United Nations, through its Special Committee

on the Situation with Regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has played during the year. For the first time, a United Nations mission has had the opportunity to visit and to see the liberated areas of a colonial Territory in Africa. The visit is the more important because it was undertaken at the invitation of and conducted under the protection of the liberation movement of the Territory, the PAIGC,⁶ which has liberated those areas. The fact that this visit was successfully completed despite the sustained and intensified barbaric bombardments of those areas by the Portuguese Fascist forces can lead to only one conclusion for the United Nations, that is, the PAIGC exercises effective control over vast areas of Guinea (Bissau). The least, therefore, that the United Nations can do during the current session as a tribute to both the freedom fighters in Guinea (Bissau) and the gallant young men who went on that mission, must be the reaffirmation of that fact. For our part and at this particular moment we pay our tribute to the worthy representatives of Ecuador, Mr. Sevilla-Borja; of Sweden, Mr. Löfgren; and of Tunisia, Mr. Belkhiria, and to the two members of the Secretariat, Mr. Nagata and Mr. Gaye, for a job well done. In this connexion, my delegation is happy to recall the fact that our brother, Amílcar Cabral, Secretary General of PAIGC, rightly called these eminent sons of Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa, cosmonauts of decolonization.

67. It remains the duty of the United Nations now to implement the recommendations contained in the report of that Mission [*A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, Annex I*]; for the supreme significance of that Special Mission does not lie only in what it has seen, written, or said; it also lies in what the United Nations consequently does to help the victims of Portuguese Fascist oppression in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

68. Guinea (Bissau) is but a part of the over-all colonial and racial situation prevailing in Africa today. It is part of that situation which not only oppresses the peoples in those colonial Territories but also affects very directly the domestic and foreign policies of our independent African States. To us, the colonial situation prevailing in Africa is the major determinant of our policies and is central in our daily lives. Consequently, we view it as the most burning issue before the United Nations.

69. Yet it is the only issue which, given the will and honesty on the part of the leaders of this Organization assembled here, is capable of an immediate solution. Colonialism is not a natural or God-made disaster; it is man-made, man-maintained and, although strongly condemned publicly, in private it is condoned by some Members of this Organization. It is to these Members, particularly the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and several other Members within the NATO alliance, that we feel we must once again address our appeal to re-examine their policies in relation to the colonial situation in Africa. If the Governments of these countries agree, and indeed in public they do, that colonialism is an evil system because it is an attack upon our common humanity, then they must join with us in the fight against those forces and régimes which have chosen

the maintenance and enforcement of colonialism as a way of life. Let them cease the supply of weapons to South Africa and Portugal—weapons which systematically have been used against the African people in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea (Bissau), in Namibia and in Southern Rhodesia who have been and are fighting to make real the objectives of the United Nations, that is, the elimination of colonialism and racism.

70. In essence, the liberation struggle being waged in the colonial territories of Africa is only an extension of the struggle being waged by the United Nations. These people need and deserve the support, moral and material, of every honest and serious Member of this Organization.

71. Since the last session of the General Assembly important developments have taken place in the colonial Territories of southern Africa. The African people in Southern Rhodesia, despite intimidation, arrests and banishments, have categorically rejected the so-called proposals for a settlement agreed upon last year between the United Kingdom Government and the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith. To Africa this rejection was obvious from the very beginning. We saw no useful purpose whatsoever in the exercise of testing African opinion in that Territory on that issue, and we told the British Government so. Now that the Pearce Commission report⁷ is out and the African voice has been heard, what does the United Kingdom Government propose to do next? And what does the United Nations propose to do during this session?

72. Let us tell the United Kingdom Government in no uncertain terms that there is no need, none whatsoever, for so-called reflection by the Rhodesians. There is not the slightest possibility that the Africans in Southern Rhodesia will change their mind and the Pearce Commission makes this point quite clear. The report is also clear on the reasons given by Africans for opposing the proposals. Their opposition stems from the deep frustration and humiliation at the kind of life imposed on them by the white régime. And let us be frank, each and every one of us would react likewise if we were equally frustrated and humiliated.

73. The United Kingdom Government thus has a clear course of action. It must act to assert its authority and change the present power structure in Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government must act to ensure that there will be no independence in Southern Rhodesia before majority rule. To Africans in that Territory and to Africa as a whole no compromise will be acceptable.

74. The course of action for the United Nations is also very clear. The Organization must give every possible assistance to the liberation movements fighting in Southern Rhodesia. It is through this assistance that Southern Rhodesia will be saved from racial bloodshed.

75. It is most regrettable that one big Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, the United States of America, has chosen to strengthen the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith by importing chrome from Southern

⁷ See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

⁶ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

Rhodesia in absolute contravention of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against that Territory. What exactly is the explanation for that action? There is no doubt that that grave violation of the Security Council resolution by the United States of America serves to reinforce and strengthen the forces of racism and colonialism not only in Southern Rhodesia but in southern Africa as a whole.

76. Equally regrettable actions by certain Western imperialist Powers are seen in the Territories under Portuguese domination. In those Territories, where the liberation struggle has been advancing very satisfactorily, certain of those Powers led by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and others have been supplying the Government of Portugal with such deadly weapons as napalm, toxic gases, herbicide defoliants and other chemical substances. Vast areas of these Territories have been destroyed, as have crops grown by African people, in the futile hope of starving the people into submission to slavery. There is perhaps no need to say more on the Territories under Portuguese domination since much has been said and written by the United Nations Special Mission that has visited some of those areas. It must, however, be stressed here that Africa considers those Powers which are aiding the white racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa to be hostile to it.

77. There is one other important matter on which I wish to comment briefly. The Security Council has by its resolution 309 (1972), entrusted the Secretary-General of the United Nations with the task of finding new initiatives with all parties concerned in the Namibian question with a view to finding a solution to that question. There is no continent more anxious for a solution to the question of Namibia than Africa. We consider ourselves to be interested parties, not only because we are Africans and Namibia is an African territory, but also because, as Members of the United Nations, we fully accept that Namibia is the responsibility of the United Nations and is, therefore, our responsibility. Whatever solution is sought to the problem of Namibia must therefore be within the context of the decisions of the United Nations. Specifically, the solution must mean the termination of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African authorities. Furthermore, the phrase "self-determination and independence" must be in the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We therefore hope that whatever initiatives the Secretary-General undertakes will not deviate from this position.

78. Last year, at the twenty-sixth session, my delegation expressed the hope that with the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade in 1970 the developed nations would exhibit a new spirit of co-operation so as to find appropriate solutions to the problems of trade and development of the developing countries [1951st meeting, para. 116]. At that time we placed high hopes in the third session of UNCTAD. That session is now over, and the story and catalogue of the disappointments of the developing world—not to mention the unfulfilled promises and unimplemented agreements—have been eloquently expressed by many eminent representatives of the developing countries in this and other forums and I need not, therefore, repeat them.

79. The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, while the terms of trade continue to grow in favour of the developed countries at the expense of the poor nations. The flow of development finance has fallen far short of the target set in the first United Nations Development Decade. The burden of debt-servicing has not only become intolerable but has at times even retarded development by syphoning off national resources.

80. There is no doubt that the monetary system of the last two decades can no longer be effective. We believe that reform is necessary and required by both the developing and the developed countries. As developing nations we are entitled, as a matter of right, to insist that both now and in the future any reorganization of the world monetary system must be with our active participation and consent, because we believe that no reform could be satisfactory unless both the developed and the developing countries participated in the decision making. All countries of the world should in unison evolve a world system which seeks to serve all mankind, a system whereby there will be no senior and no junior partners, for we can no longer let decisions be handed down to us or let a few countries think and agree in the interest of the majority of mankind as though that were the monopoly of those few.

81. The historic United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held last June in Stockholm, made far-reaching decisions which, if implemented, could shape future environmental law which would save our earth from destruction. The Declaration of the Conference⁸ was given the necessary balance by incorporating in it provisions on human rights, economic development and trade. For, as we stated in Stockholm, we cannot credibly talk of the environment without accepting basic conditions and rights by which man ought to live. For, after all, what is the purpose of the environment but man himself?

