

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



1949th  
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 1 October 1971,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

## CONTENTS

### Agenda item 9:

#### General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. Mungai (Kenya) . . . . .	1
Speech by Mr. Pratt (Sierra Leone) . . . . .	5
Speech by Mr. López Bravo (Spain) . . . . .	12
Speech by Mr. Fernández (Dominican Republic) . . . . .	16

*President:* Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MUNGAI (Kenya): In the name of my President, H.E. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and my delegation from Kenya, I am very happy to bid welcome to Foreign Minister Adam Malik of Indonesia as the President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that, with his characteristic grasp of detail and dedication to the aims and objectives of the United Nations, he will steer the current session to a successful conclusion. I wish him every success in his difficult and challenging task ahead.

2. I should also like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Edvard Hambro of Norway. He conducted the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly with speed, precision and decisiveness. His balanced judgement, constant endeavours to bring about accommodation and agreement in deadlocked situations, and his vast reservoir of knowledge left a deep imprint on the work of the twenty-fifth session.

3. I should like once again to reaffirm Kenya's dedication to the aims and objectives of the United Nations Charter. Amidst the clash of arms, financial crises and the intricate manoeuvres of power politics in this day and age, the United Nations has withstood the test of time. Its substantial contribution to the process of decolonization and development is an undisputed fact. Any success that has been achieved in the field of disarmament stands to the credit of the United Nations. Wherever peace and security have been threatened, the United Nations has not failed to exert maximum pressure on the side of order, tranquillity and understanding. It has provided an invaluable forum for the exchange of views and dialogue on issues of concern to the international community, irrespective of the status, social or economic system, level of development or military capacity of any State. It is Kenya's sincere hope that the ballots cast in this august Assembly will control the bullets fired far afield in the areas of conflict in the world.

4. I should like to welcome into our fold the States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. Their membership in the United Nations marks yet another milestone in the universality of our Organization. We wish the new Members success and prosperity.

5. I wish to survey the African scene in the context of the aims and objectives of the United Nations. Being an integral part of it, and considering the monumental challenges that confront us in this vast and varied continent, I hope my priority will be readily understood.

6. In southern Africa, the odious practice of *apartheid* continues to reign supreme. Portuguese colonialism has strengthened its stranglehold over the defenceless and innocent millions of Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Rhodesian rebellion, sustained by external forces, continues to flourish. The South African expansionists harbour designs of preserving physical control over Namibia in perpetuity under a discriminatory system. All these afflictions cast a dark shadow over the destiny of Africa. The security, survival and honour of Africa are at stake. In Africa of 1971, no less than 30 million Africans are still under white minority domination. Therefore, our grave concern for Africa is real; it is not merely an exercise in rhetoric.

7. In South Africa, the African is subjected to the vilest forms of oppression and degradation. He is denied basic human rights. His cultural heritage is being systematically destroyed by discriminatory laws and police terror. Any right of association and expression of grievances has long been stamped out. The tyranny of *apartheid* has decreed ruin and servitude for him. There is no glimmer of hope in the long night of darkness and desperation that has descended upon him. In such circumstances, a plea for mercy or reason is merely a cry in the wilderness.

8. Every peaceful method to win the rights of the overwhelming majority of black Africans has been frustrated by the white minority racist régime. This situation is bound to explode one day, unleashing a racial conflagration without parallel in history. Such an undesirable development will be the making of the supremacist régime in Pretoria. This will be the choice dictated to the Africans by the unreasonableness and brutality of the whites in South Africa. It is clear from history that no force of arms or support from external forces ever cowed the will of people to be free. Kenya's own successful struggle against the might of the British is a sufficient reason for us in Kenya to believe in the eventual freedom of the Africans in South Africa.

9. The free States of Africa firmly believe in, and are in search of, a peaceful settlement of the situation in South

Africa. This has motivated them to offer the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa<sup>1</sup> to the supremacist régime of South Africa. The Manifesto stresses peaceful methods for the settlement of the problem there. It clearly demonstrates that free Africa holds no credentials for violence. The Manifesto is based on the recognition of the right of Africans to freedom and independence on the basis of equality and human dignity. It has been endorsed by the General Assembly [resolution 2505 (XXIV)], by the Heads of State of member States of the Organization of African Unity and by the non-aligned nations. It was totally rejected by South Africa. I wish to reaffirm here that Kenya believes in a peaceful settlement of this tragic situation. But one cannot blame the Africans in South Africa if their patience runs out and if they decide to take the path of armed struggle. The onus for a peaceful settlement now rests squarely on South Africa.

10. If Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, signifies his acceptance of the Lusaka Manifesto, we, on our part, would be ready to exchange views with him. In such an eventuality, we would insist on democratization of South Africa being on the agenda.

11. The South African proposal for dialogue is based on the concept of *apartheid*. It conveniently ignores the position of the African countries as outlined in the Lusaka Manifesto—a reasoned plea for equality, brotherhood, peace and independence. If Pretoria insists on advancing the proposal for a dialogue in its present form, it would be well advised to initiate a dialogue with its overwhelmingly black majority population first. After all, charity begins at home.

12. The acceptance of a dialogue as at present proposed has many pitfalls. It will bestow the seal of recognition and respectability on the racist régime and the *apartheid* policy of South Africa. That will be a triumphant success for Vorster because the isolationism of his régime, which was beginning to erode *apartheid* and its discriminatory practices, would be broken.

13. If African countries accepted Pretoria's proposal for a dialogue on the present terms, it would mean that *apartheid* which oppresses the black population of South Africa would be further entrenched with the blessing and the endorsement of sovereign African States to the north. The proposal does not guarantee the repeal of discriminatory laws nor the restoration of the fundamental political and economic rights of the Africans. That is why we cannot look at it in a favourable light.

14. Furthermore, a new design is being unfolded in South Africa: the creation of what is called "Bantu Homelands" (Bantustans). It is a manoeuvre to carry *apartheid* to new extremes. It is said that this exercise will represent a new system of separate development. Yet no development has got off the ground in the Bantu areas because development efforts are concentrated in the white areas. In short, it is a device to hoodwink the world into a recognition of institutionalized *apartheid* under the guise of home rule and self-determination. Kenya rejects these attempts to falsify the true situation in South Africa.

15. The call for a dialogue, in short, is a summons to capitulate to the Fascist will of the white régime in South Africa. Kenya cannot be a party to such a manoeuvre and cannot collaborate with the existing racist order.

16. The South African régime has also offered a non-aggression pact to free Africa as a complementary move to the call for dialogue. That offer was also intended to allay African fears of South African military capacity being turned towards aggression against sovereign independent States of Africa.

17. My Government categorically rejects that offer. The lesson of Munich still rings fresh in our ears. We have learned history, which has a way of repeating itself. We know that Nazi Germany's record of brutality, aggression and defiance of world opinion is today being imitated by South Africa. Munich, too, could be imitated.

18. Portugal continues to pursue ruthlessly its objective of the perpetual colonization of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Its oppressive policies and military adventurism have spelled disaster and untold suffering for millions of Africans in its colonies. Portugal has embarked on a systematic policy of violating the territorial integrity of sovereign African States.

19. We appeal to the enlightened element of Portuguese opinion to convince the Portuguese administration of the follies of a colonial war in Africa in an era of decolonization and tolerance. Portugal's shaky hold over the colonies cannot long be maintained against the determined drive of the liberation movements for freedom and sovereign equality. Let Portugal practise the wisdom of the United Nations on decolonization and benefit from it in the long run through accommodation with free Africa.

20. With regard to Namibia, the United Nations should ensure by practical action that it does not fall victim to the expansionist ambitions of Pretoria. In that context we welcome the recent decision of the International Court of Justice declaring the South African presence in Namibia illegal and invalid on the ground that Namibia is a Trust Territory of the United Nations over which the Mandate has been terminated by the United Nations itself.<sup>2</sup>

21. We understand that the United Kingdom is resuming negotiations for a settlement with Smith and his racist henchmen. We cannot be satisfied with any arrangements that do not include the following principles: no independence without African majority rule; repeal of all discriminatory legislation in recognition of the right of the Africans to sovereign independent status; full participation of the Africans in any moves to settle the destiny of Zimbabwe in order to ensure a durable and just solution. That implies the right of African leaders currently languishing in Smith's prisons to participate in the negotiations on the future of that Territory.

22. We also recommend that the United Nations should be involved in ensuring the effective and demonstrable transfer of power to the African majority in Zimbabwe.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

<sup>2</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

23. With regard to the question of the sale of arms to South Africa, I should like first of all to express Africa's appreciation to those countries which have complied with the Security Council's call for an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. However, we watch with shock and disbelief the rapidly growing Anglo-French trade in arms with South Africa in contravention of the United Nations position. Such trade amounts to an endorsement of the evil system of *apartheid* by the leading Western democracies. We hold that any move to bolster South Africa militarily is a move to strangle African nationalism and self-determination and constitutes a threat to the security of Africa. These arms are bound to be used for internal suppression and for mounting aggression against the free independent States to the north. This will assist South Africa to solidify its bonds with the Portuguese colonialists and help the Rhodesian rebels to perpetuate white rule within South Africa. South Africa would likewise feel encouraged to pursue its expansionist ambitions in Namibia and other Territories to the north. We are satisfied that arms supplies to South Africa are not for security reasons but rather for purely economic reasons.

24. Both France and the United Kingdom fought the dark forces of oppression and enslavement of the Nazis. They should not now reverse their values and align themselves with the Nazi-style racism and brutality of the *apartheid* order. Both France and the United Kingdom occupy positions of honour as permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations. They should not be the first to undermine the resolutions of the United Nations. The United Kingdom, with its love for justice and the rule of law; France, with its long tradition of liberty and equality—both being leading democracies—should be the first to support liberty, democracy and justice in southern Africa, for what is good for their citizens in Europe is good for the black man in South Africa.

25. We appeal to all nations to refrain from giving aid and comfort to the oppressive white minority régimes in southern Africa because that will sustain in power the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria, the rebel clique of Salisbury and the impoverished dictatorship of Lisbon.

26. Having briefly surveyed the situation in southern Africa, I should now like to turn my attention to the other African issues of interest to the international community.

27. Kenya firmly believes in meaningful and concrete regional co-operation to foster economic and social development. In our own region, we have the East African Community, which is a very successful and unique experiment in common marketing arrangements and integrated development. Basic utility services, like railways, airways, harbours, taxation, customs and excise and research, are carried out jointly under appropriate bodies set up by the authorities of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. We are eager and ready to welcome the participation of other neighbouring States to make these common market and common services arrangements wider and more fruitful in the spirit of African unity, co-operation and good neighbourliness. Kenya is determined, despite temporary difficulties, to make a complete success of this joint venture, and commends this experience to the other regions of Africa.

