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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (continued)	
Speech by Mr. Ramphal (Guyana)	1
Speech by Mr. Ohira (Japan)	5
Speech by Mr. Haile (Ethiopia)	11
Speech by Mr. Naffah (Lebanon)	15
Speech by Mr. Khalatbari (Iran)	18

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Vejvoda (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. RAMPHAL (Guyana): Every five years, to the pleasure which each of us has of commencing our contributions to this debate with congratulations to the President, there is added a special measure of satisfaction as we pay a tribute to one from our own region who has assumed the high office of the presidency of this Assembly. So is it for me today. The mature wisdom and erudition which characterized his many years of devoted work as Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations have justly earned Ambassador Benites the respect and indeed the affection of his colleagues both in the Latin American group and in the general councils of this Organization. That respect and affection, no less indeed than the experience which he brings to the presidency, will serve to assure him of the support of the entire Assembly even as they inspire us all with confidence in the success that will attend his term of office.

2. As one of his Vice-Presidents for the twenty-eighth session, may I assure him even more personally of the unswerving support and assistance which he may, with confidence, demand and expect from me and from my delegation.

3. And to his predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, who guided our twenty-seventh session with wisdom and efficiency and whose conduct of the business of the Assembly earned him the respect of the international community, may I extend the gratitude of my delegation and of my country for the service he has given to the furtherance of the objectives of this Organization?

4. For Guyana, as for so many other Member States, the commencement of the twenty-eighth session was overcast

by the shadow of developments in the Republic of Chile—a member State of our Latin American community with which we have had close and fraternal relations. I take, therefore, this early opportunity in the work of the Assembly to pay our tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Salvador Allende, whose tragic passing deprived not only Chile but all the developing world of a courageous champion—a champion whose aspirations were the aspirations of the third world and whose valiant struggle the struggle of all within it who demand social and economic justice.

5. Many of the early hours of the session have already been occupied with congratulations to the three new States Members of the Organization—sentiments, of course, with which my delegation has been associated. I hope I may be permitted, however, a special word of welcome to our sister Caribbean State, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, which joins this Organization as its one hundred and thirty-fifth Member. The Bahamas is linked to the English-speaking States of the Caribbean by those enduring bonds which a shared historical experience has wrought. That experience has moulded of these Caribbean States, including the mainland States of Guyana and Belize, a geo-political community which accepts a destiny with a Latin American broadened to encompass it and which promises to make its own enriching contribution to the region thus enlarged.

6. The Caribbean Community and the Caribbean Common Market, that were inaugurated on 1 August of this year, embody those perspectives. It is a time of progressive change throughout our subregion and it is in every sense a propitious time for the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to embrace the opportunities of independence and to join the family of the wider international community.

7. The welcome accession of the Bahamas to independence and its admission to this Organization serve to remind us also of those territories of our region that still remain to find fulfilment through self-determination. The impediments that strew their path are not merely the traditional ones; they are both different and various: they range from fear of aggression in one case to concern over viability in others. For these, at least, the impediment is not that of a metropolitan overlordship reluctant to relinquish dominion. In securing the completion of the processes of decolonization in the Caribbean not only the States directly concerned and those of us who share a destiny with them, but also this Organization itself, will need to be mindful of those special problems—will need to be vigilant lest an illusion of decolonization be allowed to displace the reality of self-determination.

8. The Caribbean Sea has been a cradle of imperialism. When we divest the region, as we must, of the last remnants

of European colonialism, let us be certain that we have banished colonialism in all its forms, and let us be certain that we have not merely substituted a new hegemony for that which is passing from the scene. My delegation will not hesitate to speak out against any such development which retards rather than advances the march of the peoples of the Caribbean within the integrity of their several societies towards the dignity of nationhood.

9. And let us remember that the admission of a new Member State such as the Bahamas is no less the fulfilment of the principle of universality because it is the result of the process of decolonization; for the principle of universality itself is frustrated when societies that have a right to advance to the status of nationhood in the international community are, for whatever reason, denied the right to political independence as sovereign States. Correspondingly, the denial of the right of self-determination of peoples must also be recognized as an impairment of the principle of universality and an injury to this Organization itself, whose strength derives from the fulfilment of that principle.

10. In common with the rest of the international community my delegation applauds the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This Organization is immeasurably strengthened by their membership, and the community of Member States—which is, after all, the community of mankind—is much more real now that they will exercise their not inconsiderable influence and make their important contributions within, and not merely outside, this Organization.

11. But my delegation would like to look upon the admission of these two great European States as symbolic of even more than the advancement of the principle of universality. With their admission, the international community has broken free of that bondage to the past which the realities of a war-time experience imposed upon this Organization—perhaps inevitably imposed—even as, through the Charter, those realities gave the Organization life. With the decisions on the admission of the German States, those articles of bondage have passed into obsolescence and have been denied their capacity to stifle the growth and frustrate the achievement of the objectives of the Organization. This subordination of the past to the principles of the Charter and to the present and future demands of international organization must surely be the real significance of the momentous decision made in that respect.