82. Furthermore, the action plan for the human environment,⁹ which envisages the setting up of an international body to co-ordinate activities in the field of the environment, has the support of my Government. We strongly believe that international co-operation is necessary if nations are to solve most environmental problems. In all this we wish to emphasize that immediate priority must be given to the needs of developing countries, whose major environmental concern is development, for development and the safeguarding of the environment are complementary.

83. This year, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament observed its tenth anniversary. Naturally, it is tempting for us to pause with the Conference to look back at the progress of our efforts towards general and complete disarmament. First we note that there is a list of so-called disarmament treaties: the Antarctic Treaty, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the treaties banning nuclear weapons in outer space and on the sea-bed

⁸ 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), chap. I.

⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. II.

and the recent convention outlawing biological weapons. And in May of this year the strategic arms limitation agreements were concluded in Moscow. On the face of it, nuclear weapons have been prohibited in all environments except underground. As far as the list goes, it all looks quite impressive. We call it a list of achievements. Let me state right away that we have no intention to belittle those efforts. We do admit that at least they indicate the acceptance in principle of the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. Indeed, my country is a signatory to some of the agreements. However, I am impelled on this occasion to reiterate the position of my Government on this matter.

84. First, it is clear, at least to my delegation, that all those treaties are half-hearted and only peripheral. Instead of going to the root of the problem, they only nibble at its edge. They do not, for example, seek to destroy the existing stockpiles which alone are more than enough to wipe away the entire living world.

85. Secondly, the importance of those treaties is often exaggerated. Those treaties tend to hide the reality of the existing perilous state of affairs. They are deceptive, and they lull us into complacency which, given the facts, we cannot afford. In the introduction to his report, the Secretary-General has this to say concerning the field of disarmament:

"The balance sheet of the first decade shows that the declared goal of general and complete disarmament has not yet been achieved. Neither has the arms race been halted nor perceptibly slowed down. In fact, the armaments race has spiralled to a level higher than ever before. For example, during the decade of the 1960s, the nations of the world poured a total of \$1,870,000 million into weapons of warfare; in recent years, total world expenditure for these purposes has risen to about \$200,000 million annually." [A/8701/Add.1, p. 3.]

Nor has nuclear testing ceased. Nuclear tests continue to be blasted underground and in the atmosphere, causing untold hazards to human life and peril to the entire race of mankind.

86. In restating the above position of my delegation, it has not been my intention to put the blame on the honourable work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. That Conference does not manufacture arms, nor has it as a Conference any interest in their production. Rather, it is the Powers concerned which are entirely responsible for this state of affairs. Had they the will to achieve any progress, the Conference would have no place to occupy, except perhaps as a co-ordinating device. Without that will on the part of those Powers, however, the Conference will continue to waste time and energy. Indeed, the fact is that all the major decisions in this field are made behind the back of the Conference.

87. In this connexion, my delegation would like once more to repeat that it is only by the full participation of the entire world community that meaningful discussions in matters affecting the whole of mankind can be undertaken. To that end we hope that a world disarmament conference, after proper preparations, will be held as soon as possible.

88. Last year my delegation sponsored an item [item 98] aimed at the adoption of a declaration to demilitarize the Indian Ocean. After a very serious debate on the item, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which embodied a Declaration designating the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and called upon the great Powers, as well as the littoral States, to take the necessary steps to put into effect the provisions of the Declaration [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. That Declaration was in line with the Declaration adopted by a large group of non-aligned countries, among which were littoral States, assembled in Lusaka in 1970,¹⁰ and reaffirmed at the meeting of foreign ministers of non-aligned States in New York in September of last year, and further reaffirmed at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Georgetown, Guyana, in August of this year.

89. My delegation would like to reaffirm the position of a large number of developing countries that it is in the interest of peace in the various regions of the world that great-Power rivalry should be eliminated from those regions. To that end we demand that all foreign military bases be removed, not only from the territory of other nations, but also from the various regions of the world, including Asia, Africa and Latin America. We hope that the United Nations will continue to pursue this goal, and especially that it will take further action this year to promote the necessary efforts to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

90. Turning now to the question of the oceans, my country has followed with keen interest, and has participated actively in, the negotiations in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction since its establishment. We are pleased to note that the international community has on the whole accepted the fact that the present rules applicable to the marine environment are inadequate, inequitable and out of date. The Declaration of Principles adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 [resolution 2749 (XXV)] is an historic landmark in this area, and my delegation wishes to reiterate its support for it.

91. The sea-bed Committee, which was enlarged in 1970 and given the mandate to prepare for a third conference on the law of the sea, has done commendable work, although it has been rather slow in some areas. The main issues have been identified, and the political negotiations have reached an advanced stage. Although there is a lot of work to be done, we believe that the international community is in a position to undertake negotiations at a higher level. The time is now ripe for the convocation of a law of the sea conference, and we support in principle the convocation of such a conference in 1973. What remains to be done in the sea-bed Committee can be done in one or two sessions before the conference is held.

92. In this connexion, we believe it is now time that a conference of this nature were convened in a developing country to enable the full participation and involvement of

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

the developing world in the formulation of just rules of international law for ocean space. We therefore wholeheartedly welcome the invitation extended by the Government of Chile to hold one of the sessions of the conference in Santiago. The excellent services and congenial environment provided to the third session of UNCTAD highly commend Santiago.

93. We also welcome the invitation extended by the Government of Austria to hold some sessions of that conference in Vienna, a city whose traditional standing as a host of great international conferences is well known to all of us.

94. As we meet here for our twenty-seventh regular session, we are conscious of the fact that the eyes of the people of the world are focused on us. Our Organization has given great hopes to billions of people, but at the same time we must recognize that as a result of the acts of omission and commission on the part of some of its Members and the inability of the United Nations to take meaningful action due to obvious limitations, those hopes have at times been transformed into frustrations. It is incumbent upon all of us, not only for the sake of this great Organization, but above all in the interests of peace and security, to resolve to overcome these frustrations. We have both the means and the capacity to do so, provided that all of us rededicate ourselves to a determination to abide by the principles of the Charter and the decisions that we collectively take. Given that will, I am confident that the problems I have enunciated in my address, as well as many others, are not beyond solution.

95. Humanity as a whole still looks to our Organization not only for its survival but indeed for its progress. Mankind is anxiously waiting to see us eliminate the many areas of conflict on our planet. The people of Africa are waiting with very high hopes for the freedom that they have been denied for so long. The hungry of the world are raising their hands to our Organization, hoping that international co-operation will one day afford every human soul at least two meals a day. In short, the world is anxiously waiting to see whether this session will be yet another platform for declarations of intentions or for a definite pledge of action.

96. It is by such a definite pledge to act that our session will ultimately be judged. And it is to all real and meaningful actions that my delegation would like to pledge its untiring support.

97. Mr. RINCHIN (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): Comrade President, first of all I should like on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic to offer you our warm congratulations on your election to the lofty post of President of the present session of the General Assembly and to wish you great success in carrying out your responsible duties. Your election is evidence of the general recognition of the great effort which socialist Poland is contributing to the improvement of the situation in Europe and the strengthening of peace and international security.

98. My delegation also welcomes the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, and wishes him every success in carrying out the difficult but noble tasks

entrusted to him in working for the establishment of universal security and the strengthening of the United Nations as the main instrument for the maintenance of peace.

99. The present session of the General Assembly is beginning its work at a time when the world is witnessing positive progress towards détente and the strengthening of the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation among States. This positive development in international life is the result primarily of a deep and irreversible change in the general alignment of forces which is promoting the cause of peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples.

100. The consistent and purposeful policy of peace pursued by the countries of the socialist community and vigorous activities of all peace-loving, anti-imperialist and democratic forces are a determining factor in this improvement in the world political climate. Those States which take due account of present political realities in carrying on their international activities are also making their contribution.