28. Kenya is deeply interested in the Trans-Africa Highway from Mombasa to Lagos, which would link the east coast of Africa to the west. In our estimation, it is a project of monumental importance that will open up vast areas of Africa to development and the exploitation of its vast resources, and will foster closer economic and social co-operation. Intra-African trade would be stimulated and a much-needed network of communications established. To us it will have the same significance as the Trans-Siberian Railway, or the Trans-Canadian Railway. We are very glad that the Economic Commission for Africa is showing enormous interest in it. We urge the greatest possible involvement of the United Nations in this scheme through its Development Programme.

29. I should like now to address the Assembly on the other important issues that are crucial to the world community.

30. We welcome the more realistic and positive change in policy of several Western countries towards the People's Republic of China. We had pointed out right from the time of our independence that the policy of keeping the People's Republic of China out of the confines of the United Nations and its activities was not conducive to international peace and tranquillity. Kenya has consistently championed the presence in the United Nations of that great country, which has a population of 800 million people, occupies a vast territory and is in full and effective control of its destiny. As a great Power with impressive nuclear capability, its importance in international affairs cannot be minimized. We hope that, in taking its position in all the organs of the United Nations, Peking will play a constructive and decisive role on the side of peace, justice, international understanding and development.

31. We equally welcome the East-West *détente* in Europe. The recent Berlin Accord<sup>3</sup> has done much to defuse tension in Europe. Berlin was the festering sore in European politics that focused the East-West confrontation in a very dangerous context. We hope that this positive development augurs well for the over-all normalization of the European situation, which had been caught in the throes of constant turbulence as a result of the Second World War. Given the necessary will and the spirit of accommodation, the most dangerous situations in the political arena can be defused. We hope this spirit will be manifested in other areas of conflict as well.

32. The situation in the Middle East continues to be grim: a shooting war may erupt at any time. The disastrous consequences of such an explosion are too well known to need elaboration. The continuation of hostilities in the Middle East is of no benefit to any side; that war of attrition is a heavy drain on the material and manpower resources of the countries concerned. The closure of the Suez Canal has caused heavy economic losses, not only to the countries immediately involved in that conflict, but also to others whose shipping and trade-routes traverse the Suez Canal.

33. Kenya is committed to a speedy and equitable settlement of the crisis in terms of the Security Council

<sup>3</sup> Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

resolution 242 (1967). But we are disturbed by the rising crescendo of the arms race which is being encouraged through the supply of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction in that area.

34. We have welcomed all peace initiatives in that conflict, including the Jarring mission, the Sisco mission and the recent British endeavour. We fully support the latest initiative of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to bring peace and order to that region. It is recalled that the last OAU summit<sup>4</sup> appointed a committee of 10 African heads of State to resolve that crisis in the African context within the framework of the Security Council resolution. We are gratified that both Israel and Egypt have welcomed this mission to visit Cairo and Tel Aviv. We hope that the present session of the General Assembly will endorse the OAU initiative.

35. Turning to the International Development Strategy, I wish to point out that, although goals and objectives, and policy measures based on joint and concentrated action by developing countries and developed countries in all spheres of economic and social activity, were clearly spelled out, effective action is still lacking. The share of the developing countries in world trade has shown no appreciable rise. In fact, the protectionist policies of the developed countries are specifically directed against the primary products of the developing countries. Development has stagnated owing to acute foreign-exchange problems and a lack of finance, capital equipment and technical expertise.

36. High-interest loans continue to increase the indebtedness of poor countries. The benefits of aid are cancelled out by various barriers put up against the export products of such countries. Rapid price inflation in the industrialized States has the effect of devaluing any aid given. Unilateral action should not be taken by industrialized nations in international monetary crises, because developing nations have a stake in this matter as well.

37. Having dealt with certain specific political issues, I should like to say a few words about the following items of economic interest to the world community.

38. The implementation of the International Development Strategy that was adopted [resolution 2626 (XXV)] by the twenty-fifth commemorative session of the United Nations remains of crucial importance to the entire world community. The Second United Nations Development Decade implies that we African countries should launch a co-ordinated effort at co-operation in development activities amongst ourselves. Intra-African trade must be stimulated. Infrastructural development on a continental basis should be initiated. Our economic growth should be promoted, not in mutual isolation, but on a regional and continental basis of co-operation.

39. While discussing regional co-operation in terms of the International Development Strategy, I should mention that the Organization of African Unity has decided to hold the First All-Africa Trade Fair in Nairobi in February 1972. We

are very proud to have been chosen to host this historic event in our capital. The Fair will demonstrate the range of products that emanates from all sectors of the African economy. It will also reveal the vast economic potential of all the African countries. The Fair will emphasize that the Organization of African Unity is not only a political forum of immense importance but also a powerful instrument for concrete African development in the economic and social fields.

40. In these economic matters, we appeal to the industrialized countries to take effective, prompt and comprehensive measures to help achieve the goals of the International Development Strategy adopted at the twenty-fifth session.

41. The Kenya Government believes that the exploitation and utilization of natural resources is cardinal to accelerated economic and social development and is largely dependent on possession of scientific technology. Therefore the transfer of technology and science to the developing countries for the development and exploitation of their natural resources is of paramount importance to those countries. The Kenya Government's interest in this field is manifested in its agreement to host the next session of the Committee on Natural Resources in Nairobi early next year. It is hoped that the Nairobi session will result in positive planning and action.

42. As in the other environments, the scientific revolution in marine technology has opened up new horizons and posed unprecedented challenges for humanity. The new advances are so spectacular and the benefits to be reaped by humanity so unlimited that it is no longer realistic to talk of certain aspects of the sea; one must deal conceptually with the marine environment in its totality. That explains why my Government enthusiastically welcomed the decision of the General Assembly to convene a conference on the law of the sea in 1973 to deal comprehensively with all matters pertaining to the sea [resolution 2750 (XXV)].

43. One issue of vital importance is the question of effectively controlling and finally eliminating marine, river and industrial pollution. This problem transcends national boundaries and requires a global effort to combat it. All forms of pollutants, whether industrial, organic or military, pose a grave threat to humanity at large. They have deleterious effects on the living resources in the sea. They are a proven hazard to human life. They affect the economy of countries, particularly in the field of tourism, where hitherto lovely beaches have been rendered unusable by oil slicks and other pollutants. Marine activities, including shipping and fishing, have been seriously hampered. The dumping of toxic, radio-active and other noxious materials can permanently damage the marine environment. It has also been pointed out by experts that the decay of certain pollutants harbours disease-causing micro-organisms. Therefore all these dangers, which can change the ecological balance of nature, should be eliminated by concerted international effort. Stringent national laws on pollution should be applied. Under international arrangements and with appropriate detection and enforcement machinery, this hazard should be contained before it gets out of hand. Developing countries should also ensure that pollution-causing industries are not established in their lands without adequate pollution control measures.

<sup>4</sup> Eighth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 June 1971.



44. Recent advances in outer-space technology have highlighted the possibilities of the application of space technology to development in such fields as communications, television, meteorology, pollution detection and the surveying of earth resources. As with developments in other environments, the United Nations should ensure the transfer of outer-space technology to developing countries for their accelerated economic and social development.

45. In the field of disarmament, the world is trapped in a cycle of incongruities. Words are not matched by actions. We seek disarmament, but the result so far has been limited preventive measures of "non-armament". We aspire to the termination of nuclear tests in all environments; yet underground nuclear blasts occur with calculated regularity. The General Assembly has deplored the enormous expenditure on military build-up; yet these valuable resources have not been diverted to social and economic development. We seek to strengthen international peace and security; yet the arms race is deliberately encouraged in areas of acknowledged conflict. There is, in short, a lack of political will to take effective disarmament measures.

46. To ensure the success of any future disarmament measures, it is essential that all nuclear Powers should participate actively in such arrangements.

47. The United Nations is once again in the grip of serious financial insolvency which threatens its very survival. By a concerted action, in a spirit of dedication to this Organization, the solvency of the United Nations must be restored. Every Member State must pay all its assessed contributions, for it is only through regular and prompt contributions that the United Nations can carry out its most desirable functions of disarmament, development and decolonization and be able to safeguard peace and international security.

48. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to Secretary-General U Thant, who has worked for the United Nations with dedication, decisiveness and distinction. His constant endeavours to strengthen the United Nations, world peace and international understanding will be recorded in the scrolls of history. His deep concern for the welfare of colonized peoples and the interests of the newly-emergent nations is well known. His absence from the councils of the United Nations will be deeply felt. However, we can take comfort in the fact that the spirit that guided the work of the United Nations during his tenure of office will not be lost in the difficult years ahead. On behalf of the President of Kenya, H.E. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and the Government and people of my country, I wish him a long, happy and successful life.

49. Now, more than ever before, the United Nations is needed to complete its work in decolonization, disarmament and development and to keep international peace and security. Let us all give it our unqualified support to accomplish those objectives.

50. Mr. PRATT (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, let me take this opportunity to express my most sincere congratulations to you on your highly deserved election to preside over the deliberations of the twenty-sixth session of this august Assembly. You have given much of your time to the work of the United Nations, especially when you served as

chairman of your country's delegation to the regular sessions of the United Nations General Assembly from 1966 to 1970 and as special envoy of your President to the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Sir, the remarkable skill you have displayed as a negotiator, especially in difficult situations, attests to your expert mediating capability. We are confident that the work of the Assembly will progress with much expertise during your tenure of office.

51. My delegation also wishes to record its deep appreciation of the excellent leadership given by the outgoing President, Edvard Hambro of Norway, during the historic twenty-fifth session of the Assembly and throughout the year that has just elapsed.

52. To be topical, may I also take this opportunity of recording my Government's sincere appreciation of the sterling services rendered by Mr. Ralph J. Bunche, Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs, whose retirement on health grounds has just been announced. We fondly remember his historic visits to Africa in the 1950s and we testify to his devotion to the cause of international peace since the founding of this Organization. My delegation prays for his speedy return to perfect health and for his happy retirement.

53. For my part, it gives me particular pleasure to come here this year as leader of the first delegation to arrive from Sierra Leone since it matured into a Republic on 19 April 1971.

54. Our sincere congratulations go to the Governments and peoples of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, whose delegations are now seated among us and from whose wisdom we hope to benefit in the work of the various committees of the Organization. We are proud to have recommended their admission to the General Assembly in the first place, and to have voted in their favour when the matter was decided in this august body a few days ago [1934th meeting].

55. One of the uncertainties now hovering over the future of this Organization is the appointment of a successor to the Secretary-General, who has indicated his intention to retire after completing, at the end of this year, a most illustrious term of office.

56. Secretary-General U Thant has given towering leadership, greater in scale and longer in time than any of his predecessors. He has occasionally suffered frustrations because of the intransigence of disputing parties. In spite of all this, however, he has steered the Organization along a course which has brought peace, prosperity and progress to millions of people all over the world. My Government wishes to thank this very great international civil servant for the successful endeavours in which he has been involved over the past 10 years, and we should like to give him our best wishes for his future which, we hope, will always be linked in some way with this Organization in its struggle for international peace and security.

