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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming His Excellency Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, and I invite him to be good enough to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. AHIDJO (*interpretation from French*): A year ago I came here as the Acting President of the Organization of African Unity to put before the Assembly [1780th meeting], on behalf of that regional organization, the Manifesto on Southern Africa,¹ and the Assembly was good enough to give the moral support of the highest international body to that document. Today it is on behalf of the Federal Republic of Cameroon that I have accepted the invitation of the Secretary-General—and I have already expressed my esteem for him—to address this august Assembly again and to participate in its work. I regret that I shall not be able to be present at the solemn ceremonies planned for this session and nor for the collective stock-taking which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization of the United Nations calls for.

3. Perhaps I may be allowed, first of all, to address my warmest congratulations to the President of the General Assembly for the trust that he has earned from the Assembly. That trust is doubtless at one and the same time a tribute to his eminent qualifications and a tribute to the valuable contribution of his country to the life of our Organization and international community in general.

4. The United Nations was founded twenty-five years ago, at the end of the Second World War, that is to say, at the end of the most ghastly cataclysm in the history of man. This anniversary is particularly moving since behind it we see the shadows of tens of millions of men who sacrificed their lives for the victory of

the forces of freedom and progress over the barbarous forces of nazism, militarism and racism which threatened to annihilate everything that was democratic and human in the world.

5. The United Nations was founded to carry out the ideal that evoked that generous and courageous sacrifice in order to promote a better world, freed from violence, injustice and misery.

6. That ideal was set forth in the United Nations Charter, signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, which defined the purposes of the Organization as follows: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

7. To celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations means, in fact, to ask ourselves whether the sacrifice of those millions of men was worth while; if their hopes, which are still our own, have been achieved or shattered.

8. When, after a quarter of a century of existence, we draw up the balance sheet of the road travelled and the results achieved by the Organization, we come to the conclusion that during that period during which international relations have changed often, profoundly, and at times so tumultuously, this Organization has achieved a series of significant results but also shown a number of weaknesses.

9. The United Nations has many and varied achievements to its credit. However, before we define them let us say that the most important success achieved by our Organization, as an Organization of independent States with equal rights, is that it is still alive and struggling actively to solve the many problems which confront the world.

10. In a world that has undergone so many changes, that has confronted so many new phenomena—from decolonization to the appearance of nuclear weapons and the conquest of outer space—a world that has been a prey to ideological confrontations, the cold war and armed conflicts, the United Nations has been a body which, above and beyond the inevitable divisions, has

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

endeavoured to be a factor of conciliation and stability in international relations, to express the hopes and aspirations of all mankind regarding the establishment of a lasting peace based on equal rights and the development of all Members of the community of nations, regardless of their size, their military power or their economic potential.

11. To define the point more clearly, let us add that, in the light of what I have said, the United Nations has become a necessary element in international relations to the point where it would be difficult for contemporary man, hereafter, to imagine international life without the existence of such a universal Organization.

12. The Organization by its presence and its activities has succeeded in imposing the idea of an institutionalized international community. We must say that it has been aided in this by the very evolution of the international society. The world community, in fact, has achieved a degree of advanced development which is reflected in the scope and diversity of relations among peoples, in the interdependence and the mutuality of interests, in the requirements and the objective needs of co-operation dictated by technological progress and, finally, in the very evolution and growth of international awareness, so that the organization of this world now has become an unchallengeable need.

13. To return to the credit side of the Organization, it is almost a duty for the Head of State of an African country, formerly under trusteeship, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to stress the particularly positive role that the United Nations has played and continues to play by giving constant and effective support to the struggle of peoples for liberation.

14. Entire continents have been freed from colonial domination. The entry into the United Nations of a large number of newly independent countries has profoundly modified the structure and significance of the Organization and has led it to take the initiative of establishing a vast programme of assistance to the developing countries in order to strengthen their political sovereignty, their economic emancipation and to establish a veritable universal strategy for development.