101. The principle of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems is gaining increasing recognition as a generally accepted norm of contemporary international life. It is reflected in a spirit of better mutual understanding, good-neighbourliness and business-like co-operation between States.

102. We consider that the outcome of the Soviet-American summit meeting, the entry into force of the treaties between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany¹¹ and between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany¹² and the four Power agreement on West Berlin,¹³ and the signing in December 1971 of the celebrated agreements between the German Democratic Republic, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany and the West Berlin Senate, on the other, can be viewed as among the most important international events which clearly reflect the present trend towards détente.

103. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that these events are in the long-term interests of the peoples of the world.

104. However, there is no room for complacency. There still exist forces which are unfavourably disposed to international détente, in particular, to progress towards agreement on the crucial issues of our time and an improvement in mutual relations between States, and to the successes achieved by peoples in their struggle for freedom, national independence and social progress.

105. The present international situation is complex and unstable and presents for the world community and, especially, the United Nations, the urgent task of increasing

¹¹ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

¹² Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

¹³ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

and making more effective the efforts aimed at maintaining and strengthening international peace and security and averting the threat of a thermo-nuclear war.

106. It is for these reasons that Mongolia considers, as does the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, that the problem of strengthening international security should become the main subject for consideration at the present session of the General Assembly. The discussion of this urgent problem should reveal the root-causes of the perpetuation of the abnormal conditions prevailing in the world and once again draw general attention to the urgent necessity for the immediate elimination of hotbeds of war and crisis situations in various parts of the world. It is no secret that the explosive situations in one part of the world or another are due to the violation by certain States Members of the United Nations of the principle of the Charter enjoining States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State.

107. In this connexion, the Mongolian delegation would like to draw special attention to the timeliness and great practical significance of the item entitled "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" [item 25] proposed by the Soviet Government for consideration at the current session of the General Assembly [A/8793].

108. We consider that in the present circumstances the consistent application of the principle of non-use of force will undoubtedly contribute to the elimination of existing armed conflicts and the creation of more favourable conditions for ending the arms race and bringing about general and complete disarmament.

109. The Mongolian delegation fully endorses the basic provisions of the draft resolution submitted yesterday by the Soviet delegation [A/L.676] for consideration at the present session concerning the renunciation by States Members of the United Nations of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons. The adoption and practical implementation of such a resolution would be an important contribution to the carrying out of one of the basic provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)].

110. It is our view that the immediate halting of United States aggression in Indo-China and the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression in the Middle East are essential pre-conditions for the strengthening of universal peace and security.

111. The United States Government has not only failed to put an end to its neo-colonialist war against Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos but is escalating it by renewing the barbarous bombing of vital centres, dams and dikes in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and by blockading its ports and other lines of communication. Under cover of the much-publicized troops withdrawals from South Viet-Nam, the United States is, in fact, building up its armed strength and increasing its military presence in Indo-China.

112. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic have consistently supported the just struggle of the heroic Viet-Nameese people and the patriotic forces of Cambodia and Laos. They have always considered that the problem of Indo-China should be settled by peaceful means on the basis of the unconditional recognition of the inalienable right of the peoples of those countries to self-determination and independent development without outside interference. The United States must immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from South Viet-Nam and put an end to the "Viet-Namization" of the war. It must discontinue its support of the anti-popular régime in Saigon and recognize the political realities of the situation in South Viet-Nam. This will be a decisive condition for the settlement of the problem of Viet-Nam on the basis of the well-known and constructive proposals of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

113. The Mongolian Government considers that the perpetuation of the crises in the Middle East constitutes a growing threat to universal peace and security. It is common knowledge that the basic cause of the continuing tension in that region lies in Tel Aviv's stubborn refusal to carry out the Security Council resolutions and, in particular, to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories. Israel's recent acts of aggression against a number of Arab countries serve as a stern reminder of the real danger of a new outbreak of fighting. Israeli ruling circles have dared to throw down an open challenge to world public opinion because they can rely on the growing financial and military support of the United States.

114. It is essential to make new efforts to implement the well-known Security Council resolution 242 (1967), and to reactivate for that purpose the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It must not be forgotten that the united actions of all peace-loving forces are of decisive significance for the just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. In this connexion, we think that the United Nations must be more active in seeking out ways and means of utilizing all positive factors which may contribute towards such a settlement.

115. The Mongolian People's Republic considers that the establishment of regional security systems will undoubtedly be an important factor in the safeguarding of universal peace and security.

116. In the present circumstances, collective efforts towards that goal may bring practical results. Evidence of this may be found, in particular, in the positive progress achieved in Europe, which may, subject to further favourable development, provide the basis for lasting peace and co-operation in Europe. The lessons of two devastating world wars have taught us that the international situation in Europe has a very direct bearing on the interests of the peoples of other continents, too. For this reason we welcome any step towards improving the political climate in Europe.

117. In this connexion, our delegation is gratified to note the normalization of relations between the Polish People's

Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The normalization of relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the basis of the recognition of the Munich Agreement as invalid from the outset, will undoubtedly serve to improve the general European situation.

118. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the idea of convening an all-European conference on security and co-operation. The holding of such a conference will be an important milestone in the efforts to establish a collective security system in that part of the world.

119. As events have shown, Asia is a continent badly in need of a stable and lasting peace.

120. Our Government responds actively to, and supports, any constructive proposals and specific measures designed to eliminate hotbeds of tension and promote the development of good-neighbourly relations between all the countries of Asia.

121. The Mongolian People's Republic has always supported the idea of establishing a collective security system in Asia. It may be said that recently, when the Governments of many Asian countries have been taking a new look at, and critically assessing, their positions on the problems of lasting peace and security in that huge region, increasing interest has been shown in the idea of collective security. We are in favour of the establishment of such a security system, which would be based strictly on the principles of the Charter and would embrace all States of the continent regardless of their different social systems.

122. Our delegation is pleased to note certain progress which is currently being made in relations between Asian States towards the creation of a stronger spirit of realism and mutual understanding.

123. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has welcomed the positive outcome of the meeting between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan at Simla, which has cleared the way for the normalization and improvement of the situation in the Indian subcontinent. We hope that the results of that meeting will be consolidated by new positive measures in the interests of strengthening peaceful conditions on the subcontinent and in Asia.

124. The settlement of the Korean question in full accord with the basic interests of the Korean people is of considerable importance for the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. The *sine qua non* of this settlement still is the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The United Nations must work towards the positive solution of the problem of the peaceful unification of Korea. That is why Mongolia became a sponsor of a new item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" which was proposed for consideration at the current session of the General Assembly [A/8752/Add.4].

125. The postponement of the consideration of this important item once again deprives the United Nations of

the opportunity to have a business-like discussion on the question with a view to the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula in the interests of strengthening peace and security in Asia.

126. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will continue to support the policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the settlement of the Korean problem in accordance with the national interests of the Korean people.

127. The achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, and in particular nuclear disarmament, is a decisive material and moral precondition for the establishment of universal peace and security on earth and the banishment of war from the life of human society.

128. In this connexion, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes with great satisfaction the signing at Moscow on 26 May 1972 by the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. The signing of these agreements represents real progress towards a solution of the problem of the limitation of the arms race. They can open up great possibilities for agreement on further measures in a vital aspect of arms limitation and disarmament, namely the banning of nuclear weapons.

129. It seems to us perfectly natural that other nuclear Powers, too, should display some initiative of their own and attempt to consolidate and multiply the results of these measures which, although the first in the field, are of far-reaching importance. The interests of all humanity demand that they do so.

130. The position of our Government on the convening of a world disarmament conference has been set forth in detail in its reply to the Secretary-General's letter [see A/8817]. Recognizing the great importance of such a conference, our Government is in favour of an immediate start being made on practical preparations for the convening of the conference in the near future. It is our view that the present session of the General Assembly should, in fact, set in motion preparations for this forum, at which all the States of the world will take part in discussion of the most crucial issue of our time—general and complete disarmament.