57. Perhaps our greatest tribute to this distinguished international statesman after a decade of dedicated service to humanity is to pause and re-examine with critical determination the major problems bedevilling our Organiza-

tion, so that from his successful record we may derive new inspiration to seek satisfactory and lasting solutions.

58. In this process of re-examination we cannot adequately review all the problems confronting us. Nor do we need to concentrate, at this crucial period of our Organization's history, on problems that are narrowly regional. Our concern is the larger interest of all mankind, and it is against this background that I wish to make brief comments on the international scene and the role of this Organization within it.

59. Perhaps one of the most serious threats to the success, if not the very existence, of the United Nations is to be found in the Middle East conflict. The struggle between the Arabs and the Jews has rocked the Organization to its very foundations and given much cause for alarm. As my Government sees it, solutions must be found to five interrelated problems before this conflict can be resolved.

60. The first problem is what we believe to be the genuine fear by Israel that its Arab neighbours want to throw the last Israeli into the sea and to obliterate any trace of the existence of the territory of Israel from the map of the Middle East. Secondly, there is the equally genuine fear by the surrounding Arab countries that Israel is only interested in pursuing an expansionist policy which will ultimately threaten the very foundations of Arab existence. Thirdly, there is the grave question of the resettlement of the Palestinian Arabs. Fourthly, there has recently arisen the complaint about the Judaizing of Jerusalem. And finally, it is of paramount importance to secure the joint co-operation of both parties to the conflict if a lasting solution is to be found within the framework of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

61. I need not elaborate upon the first three problems, namely, the fear expressed by the Israelis, the equally genuine fear of the Arab States, and also the resettlement of the Palestinian Arabs. The fourth point concerning the Judaizing of Jerusalem calls for some elaboration, since it is so topical.

62. Jerusalem has been for quite a long time now the centre of important religious faiths of the world, namely Judaism, Christianity and Islam. To the Jews, Jerusalem is the city of promise. Judaism, however, is practised by only a very limited sector of the world's population. To the Christians, Jerusalem embodies the very heart of their religion. Christians are found in practically every quarter of the globe, and the city of Jerusalem houses a number of their Holy Places. In like manner, Islam, which is practised by the vast majority of southern Asians, Africans, the inhabitants of the Arab world, and also by some Europeans and Americans, sees in Jerusalem the centre of much of its holiness. Jerusalem, therefore, has an international significance which practically no other city of the world can ever have.

63. Since the six-day war and the occupation of the whole of Jerusalem by Israel, the world has witnessed the Judaizing of Jerusalem. It is reported that the serenity of the Holy City is fast losing its charm by unrestricted measures to urbanize and populate the hitherto sacred areas with Jewish settlements. This process, in the opinion of my

Government, is taking the Arab-Israeli conflict further afield to affect the conscience of many people practising the international religions of Islam and Christianity.

64. This Judaizing process must be controlled and even brought to an end if the entire Christian and Moslem world is not to rise up and proclaim a holy war against Israel. For the preservation of international peace it is therefore important that Israel should immediately desist from this Judaizing process and restore to the Holy City of Jerusalem its peaceful and sacred surroundings and above all its sanctified charm, which should not be marred by tall residential Jewish edifices, factories and other constructions completely alien to religious worship and the sacred character of the Holy City. It is our hope that Israel will agree to make Jerusalem not only accessible to adherents of all three faiths but also expressive of the atmosphere built up by Christianity and Islam over the centuries.

65. As regards the fifth basic problem—that is to say fostering joint co-operation by the two parties concerned to work out a programme for lasting peace—the Government of Sierra Leone is conscious of the part being played by various institutions to assist the parties to reach an amicable settlement. The Secretary-General appointed the Jarring mission to get the parties to talk to one another. After the near stalemate of a year ago, when Israel withdrew from the talks, hopes were restored in January of this year with their resumption.

66. The great Powers have themselves—singly sometimes, but often jointly—tried to devise or even to impose a settlement. More recently, the Organization of African Unity added its own initiative by the appointment of a 10-man mission to mediate between the parties to the dispute.

67. All these efforts do not seem to have borne much fruit. Israel has persistently refused to withdraw from the occupied territories as required by resolution 242 (1967), and neither the United Nations nor the great Powers have been able to shift it from that position.

68. It is the view of my Government that Israel should make a move. Sierra Leone cannot endorse the acquisition of territory by war during this latter half of the twentieth century. Israel should, therefore, agree in principle—I repeat, in principle—to remove or withdraw to the boundaries that were defined by the mandate.

69. It will then be up to Israel to utilize the Jarring mission to work out whatever modifications of its borders it considers necessary because of recent experience so as to ensure its future defence, particularly by suggesting adjustments in the Gaza Strip, by putting forward proposals about the future of Jerusalem, by securing essential guarantees for access to the Gulf of Aqaba from the port of Elath, and by pressing for the carving-up of possible neutral territory in the Sinai peninsula. It is even understandable that it may want some assurance that Sharm El Sheikh will not again be used to close the Gulf of Aqaba. But these are details to be negotiated with its Arab neighbours and with the assistance of the Jarring mission, and they ought not to stand in the way of Israel accepting the principle of withdrawing from all occupied territories.

70. At the same time the Sierra Leone Government would counsel that the surrounding Arab States should continue to exercise patience and understanding. We welcome the formation of the new Federation of Arab Republics. We note that one of its principles is unanimity in matters pertaining to defence. My Government fervently hopes that the newly formed Federation will actively continue the policy of seeking a non-military solution rather than putting an end to all hopes of solving the conflict by preparing for an imminent and inevitable battle. For the past three years—or even longer—the entire world has been witnessing the many concessions the Arab States have been making to reach a solution. Thanks to their continued patience and understanding the cease-fire has been in existence for over a year now. It is the fervent prayer of the Sierra Leone delegation that that statesmanlike patience will continue to be exercised until a just and lasting solution is achieved.

71. We are particularly happy to record that the Organization of African Unity has tried to assist in finding a solution by recently adopting a resolution to set up a goodwill committee to act as mediators. A special 10-man mediation team of eminent Presidents of African States has accordingly been formed and has started upon its arduous but inspiring task by designating four African Heads of State to act on behalf of the members.

72. My Government looks forward to the support of that mediation team by the United Nations General Assembly. It is, indeed, our belief that this small beginning might be expanded into a United Nations team to embrace the entire United Nations family. We shall accordingly propose that during this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly we may decide to establish a top-level United Nations mediation commission of, say, 16 eminent Heads of State to contact the parties to this dispute and see how best they can bring them to the round table to settle their differences. Without in any way going at this stage into the details of this proposal, we hope that we shall be able to find, say, four Asian leaders, two East European leaders, two West European leaders, and four American and Latin American leaders—none of them coming from the great Powers—to join forces with the four African leaders already selected, all 16 of whom may be commissioned to mediate this stubborn problem with a view to bringing the parties together at the round table and so make the work of the Jarring mission fruitful and successful without any further delay.

73. It is, of course, essential not only to create conditions for peace but also to bring about peace and make it lasting. It is therefore the hope of my delegation that the General Assembly will give urgent consideration to constituting another peace-keeping force, to be deployed along the explosive sections of the Arab-Israeli borders for a minimum period, on the condition that no single State of the area can unilaterally have the right to request its partial or total withdrawal during the predetermined period. This peace-keeping force should be removed only if all—I repeat, all—the parties agree its presence is no longer necessary in any particular area.

74. I now turn my attention to the doctrine of the universality of the United Nations, a doctrine which has

gained much in importance during the term of the present Secretary-General. There are signs that most of the icy obstacles to the full implementation of this doctrine are now thawing. It is the hope of my delegation that we shall this year give concrete expression to this doctrine by restoring to the 850 million inhabitants of the People's Republic of China their lawful rights in the several organs of the United Nations.

75. My delegation has over the years advocated the right of the People's Republic of China to membership in this world Organization. We have stressed the importance of having within its fold a country which represents a quarter of the earth's population and which is also a nuclear Power. Time and again we have stressed the injustice and lack of political realism which keeps 850 million people from being represented in this body. We have drawn attention to the fact that Peking's absence from the United Nations has severely weakened the Organization's ability to grapple realistically with the major problems of the world. We welcome the change of heart on the part of many important and influential Members of this Assembly who have realized the injustice of their policy vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China over the years and are not afraid to set the record straight. As a matter of fact, we heartily congratulate them for their courage in correcting this narrow, partisan and discriminatory policy which has existed for 21 long years.

76. In terminating the exile of the People's Republic of China, we must avoid creating further Chinese problems, such as two Chinas or one China and one Taiwan, at this stage. For several years, the voting results in the General Assembly have demonstrated that our Members have endorsed the principle of one China. The régime of the Republic of China in Taiwan has, at the same time, always alleged that it is the true Government representing the entire Chinese people. Similarly, the Government of the People's Republic of China has maintained that it represents the whole of China, Taiwan being merely a province of China. Neither party appears to have changed its policy regarding one, and only one, China.

77. The policy of the Sierra Leone Government, then, can be only that of recognizing one, and only one, China, while at the same time realizing that two separate Governments have been competing for sovereignty over that one China. We, as a non-aligned nation, consider that we would be meddling in the internal affairs of the single friendly country of China if we were to start promulgating or advocating that there were two Chinas, one on the vast mainland, and the other in the territory of Taiwan. And unless one or both competing Chinese Governments shift their position from one China to two Chinas, we fail to see on what justification the outside world, or the United Nations for that matter, can arrogate to itself the right to impose the doctrine of two Chinas. After much consideration, it is now the policy of the Sierra Leone Government to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the *de jure* Government of the whole of China, and we therefore advocate that the Government in Peking should take the Chinese seat in the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in every other relevant organ of the United Nations.

78. The Government of the Republic of China has for the past 25 years been permitted to sit in this Organization as the Government of China. Now, the view of the Sierra Leone Government—and, we trust, of the great majority of the Members here—is that the Government of the Republic of China no longer has the right to be admitted here as the *de jure* Government of the entire country known as China, a country for which certain express provisions are laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. Under such circumstances, it is our hope that the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China will agree to retire with the same grace with which they have hitherto been permitted to attend previous sessions. And if they refuse to retire peacefully, then they may have to be expelled.

79. The doctrine of universality does not concern only China at this moment of United Nations history. A related and similar problem which has for quite a long time now exercised the United Nations is the problem of the divided States of Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam. The hope has always been entertained by my Government that these divided States would become unified.

80. In the case of Germany, the problem is that it was divided as a result of the last world war. However, we from the developing countries are satisfied that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the German Democratic Republic as well have pursued internationally acceptable policies relating to peace, progress and the development of the world community. We feel that the isolation of Germany from this international forum ought to be brought to an end.