12. Is it then too much to hope that in thus freeing ourselves from these particular constraints of memory we may have released a greater potential for creativity than has hitherto been manifest? Is it not possible that by this act of realism we may have finally liberated ourselves from the psychological chains of the era, now long past, which moulded this Organization? The answers are important, for those chains have shackled more than the principle of universality; they have, in important respects, cramped the effectiveness of the United Nations system and stunted the potential of multilateral organization for securing a peaceful, just and habitable planet. There is a pressing need for release from these several restraints as the international community pursues the objectives of the Charter.

13. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1], the Secretary-General has

rendered a notable service to Member States in speaking out with clarity and with courage on these basic issues: on international goals and the effectiveness of the machinery through which we pursue them; on the needs of our human society and the strength and quality of our will to secure them; on the essentiality of reappraisal and the inevitability of fundamental adjustment. We would do well to take heed of the grave warnings which that report signals. Against the backdrop of widespread public disillusionment and disenchantment with the United Nations, the Secretary-General alerts us to the fact that time is not on our side, that we need action, innovation and determination, no less than thought, criticism and idealism “if mankind is not to be overtaken once again by the destructive side of human nature” [A/9001/Add.1, p. 1.] He records—and this we all know to be the truth—that some of the mechanism provided in the Charter for achieving the aims of the Organization “has not proved workable in the rapidly changing world situation”; that in the area of international peace and security “the United Nations—and especially the Security Council—has often been frustrated”; that on the economic and social side the integrated response required to interrelated contemporary problems “is often hard to achieve through the international machinery set up for far more limited purposes over a quarter of a century ago”—institutions created in 1945 which “no longer correspond to current needs”; that these challenges of change will not be met “through ritual public statements of approval and support” [*ibid.*, p. 2] but by a continuous effort of assessment, of adjustment and of development of new machinery and methods; that, above all, there is need for Member States to examine with care and imagination not merely the United Nations system but their own attitudes, their own assumptions, their own goals and their own machinery.

14. These are serious warnings, and this Organization owes it to itself and to the peoples of the world in whose name and for whose welfare it exists to pay them the respect we know they deserve. The Secretary-General has expressed the hope that his observations might provide the basis for constructive debate on the present state of the Organization and some of its problems for future development. My delegation can think of no higher purpose that this general debate could serve than that it should provide a positive response to this invitation and that the dialogue thus begun should carry over into the work of the twenty-eighth session, so that the reality, and not merely the rhetoric, of assessment, of adjustment, of action, of innovation and of constructive development may inform our deliberations and decisions on specific issues.

15. Whether the Assembly will respond thus positively, indeed whether the Assembly will respond at all, to the Secretary-General's call for fundamental reappraisal will depend in large measure on the attitudes of the developed countries—among them many of the founding Members of the Organization—to the basic premise of its existence, namely, the validity of multilateral international organization as the most effective means of ensuring man's survival on a planet that sustains him in an environment of peace. I say “the developed world”, because it is still the case that for the greater part the developing countries, despite their disappointments with the functioning of the United Nations system, are unequivocal in their com-

mitment both to its objectives and to their attainment through making the Organization more effective.

16. But whereas the disillusionment of the third world leads to a resolve to perfect the machinery of the United Nations, the disenchantment of developed Member States—of West and East—tends to lead them away from international organization and in the direction of a world society responsive not to the genuine consensus of mankind but to the dictates of a contemporary, albeit transient, power. There are, indeed, occasions when it is hard to resist the conclusion that some Member States tend to see positive value in a United Nations system that is petrified, quiescent and ineffectual—a facade of international organization, an illusion of international consensus, masking the reality of an operational power structure.

17. For so long as these tendencies persist, progress along the road which the Secretary-General's report has illumined will be slow and halting. It must, therefore, be a major part of the purpose of the third world to convince the developed States that—although the United Nations is far different today from the organization they envisaged at San Francisco; although international peace and security must now be considered in the context of a world situation far different from that with which they were dealing when the Charter was drawn up; although on the economic and social side such urgent present-day issues as the environment, natural resources, population, outer space and the sea-bed, were but small clouds on the horizon 28 years ago—the realities of contemporary international life do indeed give renewed validity to the concept of international organization.

18. And we must convince them also that it is in the interest of all States—rich and poor, developed and developing, the militarily strong and the defenceless weak, primary producer and industrialized alike—to make the United Nations an effective instrument for reaching by consensus, and implementing by joint resolve, those decisions which are essential for the survival of every State and every man.