131. In addition, efforts must be made to reach early agreement on such pressing problems as the cessation of all forms of nuclear weapons tests by all States, the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, and so on.

132. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with eight other socialist countries, has sponsored a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction [see A/8818, annex B, sect. 5]. Like the other sponsors, we advocate the immediate and complete prohibition of all forms of chemical weapons. The overwhelming majority of States supports this position. Our delegation will set forth in detail its position on this and other disarmament questions when they are taken up specifically.

133. Colonial domination and racial oppression pose a constant threat to international peace and universal security. The United Nations must take effective steps to eliminate colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations.

134. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic express their solidarity and unflagging support for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Zimbabwe in their heroic struggle to cast off colonialism and racial oppression and achieve national self-determination and independence. The national liberation movement is winning new victories, but the imperialist Powers are stubbornly resisting the final overthrow of colonialism.

135. The Mongolian peoples expresses its zealous solidarity with all oppressed peoples in their just struggle for freedom and independence. Our Government maintains that the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning southern Africa should be implemented by all States without exception.

136. The Mongolian People's Republic urges the further development and strengthening of international economic ties and co-operation on the basis of equal rights, mutual advantage, justice and respect for the lawful interests and needs of all countries, in particular developing countries.

137. It should be stressed at this point that recognition of the existence of two world economic systems would serve as a sound basis for the normal development of international economic relations.

138. As the third session of UNCTAD has shown, the main reasons for the extremely abnormal situation in the world economy and in economic relations are the exploitation of the under-developed countries, and the discrimination practised by the Western Powers in international economic relations and their stubborn resistance to the introduction of just and democratic principles and methods in international economic life. Consequently, the appropriate United Nations bodies, above all the Economic and Social Council, must improve their effectiveness and get down to the job of finding ways and means of normalizing world economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

139. There is, I think, no need to dwell on the weight which we attach to the role and activities of the United Nations as an important instrument for the strengthening of international peace and security. Here we should like to stress once again that the United Nations is still not making full use of the possibilities provided in the Charter. Our delegation considers that the strict observance of the Charter would enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and promote the strengthening of international security. The difficulty lies, not in the obsolescence or weakness of the Charter, but in the fact that certain States Members of the United Nations disregard and refuse to implement its most important provisions. Our position of principle on this question remains unchanged. We are against any attempt to revise the basic provisions of the Charter, no matter what the pretext.

140. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic advocates the achievement of true universality in the

United Nations, which would play an important part in enhancing its role and effectiveness. The admission of the two German States to the United Nations would undoubtedly be an important step towards achieving genuine universality and would put an end to discrimination against the German Democratic Republic, a State which is doing much to strengthen peace and develop international co-operation in Europe and throughout the world. In this connexion, we feel that the first step to be taken towards ending the discrimination against the German Democratic Republic is to grant it the status of permanent observer at United Nations Headquarters, as was done in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany.

141. Our delegation cannot help expressing its regret, too, at the unjust treatment of a young Asian State whose 75 million people recently emerged victorious from a hard and just struggle for freedom and national independence. In our view, the founding of the People's Republic of Bangladesh is a historic fact recognized by the overwhelming majority of members of the international community. In present circumstances, when the majority of Members wish to see the United Nations become a truly universal body and wish to free it from the burden of past errors, opposition to the admission of this sovereign State to the United Nations is particularly distasteful. Obstructive tactics of this kind are not conducive to the normalization of the situation in the Indian subcontinent and damage the prestige of the United Nations. We are confident that the People's Republic of Bangladesh will take its lawful seat in this world organization.

142. It is of particular importance to increase the effectiveness of the Security Council, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. In this connexion, measures should be taken to improve the methods of work of that body, making use of the possibilities provided in the Charter. We are of the opinion that the periodic meetings of the Security Council should be held more often, in keeping with Article 28 of the Charter, so that it could give fuller consideration to the pressing problems of international life, including questions connected with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

143. It is also necessary to resolve the question of the speedy elaboration of principles and guidelines for the effective functioning of the Security Council in the field of peace-keeping operations.

144. The Mongolian people views the maintenance and strengthening of universal peace as an important external condition for the successful building of a new life and the solution of the difficult problems of socialist development in our country. In close union with fraternal socialist countries and in co-operation with peace-loving and democratic forces, the Mongolian People's Republic is striving to further the noble aim of strengthening peace, mutual understanding and co-operation between peoples.

145. Our delegation hopes that the present session of the General Assembly will make its contribution to the solution of the urgent problems of international life with a view to strengthening mutual understanding and co-operation between States and consolidating the peace and security of

peoples. Allow me to assure you, Mr. President, that the constructive efforts of the United Nations towards those goals will enjoy the full support of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic.

146. Mr. AL-SOWEIDI (United Arab Emirates):¹⁴ Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session. Poland and the Arab nation, of which my country is an integral part, have had for many years the closest and most friendly relations.

147. May I also express our appreciation for the brilliant manner in which Mr. Adam Malik, the illustrious Foreign Minister of Indonesia, presided over the previous session.

148. We also wish our new Secretary-General success in the discharge of his important responsibilities.

149. In this first year of our independence, our main task has been to find our proper place and role in the international community, a place and role determined by our history, geographical position, economic resources and, above all, by the desires and expectations of our people.

150. Our Union is open to all Arab countries in the Gulf area and elsewhere. We are firm believers in the ideal of Arab unity and we hope that our example will reverse the trend towards fragmentation and division in the Arab world and herald a new era in which the Arab nation will be able to play a beneficent and significant role in world affairs which its history, its culture and its resources entitle it to play. We have fully identified ourselves with the fundamental positions of principle taken by the Arab countries within the framework of the League of Arab States, of which we are now a member.

151. The question euphemistically called "The situation in the Middle East" [item 21], and which I would prefer to call by its proper name "the question of Palestine", remains the central national issue for the Arab people. Essentially it is the plight of a people dispossessed and driven out of its homeland by a colonialist armed invasion. So long as the people of Palestine are denied their fundamental rights in their ancestral homeland, there can be no settlement, nor peace in the Middle East.

152. A good deal has been said recently about the problem of terrorism. Israel, of course, has been attempting to derive some propaganda advantage and to exploit a very serious human problem, so characteristic of our times, to achieve narrow and selfish political gains and to set the stage for further territorial acquisitions and the fulfilment of its well-known expansionist aims. I am certain that the General Assembly will not be diverted by these crude and obvious manoeuvres from its duty to discuss the issue with the sense of sober responsibility it deserves.

153. The people of Palestine have waited in vain for a quarter of a century for some redress of the grave injustice inflicted upon them. The international community, whose

collective will this Organization represents, has seemed to be oblivious to their plight and through its inaction, over the years, has implicitly acquiesced in Israel's aggression. Israel was founded and has maintained itself by the systematic and ruthless practice of terror: terror which drove the majority of Palestinians out of their homeland, terror which deprived them of freedom and dignity, terror which made the remnants who stayed behind second-class citizens in their own country, terror which pursued them in their unhappy exile, in their wretched refugee camps, and slaughtered them by the hundreds. We do not and cannot condone the killing of innocent people, but how can we equate the desperate acts of a few individuals driven by "misery, frustration, grievance and despair", to quote the Secretary-General's words [see A/8791/Add.1], with the brutal, deliberate and cold-blooded acts of indiscriminate killing perpetrated by the armed forces of a State? Let us not make the mistake of thinking that these are acts of revenge; they are concerned primarily with the achievement of long-standing strategic and political aims.

154. Our geographical position in the Gulf has given us a vital interest in the maintenance of peace and stability in that important economic and strategic area of the world. We have endeavoured to establish the closest relations with our neighbours. It is our firm belief that the peace and stability of the Gulf region can be maintained only with the co-operation of its States and with their respect for one another's independence and territorial integrity. Whatever disputes or differences exist at present or may arise in the future can and must be resolved by peaceful means and in a manner that will recognize and preserve the legitimate rights of all parties concerned without prejudice to their basic national interests. We are ready now, as we have always been, to co-operate with our neighbours to create a climate of understanding and harmony, which is essential for the peace and progress of the region and the welfare of all its people. The peace and security of the Gulf will be greatly enhanced by making the Indian Ocean region a zone of peace. We support the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year on this question [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and will welcome any further action at this session to ensure its implementation.