15. That fact highlights another positive aspect of United Nations activities: it has kept alive the feeling of human solidarity and implemented international co-operation through its specialized agencies, particularly those that deal with technical assistance, health, agriculture, food, education, science, culture and communications. The effectiveness of these agencies cannot be gainsaid and their importance lies not only in the practical usefulness of their activities, but also in the fact that, thanks to them, the United Nations is a living reality in the daily life of all the Member States.

16. Finally, we should note the role of the Organization as a world parliament. Basing itself on the Charter, the Organization has thus established world-wide legis-

lation of great scope and thereby created a new international law: the Law of the United Nations. In this regard we might recall the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*], which has set up as an international standard the elementary and democratic rights of the individual; decisions on international economic assistance, which lay down the principle that hunger and poverty in the world must be the concern of the entire international community; the Declarations on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] and on the elimination of racism all over the world [*resolution 1904 (XVIII)*]; the resolution on the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources [*1803 (XVII)*], which opens the door to a new branch of international law, that of the economic aspects of the sovereignty of peoples; and the resolution on nuclear weapons, under which the use of such weapons is regarded as a crime against humanity [*1653 (XVI)*]. And there are others.

17. This new law has already laid the groundwork for the new international society, to which we aspire today. This is indeed the main role of the law: it does not only reflect existing situations; it also foreshadows the ideal towards which the mind of man must aspire and human relations be bent.

18. Together with that positive side, if I may say so, there is a negative side to the activities of the United Nations which is of equal importance.

19. In this field the most disturbing factor is that the United Nations—which in many respects is an effective international legislator, a body where the principles of international conduct are laid down—has not always been able, to put it no more strongly, to exercise a sufficient influence on the conduct of Member States when such conduct has been contradictory to the principles and the spirit of the Charter; in other words, contradictory to the obvious interests of the international community.

20. Nor does the Organization seem to be adequately equipped effectively to face those phenomena which are unanimously considered to be the most disastrous of the modern world. This applies to the ever widening gap which, despite the material and scientific resources available, separates the different regions of the world in economic development, and which the efforts within the framework of the First United Nations Development Decade were unable to bridge. We trust that the Second Development Decade will contribute effectively to avoiding a widening of the gap, if not to bridging it.

21. The same applies to the arms race among the most developed countries at the risk of annihilating mankind, and which absorbs far greater resources than those needed to speed up the development of the developing countries.

22. The same applies, finally, to the resort to force in international relations, to armed conflicts, aggressions, interferences, and interventions of a brutal

nature in the internal affairs of other countries, which we note in the world and which make obvious the inability of the Organization to maintain international peace and security, which, according to the terms of the Charter, is its primary responsibility.

23. The weaknesses that the United Nations has shown in the face of these events must profoundly affect the faith of peoples in the world Organization and its future. This explains why for a number of years, the question of reviewing the system of the United Nations has been raised.

24. Doubtless a more reasonable utilization of the immense machinery of the United Nations would contribute to improving the effectiveness of the Organization. In fact the United Nations has, at times successfully, extended its activities to many fields. This has increased the complexity of its administrative machinery, which in turn yields greater results.

25. Naturally, a certain selectivity, a more realistic orientation and a better co-ordination of the entire system would increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in the carrying out of the daily tasks and functions which are now part and parcel of its role and its place in international relations.

26. There can be no doubt, furthermore, that certain United Nations bodies would gain by being adapted in order for the Organization better to reflect the transformations that have occurred in the composition and aims of the international society.

27. However, it would be wrong to seek the cause of the weaknesses of the United Nations in the uselessness or obsolescence of the principles of the Charter which we feel still to be fully valid today—or in flaws in its structure. Certain campaigns for the revision of the Charter have often scant connexion with the desire to increase the importance and effectiveness of the United Nations. They show their true political colours when, for example, they even suggest a weighted vote, thus challenging the principle of the sovereign equality of States without which no international society worthy of the name could exist. We believe that those campaigns have only one aim, and that is to show, *a contrario*, that international society, in spite of its imperfections, is only what it is today thanks to the existence of the United Nations.