19. A General Assembly that has finally consigned to obsolescence the concept of "enemy States" must surely be capable—and at what time more propitious than this?—of an acknowledgement that over a wider area of the structure and working arrangements of the Organization the time has come for a similar accommodation with contemporary reality and for a similar resolve—and for action in implementation of that resolve—not to hamper the effectiveness of the Organization by an attachment to forms and concepts and attitudes that have lost their relevance and validity.

20. What is the alternative to such an accommodation? One consequence of the continued decline of the effectiveness of the Organization must inevitably be an erosion of the support of those who still remain committed to improving its effectiveness in the belief that such improvement is attainable. It is a mistake for any to believe that the United Nations can for long retain credibility and integrity, and therefore support, while condemned to a state of inertia in important areas of international concern.

21. But, of course, the consequences go well beyond a further decline in support for the Organization. The United

Nations is the forum, the only forum, in which mankind must seek agreement on the basic arrangements for his continued existence on the planet. Without the United Nations or without a United Nations Organization which is credible and effective—for it amounts to the same thing—the alternative to international consensus is international confrontation. There are already signs that this is the direction in which we are moving.

22. The developing world can have no *a priori* interest in a policy of confrontation. That is why at the level of economic justice we kept faith for so long with the International Development Strategy formulated for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] with rolling phrases to redress the several inequities of under-development. That is why we put behind us the disappointment of the First United Nations Development Decade and were ready to renew effort and expectation in the unfolding of the Second. But the developing world cannot live on promises with performance for ever deferred. It must look to its survival.

23. The aspirations and hopes that were centered in the International Development Strategy have been thwarted—in some cases by the plain disinterest, in others by the active pursuit of the vested interests of the developed world. The confrontations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have for the third time yielded little. The biennial review of the International Development Strategy now in progress [item 46] has already disclosed that the cause of development has lost momentum, due mainly to the failure of the developed countries to honour their commitments under the Strategy. Economic crises, especially in the international monetary system, have reduced still further the limited benefits which have flowed from dwindling aid and shrinking and uncertain trade. The average rate of economic growth of developing countries has actually declined, and even the modest beginning towards narrowing the gap in living standards between developed and developing countries stipulated in the Strategy is not yet in sight.

24. To what has all this led? It has led, in the first place, to a loss of faith in the International Development Strategy and, because that Strategy is the product of the United Nations system, it has served to diminish the faith of the developing world in that system itself—certainly in the system as at present organized and operated.

25. Secondly, it has led to the recognition that relationships between the developed and the developing worlds are not likely to alter significantly within the framework of the present international economic system; that it is not just the case that some nations are rich and others are poor, but that the two conditions are inextricably linked together, that some nations are rich because others are poor, and that the existing system of economic relations between States serves to perpetuate the imbalance.

26. Thirdly, it has led to an appreciation that an essential mechanism for improving the prospects of real development for the third world is a massive programme of economic co-operation among developing countries at regional and interregional levels. It was this appreciation that led to the formulation at the Georgetown Conference of Foreign

Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries a year ago of the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation,¹ a programme which has now been further concretized and given a renewed mandate by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States recently concluded at Algiers.

27. It will fall to the President of Algeria, President Boumediène, as the Chairman of the Algiers Conference, to convey to this Assembly the over-all results of those consultations. Let me say, however, with respect to this particular matter of economic co-operation between developing countries—since it is one for which Guyana has been entrusted with specific responsibilities by the Algiers Conference—that we will, with the authority of the States members of the movement, be approaching the appropriate institutions of the United Nations system for all necessary assistance in the development of global programmes of action for co-operation between developing countries in the important fields of trade, industry and transport.

28. As this interregional project in its conception and objectives derives from the ideals enshrined in the Charter itself it is clearly right that it should be executed with the support, and within the framework, of the United Nations system. Indeed, given that involvement, its global significance and its potential for improving the conditions of the developing world can help significantly to ensure that this Organization remains relevant and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the greater part of mankind. As the Secretary-General indicated in his remarks to the Algiers Conference, the United Nations has already given assistance in this matter. We look forward, with confidence, to continued support from the Organization in these efforts of collective economic security which have become so necessary a supplement to the faltering International Development Strategy.

29. Finally, the total experience of recent years has brought home to the developing world a lesson which has relevance for all States. It is the lesson of interdependence at two levels: first of all, of interdependence among the various international economic issues—of monetary policy, of trade, of investment, of the environment, of the sea-bed and the ocean floor; and, no less important, the lesson of interdependence among all countries, rich and poor alike. These lessons have been well learned by the developing States, and they have already begun to inform their conduct in the area of international economic relations.

30. If these lessons were to inform also the conduct of the developed States, there is no reason why the United Nations could not become an effective instrument for installing a new and more equitable international economic régime founded on consensus and operated with a perception of man's community of interest.