155. We are meeting at a time of rapid and sometimes dramatic change in the world situation. There have been unmistakable and welcome signs of a détente among the great Powers, a development of great importance in view of the fact that under the Charter these States have a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is our hope that this is the beginning of an irreversible trend towards a greater degree of genuine international co-operation and not merely a temporary interruption in the cold war. Thus, on the central problem of war and peace we are entitled to express some cautious optimism. There are certainly some clear and concrete grounds for such optimism: the agreement on the partial limitation of strategic weapons, the ratification of the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland, the four-Power agreement on Berlin and the understanding reached between the two Governments of Korea, which may lead to the unification of that country. These encouraging developments have paradoxically given rise to some anxiety among the smaller countries. There is a feeling that the reduction of tensions

¹⁴ Mr. Al-Soweidi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

among the great Powers may lead to the imposition of solutions to international problems that will ignore the desires and interests of other countries, especially those directly concerned. We hope that these fears are unfounded.

156. As we look at the agenda of this session, we still see some of the problems which have been dealt with by this Organization since its inception, such as colonialism and *apartheid*. A genocidal war is being waged against the African people who are struggling to free themselves from colonial domination. The racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia continue to flout the will of the international community, encouraged by their undiminished trade with their Western trading partners and the continued flow of investments from abroad.

157. In their meeting held in Cairo earlier this month, the Arab Foreign Ministers issued a declaration on South East Asia affirming the solidarity of the Arab States with the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos in their struggle for national liberation and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from their lands. The declaration also condemned the aggression to which those countries have been subjected.

158. It will be unnecessary for me to dwell upon the serious economic problems facing the developing countries and the failure of all attempts to narrow the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. Perhaps nowhere is the tendency of certain advanced countries to take decisions affecting others more pronounced than it is in economic matters. Problems relating to the international monetary system and trade are discussed and dealt with by the major Powers without much concern for the vital interests of the developing countries. The third session of UNCTAD revealed the problem facing the developing countries in all its painful dimensions. It is obvious that the developing countries have to strengthen and expand the co-operation among themselves and that they should shift their emphasis from exhortations addressed to the developed countries, which have largely fallen on deaf ears, to the greater possibilities of co-operation among themselves.

159. We have established a development fund with an initial capital of over \$100 million to assist the countries of the region in their plans of development. Over and above this, we are also ready to contribute, within the limits of our means, to the various international and regional development activities undertaken by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

160. There is undoubtedly a close link between the problems of development and disarmament. If only a fraction of the billions being squandered on the arms race were diverted to the urgent needs of the developing countries, then the whole depressing picture which confronts us today would be transformed beyond recognition. For this reason we support the convening of an international conference on disarmament, with a view to the reduction and ultimate elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

161. An event of great importance this year has been the adoption of the Declaration of the United Nations Con-

ference on the Human Environment and the machinery being established to put into effect the principles and aims of that Declaration.

162. I finally come to the question of the United Nations and the strengthening of its role and efficacy. This has always been a major concern of the smaller countries, such as my own. It stems from the belief that only through the United Nations can we translate into living reality the principles and ideals which bind us together. But it would be idle to pretend that the United Nations is not now, and has not been for some years, passing through a period of decline. The Organization has been purposely and rigorously prevented from playing any role in some crucial international problems. The United Nations has been rendered virtually powerless, through the obstruction of certain great Powers, to secure the implementation of its resolutions on Palestine, the Middle East, *apartheid* and colonialism. But we must first of all recognize that there are certain inherent weaknesses in the Charter itself. The Charter is, after all, a document which was drawn up before the advent of the nuclear age when a vast number of countries were still under foreign rule.

163. The Charter is also based on two basic assumptions which have been largely overtaken by the spectacular developments of the last quarter of a century. The two assumptions are that the hegemony of the great Powers will always be accepted as a permanent fact of international life and that the great Powers will, more often than not, act together to deal with major international problems. However, in spite of its structural defects and the invalidity of its basic assumptions, the Charter is flexible enough to enable us to transform it into an effective instrument of the international order which we envisage for the future.

164. As a token of our faith in the United Nations and confidence in its future, my Government has decided to respond favourably to the appeal of the Secretary-General and make a contribution which we hope will help to alleviate the financial difficulties facing the Organization.

165. Mr. KARKI (Nepal): Mr. President, I take it to be my honour and privilege to convey the greetings and best wishes of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra, for the success of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

166. I should like to convey, on behalf of my delegation, our most sincere congratulations to you on your election as President of the General Assembly. I take particular pleasure in noting that in electing you as the President, the Assembly has given a befitting recognition and honour to you as a distinguished statesman of a great country. I have no doubt, Mr. President, that you will bring to bear on the work of the Assembly the benefits of your vast knowledge and experience, which you have gained in your varied and distinguished career. I would like to extend, on behalf of my delegation, the assurances of our full co-operation to you in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities.

167. My delegation would like to put on record our deep appreciation of the distinguished services of the outgoing President of the Assembly, Mr. Adam Malik, who has discharged his functions as President of the twenty-sixth

session of the General Assembly in a most exemplary manner.

168. This year we come to the United Nations with renewed hopes for peace. It has been a year of positive and promising developments in the area of international relations.

169. Of all the recent developments, the termination of the policy of isolation directed against China carried great importance. With a land mass of continental proportion and a society of 800 million people, resurgent and vibrant, China is destined to play a major role in the international relations of our time. Last year we had the honour to welcome the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. While the participation of China has considerably increased the effectiveness of the United Nations, its presence has made the Organization nearly universal.

170. President Nixon's visit to China, unprecedented as it was in itself, has opened great vistas of fruitful co-operation and meaningful understanding between these two great countries. It has demonstrated in unmistakable terms the possibility of a rapprochement which would greatly help relax tension in the world. My delegation sincerely hopes that in their own interest, as well as in the interest of the world as a whole, both China and the United States will continue to pursue their search for better understanding and co-operation.

171. Similarly, the détente now seen between the Soviet Union and the United States is a welcome development. President Nixon's recent visit to the Soviet Union and his meetings with the top leaders of that country has undoubtedly brought the two countries closer in approach and understanding. The various bilateral agreements signed in Moscow have opened a new chapter in the relations between the two countries. The co-operation in the fields of science and technology, and in the areas of environmental protection, space exploration and commercial relations would certainly help to create an atmosphere of positive co-operation, trust and understanding between these two countries.

Mr. Sapena Pastor (Paraguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.

172. Of all the agreements recently signed in Moscow, the one resulting from the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, is of great importance. Though in itself it may not have far-reaching consequences, it marks a new breakthrough in disarmament negotiations. A good beginning has been made in Moscow and I hope that this will lead to serious attempts by both sides to reach a further understanding towards a more secure and peaceful world.

173. My delegation is happy to note that the political climate of Europe continues to grow better. The ratification by the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany of its treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland are encouraging steps towards a real and lasting peace between the countries of East and West Europe. Two world wars during the first half of this century erupted from Europe. It is only appropriate that the European nations

should strive hard to resolve their differences and work for the attainment of a durable peace.

174. The atmosphere of détente has spread to other parts of the world as well. The futility of the policy of confrontation and conflict is now being increasingly realized. The leaders of India and Pakistan met recently in Simla to discuss mutual problems. Though there could not be complete agreement on many outstanding issues, their decision to resolve problems through negotiation in the future is no small achievement, bearing in mind the recent war. We welcome these developments. We are most hopeful that our two neighbours will soon be able to find a peaceful solution to their problems.

175. We also welcome the visit of the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Tanaka, to the People's Republic of China. We hope this meeting between Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Chou En-lai will help bring these two great countries closer in understanding and future co-operation.