28. In fact, without denying the weaknesses of our Organization, which are evident, we must recognize that we often deal with it unfairly. At the present stage of international law and relations, even though institutions can be improved, it is hard to believe that a mere technical and legal revision could eliminate all the causes of its impotence or increase its strength.

29. We must recognize that the impotence of the United Nations is basically due to the strength of national egotisms, that is to say, the lack of political will which the Members of the United Nations often show when, contrary to their own specific interests, they are called upon to implement the resolutions of

the Organization and to take appropriate measures against those that commit aggression or violate elementary human rights or the rights of peoples.

30. How else are we to understand the fact that, despite the pertinent decisions of the United Nations, the racist minorities of Pretoria and Salisbury continue to practise the policy of *apartheid* and defy international opinion with impunity? Or that South Africa obstinately refuses to apply the decisions of the United Nations on Namibia? Or that African Territories, on this tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, still suffer under the colonial domination of Portugal? Or that peace is still jeopardized or threatened in one way or another in the world?

31. It is clear that nothing significant can be done in the United Nations, and that the Disarmament Decade, the Development Decade and our resolutions on decolonization, regardless of their importance, cannot save the United Nations from the stagnation which threatens it, without the political will. The salvation of the United Nations without doubt resides in respect for the Charter of the Organization and in the scrupulous observance by all Member States of its fundamental principles, which continue to inspire the world and the youth of the world, as the World Youth Assembly² made clear. Obviously this implies that the great Powers must loyally and truly assume the obligations incumbent upon them as permanent members of the Security Council. But perhaps this salvation resides even more in the awareness and determination of the small countries of the Third World, which now more than ever need an organized international community to guarantee their security and their development.

32. The positive evolution which the United Nations has undergone in many fields in the course of the past twenty-five years has to a large extent been the result of their persevering action. There can be no doubt that the future of the Organization will also depend on its ability to formulate and ensure the aspirations and needs of mankind it represents. Therefore it is not surprising that the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Lusaka on the eve of this important session,³ and pledged its total support to the United Nations and the strengthening of its role in decolonization, the defence of human rights, peace, co-operation and the progress of peoples. But by the same token, certain general conditions must, nevertheless, be fulfilled in order to ensure full effectiveness. I have in mind the complete universality of the United Nations, which the evolution of events makes more and more necessary.

33. I have in mind also the general democratization of the work of the United Nations and of international relations in general. The road that leads to that end passes through concerted action in which all must actively participate. The result to be obtained is the

² Held at Headquarters from 9 to 17 July 1970.

³ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

creation of relations that will allow each people to work for its own future without hindrance and without interference and to contribute according to its means to the promotion of peace and the achievement of a world civilization whose material and technical bases have already been laid. There can be no doubt that it is this key that will open wide the door to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the world, because it is this democratization that is the order of the day. It is this democratization that must be our main concern as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

34. This world of ours is more and more a unified world, a world that more and more stresses our community of destiny. It is for us to become aware of this objective solidarity and this community of destiny. In other words, we must be profoundly and sincerely convinced of the fraternity of all men and of the fact that their common future in this universe cannot validly be created except in the free and equitable co-operation of all men, all nations and all peoples.

35. Thus we go back to the fundamental theme of peace, justice and progress which we have chosen for this commemorative session of the Organization and which is our profound hope for the future of the world. It is in our loyalty to these principles, which simply sum up those of the Charter, that the strengthening of the United Nations lies, together with their ultimate establishment as the main and irreplaceable instrument for a better future for all mankind.

36. Mr. MUNGAI (Kenya): Mr. President, on behalf of His Excellency, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the President of the Republic of Kenya and my delegation, I am happy to extend congratulations to you on your election to the Presidency of this august Assembly. We are convinced that under your inspiring and able guidance, the present session will be characterized by success, goodwill and understanding.