81. We have followed with keen interest the progress of the four-Power talks on Berlin which commenced on 26 March 1970. We welcome the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, and we wish to commend the efforts of the Powers concerned, particularly the spirit of give-and-take exhibited during the discussions without which the aforementioned agreement would not have been possible. This agreement marks a welcome beginning, and it should be the hope of all of us that the current discussions between the two German States relative to implementation of the principles in the agreement will be successfully completed.

82. One needs hardly restate that a solution of the Berlin question is necessary, not only for the German people but also for all mankind, as this would greatly contribute to the achievement of European security and world peace. With the evident *entente* in East-West relations, my Government hopes that all obstacles in the way of the admission of representatives of the people of Germany to this world assembly will soon be removed so that we can welcome them to their rightful places.

83. As regards the great country of Korea, I must also emphasize that my Government wishes to see the peaceful reunification of both parts within the shortest possible period of time. The war in Korea has long come to an end and we share the view that all foreign troops must be removed from the country, so that the reunification process can be worked out by the Koreans themselves at official levels just as welcome social exchanges are now taking place at the Red Cross level.

84. My Government is happy to note that, after several years of armed conflict in the Indo-China peninsula at the cost of the lives of hundreds of thousands of people—combatants and civilians alike—enlightened world opinion has now reached the conclusion that the war cannot be won without a resort to massive doses of nuclear arms. This realization has led to a de-escalation on the part of the war efforts of the foreign Power mainly involved. We have advocated a cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam, which has caused so much suffering and deprivation to an entire generation in that land, and we have stressed the usefulness of negotiations. Therefore the cessation of bombing by the United States and the resumption of talks in Paris, coupled with the gradual withdrawal of contingents of foreign troops from Viet-Nam, offered the right type of atmosphere for serious parley.

85. We are, however, disturbed at the lack of progress being made at the Paris peace talks, and we urge all parties concerned to approach the problems involved with a fresh outlook of reasonableness and goodwill. Above all, we urge that there should take place as speedily as possible a complete exchange and repatriation of all prisoners of war captured by either side.

86. But little will be achieved that is lasting unless the settlement takes into account the political realities of the situation. It must give due consideration to the close kinship between North and South Viet-Nam, the community of language, civilization and interest that exists. Unless such a step is taken and carried out, peace in that area will be difficult to come by.

87. But while hopes are raised that at last the war is being de-escalated in Viet-Nam and that the next 12 months will see the gradual reduction of United States military personnel and combatants in that area, a sudden turn of events seems to give the lie to these hopes and to raise serious doubts in the minds of many that the United States seriously intends to withdraw its presence completely.

88. Under the pretext of reducing or virtually eliminating all threats to the safety of United States combatants, and in order to help speed up their withdrawal, the United States Government has thought fit to extend the conflict to Laos and Cambodia—two neighbouring countries which it accused of providing sanctuaries for the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nam regulars. Parts of Laos are being subjected to intensive bombing and gun-fire which take a toll of the lives of innocent men, women and children and sometimes animal and vegetable life without discrimination. We consider it unjustifiable that the Kingdom of Laos should be denied the actual exercise of sovereignty over parts of its own territory. What is true of Laos is also true of Cambodia, where foreign intervention is causing irreparable loss to life and property, and basic human rights and respect for human life and dignity are being trampled underfoot by all sides. It is our hope that good sense will prevail, and that the United States Government will leave the people of those countries to pursue life in the way they think best.

89. No examination of present-day world problems will be complete if we do not express our concern about the possible escalation of the current India-Pakistan tension in



the Beṅgal region and the constant flow of refugees who continue to flee from East Pakistan into India.

90. We congratulate the Secretary-General for the masterly way in which he has faced up to the realities of the situation. His memorandum of 20 August to the President of the Security Council provides that body with a balanced assessment of the situation. His quiet diplomatic move and his great concern for the sufferings of the refugees resulted in increased international assistance and, within the Secretariat, in the setting up of the Office for Inter-Agency Affairs as a focal point.

91. There have been conflicting reports as to the root-cause of the present tension. Our friends in India blame it on repressive policies within Pakistan, whereas our friends in Pakistan insist that the trouble has continued because India has been encouraging dissident elements in East Bengal.

92. It seems to us that there is a definite need for a United Nations observer goodwill mission to be sent to the area to find out the facts and inform this Organization about what is really happening, since this event is of a scale worse and more disastrous than anything which has occurred in that area since the founding of the United Nations. There is a definite danger of a violent eruption which could be averted by such an observer goodwill mission. Here we believe that the way out may be found by the Secretary-General's utilizing the joint efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. My delegation would commend both Commissions for the admirable services they are rendering in the cause of humanity.

93. I have indicated that I do not intend to be parochial. I shall, however, mention some of the endemic political ills of Africa, which are all well known.

94. On the question of decolonization, we had hoped that the change of Government in Portugal would have led to a reappraisal of that country's policies of colonialism concerning Guinea (Bissau), Cabinda, Mozambique and Angola. It is with regret that we observe, however, that entrenched interests in Portugal have prevented the taking of the steps necessary for the realization of African independence in those Territories. We condemn in the strongest possible terms the military attacks being made by Portugal against our neighbours in the Republics of Guinea and Senegal. We cannot be passive onlookers while Portugal uses its association with certain Western nations as a cloak to continue to live in the glories of an imperialistic past, when other nations in Western Europe have long ago abandoned this negative policy.

95. We continue to be concerned by the help being given to Portugal and to South Africa by their NATO allies in supplying arms which are used for the subjugation of Africans and for making unprovoked attacks on African States. Although members of NATO have denied this, yet it is known that arms given for the defence of Western Europe are being used in Africa under the foolish and untenable idea of the Portuguese Government that this is an extension of the defence of metropolitan Portugal and Western Europe against world communism.

96. We have noted with keen interest the statement of the Government of West Germany in frankly admitting that some of the arms supplied for NATO defence have been used for wrongful purposes in southern Africa. We look forward to the same frankness from other members of the Western European alliance, and hope that they will take immediate steps to halt the flow of military aid to Portugal.

97. Rhodesia has reared its head again in a new and ugly guise, and the initiative of the Government of the United Kingdom in reopening talks with the illegal régime in Rhodesia has some rather disquieting undertones, particularly as the United Kingdom is now seeking admission to the European Economic Community. There should be no excuse whatever, in our opinion, for the lifting of sanctions against Rhodesia until self-government by majority rule has been established in that territory.

98. In Namibia we are faced with a new type of colonialism in which a people is held in subjection not only in defiance of the concepts of human justice and equality, but also in flagrant breach of international law.

99. My Government has noted with great interest the decision reached by the International Court of Justice on the question of Namibia.<sup>5</sup> We have observed some dissenting views, but it would be less than just if the Republic of South Africa and its friends do not take immediate steps to implement the handing over of Namibia to the United Nations for its rapid preparation for independence. The British have done this in the case of the Cameroons and Tanzania; the French have done so in the case of Togoland and the Cameroons; the Italians in the case of Libya and Somalia; and the Belgians in that of Rwanda and Burundi. The proximity of Namibia to South Africa does not mean that it should fall into a separate category. It means rather that the South African Government should long ago have transformed the Mandated Territory into an independent, friendly and allied Government, rather than keeping it indefinitely under a ruthless dictatorship.

100. By maintaining an illegal presence in Namibia in defiance of the decision of the General Assembly, by holding on to that Territory in complete disregard of the decision of the International Court of Justice, by dismembering the territory into homelands, by introducing *apartheid* into territory that is truly international and by refusing to co-operate with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the South African régime has not only proved itself unworthy of all trust, but has clearly called into question its own qualification for continued membership in the United Nations. We can only renew the constant annual appeal to the friends of South Africa to co-operate with the rest of the enlightened world by isolating South Africa economically, politically and culturally as a means of bringing it to its senses. We further appeal to those "friends" to ensure an immediate and an effective United Nations presence in Namibia.

101. My delegation wishes to stress that there can be no solution of the problem of Namibia unless an effective

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

United Nations presence is assured. We are convinced that this is the essential next step and that it cannot be taken without the joint effort and co-operation of the permanent members of the Security Council. We therefore appeal to them to close their ranks on this issue, to respect the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, to facilitate the inception of United Nations administration of the Territory, and thus help to bring the benefits of independence to the Namibians in the shortest possible time.

102. If the United Nations wants to administer the Territory effectively this cannot be done by remote control. The United Nations must be present as administrator either through some agency it has created or through an administering authority it has appointed, so that the vacuum created by South Africa's departure is immediately filled.

103. The information available to my delegation reveals that certain of the permanent members of the Security Council already have sizeable investments in Namibia. It is only right that those investments should be protected, particularly if the Governments concerned respect the authority of the United Nations and are willing to co-operate with this Organization.

104. My delegation will therefore propose that the Security Council should take urgent steps to ensure the appointment of an administering authority, under the direction of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to take over immediately from the South African Government. This administering authority would, in my delegation's opinion, be much more effective if it includes all the permanent members of the Security Council.

105. The envisaged termination of the South African administration should involve the simultaneous withdrawal of South African troops and police officers from the Territory. In order to safeguard good administration, it is essential to consider the creation of a United Nations police force to take over from the South Africans, which would be directly responsible to the administering authority. It is our belief that serious attention should now be given to the creation of such a United Nations police force with the assistance of the Member States of the international community. Countries which might render such assistance would no doubt include the permanent members of the Security Council, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Egypt, Ethiopia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria, the Republic of Guinea, the Central African Republic, India, Japan, Mexico, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Canada.

106. My delegation wishes to stress that we have no complaint against individual South Africans residing in Namibia, only against the racist régime of South Africa. Accordingly, my Government does not envisage that the transfer of the administration of Namibia from South Africa to the United Nations should involve any expulsion of individual South Africans, whether they are in business, in agriculture, in railways, in trade and industry, in mines or even in their own individual enterprises. Individual South Africans can remain and contribute to the development and welfare of the Territory as long as they accept and respect the over-all responsibility of the United Nations administration.

107. The United Nations administration cannot operate in a vacuum. It will be essential for it to be supplied with the funds to ensure efficient administration. My delegation is satisfied that the economic resources of Namibia, if properly utilized and managed, can provide sufficient revenues for the maintenance of this administration until it is, in the near future, transferred to the Namibians. However, certain development projects ought to be undertaken quickly such as the infra-structural improvement of the areas populated by the indigenous Namibians, as well as the implementation of policies aimed at developing the political consciousness of the Namibians. For the attainment of these objectives, it will be necessary to provide adequate funds which can also be utilized in meeting to some extent the expenses of the United Nations administration. My delegation appeals, therefore, for the provision by the United Nations of adequate funds for Namibia from the general budget.