176. We are following with great interest the direct talks between North and South Korea though they are still in a preliminary phase. Nepal has always believed that, in solving bilateral problems, there is no better substitute for direct talks. We hope that the two parts of Korea will bring a mutually agreeable solution to the problem.

177. Despite these healthy developments in other parts of the world, the situation in the Middle East and the war in Viet-Nam remain matters of serious concern. It has been almost five years since Security Council resolution 242 (1967) was adopted. This resolution provides a reasonable basis for the settlement of the Middle East problem. But despite the efforts of Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and the talks between the representatives of the big Powers, the resolution still remains unimplemented and the situation is as volcanic as it was before. The recent developments in the Middle East make us all the more conscious of the dangers in the area. We have the framework; the only thing required is to accept and execute it. In the absence of direct talks between the parties, we hope that they will co-operate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in his renewed bid to bring them together to resolve the stalemate.

178. It is unfortunate that the war in Viet-Nam still continues unabated. The sorrow and suffering caused by this war have been a source of great concern to all of us. We have always maintained that all the parties concerned in Indo-China must find a political solution for the settlement of their problems through peaceful negotiations and that the countries of Indo-China should be able to decide their ultimate destiny without any foreign intervention. We feel that the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from the soil of Viet-Nam is the first necessary step towards the settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem.

179. This decade has also been designated as the Disarmament Decade by the General Assembly [resolution 2602 (XXIV)]. The armaments race is both the cause and consequence of the atmosphere of fear and distrust that we now have in the world. It is essential to halt the arms race to restore the climate of confidence and co-operation

among nations. Furthermore, the armaments build-up has not only increased capacity for destruction but it has also diverted resources that could have been used for the promotion of peace and the acceleration of development around the world.

180. Motivated by these basic conclusions, the United Nations has from the beginning attached great importance to the problem of disarmament. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the recent Convention on the Prohibition of Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction are no small achievements. However, these steps, important as they may be, are far from adequate. They have a built-in weakness. The test-ban Treaty cannot be effective unless it is comprehensive as well as universal. The Convention cannot be considered complete so long as it does not include chemical weapons as well. We hope that the major Powers, which have the resources and responsibility, will take a meaningful initiative for the regulation and reduction of armaments which, as we all know, by their very existence dangerously threaten peace and security, promote discord and distrust among nations and retard the development process of the world as a whole.

181. In our view, the only sure path leading to the conditions necessary for lasting peace among nations is through complete disarmament. We have always supported the idea of convening a world disarmament conference in which all nations, including divided nations, should be invited to participate.

182. In southern Africa there still remain the vestiges of the colonial anachronism and the manifestation of the worst form of racial discrimination. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the Portuguese authorities have been ruthless in suppressing the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the People to freedom and self-government. They have also continuously defied world public opinion and rudely rejected the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

183. It is no longer a secret that Portuguese colonialism has been able to sustain itself in the heart of Africa because of the economic and military support it receives from its Western allies and from the racist régime of South Africa. The South African régime follows a policy of discrimination and ruthless suppression on the basis of the colour and the racial origin of the people. Consequently, the majority of the people have been denied their basic rights and are subjected to constant humiliation and harassment. In open defiance of United Nations resolutions, the Government of South Africa has not only intensified its repressive measures based on the hated policy of *apartheid*, but it has also extended the racist policy to the adjoining United Nations Territory of Namibia. The arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa has not been effective. We urge the major trading partners of South Africa to give up the profit motive, to honour Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and to terminate their economic collaboration with a régime which

has no respect for the fundamental values of human life. In the meantime, it is our sacred duty to extend active assistance to help the oppressed people of South Africa combat racism and racial discrimination.

184. While discussing the problems in southern Africa, we cannot overlook the dangerous situation that has now developed in Southern Rhodesia. The present racist régime, after taking over the administration unilaterally and illegally, has launched a policy of discrimination and oppression of the majority. The fate of the people of Zimbabwe is no better than that of their brethren in South Africa and in the Portuguese colonial territories. Even the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the illegal régime have often been circumvented by some Western countries. The United Kingdom, as an administering Power, has abdicated its responsibilities towards the people of Zimbabwe by refusing to use effective means to bring down the illegal régime of Ian Smith. Unless sanctions are effectively implemented and power is transferred to the majority as soon as possible, Southern Rhodesia is likely to remain a constant threat to peace. The situation also challenges the effectiveness of the United Nations as a peace-keeper since the mandatory measures taken by the Security Council have failed to restore the minimum rights of the majority.

185. Our delegation attaches great importance to the conference on the law of the sea proposed for next year. Questions concerning the continental shelf, territorial waters and deep-sea fishing have been a constant source of friction among many countries of the world. Those problems, which have preoccupied the minds of men for a considerable time, should be solved. Moreover, it is only fair that all the countries of the world—coastal as well as land-locked—should share the immense wealth that lies in the sea-bed and subsoil thereof as it is the common heritage of all mankind.

186. Closely associated with the problem of the law of the sea is the right of the land-locked countries to access to the sea. My delegation strongly pleads for the consideration by the proposed conference of the right of land-locked countries to guaranteed free passage to and from the sea.

187. In consonance with the Lusaka Declaration,¹⁵ General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), regarding the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, is a necessary step toward the strengthening of conditions of peace and freedom in the zone. The Indian Ocean, which has traditionally been a zone of peace, has for some time past been the scene of a great naval build-up, which does not contribute to the creation of peace in the zone. My delegation fully supports the General Assembly resolution of last year, and hopes that all countries will adhere to it and act in deference to its guiding spirit.

188. These are some of the vital political areas which could threaten world peace and security. These are all sore and sensitive spots. However, it is now being increasingly realized that the major threat to peace comes from the

¹⁵ Declaration of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

deteriorating economic situation of the world. The ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor nations is in the long run bound to lead to confrontation between the developing and the developed countries. Speaking of the existing disparity between the rich and the poor countries, a former President of this Assembly, Mr. Lester Pearson, recently warned, "We may have 10 years left in which to being correcting this imbalance. This is, if we are to act in time."

189. The least developed among the developing countries are more than others confronted by the increasing gulf between them and the relatively developed countries. My delegation would therefore like to stress that a concrete solution should be devised which would ameliorate the difficult situation of such nations by bridging the gap not only between the rich and the poor nations but also between developing nations at various stages of economic and social development. A decade would be too short a time to enable the least-developed nations to acquire the capacity to catch up with the prevalent pace of economic development of the relatively developed countries unless special measures were adopted to help them.

190. To highlight the development problem and to accelerate the development process, the General Assembly has adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. The Strategy sets forth in considerable detail the targets for economic and social progress for the present decade. It emphasizes the need for a co-ordinated international effort to come to grips with malnutrition, unemployment and ignorance in poorer countries and with the growing economic gaps which have brought about an increase in tensions. But despite the adoption of the Strategy, the less developed countries in general continue to face difficulties in the way of their planned economic development because of the prospect of an over-all decrease in external assistance. The target of a net flow of 1 per cent set by the United Nations is not being fulfilled by many rich countries. The present flow of aid to developing countries from all bilateral and multilateral sources amounts to less than \$7,000 million a year as compared to \$200,000 million a year spent on armaments. In their efforts to eliminate poverty, disease and ignorance, the less developed countries would at the initial phase need the transfer of technology and capital from the advanced countries on a large scale. Otherwise, as we have seen in the past, the process of development will continue to be very, very slow.

191. We in Nepal have launched a national strategy for economic development in the 1970s. We have of course, in co-ordination with the Second Development Decade, fixed our priorities according to national needs and resources. We need co-operation from outside in some priority sectors. The nation as a whole, under the dynamic leadership of His Majesty the King, is confident of success in bringing about a rapid transformation in the socio-economic life of our people.