37. I should at the same time pay a well-deserved tribute to the outgoing President, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia. She guided the deliberations of the twenty-fourth session with distinction. In a situation of divided counsels and conflicting views, she acted with speed, precision and decisiveness.

38. As the world community commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, numerous achievements stand to its credit.

39. The role of the United Nations in accelerating the process of decolonization represents the pinnacle of its success. Peoples formerly afflicted by the humiliation of colonization stand today as sovereign nations, proud of their sovereignty, dignity and playing their full role in international affairs. The record of the United Nations in promoting fundamental human rights throughout the world is worthy of note. When international peace and world order have been challenged, the United Nations has exercised a sobering influence on the side of peace and justice. Shooting wars have been controlled and commendable endeavours made

to bring the parties in conflict to the conference table. It may not have eliminated disputes every time, but it has on numerous occasions extinguished the flames of open warfare through diplomacy, negotiation and mediation. This is not a mean achievement, considering that the power politics of the nuclear age have constantly threatened to bring the opposing sides to a face-to-face confrontation. Through its comprehensive network of specialized agencies, important development activities have been initiated. These have greatly benefited the new nations of the Third World. They have embraced such vital fields as agriculture, technical co-operation, public health, development planning, education, international finance and a host of other activities too many to be enumerated here. The Kenya Government is deeply appreciative of the splendid work of the United Nations Development Programme, not only in Kenya but in other countries as well.

40. While much has been achieved by the United Nations a lot remains to be done. Vast populations in Africa are still condemned to servitude and oppression. The clash of arms in certain parts of the world continues to disrupt peace and progress. Problems of poverty, illiteracy and disease still haunt the conscience of mankind. The gap between the industrialized and the developing nations is ever widening; this process is hastened by the technological advances not shared by the less fortunate members of the world community. The undiminished tempo of the arms race, particularly in areas of acknowledged conflict, remains a source of deep anxiety to mankind as a whole.

41. I wish to address the Assembly on African issues first.

42. In South Africa, the odious philosophy of *apartheid* still continues to flourish. The African there is subjected to the vilest forms of oppression and indignity. The most basic human rights are denied him; his traditional life and culture is deliberately tampered with to break his spirit and hope. Any voice of dissent is silenced; any effort towards self-determination is ruthlessly crushed. The overwhelming majority of Africans are held in bondage through the force of arms and repressive laws. In enforcing the transfer of populations involving large-scale settlement of aliens under the Group Areas Act, the African is uprooted from his ancestral land and others settled there. This has often inflicted desperation, humiliation and bitter suffering on the African. There seems to be no glimmer of light in the long night of oppression that has descended in that country. The entire world is witness to the enactment of this tragedy of unknown dimensions. While this body has condemned this situation in the strongest possible terms, it is regrettable that there are some Member nations which give solace and comfort to this system. They uphold this order through economic backing, through supply of arms and through other measures which entrench this minority racist régime further in power.

43. It is ironic to condemn *apartheid* in seemingly strong terms and at the same time to sustain and strengthen it by the back-door; it is contradictory to

support self-determination in southern Africa and at the same time to stifle it by arming the supremacist régime to the hilt; it is idle to pretend concern for the welfare of Africans while the oppressive racist régime is being given aid and comfort, and it is incompatible to love and hate the minority racist régime at the same time. Very soon, a choice must be made between support for freedom and slavery, between short-term economic profit and long-term political and economic accommodation with Africa, and between the retrogressive forces of *apartheid* and the progressive forces of racial harmony. It is evident that no country can be friendly to both these diametrically opposed elements.

44. Kenya is opposed to the sale of arms, either actual or intended, to South Africa by any country in the world. This stand received unqualified endorsement at the recent summit of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa⁴ and at the non-aligned summit in Lusaka. It is noteworthy that the Lusaka Conference was attended by the representatives of about half the population of the world. It is our ardent hope that the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations will readily pronounce themselves in a positive manner on this issue of vital importance to Africa and to the world.