31. But if these lessons of interdependence, if these concepts of interrelationship, are not acknowledged and respected by the developed world, there is a grave and present danger that we shall move to new levels of

confrontation in the area of economic relations, confrontations which will increasingly and inevitably range beyond the scope and competence of the Organization.

32. The world's racial crisis has already advanced to this point not because of a lacuna in the objectives of the United Nations, but because of the failure of Member States, in varying degrees of delinquency, to respect decisions of the Organization and to subordinate a narrow national interest to the more permanent values of human dignity and the self-determination of peoples.

33. The record in the field of disarmament is not dissimilar; and here also concepts of a balance of power, like myths handed on unquestioningly by one generation to another, continue to erode the principles of collective security to which the Charter is wedded, and to contract what should be a dialogue of all men into a dialogue of a self-appointed directorate. Once again, it is in another place, not here in the councils of the world community, that this issue, vital to man's survival, is debated.

34. But as with the crisis of race and decolonization, so with disarmament. When the debate shifts from the United Nations it enters a no-man's-land where order and legality have no sway and from which there is no return save back to the machinery of international organization. And this is where we are at—if I may use the contemporary idiom to describe the contemporary scene—this is where we are at in the area of international economic relations.

35. It is said that the spirit of détente is at large in the world today. But how pervasive is its presence? How pervasive is its influence? An easing of international tension is always welcome and all mankind is the beneficiary of it. Those who have contrived the present détente have rendered a distinct service to our time. But let us not be unmindful of the reality of its current manifestation. It is not, in fact, little more than a strategic détente which leaves untouched—at this state at any rate—a whole range of festering issues and several levels at which contest and confrontation continue?

36. It is true, also, that within the developed world there is a new thrust towards global consciousness, a sense of the interrelatedness of issues, a perception of the finiteness of the planet, an urgent concern for the preservation of the environment and the world's resources of fuel, of food and of raw materials. But such insights, alas, are still all too frequently conditioned by the particular interests of the developed world.

37. The result of all this is that the advance of the major Powers to contact and communication has so far issued in only a limited dialogue which excludes the majority of States. Thus the recognition of the interrelatedness of economic issues is reflected in the search for new arrangements for management of the international economic system; but, as in the case of the international monetary system, the new arrangements are devised to operate still in the primary interest of the developed world and pay only token regard to the conditions of other States. Especially significant is the diminished concern for the problems of under-development as the developed world increasingly looks inward. Indeed, it is almost as if the dialogue of

¹ See *The Georgetown Declaration, the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation and Related Documents* (Georgetown, August 1972).

détente is crowding the problem of under-development off the agenda of the developed States.

38. The super-Powers must forgive us if we do not seem enthusiastic enough about the détente they have achieved. It is not that we are unmindful of the value of an accord that enables them to speak in unison in this Assembly on those matters that concern them both. It is that we continue to yearn for their support in unison in this Assembly and outside it for those causes that concern our very survival.

39. It is surprising, therefore, that some 60 heads of State or Government were personally assembled in Algiers less than a month before this session of the Assembly commenced, an assemblage never before achieved in the annals of international consultation, including the deliberations of the United Nations itself? And it is to be wondered at that it was to economic issues that these leaders of nearly one half of the world's States gave special attention, and that it was upon action to achieve economic change that they firmly resolved?

40. The United Nations has no better friends than the States members of the non-aligned movement. To making this Organization more universal and less selective, more democratic and less elitist, more operational and less of an observer, more effective and less frequently frustrated, we are all, and have been always, committed. If this commitment makes us aligned, it is at least an alignment with the deepest purposes of this Organization; it is an alignment with the spirit of the Charter; it is an alignment with the cause of internationalism; it is an alignment that brings strength to the United Nations system, not one which seeks an aggregation of power outside it. That more than one half of the States members of this Organization are so committed should be the occasion for immense satisfaction.

41. If the major Powers are indeed prepared to move from détente among themselves to co-operation among all nations, from coexistence to community, they will be taking a path which the non-aligned have long charted and upon which we have long been waiting to proceed. Our commitment to the goals of co-operation and community is one of the realities with which this journey of all men and all States can begin, and it is one of the best auguries for its success.

42. It is time, therefore, that the developed world should take practical steps to ensure that this commitment is not squandered; and, matching it with a commitment of their own, that it should move with conviction and with a sense of realism and self-interest to enable this Organization to make a reality of co-operation and of community, for this Organization must be the instrument of co-operation and these United Nations must be the embodiment of community.

43. There is, therefore, I submit, no issue before this twenty-eighth session of the Assembly more critical to the future of the United Nations and of international organization generally, or indeed to the survival of the concept of human community, than that which appears on no agenda item but is implicit in each—the issue presented in the Secretary-General's questions: "What kind of world organi-

zation do we need? And what kind of world organization are Governments prepared in reality to accept?" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 8].