192. Technical and economic aid is vital, but the importance of international trade cannot be under-estimated. It is the source that could provide a sustained economic growth to any country. We attach great importance to the

promotion of our international trade. No nation could have favourable terms of trade unless it has access to different markets and a choice of products to export. Therefore the diversification of trade in terms of market as well as of products has been the major concern of His Majesty's Government in recent years.

193. We participated in all three sessions of UNCTAD and have explained our position and the difficulties we are facing in promoting our international trade. While favourable terms of trade are very essential for all the developing countries, transit facilities are a prerequisite for diversifying the international trade of the land-locked countries. It is gratifying that the third session of UNCTAD has recognized that fact. The Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States¹⁶ has yet to be signed by some coastal countries. We hope the importance of this Convention to land-locked countries will be realized by all and that those countries which have not acceded to it will be able to do so as early as possible.

194. The recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June, was a useful first step towards realizing the need for planned action and concerted efforts to protect nature and the environment. The world can no longer remain indifferent to the multifarious problems created by pollution. There is a limit beyond which the natural environment of our earth cannot withstand the tremendous pressure to which it is subjected.

195. While environmental problems have been created as a result of excessive industrialization and urbanization in developed countries, they have been caused by the indiscriminate use of natural resources in the developing countries. The protection of the human environment is, therefore, a problem faced by both developed and developing countries, though in different aspects and patterns. My delegation feels that this problem should be tackled in a planned and systematic way through regular machinery such as an intergovernmental committee on the human environment.

196. Our past efforts to achieve conditions of peace and security through the United Nations have often been frustrated. Consequently there is a tendency to downgrade the United Nations, as has rightly been pointed out by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/8701/Add.1, p. 2*]. Earlier I mentioned some of the critical problems to which the United Nations has been unable to provide effective solutions. But still, as His Majesty, our late King Mahendra, observed while addressing this august body at the twenty-second session: "So far as we are concerned, the only real alternative to the United Nations is an even more powerful United Nations" [*1595th meeting, para. 16*]. The very basis of the existence of an Organization such as this is the vital need for it. That is as true today as it was 27 years ago. With all its weaknesses, this Organization is the only hope of mankind for the creation of conditions in which all countries will be able to work for economic and social progress without the threat of war.

¹⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 597 (1968), No. 8641.

197. Mr. Suhaim Bin Hamid AL-THANI (Qatar):¹⁷ It gives me great pleasure to extend to the President my warm congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. I hope that this session of the General Assembly over which he presides will be able, with more vigour and tenacity, to achieve the noble principles proclaimed by the Charter.

198. I have pleasure also, in my capacity as the first Foreign Minister of the State of Qatar, to address the representatives of the world community for the first time since the independence of my country, which has enabled us to adopt a policy of domestic reform and to establish foreign relations in the hope that Qatar would take its rightful place in the world community in order to pursue constructive social progress, economic advancement and fruitful co-operation with other nations for the mutual benefit and welfare of all mankind.

199. Before my country joined this Organization last year, it was associated to it by its belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter and by the practical contribution it was making to its field of work. My country follows with great interest the activities of the United Nations in all fields, particularly those fields of work of concern to the specialized agencies related to it.

200. Our belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations was forcefully expressed by H.R.H. Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar, on the eve of our independence, when he said:

“The State accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations, and believes in the purposes and principles of the Charter, which advocates the right of peoples to self-determination, international co-operation for the welfare of mankind, the prevalence of peace and security all over the world, and the obligation of nations to solve their differences by peaceful means and to establish relations between themselves on the principles of justice and equality according to the principles of international law.”

201. The State of Qatar joined the United Nations in the hope that the United Nations would concert its efforts in order to fulfil the purposes and principles of its Charter. But a number of this Organization's resolutions have never been implemented. There was an armed aggression against Arab countries, Members of this Organization, launched by Israel in 1967, during which Israel occupied by sheer force Arab lands. Despite the several United Nations resolutions condemning Israel, Israel still refuses to implement those resolutions and refuses to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. Israel also frustrated the mission of Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General; but in spite of all that, the United Nations did not take any action in fulfilment of the Articles of the Charter to repel the aggression.

202. That is not all. The hand of Israel reached to the Holy Places for the purpose of destroying and altering holy

Jerusalem. Then occurred the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque, which led the Security Council in its resolution 271 (1969) to condemn Israel strongly for the measures it was adopting to change the status of Jerusalem.

203. We all know that the United Nations has recognized the established and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and proclaimed that full respect of these rights was essential for the establishment and prevalence of a permanent and just peace in the area. But Israel, which was responsible for the displacement of the Palestinian people from their homes, is still pursuing its expansionist policy and uses all methods to oppress the people of Palestine. The resolutions of the United Nations regarding the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are disregarded and blocked, a matter which, to our regret, creates doubts about the effectiveness of this Organization as an instrument for maintaining peace.

204. We therefore strongly advocate and insist that the United Nations see to it that its resolutions are implemented according to the Charter; hence it should force Israel to withdraw from all the Arab territories which it occupied in 1967 and restore all the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people so that the United Nations can work with dignity as an effective instrument for the preservation of peace.

205. My country admires the great tasks which the United Nations is performing in the economic, social, health and educational fields, and we believe that an expansion of work in these fields and the securing of the necessary funds for them would be the best and most constructive means for the creation of a better international community in which all people can live prosperously and in peace and security.

206. The Charter of the United Nations is a grand Charter. It contains all the principles cherished by man for a free, peaceful and secure life. But that goal cannot be achieved unless the spirit of justice encompasses all nations and unless all nations abide by the principles of the Charter and implement the resolutions based on it. Then and only then can freedom, equality and international peace and security prevail.

207. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call now on the representative of Uganda, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

208. Mr. IBINGIRA (Uganda): I should like on behalf of my delegation to take this opportunity to congratulate the President on his election to his high office at this session. His choice was a tribute well deserved, by both him and his heroic country.

209. Let me also, on behalf of my delegation—since we have not formally done so from this rostrum before—congratulate the Secretary-General of this Organization on his well-merited election. My country and Government place high hopes in his ability to handle the great multitude of problems that confront this Organization.

210. I have requested to speak in exercise of my right of reply in order to give this Assembly the view of my

¹⁷ Mr. Al-Thani spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Government, the Government of the Republic of Uganda, on the matter of British citizens of Asian extraction in my country, a matter which has been raised by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom in his statement [2042nd meeting].

211. Some phrases in the speech of the Foreign Secretary were used which, if left without an explanation, give a totally misleading impression. The speech refers, for example, to the expulsion of "Uganda Asians" [*ibid.*, para. 117]. These people are not Uganda Asians. There is no Uganda Asian being expelled from my country. Uganda Asians, who are those people of Asian extraction who took Uganda citizenship when my country became independent of Britain in 1962, are free to stay in the country and share the same rights and obligations as myself, an African of that country. The expression "Uganda Asians", therefore, is not the proper expression to use. The proper expression to use is "British citizens of Asian extraction".

212. The issue we are discussing is whether a State Member of this Organization—whether it is a State having nuclear weapons or a small State whose people live in grass huts—has the right under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter to determine matters within its own internal jurisdiction. That really is what is being tested here. Let us not camouflage it in other phrases or other issues.

213. I will not deny that the United Kingdom Government may have problems with this matter, just as it cannot deny that we have our own problems. When two or three Governments have problems, the way to solve them is not to bring them here. It is the view of my Government that this is a bilateral matter. If the United Kingdom is not satisfied with our explanations, or if it feels that further solutions should be sought for the issues raised before this Assembly, the best way to approach the problem should be on a bilateral level, or through the channel of mutual friends, or through some other channel.

214. My Government has not informed me in my instructions that it has closed this matter, that it will not talk about it under any circumstances or that it is not amenable to other suggestions. That does not mean that it will accept such suggestions. It is amenable to a discussion of them. It is open to new ideas. But the way to bring new ideas, the way to seek a mutual solution to a problem concerning two or any number of States Members of this Organization, is not to bully a State because it is a small State by bringing a draft resolution contrary to the Charter of this Organization to the floor of this Assembly.