45. We are opposed to the sale of arms to South Africa because it poses a threat to the security, unity and sovereignty of Africa. It will consolidate the stranglehold of the existing régime in South Africa over the defenceless Africans. It will promote collusion on an unprecedented scale amongst the South African racists, the Portuguese colonizers and the Rhodesian rebels against independent Africa. It will strangle African freedom movements and unleash racial conflagration, thereby posing a definite threat to international peace and security. In its correct perspective, this development could potentially be more dangerous than the ideological conflict in which the East and the West are locked.

46. African countries are entitled to ask: against what aggression will those arms be used? Against what disruptive forces will they be directed?

47. Our well-founded conviction is that they can be used only for internal repression against the African; they can be directed only to implement the expansionist dreams of Pretoria, as is already apparent in Namibia, where modern weapons are being used to secure the capitulation of the African will to the racists of South Africa, and they can be used only to sabotage the political independence and territorial integrity of free Africa.

48. No Government can give a demonstrable guarantee that the arms supplied to the racists will not be used for internal repression or external aggression against the sovereign African States. Furthermore, even if a guarantee were given and subsequently breached by South Africa, would the arms suppliers to South Africa come to the rescue of the victim of

South African aggression? Our firm view is that no such rescue operation will be launched by them in defence of the African. Were that not the case, the Rhodesian problem would have been tackled differently; were that not the case, Namibia would not have been allowed to fall victim to the avarice of South Africa.

49. I wish also to stress that we have no faith in the word of the Pretoria régime. Its defiance of world opinion, its flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions and its institutionalized contempt for human rights are sufficient to prove its unworthiness as a guardian of either the security or the welfare of the oppressed African population in southern Africa. The arming of South Africa is tantamount to placing the security of Africa in the hands of racists who observe no norm of civilized international conduct.

50. It is clear that the entirely negative attitude of South Africa is an open affront to the principles and objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter. It has violated these with impunity; it has refused to co-operate with the United Nations on every issue, including its policies towards Namibia and its own population. It rejected the Lusaka Manifesto which was an attempt to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem in South Africa. That Manifesto was fully supported by the Organization of African Unity and duly brought before the United Nations General Assembly for endorsement. For similar reasons South Africa was expelled from numerous international bodies, including the Commonwealth, in which it shared membership with its kith and kin. Considering all those things, it is time that the question of its continued membership in the United Nations should be seriously reviewed.

51. The Kenya Government is much encouraged by the attitude of certain countries, like Canada, which have displayed statesmanship, courage and appreciation of the existing realities by taking an enlightened stand, similar to that of African countries, on the question of South Africa. This has evoked spontaneous admiration in Africa. Other friends of South Africa could well emulate this example.

52. The situation in Namibia continues to be grave. South Africa is tenaciously holding on to that Territory despite its clear international status. We shall continue to support all United Nations efforts to restore self-determination to that Territory by all means at our disposal. This Territory will never be allowed to fall a victim to the expansionist ambitions of Pretoria.

53. Africa is plagued not only by the racists of South Africa, but also by the fascists of Portugal. They want to perpetuate their hold on Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) by advancing the fictitious claim that these Territories are overseas provinces of Portugal. Their creed is to obliterate organized African movements by the infliction of suffering on, and the slaughter of, the defenceless and innocent African population. The generous assistance received from some of the Member States of this Organization, or from other

⁴ Seventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held from 1 to 3 September 1970.

sources, has been diverted to the extermination of liberation movements in Portugal's colonies. Despite its plunder of African Territories, Portugal remains a glaring example of economic failure at home. My delegation urges the enlightened element of Portuguese opinion to exert pressure on the Portuguese Government to reverse its present unrealistic colonial policy and to pave the way peacefully for majority African rule in these African Territories.