44. These questions are not being asked by the Secretary-General alone. They are being asked outside these walls by the people of the world, who want to see the United Nations the effective instrument of peace, justice and progress that they believed it to be. The demand for a response is every day more clamant. The question can neither be ignored through indifference nor avoided by circumlocution, nor countered by generalities. It is time that within these walls we provide the answers—all of us—in terms that are clear and positive and unequivocal; in terms that are consistent with the spirit, the aims and the mandates of the Charter; above all, in terms acceptable to the people of the world—all the world—in whose name this Organization exists.

45. And it is time, within this Assembly, and in the specialized agencies and in our bilateral and multilateral relations generally, that we matched our actions to our answers.

46. Mr. OHIRA (Japan):² On behalf of the Japanese delegation I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to Ambassador Benites on his assumption of the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that Ambassador Benites will guide this session of the General Assembly with the sagacity and good judgement born of a wealth of experience. My delegation for its part will spare no effort in co-operating with him in the discharge of his great responsibility.

47. At the same time, I wish to express my profound appreciation to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We were deeply impressed by the leadership he manifested during that session.

48. I wish to take this opportunity also to pay my tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our esteemed Secretary-General. I recall fondly the great pleasure the Government and people of Japan had in welcoming the Secretary-General to Japan last February for friendly exchanges of views on a variety of problems, both within and outside the purview of the United Nations.

49. I should like next to extend a warm welcome to the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas upon their admission to the United Nations at the opening of the current session of the General Assembly. Let me express our sincere hope that the three new Member States will join the others in contributing to the attainment of the objectives set forth in the Charter.

50. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the end of the Second World War and the birth of the United Nations. Looking back over the history of these years, I cannot but have the keen realization that the world is now

² Mr. Ohira spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

entering a new era. Profound changes are taking place in the international situation around us.

51. Let me enumerate a few of the fundamental problems which have characterized the changing world since the Second World War. First, I wish to dwell upon the fact that the development and control of nuclear energy has become a prime determinant of international politics. The development of nuclear weapons, which might be said to be the baleful offspring of the Second World War, has given rise to a "balance of terror" in the post-war international community, thus making it possible to avoid the outbreak of total warfare. This is one notable feature of the post-war world. It is a new development, unprecedented in modern history, that large-scale, total warfare has not broken out among the major Powers of the world for nearly 30 years.

52. None the less, it must be admitted in all candour that this state of affairs has been brought about on a highly shaky basis of mutual checkmate among the major Powers, under conditions of the "balance of terror". Whatever peace we have had upon this shaky ground has been a "transient peace", and it is for this very reason that the United Nations has been making continuous efforts to see that this peace becomes a more stable one. A quarter of a century has elapsed since the end of the war, and the "transient peace" has at last begun to show signs of shedding its "transient" character. I believe the time has come to build a framework for consolidating and perpetuating these new moves on a more stable basis. I believe the time has come for the United Nations to consider on its part a new pattern of co-operation addressed to the needs of such a new era.

53. The second point I wish to emphasize is the new relations among countries which came out of the war transformed. A large-scale war always brings about an enormous change in the relations among nations, and the Second World War, which was fought literally around the world, was no exception. The relations between the victors and the defeated, the emergence of "super Powers", and the relations between them and the rest of the world marked a fundamental change in international politics brought about by the Second World War. Over the quarter century since the war, there has been a gradual but steady process of readjustment of such relations. Today we talk about the multipolarization of the world. What we in fact see in this may be essentially a convergence of the world at large in a new international order, after years of readjustment in the post-war era. I believe it necessary for the United Nations to recognize this change fully and to adapt itself to it with sufficient flexibility so that it can function in a truly effective way as the centre of international peace and co-operation.

54. The third point to be noted is related to the retreat of colonialism and the birth of a number of new nation-States. The number of States Members of the United Nations, which was 51 at its inception in 1945, has grown to 135. The very fact that the vast majority of these newly admitted Members are new States, born after the war, amply testifies to the magnitude of the change. This in itself is a phenomenon which merits special mention in the history of the world.

55. I believe, however, that I am justified in saying that the change which this produced in post-war international relations was not only one of quantity but also one of quality and goes to the root of such relations. As former colonies were liberated and a number of new States came into existence, there emerged in the international community diversities in many respects such as race, creed, ideology, culture and even scales of values. Consequently, it has become more difficult than ever before to reach consensus in dealing with the multitude of problems which confront the world.

56. We realize this difficulty fully when we recall the major problems we are now addressing ourselves to in the United Nations. At the same time we realize that the role to be played by an organization like the United Nations has become all the more important inasmuch as it aims at the adjustment of different scales of values and the realization of international accords in this highly diverse world of today.