108. The ultimate objective of this exercise must be to prepare the peoples of Namibia for nationhood within the shortest possible period of time. To this end it is our belief that free elections should be undertaken in the Territory within a period of, say, one year after the United Nations assumes administrative control. For such elections to be really free, basic human and democratic rights should be guaranteed. All political prisoners banished from Namibia and now serving sentences in Robben Island and other prison fortifications in South Africa should be released and sent back to their country. All political leaders now in exile from Namibia should be encouraged, if they so desire, to return home. The people of Namibia should be enabled freely to cultivate their political consciousness along democratic lines as they themselves think fit. There should be a period of political tutelage so as to allow the population to settle down and forget the repressive era of South African rule. It is the firm belief of my delegation that the Namibians will, under such conditions, freely develop and express their own ideas about self-determination.

109. On the question of *apartheid* my delegation wishes to emphasize that the question of race relations is one which concerns almost every State Member of this Assembly, whether in the form of outright racial discrimination or discrimination against certain groups. It has, however, reached the point in South Africa where the official Government of that country has adopted it as an active measure of policy. We cannot reconcile the expressed desire of the Prime Minister of South Africa to forge alliances with African Member States with the inhumane and brutal methods of torture and repression being used within his own country against the non-white population. We know through our contacts that there are wise and progressive black leaders in South Africa who are willing to enter into dialogue with its Government. "Charity begins at home", and we should see evidence of this in South Africa before those of us from outside engage in any meaningful negotiations or dialogue with the minority Government of that country.

110. No discussion of the South African problem would be complete without a reference to the policy of the sale of arms to that country by some major Powers in the United Nations. By its own actions, South Africa has already forfeited all claims to international trust and respect.

Consequently, in spite of whatever assurances may be given by that Government, there is every reason to conclude that all arms supplied to such a régime will, directly or indirectly, contribute to the strengthening of *apartheid* and encourage that régime to embark on further repressive and military adventures against the gallant fighters of the liberation movement.

111. The maintenance of international peace and security is a grave problem confronting the world at this time of history.

112. When the Assembly in 1969 decided to proclaim the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade [*resolution 2602 E (XXIV)*], my delegation gave the move its whole-hearted support. It did so in the hope that the grave dangers of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, which have continued to afflict our world, would be checked, with the added benefit that the vast amount of money badly needed for development purposes would be released from arms purchases.

113. Some progress, however modest, has been made in the field of nuclear disarmament. Additional progress has also been made in declaring Latin America a nuclear-free zone by the adoption of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.<sup>6</sup> We note with relief the progress made in the field of controlling the production and use of chemical and biological weapons, and note that a growing number of nations have ratified or acceded to the Protocol.<sup>7</sup> We likewise welcome the progress that is being made by NATO and Warsaw Pact groups to eliminate the unnecessary arms burden in Europe, and are encouraged by the decision taken by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to concentrate this year in the bilateral Strategic Arms Limitation Talks on effecting an agreement for the limitation of the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles. We also support the proposal for a world disarmament conference at the level of the United Nations. After all, a nuclear holocaust would affect not only the super-Powers but also all the other nations of the world. We therefore advocate that the super-Powers should recognize that the peace-loving nations of the earth have an equally potent interest in disarmament and peace research.

114. Finally, having reaffirmed the Sierra Leone Government's faith in the capability of the United Nations to handle many problems in the political sphere, I wish to speak in similar terms about our hopes for economic and social development.

115. My Government warmly endorses the proposal to establish an international university,<sup>8</sup> and has suggested that consideration should be given to setting up such an institution at the graduate level. Our reasons for this are principally to prevent a duplication of existing institutions and, at the same time, to be able to study in depth problems which are capable of being solved only at the

international level—especially those of the environment, development and population expansion. Such an institution, if carefully planned and administered, with campuses in a number of countries, could become “centres of excellence” and help to prevent problems of “brain drain” so common in many of our developing nations.

116. In the wider context of world trade, the Sierra Leone Government is profoundly disturbed by the wide gulf still existing between the developed and the developing worlds. While it must be our aim to reduce that gulf and to integrate all the economies of the world into a functioning system of world production and trade in which all can play their full part, the trade of developing countries continues to fall as a proportion of world trade. This is not a subject on which we can complacently let events take their course; so it is the view of my Government that this endemic problem should receive the fullest attention. Ways and means should be investigated to formulate effective policies and reach meaningful solutions.

117. As a result of the somewhat disappointing achievements of the First United Nations Development Decade, much thought has been given during the last few years to ways in which the United Nations development system can be made more effective. In this connexion, we welcome the genesis of the new country programming system on which future technical aid will be based. We all must hope that the objectives of country programming will be achieved. Let us be resolved to co-operate to the full with the United Nations system and with bilateral donors to obtain the greatest benefits from the aid provided.

118. However, the heart of the matter, as far as my Government is concerned, is the amount of the aid which is available for the developing countries. It is our hope that the target set for the aid contribution of the donor countries of 1 per cent of their gross national product will soon be achieved. Except for one country whose contribution to the third world in 1969 was at the level of 1.24 per cent of the gross national product, many of the developed countries appear to be dragging their feet over what we expect to be their reasonable contributions. As a result, the amount of aid available to the developing countries is manifestly inadequate.

119. We urge the developed countries to make realistic aid contributions to the developing countries rather than waste the resources of the earth on expensive space explorations and senseless armaments build-up. According to figures at our disposal, it was estimated in 1969 that the advanced countries spent \$US178 billion on armaments, which was about 14 times what they contributed in aid. The figures for 1970 are not available to my delegation, but we doubt whether there has been any significant change in the pattern.

120. The cost of space exploration is universally admitted to be unreasonably very high. The cost to the United States of America, for instance, of sending astronauts to the moon for a single mission is higher than the national incomes of most developing countries. Although it is hoped that space exploration may in the long run yield substantial dividends to scientific development, the general view still holds that too much money is being unprofitably spent on space

<sup>6</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068.

<sup>7</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925 (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138).

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, paras. 196-197.

exploration. Part of this money could well be spent on more aid to developing countries which are in dire need of development funds to implement their several development programmes.

121. As a result of past experience, we would suggest that, during the Second United Nations Development Decade, special attention should be given to the expansion of the industrialization of the developing countries, and the promotion and diversification of their export trade, particularly in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

122. We therefore welcome the continued important role of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] and we hope that it will increase its efforts in promoting the international trade of the developing countries. May I then take this opportunity to appeal to the developed members of UNCTAD to focus their attention on the continuing need of the developing countries to expand their several economies, to expand their international trade, and to obtain the desired support necessary for the achievement of self-sustained growth.

123. Very closely connected with trade is the universally recognized insufficiency of international liquidity. Our feeling is that in the past there has been too much emphasis on the technicalities of the form of liquidity, and too little on monetary discipline, and this seems to be substantiated by the recent developments affecting the United States dollar. No matter how intelligently a monetary system is designed, its efficacy cannot replace sound monetary policies.

124. We believe that discipline should start at home, by setting our own houses in order. We therefore feel that Member countries should, each and every one of us, try to get rid of our inflationary practices and try to improve on the balance-of-payments situation. The United States dollar, despite its present apparent instability, still remains the major currency of the world, the backbone of many monetary systems, and the very basis of international trade and payments. As things stand to date, a stable and strong dollar means a stable and strong international monetary system, and a shaky dollar means a shaky system.

125. It is therefore the urgent and sincere desire of the Sierra Leone Government that the international community should find ways and means of rescuing the position of the United States dollar as the catalyst of world exchange, and also of reducing the consequential pressures on that currency by speculators abroad and inflationary tendencies at home.

126. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the instability of the United States dollar will have profound adverse effects on world trade. This can be evidenced by the efforts of the 10 major industrialized nations—Europe and Japan—to come to an understanding as to their own reaction to the recent United States monetary policy. It stands to reason, therefore, that if the above industrialized nations—all of which are developed countries—are scared stiff about the repercussions the United States move can have on their own currencies and trade, how much more should the developing countries be apprehensive of the adverse effects of an unstable American dollar?

127. We do not deny the fact that it is legitimate for the major countries who play the principal part in resolving international monetary and financial problems to consider their own national interests first, but we would suggest that far-sighted solutions should only be sought which would allow full weight to be given to the overriding interest of the whole world in free and unfettered trade. It would be disastrous if short-sighted and parochial policies were adopted which were inward-looking and protectionist of the interests of any or all of the major Powers. Much more so is it iniquitous for the major Powers to utilize their economic strength, gained from past ignorance in the developing countries, to perpetuate the untenable axis of metropolis and satellite through the strategy of economic force or military might.

128. I want to conclude by making this appeal to all the nations here represented and, indeed, to all the leaders of humanity: Let us strive indeed, but let us all strive together, towards a common ideal—a brighter and a better tomorrow in a world where our children will live in peace, will enjoy material progress, and will in their turn hand over a great cultural heritage to succeeding generations.

129. Mr. LOPEZ BRAVO (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, in this first intervention of the Spanish delegation, I wish to express to you my congratulations and those of my delegation on your having been elected President of the Assembly. The qualities which distinguish you are a guarantee that you will direct our deliberations successfully. Allow me also to take this opportunity of congratulating the new Members, Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, which have been incorporated into this Organization. This brings the number of Member States up to 130. We trust that the goal of universality, to which this Organization aspires, is on the way to becoming a reality.

130. This twenty-sixth session represents or at least should represent the beginning of a new stage in the life of our Organization. The problems which concern it must therefore be tackled with our eyes chiefly set upon the future and with an eminently dynamic approach. If the past cannot be forgotten, its recollection should help us to eliminate those impediments which at one time limited the effectiveness of our Organization and the errors the repetition of which it would be hard to forgive.

131. One fundamental problem which the United Nations must deal with from the outset of this new voyage consists in clarifying whether it responds constitutionally to the challenges of the present time.

132. The constitutional problems of the United Nations oblige us to establish, first of all, whether the Organization is a true reflection of the international community as it is shaped today. In the second place, it is likewise necessary to determine whether the legal instrument by which it is governed answers present needs.

133. The United Nations should today reflect, as it was supposed to in the past, the genuine composition of the international community, composed of all of its members. Any attempt to delay the universality of the United Nations would be prejudicial to the Organization. However, universality must not be achieved to the detriment of



anyone, and should be attained in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

134. For Spain, universalism is not merely a doctrine. In recent years Spain's foreign policy has been guided by its desire to improve and extend its relations everywhere in the conviction that international security demands sincere and active coexistence. Guided by this spirit, the Spanish Government has resumed its relations with countries having different political, social and economic systems, since it takes the view that coexistence implies the strictest respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each State.

135. If the Organization is to be brought into line with present-day realities, the Charter, too, must be adapted. No change of the Charter must be made in respect of what is immutable, its aims and principles, but only in regard to what was the mere expression of a concrete social reality, which was subsequently translated into what we might describe as the "internal economy of the Organization". Study of the major subjects which demand reconsideration must begin, and I shall indicate some of them: the conversion of the Security Council into a more flexible and representative instrument, in which the void existing in it between the great Powers and the rest of the Member States should be filled; the Economic and Social Council must also be made more dynamic and brought into line with the needs of development; the quest for an effective system for the settlement of conflicts that respects both sovereignty and justice alike; and the organization of more suitable machinery for maintaining peace.