54. The Portuguese administration, in collaboration with certain other countries, is currently engaged in the execution of the Cabora-Bassa project in Mozambique. It is described as a power-generating and irrigation project for the economic advancement of Portuguese Territories. In actual fact, the scheme is intended to perpetuate the hold of the white racist minority over these Territories by opening up this vast and fertile area for white settlement. The exploitation of the rich mineral resources will feed the sagging Portuguese economy, and the toil and sweat of the Africans will be used to enrich the colonialists. That is nothing short of organized plunder. South Africa is, of course, a willing accomplice in this, hoping to create a buffer zone for inflicting grievous losses on the freedom fighters there. The improved navigability of the Zambezi River will enable South African gunboats to operate from the heart of Africa. Many Governments, appreciating the dangerous consequences of Portuguese ambitions, have seen fit to force their companies to withdraw from this project. We commend the action of such Governments, including those of Sweden and Italy.

55. We are, however, deeply distressed that there are other Governments which so far still deem it wise to ignore African protests. No civilized country can allow itself to be trapped in the humiliating incongruity of supporting Portuguese domination and at the same time professing love for African self-determination. Such a policy will arouse volatile emotions and deep indignation all over Africa.

56. My Government continues to be profoundly disturbed by events in Zimbabwe. The liberation of Zimbabwe remains the primary responsibility of Britain. But we in Africa are not going to stand still while Smith's illegal régime is still in power. We African countries are committed to advancing the liberation of that country by moral and material support; through the United Nations, through the Organization of African Unity and by every other conceivable method open to us.

57. To all the supremacist régimes, free, independent Africa offered the Lusaka Manifesto. It was a very reasonable proposal for a dialogue to solve the colonial issues equitably and without the use of force.

58. The Manifesto emphasized the ultimate inevitability of African representative majority rule but by peaceful change. It upheld basic human rights and the freedom of all, without regard to any discrimination based on colour, race, creed or religion. It pleaded for racial harmony, understanding and co-operation as

vital tools in breaking the current impasse in South Africa. In exposing the inequities and irrationalities of *apartheid*, it solicited peaceful change, not by bullets but by a sincere change of heart. It was rejected by the minority racist régimes. That is not surprising as they are no respecters of international order, goodwill or peace. Every other conceivable method to bring about a peaceful solution has been tried and contemptuously spurned by the racists. In such circumstances, what is our choice? Our choice is to secure freedom for our enslaved brothers, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. That remains our ultimate, sacred and inescapable duty. We shall not relent until our objective is achieved. We shall not be daunted by peril, nor wearied by unrelenting toil and sacrifice. No matter how long the struggle and heavy the sacrifice, we shall fight for African freedom. One day justice will triumph over oppression, freedom over servitude, and human dignity over humiliation.

59. Having briefly surveyed the African scene, I wish to turn my attention to the other issues of concern to the world community.

60. The Middle East crisis, despite numerous peace initiatives, is far from being resolved. Kenya believes that a negotiated political settlement on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] is the real basis for peace in this area so long ravaged by war of attrition. Any durable solution must be based on justice and realism.

61. Kenya welcomes any initiative. The Rogers plan, resulting in a limited cease-fire in the war zones, was worked out under the auspices of the United Nations. I must congratulate Israel, the United Arab Republic and Jordan for the remarkable courage and statesmanship they displayed in accepting this proposal, and also the United States of America and the USSR for supporting it.

62. Despite the numerous difficulties faced by the Gunnar Jarring mission, we sincerely hope that it will be rewarded with the success that it so richly deserves. It is not to the advantage of any Power to perpetuate a situation of armed confrontation which has already led to a tragic loss of life and property. It is not in the interests of any party to have the Suez Canal closed to international trade and shipping. In the cause of world peace and security, it is imperative that normality should be restored to this area.