57. In order to grasp precisely the changes in the contemporary world I have just described and to respond to them in an appropriate manner, we have to develop an awareness on the part of us Member States in line with the new situation. I consider it most essential for all Member States to appreciate this challenge and to proceed to co-operate within and outside the United Nations in tackling the major problems of the world which are brought before the United Nations today.

58. In this connexion I should particularly like to stress that many of the multifarious problems of today's world cannot be resolved satisfactorily through isolated efforts of an individual State or even through traditional bilateral means. The problem of natural resources and energy and the problem of world food are typical examples of such problems becoming increasingly urgent in recent years. Similarly, in order to ensure the prosperity of the international community as a whole and to promote the well-being and the standard of living of each of its members, it is essential to expand trade in accordance with internationally established rules. In this context, international trade and monetary problems are also problems which require solutions through concerted efforts and co-operation among nations. We are faced also with the problem of the human environment and with the problem of economic and social development in developing countries, which is of the greatest concern to all of us in the present-day world. We all know that we cannot hope to solve these problems through isolated, single-handed efforts. We must all recognize the absolute necessity of guiding our work with the recognition that this is really one world, not just one world in the abstract.

59. I would even go one step further and stress that the implications of that fact go beyond the realms of economic and social development or of scientific and technical collaboration, and that they are extremely important also in ensuring world peace and security. To illustrate this point, international co-operation in the field of disarmament can be effective only if we tackle the problem, not merely in terms of military power, but also on the basis of wide-ranging co-operation among all the nations in such diverse fields as the economy and science and technology.

It is from this viewpoint that Japan is contributing as best it can to the promotion of disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, as an important aspect of its foreign policy, by making its knowledge and technology available in the cause of world peace.

60. I believe that the few examples I have cited show clearly that the world is now entering an era of new possibilities, an era in which interdependence among States, mutual understanding among peoples and wide-ranging co-operation in the fields of the economy and culture, communications and technology could serve as more effective vehicles for the maintenance of lasting and stable peace than deterrence by force or deterrence by the balance of terror.

61. What we need now in this rapidly changing world is to build a new framework for co-operation and to translate the emerging awareness of the solidarity of the international community into concrete action. It is true that at the time of its inception the United Nations did not clearly envisage for itself this role as the centre of efforts for such actions. Nevertheless we have every hope and expectation that the United Nations will succeed in adapting itself to this new challenge of the time and become an organization capable of responding to the challenges which confront us in the world today. We have high expectations for the United Nations in this respect, since, with all its imperfections, it is the only body mankind can turn to today.

62. At this juncture I wish to invite the attention of this Assembly to the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization for the past year [A/9001/Add.1], issued a few weeks ago. This report shares the viewpoint I have tried to elaborate. In particular, the Secretary-General has urged the States Members of the United Nations "to decide on constructive, contemporary and imaginative ways in which it can be used to meet the present and future problems which we face" [*ibid.*, p. 1] through mutual co-operation. I am fully in agreement with that view. I wish to welcome as appropriate and timely the initiative for the examination of the problem as suggested by the Secretary-General.

63. As early as on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, Japan emphasized the need to review the Charter in order that this Organization might be able to adapt itself to the changes of the 25 years since the war.³ Now that the United Nations is approaching its thirtieth anniversary, I should like to propose that each Member State engage in soul-searching, free from any preconceived ideas, and reflect on the role to be played by the United Nations in this new era. We can share the benefits of our wisdom and rally our forces together in the common effort to open up a new vista for the future of the Organization.

64. When I consider the role the United Nations can play in the ever-changing world of today, I find it necessary to emphasize how important it is for Asia, which has undergone unprecedented changes since the Second World War, to find a new order and stability befitting the new

situation in which it finds itself. I do not think I need reiterate here our deep interest in important questions confronting the world today, for which there is an ever-increasing need for an early settlement. I refer, for example, to the problem of the Middle East and the question of southern Africa. Nor do I need to stress the importance we attach to new developments among nations in other parts of the world, particularly in Europe, as symbolized by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

65. But, as the representative of Japan, which is located in a part of Asia, I cannot but notice in particular the outstanding changes both in quantity and in quality that have taken place in Asia amid the major developments in the world over the past year since the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

66. The first to be noted in this connexion is the return of the People's Republic of China to the international community, symbolized by the restoration of its seat at the United Nations at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, two years ago [resolution 2758 (XXVI)]. I accompanied Prime Minister Tanaka when he visited Peking just one year ago with the mission of putting an end to the anomalous relations which had existed between the two countries for such a long time. As a result, diplomatic relations were established between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China under their joint communiqué of 29 September 1972. It is also to be noted that developments leading to the improvement of relations between China and the United States of America, which began with the announcement in 1971 that President Nixon would visit Peking, have been accelerated since then. On the other hand, I have noted with great interest that efforts to achieve a new order and stability have been intensified among the nations of Asia, particularly among the Association of South-East Asian Nations group countries. That development should be evaluated as symbolic of the spontaneous efforts of the nations of the region.