215. We may be a small State, but we symbolize a great deal. We symbolize all the values for which this Organization was founded. We accepted the obligations imposed upon us by the Charter of the United Nations and the human rights enshrined in all the principles of international law and practice. But, as we know, there are different interpretations of matters that have engaged this Organization since its inception. When we talk of justice, when we talk of democracy, when we talk of right and wrong, have we got a common definition? Have we really got a common definition of which party has wronged the other in this matter submitted by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom?

216. It is the view of my Government that considering the history of this problem, which is a direct result of our colonial experience, it is the United Kingdom that should be taken to task. We do not have the propaganda machinery that the United Kingdom and its friends have. Consequently, a picture has been painted of Uganda as some kind of monster on this planet. But we are nothing of the kind. And no amount of propaganda will alter the course of history.

217. What is the history of this problem? This problem did not originate with the order of the Uganda Government requesting British citizens to go. Quite wisely on his part, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom totally omitted to mention the origins of this problem because, of course, they are entirely against him.

218. During the time of British rule in Asia and Africa, the United Kingdom, when it ruled the subcontinent of India, systematically encouraged the exodus of its citizens of Indian extraction from the Indian subcontinent to various territories under its jurisdiction at that time. Those people first came, so far as my part of the problem is concerned, towards the end of the last century. They came in the first place as soldiers to stamp colonial rule on recalcitrant chiefs and kings who failed to become subjects of the British crown, and they came in many cases contrary to their own wishes. After a period of about 25 years these soldiers were withdrawn. Then another group was brought by the British to construct a railway from the Indian Ocean port of Mombasa in Kenya to the capital city of my country, Kampala. By 1900 the British citizens of Asian extraction controlled the trade of my country to such an extent that a commission of the United Kingdom Government which was appointed specifically by the then Secretary of State to enquire into the desirability of the exodus of Asians from the subcontinent to other parts of the colonies came out with a report which commended that exodus, saying that those people were going to be the backbone of imperial rule and that without them British trade and commerce could never be fostered. And so the pattern was set.

219. Therefore, Uganda, for which I stand before you to speak, having had the British Protectorate established in 1894, has had its economy controlled since 1900 by a people who today number only 80,000 out of a population of 10 million, to such an extent that at the time this decision was taken by my Government, 95 per cent of the commercial trade in my country was controlled by only 80,000 people, 55,000 of whom were aliens, largely of British nationality.

220. We are a poor country and we are not ashamed of it. There is no country here, whether great or small, that at some stage, possibly in the remote past of history, has not gone through what we are going through today. But since we are poor we, as a Government responsible for our own economy and our people and the welfare of our country, cannot afford to have our wealth and resources in the hands of a minority group that has totally refused to identify itself with the country in which it has made its fortune.

221. In 1962 the United Kingdom Government, together with the then Uganda Government, drew up a Uganda independence constitution. This constitution was passed by

Parliament in Westminster. It bore the stamp of an Act of the British Parliament.¹⁸ In that constitution, for the first time my country, working together with the United Kingdom Government, formulated a citizenship law for Uganda.

222. Before independence there were more or less two types of citizens in Uganda: the black Africans, who were called "British protected persons," and the preponderant number of the Asian community, who were called "British subjects". There were a few who belonged to other countries, mostly to Britain. On attaining independence we wrote in our constitution, with the agreement of the British, clauses—a whole chapter—on citizenship. In that chapter we stated that there would be a Uganda citizenship and that to attain it one would have to fulfil the following conditions: first, Africans born in Uganda as indigenous persons would automatically become Uganda citizens; two, anyone from anywhere who had been born in Uganda at the date of independence, 9 October 1962, with one of his parents also having been born there, would automatically become a Uganda citizen. This part covered a number of the British Asians, but not the majority of them because that majority had come to Uganda as either mature or young adults. But then we included another clause which covered all the British Asians who today are being requested to go back to their country; in that clause the British Asians were given the right for two years, from 9 October 1962 to 9 October 1964, to be registered as Uganda citizens if they so chose.

223. Our legislative acts are not secret documents; they are in our archives. Accordingly, under this law giving the option to British Asians to register to become Uganda citizens, the Government of Uganda had no right to stop them from becoming Uganda citizens. On the contrary, the Government of the day went all out, in a very good spirit of co-operation and brotherhood, to canvass these British citizens, appealing to them to register and become Uganda citizens and identify themselves with us, with our hopes and our fears, to share our fortunes and also our responsibilities and obligations. But it is an undeniable fact that the overwhelming majority of these persons refused. They had made their fortune in Uganda after having come in as poor people. We are not a racially minded community. The fact that these persons happen to belong to a different race is coincidental. I do not know to what extent I can put this across, but it is true. It is coincidental because the basic issue is one of a country's right to remove economic control from the hands of aliens. These aliens could have been Africans—blacks—and then what would some persons have said? They could have been persons from a neighbouring country, and then what would others have said? But the fact that they are Asian is purely an accident of history and coincidental.

224. It is all right, we believe, to request aliens to go or to stay in peace; this is the right of every Member State. The lives of the persons in question are protected. I have assurances from my Government that it will do its utmost to ensure their security.

¹⁸ See the Uganda (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, *Statutory Instruments*, 1962, part I (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962), p. 374.

225. The issues raised here have been raised in the wrong forum. I wish to persuade the Assembly that if we are interested in finding a solution, as opposed to scoring a debating point against a small State in the forums of the United Nations, then let us seek a solution outside this Assembly. Today it is my country, tomorrow it may be yours and on another day it may be somebody else's. While we open up this issue, we are opening up something that is highly problematical.

226. In any case, there have been cases in history where persons many times the number the United Kingdom is complaining about have been requested to depart from certain countries. Those issues have never come before this Assembly. I can cite an instance on my own continent involving black peoples, where the defunct former Government of Ghana expelled 1 million Nigerian citizens—and Nigeria was ill-equipped to take them during the war. That was a different Government in Ghana. Who brought it up here? Nobody, because these were Africans against Africans. And yet they, like us, were members of the British Commonwealth. We had all shared the same experiences; we had gone through British schools; we had statutes from Westminster granting us independence. Nobody thought about bringing up that issue here.

227. There have been cases where the former Government of Uganda—not the present one, but the deposed dictator—ordered the expulsion of tens of thousands of Africans who had lived in Uganda all their lives; these people were ordered immediately to pack up and go to a neighbouring State. That issue was never raised here. This occurred in 1968-1969.

228. I am citing cases to show that this is not a racial issue because it has arisen between countries of the same race on my continent. This is an issue essentially of an economic nature the solution of which cannot be found in the forums of the United Nations.

229. I can cite other examples. In various countries in Asia there were examples of a minority group being requested to go back to its own country. Now if the British are challenging not, as I understand it, the principle of our right to send these persons away but the method of our doing so, this is again, as I have said, a matter they should raise in other forums because by raising the question of what they call "the method of expulsion" or its "inhumane nature" they are touching on the very fabric of this Organization and are assailing Article 2, paragraph 7.

230. It might be that I shall have to come to this rostrum to speak again on this matter. I have transmitted the text of the statement made by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom to my Government, and I am awaiting its instructions on this matter.

231. But one thing is clear: we do not accept the right of a Member State to challenge the right of another State to exercise its sovereign rights under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. It is our hope that whoever is interested in finding a solution to the issues raised will seek that solution in other avenues, which are not closed.

232. Therefore, I hope—and do urge this Assembly—that when this matter is brought up for debate it will not be debated at all, but will be wisely referred back. This Assembly is not competent to debate it. The parties should be urged to explore other avenues. I am aware that time is of the essence in this matter, but I am also aware that the world has excellent communications, especially between various capitals. This matter can therefore be taken up

without prejudice to anybody's position. Let us not harden the positions of those involved in this matter, because we shall take it that we, as a small nation, as a young nation, as an ex-colonial, are being bullied by a former imperial Power into submission on a principle which it has no right to bring before this Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.