63. With regard to the crisis in Viet-Nam, my Government believes that a politically negotiated settlement in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 is possible. The people of Viet-Nam as a whole, by exercise of free consent, should be the masters of their own destiny. Any forms of external intervention, irrespective of the source from which they emanate, can only complicate the already precarious situation. The Kenya Government is much encouraged by the withdrawal of American troops from Viet-Nam and hopes that the talks being conducted in Paris are crowned with early and complete success.

64. There are other general international issues on which I wish to pronounce the views of my Government.

65. On the question of disarmament and arms control, it is imperative that concrete steps should be taken to achieve the objective of general and complete disarmament by international agreement under clearly established international controls. The partial nuclear test-ban Treaty of 1963⁵ and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] are important landmarks in the march towards the ultimate objective of disarmament. The strategic arms limitation talks and recent arrangements for lessening tension in Europe are indications that the world is striving to move along the desirable path. Kenya welcomes the moves to create nuclear-free zones in the various continents and would like Africa and the oceans around it to be declared a nuclear-free zone.

66. On the question of the sea-bed and ocean floor, it is important to adopt legal principles to govern the activities on the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Equally it is imperative that international machinery should be devised to administer these activities. In principle, Kenya fully supports the idea that the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction is not subject to national appropriation and that it is a "common heritage of mankind". It is important that the sea-bed should be reserved exclusively for peaceful uses, and that its vast resources should be utilized for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

67. The Kenya Government is in favour of a comprehensive conference to deal with all aspects of the law of the sea, including the international sea-bed régime, as soon as possible.

68. My Government also supports measures to strengthen the United Nations as an institution for peace, progress and international understanding. That is why we support a revision of the Charter. The use of the veto power has considerably weakened the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations in times of emergency. The United Nations has been paralysed by inaction when the great Powers have endeavoured to place their own interests above those of peace and security. The successful operation of the United Nations has been held at ransom by certain Members who threatened the Organization with bankruptcy through non-contributions. The economic development and technical co-operation activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies should be further scrutinized to increase their scope and effectiveness through over-all co-ordination.

69. Ideological confrontation between the East and the West, and political ambitions of certain Powers, have at times threatened the sovereignty of small States. Intervention in the affairs of the smaller States has led to the violation of their territorial integrity. These developments are a direct negation of the princi-

ples enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Unless such tendencies are checked with a sense of urgency, international peace and order would be disrupted to the core.

70. On economic issues, I shall confine myself very briefly to the Second United Nations Development Decade. An international development strategy [A/7982] has been painstakingly negotiated. It not only concerns itself with the classical economic issues of trade and aid, but also social development. This comprehensive approach is welcomed by my Government.

71. Although difficulties in obtaining consensus on the terms of the draft strategy have been experienced, it is hoped that a spirit of accommodation will prevail during the commemorative session and that complete agreement will be reached on the controversial issues.

72. It is particularly important that objectives of the strategy should be unequivocally formulated, policy measures should be well defined, and review and appraisal machinery should be effectively devised.

73. It is equally important that the flow of resources to emergent nations should increase; that the share of developing countries in world trade should progressively rise under fair and stabilized prices for their primary goods; that market access of their imports to developed countries must be ensured; that modern technology should be transferred to the developing countries; and that terms of trade and aid, both bilateral and multilateral, should be more favourable.

74. In addition, my Government strongly advocates the immediate launching of the development strategy to coincide with the commemorative session.

75. In conclusion, I wish to urge Member States of the United Nations to become comrades in arms for defence of peace, progress, justice and understanding; not rivals in power to sabotage the work of the United Nations.

76. As the United Nations starts the next twenty-five years of challenging work, we should give it renewed vitality through concrete and continuous support and show what we can do for the United Nations and mankind.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to urge those representatives who wish to participate in the general debate to give their names to the Secretariat as soon as possible. Since it is envisaged that the general debate will end on Friday, 2 October, I propose that the list of speakers in that debate be closed on Thursday, 24 September, at 5 p.m.

78. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees with that proposal.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.

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