67. In Indo-China, the Agreement on Viet-Nam was concluded in January this year⁴ and the Peace Agreement on Laos in February.⁵ Moreover, in Laos, the agreement on the solution of the political and military problems was reached among the parties concerned and the Protocol to the Peace Agreement⁶ was signed. Thus, the international situation in the Indo-Chinese peninsula has undergone an epoch-making development leading towards a lasting peace.

68. Japan established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam on 21 September, taking into account the new international developments brought about by the conclusion of the Paris Agreement. I firmly believe that this establishment of diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam can contribute to the peace and stability of the Indo-China region in the future. In Cambodia, to our regret, there is yet no prospect of peace in sight and fighting still continues. Japan, for its

⁴ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973.

⁵ Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, signed at Vientiane, on 21 February 1973.

⁶ Signed at Vientiane on 14 September 1973.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1842nd meeting.

part, seeks peace and stability in Indo-China and earnestly hopes for the early settlement of Cambodian problems. I cannot but express deep concern over the present situation in Cambodia.

69. Japan thinks it desirable that the settlement of Cambodian problems be brought about without outside interference, through peaceful negotiations among the Cambodian parties concerned, in accordance with the principle of self-determination. From this viewpoint, Japan wishes to appeal to the Cambodian parties concerned that they, for their part, spare no effort to assist the efforts of the parties concerned.

70. There has also been a significant development in the Korean peninsula. Ever since the issuance of the joint Communiqué at Seoul and Pyongyang on 4 July 1972, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been engaged in a direct dialogue and have been endeavouring to find their own solution for their problems. My country sincerely welcomes this dialogue and wishes to observe its progress with patience and sympathy. In this connexion, the statement made by President Park Chung Hee on 23 June of this year is a monumental landmark in the path of securing peace and security in the Korean peninsula. We foresee a number of difficult obstacles to be surmounted before the goal of unification, which all the people of Korea so ardently desire, can be achieved and permanent peace and security in the region can be attained. We appreciate highly the fact that the Government of the Republic of Korea has shown, in frank recognition of the reality of coexistence of the Governments in the South and the North, its realistic and constructive attitude in dealing with the situation before the achievement of the ideal of unification. We sincerely hope that the dialogue and co-operation between South and North will be developed further and that the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula will be maintained, thus strengthening the foundation for peaceful unification.

71. On the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, the groundwork for the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan was laid with the conclusion of the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972. We are gratified to note that an agreement was subsequently reached in New Delhi on 28 August of this year for the solution of the pending issues regarding prisoners of war, as a result of continuous efforts made by the two countries. It is our hope that Bangladesh will be welcomed to membership in the United Nations at the earliest possible date.

72. I believe that these new developments during the past year are clear signs that Asia is now entering a new era in which Asians will seek a new and stable order, and prosperity based on such order. As one responsible for the foreign policy of Japan, an Asian nation, I welcome these new developments in Asia and renew my determination to fulfil our responsibility in the cause of further stability and development in Asia. It is in this spirit that I wish to take this occasion to reflect on the roles the United Nations can and is expected to play in advancing the stability and prosperity of the region.

73. I need hardly reiterate that the United Nations, as a universal international Organization, is responsible for the

maintenance of peace and prosperity in all the regions of the world. This implies in no way that the United Nations can remain indifferent to possibilities for regional co-operation in each individual part of the world. The United Nations is an organization whose basic objective is to promote the security and welfare of the whole world and mankind. In the process of achieving this objective, however, the United Nations is expected to encourage, in the political, social and economic fields, the kind of regional co-operation best suited to individual regions, taking into account their respective characteristics and thus contributing to the harmonization of efforts to promote peace and prosperity through regional co-operation. I attach the greatest importance to the study of the concrete measures which the United Nations can take today for Asia, which is in a period of transition, for this will offer very useful suggestions in probing for new possibilities open to the activities of the United Nations in this new era.

74. To that end, I should like to examine today the presence of the United Nations in Asia and explore this question from three different angles: namely, first, what role the United Nations can play in the maintenance of peace in the region; secondly, what contribution the United Nations can make to the economic and social development of the region; and, thirdly, what should be the relations between the United Nations and Asia in the fields of culture and science.

75. The end of the war in Viet-Nam is, as I have pointed out, an event of such importance that it could signal the opening of a new era in Asia. I sincerely hope for the earliest possible arrival of the day when the peoples of Indo-China can concentrate their entire energy on the task of the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the region; the day when they can work for the stabilization of their lives and the promotion of their welfare; the day when lasting peace in the region can thus be ensured. In this perspective, I am firmly convinced that the United Nations can play no small role in stabilizing life as well as promoting welfare in this region, thereby bringing about peace and security in the region.