136. I am convinced that the time has come—now that more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the end of the Second World War and inasmuch as the freezing of positions of the "cold war" has been superseded—to confront resolutely various centres of tension existing in the world and to establish the appropriate security systems. I shall refer to such widely differing questions as Central Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, which, at the present time, have the common factor of involving permanent threats to international peace and security. At the same time, it is necessary to tackle the over-all problem of the armaments race and military expenditures.

137. Owing to its geographical position, Spain is particularly interested in the strengthening of security in Europe and the Mediterranean.

138. The situation in Central Europe, and its solution, suggest that it is possible to achieve a new system of European continental security; but without disregarding this fact, Spain has maintained a positive attitude towards the convocation of a European conference on security and co-operation.

139. The signing of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin last September seems to justify the hope that with suitable developments, it may form a starting point towards a multilateral preparation of this conference.

140. Together with this, we should seek to give the principles that must govern life in Europe an interpretation which is identical for all and accepted by all. Such a

continental, balanced and just order would justify a reduction of forces and the kind of disarmament that would relieve Europeans of a permanent threat.

141. This disarmament and reduction of forces should not be confined to Central Europe, but should also extend to the Mediterranean, in which there has been a recent increase of tension.

142. At the present time total demilitarization and neutralization of the Mediterranean is unrealistic. But what is indeed an attainable objective is the stabilization of forces at their present level, with a view to their gradual and balanced reduction. For this purpose it is indispensable for the coastal States to concert their thoughts and deeds with a view to reaching decisions concerning the area. At the same time they should strive to increase regional co-operation in the economic, technological, social and cultural fields.

143. May the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs be allowed, on behalf of Spaniards everywhere—for no problem in my country has ever elicited such a deep-seated and unanimous response—to set forth before this General Assembly our concerns and hopes in the question of Gibraltar.

144. We are deeply concerned by the fact that still no solution has been reached. The view of this Organization is unequivocal and clear-cut: an end must be put to a colonial situation which seriously affects Spain's territorial integrity, while at the same time safeguarding the interests of the population of Gibraltar. Together with this, an end must also be put to an anachronistic situation which does nothing but obstruct the creation of a greater and more united Europe, to which common undertaking both the British and the Spanish people feel committed.

145. It is our hope—and it would be a very serious matter to disappoint that hope—that without further delays the United Kingdom will come to a realistic view which will cause the existing contacts to lead to genuine negotiations, so repeatedly requested at different General Assembly sessions. We believe that the shortest line to these negotiations is a straight line and not irregular tackings which sharply wound Spanish sensitivities and unnecessarily create an atmosphere of tension. Let us stop our quibbling once and for all; let us no longer use equivocal language and procrastination and let us work together in the quest for the goal towards which we are impelled by justice, the logic of our time and the resolutions of this Organization.

146. The principles and relevant resolutions of the United Nations should also, and as a matter of great urgency, inspire the settlement of the gravest conflict that affects the Mediterranean area and world peace and security: the conflict in the Middle East.

147. From this platform and in the Security Council Spain has often said that there is a need to solve this long and distressing conflict on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and all the other relevant resolutions of the United Nations. My country now reiterates its conviction that the acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable and that there is a need duly to safeguard the rights of the Palestinian people.

148. At the same time we hopefully welcome all advances in negotiations that may mean a step towards a just political settlement of this problem. A partial solution can only be considered as provisional pending an over-all solution, which, we hope, will be final.

149. For obvious reasons, everything connected with Jerusalem deserves special attention.

150. We are following matters pertaining to the Latin American countries with close and sympathetic attention.

151. During the first six months of this year and in two successive stages I had the honour of officially visiting nine South American Spanish-speaking Republics and Brazil. I propose to add to those visits very shortly by touring the Central American nations and the Caribbean. The Spanish Government did not wish those visits merely to have rhetorical value; they were intended to study and promote various types of cultural, technical and economic co-operation which will be capable of building new bridges for mutual aid.

152. We cannot disregard the internal stresses which Latin America is undergoing. In some cases that is due to the survival of antiquated social structures which the countries themselves are trying to remove; but at other times Latin-America has been the victim of unjust discrimination, a situation clearly reflected in the deterioration of the terms of economic trade which has devaluated raw materials and raised the cost of manufactured goods to the prejudice of Latin America.

153. In this way and in other similar ways, it is undeniable that Latin America has frequently been attacked in the cultural field and even devastatingly plundered both as regards its spiritual values and its material wealth. Hence it is only natural for each nation to seek within itself the strength needed to assert its personality and promote the proper use of its resources. Spain is observing this process, which is similar to what is happening in its own country, with the sincere and profound understanding which is the mark of its unchangeable brotherhood with Latin America.

154. We are still far from the ideal of general and complete disarmament under suitable international control, but it can be said that the Disarmament Decade is beginning auspiciously.

155. It is desirable not to lose the momentum acquired, and the basic responsibility for this devolves upon the major Powers. Taking advantage of the relaxation of tension, which may now be seen for the first time in many years in their mutual relations, it is up to them to take the initiative in nuclear disarmament—the type of disarmament most eagerly desired by all mankind.

156. Spain for its part resolutely supports the struggle against the arms race and is ready to participate actively in negotiations leading to disarmament and especially in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which is an important subject to be dealt with by this Assembly.

157. We are all aware that the achievement of peace is not based solely on the settlement of international conflicts and

the strengthening of security, but something more is needed, namely, conditions which, by making a dignified life possible for man, will render unnecessary his rebellion against injustice.

158. The achievements of the United Nations in this field ultimately depend on what each one of its Members is prepared to do. Aware of this, Spain has not failed and indeed cannot fail to comply with its duties of co-operation.

159. My country, which declared last year from this platform its complete adherence to the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], has already begun to put its principles into practice. The Spanish Government, when drafting the third development plan, which coincides with the beginning of the Second Development Decade, not only included its philosophy therein but also established an appropriate system of evaluating results and goals.

160. As an inevitable consequence of our concept of economics in the service of mankind, the most important objectives to be attained in our third development plan are social improvements of all kinds, which my country desires to achieve for the Spanish people. These improvements concern education, housing, health assistance, social security, vocational training, and so on, which are all part of a programme which the Spanish Government began many years ago.

161. But besides national action there is need for suitable action at sectoral, regional and world levels. In those plans Spain would like to see machinery being used for the examination and evaluation of the objectives and measures of policy agreed upon in the Strategy.

162. At the sectoral level—and I shall refer to one sector that is most significant, that of trade—the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will be held next year at Santiago de Chile, will afford a propitious occasion for continuing consideration of these basic problems jointly.

163. The fact that Santiago de Chile is to be the seat of the third session is particularly welcomed by my Government, it being the first time that so important a meeting will take place in a country of Hispanic stock which has been so brilliantly contributing to its work.

164. At the regional level, we attach importance to the role of the regional economic commissions, without prejudice to the active co-operation which may be provided by the regional organizations not belonging to the United Nations system, such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

165. Finally, at the world level we regard as most interesting the proposals to revitalize the Economic and Social Council in conformity with the role assigned to it by Chapter IX of the Charter in economic, social, scientific and technical subjects.

166. Spain, a developing country which participated actively in the preparation of the Strategy, is again ready to

give its assistance to this effort of collective responsibility on the part of the international community.

167. A greater awareness and knowledge of the problems of development have led to the conviction that science and technology are important driving forces behind it. In my address during the general debate last year [*1867th meeting*] I mentioned our special concern over various aspects of this problem, especially the transfer of technological knowledge. I think there is an urgent need for an intergovernmental organ at the highest level to co-ordinate and provide momentum for the decisions of the Organization as a whole in this field.

168. One phenomenon of our time is the movement for economic integration. But it is equally true that the division of labour and specialization are essential. Hence we must regret the contradiction into which strongly developed economies have fallen when, while renouncing and abandoning highly technical projects for which they are specially prepared, they erect, on the other hand, artificial barriers to protect sectors in which they are not so competitive. They thereby delay their own technical advancement and the development of other less-advanced countries.

169. I cannot fail now to refer to a question of the greatest current interest: namely, the monetary crisis.

170. The impact of the measures recently taken urgently brings out the need for international solidarity and for new forms of agreement. But such agreements must be entered into not exclusively from the standpoint of the interests of the great Powers, but only on the basis of broad co-operation taking into account the interests of all countries, since it does not seem fair that precisely the developing countries—which have been wholly unconnected with the birth of the crisis—should be the ones to suffer the most from its consequences.

171. The reform of the international monetary system cannot be put through behind their backs, nor should their specific problems be overlooked.

172. Neither do I wish to omit a justified reference to one important aspect of United Nations action in the field of development. In a few months' time the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment will be meeting in Stockholm. Spain, which is in the full process of industrialization, wishes to avoid a confrontation between economic growth and the deterioration of the environment. We firmly believe that it is possible to combine economic and social development with the preservation of the ecological environment, and we are prepared to seek formulas for uniting them.

173. I should also like to refer to a problem of increasing gravity which affects the physical, mental and moral health of peoples. I am speaking of the widespread consumption of narcotics causing general concern which the Spanish Government fully shares.

174. That anxiety is responsible for Spain's signing and ratifying international conventions on the subject. It also accounts for the legislative work of incorporating those

agreements into our national code, and for busy police activity aimed not only at suppressing internal traffic, but at preventing the use of our territory for transit.

175. However, that internal action needs to be supplemented by close and sincere international collaboration for the purpose of establishing universally more severe penalties aimed at the radical elimination of this the vilest form of human enslavement.

176. My Government has accordingly taken note with satisfaction of the recent proposals in this matter, especially that of the President of the French Republic, and it trusts that those timely suggestions will attain the necessary universality without confining themselves to any particular geographical or political framework.

177. An important point which is bound to draw our attention concerns the task of bringing marine law up to date—a task which is at present being carried out by the United Nations. The initial results of that work can be considered satisfactory. The debates in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction have allowed a forthright exchange of views.

178. Throughout history, the law of the sea has sought to satisfy and balance two great classes of interests: on the one hand, the economic interests of States in the use and exploitation of the sea, and, on the other, political and security interests.

179. At the present time those two great classes of interests remain, but the new political, economic and technical realities have substantially modified their content and orientation.

180. The process of socialization which has been noted in the whole of international law has had a direct impact upon the law of the sea and has deeply transformed a large sector of economic interests. The freedom of the seas, as regards liberty to use marine areas, still remains an essential necessity for all States, coastal or otherwise. But at the same time the needs arising from the economic and social development of peoples have become more urgent and vital.

181. Thus the interests of the international community—and especially the interests of the developing States—require that we give a satisfactory legal response to three basic economic needs: in the first place, to the need for exploring and exploiting, in an exclusive manner, the resources of the continental shelf, while establishing a broad and uniform limit to that zone; secondly, to the need for coastal States to enjoy a number of preferential rights in regard to the conservation and exploitation of fishing resources over an area of the sea adjoining their coasts which shall be wide enough to satisfy their needs. Thirdly, we are bound to give an imaginative reply to the problems and needs of the “international zone of the sea-bed and ocean floor”, already described as the “common heritage of mankind”.

182. In the second area of interests, which I have just indicated, the process is similar. Traditional political and strategic interests, in the face of the new realities, alter their content and orientation.

183. The need for us to provide an adequate guarantee for the survival of the human race requires us, in the new law of the sea, to include legal rules and suitable technical procedures to prevent and eliminate pollution in all marine zones. Those rules, in the last resort, can only be a direct consequence of the fundamental right of the human being in respect to his environment, as a corollary of his right to life.

184. In the second place, States have an inalienable right to security. Territorial waters have always constituted for coastal States not only a zone of economic protection but also an area to guarantee their national security.

185. Traditionally, the legal régime of territorial waters has been built on the key notion of the "right of innocent passage", which strikes a fair balance between the general needs of international navigation and the powers that arise from the sovereignty of States in the marine area. That idea still retains its full value today in view of the new security needs of States, and it cannot be regarded as admissible that, because of the openly admitted strategic needs of a few Powers, anyone should seek to impose on coastal States certain alleged freedoms of navigation in, or flight over, straits forming part of the territorial waters of one or more States.

186. And we consider it inadmissible also because those hypothetical freedoms, while unnecessary for the needs of peaceful navigation, would violate the national sovereignty of coastal States since they would seriously restrict those States' inalienable right of security, and briefly, because they would serve to promote the world-wide expansion of nuclear power, both marine and aerial. Nobody can doubt that they would increase tension and conflicts, thereby jeopardizing the United Nations objectives of peace and security.

187. Finally, from this important rostrum, I wish to make an appeal in favour of those who have suffered the consequences of war and natural disasters, and particularly those who are the victims of a lack of understanding among nations and are forced to suffer the hardships and displacement imposed by those circumstances.

188. In the coming days we shall be dealing with grave matters of transcendent importance. My delegation fervently hopes that, notwithstanding any antagonism which might arise in the course of debate, we may part united for the welfare of this Organization and the peace and security of the world.

189. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, in the name of brotherhood, for which the Dominican Republic is striving, and on behalf of the Government of my country, which is honoured to be one of the founding Members of the United Nations, allow me to express to you our congratulations on your being elected to the presidency of the General Assembly, which we trust you will direct with your well-known wisdom, which has earned you a reputation as a statesman and as one who is respectful of the principles of our Organization, which provides protection for all men and peoples under the provisions of our Charter. We are confident that, guided by your knowledge and by the

prestige which you will impart to our debates and deliberations, the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly will have special historic significance, because here we will achieve the progress which has long been anxiously awaited and we feel sure that we will take one more step towards the rule of law for which we are all, as Member States, equally responsible.

190. On this happy occasion, allow me also to express our best wishes for the success of this important session, and at the same time I should like to extend a hearty welcome to the new States of Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar, which have come to swell the membership of this universal Organization.

191. Finally, my country wishes to pay a well-earned tribute to Secretary-General U Thant for his outstanding work in the lofty post which he now holds.

192. We, the representatives who have gathered together here at the twenty-sixth session, are filled with concern over those matters which were not resolved at the past sessions. Now we are equipped with the means and instruments provided by the United Nations system, which should make it possible for us to meet the needs of the international community.

193. Understandably enough, many of the issues which have been held over without any progress having been made are such as to require that we overcome considerable difficulties, though these matters deserve priority and they are problems which require judicious compromise and the reconciliation of divergent ideas and the passing of time, although we must not act at variance with principles or in violation of the rules of law to which we owe our respect.

194. It is impossible really to disregard present-day realities, because no rule of law can on its own first lay the groundwork and then achieve the victory which we so ardently desire; for human justice is imperfect, like all the works of man, but it is capable of bringing about confidence and assurance among men and nations.

195. Towards the middle of our century, scarcely five years after the Organization was founded in San Francisco, an invisible divisive factor emerged which was sufficiently powerful to impede progress towards the objectives of the Charter. I am referring to the international tension which at that time began to increase to such an extent that we can now say that we are all men and peoples caught in its web. So it was that we entered what has come to be called the cold war, of which the Members of this world Organization have not been able to rid themselves. It is neither difficult to recognize this phenomenon nor easy to control it, for it has so frequently come to hold sway and has even at times caused us to question the utility of our Organization, which is in fact a forum where all the nations of the world may come together to resolve their difficulties. At least, that is what our Organization should be, but the truth is that we wish to achieve perfection, when the human mind cannot fully comprehend what perfection is. We wish to create a perfect society, whereas human perfection does not exist; and, because it does not exist, we rebel and inevitably we yield to the tensions which now beset us. The end result is really only those negative factors which we wished to avoid



by creating our Organization and by fulfilling the commitments which we entered into when we became Members of our Organization. This is the agony of our time.

196. It is for this reason that on the limited horizons of men and nations has arisen the spectre of war and of revolutions which seem capable of creating a new world; but we seem to have forgotten that we are living in the "best of all possible worlds" and that the real crisis is that we must reshape our world and bring it into line with the needs of communities and other changes which have affected most of the things in which we placed our trust when we were as yet uninfluenced by the new forces and pressures which have been the inevitable result of progress and the advancement of civilization.

197. With the unbridled development of technology, whose visage may yet appear hideous, man has conquered space, and he has also simply been able to survive, to progress and change things but he has at the same time created voids which, it seems, he may not be able to fill.

198. In the midst of the agony and confusion which surrounds us we are tempted at times to blame the world for the ills of mankind. But we should not forget that mankind is man; and man goes on, for without man, with all his virtues and all his shortcomings, there can exist no communities or peoples.

199. The States Members of this Organization which came into existence as a result of the complex event of victory were confident that it would be able to resolve all the problems of the family of nations, all the crises, all the demands, all the quarrels. However, this shift in responsibility has given rise to disillusionment, whereas in reality only an insignificant period of time has elapsed. We have entered a period of crisis in law, which is constantly being forged so as to keep pace with events which occur at the same speed that classical ideas which we clung to for many centuries have evolved.

200. New ways out of this crisis must be found and new changes in law and international politics must be made, so that the United Nations may be given the necessary instruments, after 26 years of existence, to discharge more effectively its mandate to maintain peace and preserve mankind from the scourge of war.

201. But nothing can be achieved in this direction if we in this Organization stand in the way of change, which is so urgently needed. At times it would even appear that the requirements of change are at variance with efforts being made in this world forum, and this has given rise to the terrible paradox that whereas on the one hand we wish to maintain confidence in our resolutions and recommendations, on the other hand we are reluctant to bow to our Organization's dictates or to follow the guidelines laid down for emerging from the period of stagnation which, it seems, we have been in for many years.

202. I would venture to hope that, as a result of this session of the General Assembly, our Organization will emerge strengthened. It is to be hoped that it will find, and perhaps also take, the necessary steps to eliminate those obstacles which stand in the way of the smooth functioning

of our Organization and its dependent bodies, and we must take a more pragmatic and universal approach to events which give rise to disputes, lack of confidence, suspicion and, to put it quite bluntly, conflicts.

203. It is for this reason that we wished, first of all, to refer to the idea of a system of international security, for which the Government of the Dominican Republic, at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, expressed support. It is also for this reason that we gave favourable consideration to the report of the Secretary-General on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [A/8431 and Add.1-5].

204. If we could add new achievements to our record, it is likely that faith in the United Nations might increase, that distrust among nations would disappear as well as international tension, which is what has disrupted so far the kind of co-operation which must exist among nations if there is to be solidarity and interdependence. And these are the ideals which have not yet found practical expression in spite of efforts to preserve peace in all quarters of the world and to ensure that all peoples will have a right to the common heritage of security, without which we might all return to a period which existed before our present civilization, perhaps even to a time of barbarity. If we could only make progress on these lines, that would surely go a long way towards the settlement of many items on our agenda.

205. Unquestionably, putting an end to the armaments race and using those astronomical sums for social and economic improvements in nations would be one of the most effective ways of ensuring security.

206. The arms race and military expenditures are also dealt with in the report of the Secretary-General, and these matters deserve the consideration of Member States of this Organization. We realize, however, that this is one of the thorniest and most controversial problems. It concerns most the major Powers, although the considerable sums being expended everywhere in the world to maintain military forces and modern weapons constitute one of the greatest obstacles to economic and social progress, which is so sorely needed because of the changes to which I have referred. But these needs have been ignored so frequently whenever we have reached a standstill on the question of disarmament or considered an end to the arms race, or even a truce in atomic tests and many other related matters which we can scarcely overlook.

207. The Latin American countries, through their respective heads of State, set forth their positions in Punta del Este in April 1967 with regard to the need to reduce these military budgets, for the same reasons. And the same kind of recommendations were put forward with firm conviction and determination at the General Assembly of the Organization of American States in San José, Costa Rica, from 14 to 24 April of this year.

208. On this subject we cannot fail to endorse the words of a Latin American statesman in San Francisco during the tenth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter, when he said:

"We have faith and confidence in the United Nations because we hope that its labours will give the world a

better future and will create an atmosphere of security and tranquillity for the fruitful work and the utilization of scientific achievements, which will permit spiritual and physical well-being, progress and general welfare. That faith is unshakable and my country will therefore do its utmost, as it has done in the past, to co-operate in completing the vast task still before us.

"We realize that not everything depends upon the United Nations alone.

"The world is now divided into such divergent camps that the United Nations has very often not been in a position to apply its full strength to the completion of the task it had begun, a task which would redound to the benefit of mankind.

"That being the situation, we must face the problem squarely and speak frankly."<sup>9</sup>

209. All this has special relevance to the problems on our agenda, to which I now wish to refer.

210. On more than one occasion we have felt it appropriate to refer to the views of our Government on the policy of *apartheid*, especially during this International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

211. Ever since the debate in San Francisco that gave rise to our Organization my country has advocated the elimination of discrimination, and we voted in favour of the principles on this subject contained in the Charter.

212. That occurred more than a quarter-century ago, and what was stated then, in our view, is not restrictive, but we should now spell out what we meant at the time if we are to create the same kind of awareness today as impelled nations at the time to subscribe to these human principles. We shall thus be able to deal with new forms of discrimination which have come about in the course of the changing lives of men and peoples, and which we trust we have reflected in this statement.

213. Governments are the concrete manifestation of the State, and peoples are an essential element of nations, and very frequently they must suffer from the consequences of discrimination, which violate one's natural sense of justice and are at odds with the principle of solidarity, for without a desire for justice and solidarity it is difficult to understand why nations would have been willing to become Members of this Organization and work together for progress and peace. That is why we are bound here to speak about a general pattern of discrimination among countries great and small that are Members of the United Nations—between small countries that are Members of the Organization and others that are not yet members and between small Member States and others that have only recently taken on an independent juridical existence after having been dependent Territories and that have become independent in accordance with the processes and procedures laid down by the Charter. A few from this latter category of small States, which became independent in accordance with

generally accepted principles, have now come to be known disrespectfully as mini-States.

214. This is not only a discriminatory attitude; it offends the very peoples we wish to support, but what is even more unacceptable is that it seems to suggest that some States can be both independent and not independent at one and the same time.

215. We are opposed to that kind of discrimination. We do not support it and it should not exist at a time when, thanks to certain ideas which have emerged after many centuries of preparation, the advocates of many religions who were previously at loggerheads can now sit down together at the same table.

216. Oecumenical congresses have shown that divergent views can live together, that "isms" can be reconciled, and that ultimately everyone's will favours the commonweal and recognizes our historic destiny.

217. We see no reason, then, to allow any infringement of the principle of universality in the United Nations, which is the community of communities, more earthly than divine.

218. My delegation believes that it is quite realistic, then, to maintain our policy on *apartheid*.

219. We think that firm policy applies to other matters also—for example, economic, social and technological discrimination; and any monopoly on science, which is also a way of holding up human progress. We would go still further, though we may be accused of going too far and advocating ideals that are impracticable, like many of the structures of Plato's Republic.

220. But today's world teaches us that ideals are made a reality as a result of momentum provided by progress, which cannot be stopped. And we must realize that ideals are the greatest good man is heir to. So it is that today we may proudly say that man has set foot on the moon, and he may indeed go still further if he pursues his intention to conquer outer space—as one may readily anticipate from recent events.

221. We trust we are not in error inasmuch as one of the items on our agenda concerns precisely international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, which produced General Assembly resolution 2733 (XXV).

222. This matter has a relation, direct or indirect, to the formal note we submitted to the Secretary-General when celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. In that document we recommended a study of ways and means for depoliticizing outer space, which is another way of setting aside special areas or reserves for peaceful purposes.

223. We therefore cannot fail to welcome the inclusion of item 33 on our agenda which corresponds to that resolution.

224. In line with our request to the Secretary-General, which followed the highest channels, we are pleased that in this Assembly there has emerged the idea of international co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space.

<sup>9</sup> See United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1955.I.26, p. 156.

225. My delegation supports item 31 of the agenda. The Dominican Republic is a party to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Treaty of Tlatelolco). We sincerely believe that it is possible to denuclearize the area constituted by the countries of Latin America. We have no reason to assume that an instrument calling for the creation of a nuclear-free zone to ensure that mankind will not disappear from the face of the earth can produce any undesirable effects, for such a zone would come to be a kind of enormous sanctuary against what is mankind's most frightening invention, frightening unless used for peaceful purposes, unless used to safeguard and not to destroy the human race.

226. My delegation supports the idea of using, with discrimination against no one, the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor without infringing on the jurisdictional limits of States, for the benefit of mankind in the future, although we do believe that, until certain matters that might be termed preliminary questions are resolved, and until genuinely exhaustive studies are carried out on the proposed planning, and until a positive awareness has been created among all States Members of the United Nations as regards the importance of bringing all parties into the agreement, whether Members of the United Nations or not, it will not be possible to reach agreement; and without goodwill, the instruments necessary for those objectives would remain without the necessary ratifications, as has occurred in the case of so many other conventions the ratification of which has for so many years been urged by the Secretary-General.

227. It is our hope that all difficulties and obstacles standing in the way of such grand and laudable objectives will gradually give way and disappear, and that we shall succeed in getting off to a fresh start in a task which cannot be achieved in a single effort but may require several further attempts, as we know from experience.

228. Those nations that have achieved incredible levels of technology, the Powers that have been able to say that they have the earth's satellite within their reach, thought only of reaching the nearest stage, but none was so pointlessly bold as to try to go beyond that. This is precisely what we should do in so exciting a task as the reservation for exclusively peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

229. But this should not be taken to imply that at the present time we occupy a negative position and that we do not recognize that possibilities exist for us, as we have always done, to co-operate in anything that may redound to the benefit of the progress and welfare of mankind.

230. We do not wish to take a hard and fast position when considering practices that affect human development and the protection of all rights that are or should be juridically protected.

231. Whenever we have had occasion to consider the matter of human rights, we have been overtaken by the thought that someone may take upon himself the privilege of casting the first stone. Our hesitancy in the matter, which seems to us reasonable when dealing with questions

in the Assembly that affect States Members of our Organization or other States, stems from our conviction that certain kinds of violations are a common sin committed by a great number of nations in various geographical areas of the world, and not in one area only.

232. For this reason, we would be more pleased to see the item concerning the violation of human rights considered as a matter that concerns us all, indivisibly. Accordingly, we should like to see the studies carried out on the subject of massive violations considered *in rem*.

233. We do not believe that these important questions should concern only certain presumed violators, while not even remotely concerning others. The facts of this matter have shown that frequently the very ones who are at fault are eager to point an accusing finger at their neighbour, and even beyond their neighbour.

234. Quite frequently, in both small and large States, there have been violations of the right of free transit from the homeland to another land where the people involved believe that they will have greater opportunities or a better life for themselves and for their children.

235. We have willingly, or almost willingly, remained inactive in the face of actions that could be termed improper in connexion with prisoners of war; and even more inexplicably, in the face of the lack or near lack of provision for the exchange of prisoners or for the praiseworthy activities of the International Red Cross.

236. In some of these situations events have shown that there has been disregard for conventions and international rules which are based unquestionably on the rule of law and human rights.

237. These then are multilateral obligations which are contained in instruments, or regional or international declarations.

238. On this occasion we cannot fail to put forward a few views on the existence of the Republic of China in the world Organization. For more than two decades we have given our support on this matter, which has become especially controversial in the General Assembly in the past three years. We are aware of the changes which have occurred in international politics recently.

239. When we signed the Charter we were aware that in spite of the fact that the United Nations had been created by the victorious States, even well before the end of the last world war, the major Powers were thinking in terms of the need to concert their efforts before agreeing on a peace treaty or a system which would ban or at least remove the causes and chances of a new all-out war, which might pose a threat to present civilization.

240. The victorious Powers, as long ago as that, glimpsed the possibility of establishing, with peoples opposing war and cherishing peace—peoples who either witnessed or were involved in the greatest catastrophe which the world had ever seen, and by man's own doing—a systematic organization where as a result of the rule of law a remedy might be found to the ills which led to the scourge of war.

241. In view of these undeniable realities there was an awareness of collective needs which led to the creation of our Organization, open to all and within a spirit of justice.

242. There was discrimination, to be sure, against the conquered at that time. But with the passage of time the dark clouds which then existed have since disappeared.

243. There has emerged in our Organization the concept of universality; the right of participation in our Organization by all peoples attached to peace—a just peace—and not to war banned by law, has come to be recognized. Our Organization has a tremendous responsibility to ensure the smooth functioning of the international community at all times. That is why we have always questioned the admission of any Member or the rehabilitation of a Member when it has not met the essential requirements of membership of this Organization. That is the basic provision of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter.

244. In the circumstances we have always come out in favour of certain principles and accordingly we have never failed to repudiate all forms of aggression, as required also by the Charter, which it is our duty to support.

245. We are saying this on behalf of a Member State whose pages of political history reflect the wounds and scars that were caused by failure to respect the principles proclaimed in San Francisco and generally upheld to this day.

246. We know from our own experience just how great the price of peace can be. We are also aware of our great duty to support international solidarity and other values which are equally deserving of respect by all States. It is the duty of all of us to review our positions and to open the door to conciliation and the uncertainties of the future so that we may, with or without scepticism but at least courageously, abandon old traditional patterns to which we have become committed.

247. With these comments by way of an introduction, we are now prepared to turn to the subject we have mentioned. We hold the view that the Republic of China should continue as a Member of this Organization. But in order for that to be so, the Dominican Republic at this cross-roads is prepared to compromise when necessary.

248. We should also like to comment now on the subject of action to be taken against nazism and other totalitarian ideologies and practices.

249. Our country is one which had a dictatorship for more than 30 years. Our people back in the nineteenth century were considered to be one of the most bellicose in the world. We were a courageous and vigorous people who achieved independence with frequent displays of heroism thanks to the sole efforts of its sons. We have been able to survive as a free and sovereign State in spite of the many trials which we have been subjected to.

250. Only six years have passed since one of the most terrible revolutions ended, which disrupted the entire social and legal structure of the Dominican Republic.

251. We are quite confident that at all times we have discharged the mandate which was conferred on us when we solemnly declared here that not only the Government which is represented here but also all the people of our nation reject not only nazism and other totalitarian ideologies and practices, but all forms of totalitarianism, open or covert. Our country will vote in all circumstances in keeping with these convictions. We also believe that we are in this way acting strictly in accordance with one of the most important principles of the Constitution of our Republic.

252. Another matter which we cannot fail to refer to is the situation in the Middle East.

253. We have briefly considered the question of the necessary reconciliation of all peoples and the need to give momentum to the means at the disposal of our Organization to remove anomalous situations which stand in the way of harmony in the world.

254. We have always believed that direct negotiations can point the way to goals which at times have seemed unattainable. This method is probably as old as man himself, and it can be effective whenever there has been a willingness to use instruments which reflect the mandates which have been given to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

255. As Members of the Organization, we have given our moral support to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and to the Jarring mission. We believe that the door to a settlement satisfactory to all parties is still open. But we believe that in all conflicts or disputes peaceful action is always possible if the unassailable truth that negotiating means persuading, dissuading and compromising is recognized. Similarly, mutual sacrifices are necessary.

256. The United Nations Conference for Trade and Development is also a matter of keen interest to our country and this is only natural for this is required if we are to do away with under-development, a matter which we have so frequently discussed.

257. We can say confidently that in recent years we have done a good deal to get out of this impasse, for at the present time a great number of productive forces have been brought together at home and abroad for the common good. This is a contribution made by one and all and not by just a few, and all parties involved have been active. We must all pursue our efforts nationally in trade and development as advocated to some extent by the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development.

258. Despite our hopes, we have been disappointed to see that a number of international agreements essential for the settlement of the serious problem of under-development have been obstructed because of the reluctance of some and because of other negative factors which have emerged in recent international meetings over the past few years.

259. We optimistically hope that this standstill will be done away with as a result of the momentum provided by the United Nations.



260. May I be allowed to conclude my statement by saying that I hope that this General Assembly session will live up to our expectations. At the same time I would invoke the words of the chairman of the delegation of China at the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference:

“The United Nations Conference on International Organization has concluded its vitally important mission of writing a Charter. This instrument will, I believe, prove itself to be an epoch-making document and will rank in

its contribution to international justice and peace with the Magna Carta and the Constitution of the United States in their contribution to political liberty and representative government.”<sup>10</sup>

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*

<sup>10</sup> *Documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization*, P/19 (vol. I, p. 660).