76. In this connexion, I welcome the statement made on 27 February 1973 by Secretary-General Waldheim, at the International Conference on Viet-Nam in Paris, that if the Governments in the region so desired, the United Nations and its specialized agencies could play an important role in receiving, co-ordinating and distributing international aid to meet emergency and rehabilitation needs. My country has long stressed the necessity for the provision of rehabilitation assistance to the region, and is already adopting the policy of initiating whatever assistance is feasible at present. However, I believe it desirable that such rehabilitation assistance should be made available for the whole of Indo-China, regardless of differences of social system, on the basis of broad international co-operation. We therefore expect the United Nations to play a positive role in promoting international co-operation directed to the entire Indo-China region, and Japan will be prepared to make an appropriate contribution to such activities of the United Nations.

77. In seeking lasting peace and security in Indo-China, I believe that it is important to re-examine the roles the

United Nations can play for the purpose of maintaining and ensuring peace in Indo-China.

78. As Members are aware, Japan appreciates highly the activities undertaken by the United Nations to prevent the spread or recurrence of conflicts; these activities are in fact the most effective manifestation of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations conceivable in the present circumstances. In particular, the achievements of the United Nations in such areas as Kashmir, the Middle East, the Congo and Cyprus have marked an important page in the history of the Organization's maintenance of international peace and security. It is from this viewpoint that we have advocated at several past sessions of the General Assembly the strengthening of such functions of the United Nations and their further institutionalization.

79. In Indo-China, where there are at last growing prospects for peace after many years of conflict, it is highly opportune for the United Nations to reaffirm its role as a peace-keeping Organization and to explore the possibilities open to it in ensuring peace in this region. Such an initiative merits serious consideration as a part of the long-term task of determining how the framework can be built under which peace and stability in Asia are to be secured. Until now, I must concede, the United Nations has not concerned itself sufficiently with the conflicts in the region. It has in fact been denied an important role in settling these conflicts by the inhibiting reality of international politics. However, the United Nations has proved itself to be capable of functioning with adequate effectiveness at least in the field of preventing the spread and the recurrence of conflicts, and this is a field for which the United Nations is discharging the primary responsibility. We should always bear this in mind as we examine the possibilities, consideration should be given to the will and desire of the countries concerned. In this spirit, both Viet-Nams should be welcomed as Members of the Organization if they wish to join.

80. In the Korean peninsula, the United Nations has been involved in the problem of the unification of Korea from 1947 until today. We believe that the United Nations deserves deep appreciation for the valuable role it has played by its presence in restoring and maintaining peace in this region. It has immensely contributed to the maintenance of peace in the whole of Asia.

81. The United Nations has persevered for a long time in its efforts to achieve rehabilitation and unification in the Korean peninsula through the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. There have been recent moves calling for new responses on the part of the United Nations. The significant development of the situation in the Korean peninsula, and the efforts of North and South Korea to make progress by means of a peaceful dialogue between themselves, have made it most important for the United Nations to adapt itself to the new situation and to welcome and encourage such moves. It is also important for the United Nations to re-examine its role in a constructive manner, and to seek the most appropriate way for the Organization to co-operate in the establishment of a stable order in the Korean peninsula.

82. It is equally essential to have a correct understanding of the role which has been and is still being played by the

United Nations in the restoration and maintenance of peace in the Korean peninsula. It is now 20 years since the termination of the Korean war, and the United Nations is still fulfilling its responsibility, as a direct party to the Armistice Agreement,⁷ for enforcing and securing the armistice line, thereby contributing to peace in this region. It is my conviction that this fact should never be forgotten by the Members of the United Nations who are responsible for, and concerned with, the maintenance of international peace and security.

83. As we turn our attention to the field of economic and social development, we find ourselves in the year of the first review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the United Nations Second Development Decade, which was adopted at the twenty-fifth commemorative session of the General Assembly. Japan welcomes this programme as a significant undertaking.

84. At the same time, in implementing such an ambitious programme and in seeking to bring about the economic and social progress and development of the world, it is not to be forgotten that Asia, with a population of over 2 billion—more than half the total population of the earth, and embracing a large geographical area as well—merits weighty consideration. It should be noted that, despite the very low average *per capita* income of the developing countries in Asia, the *per capita* receipt of official development assistance in Asia from 1969 to 1971 amounted only to an annual average of \$3.13, which is below the average *per capita* receipt of \$4.27 for the developing countries as a whole. I should like to stress the necessity of giving greater consideration to the needs of the Asian region, as symbolized by these figures, in order to achieve the over-all goals and objectives of the Development Strategy.

85. While it is our expectation that the Asian countries will continue to accelerate their own efforts for development, my country for its part will continue to co-operate with them in whatever way we can. In this connexion, I should like to point out that there is much room for the United Nations to take a more active part in the economic and social development of Asia. As a concrete possibility along these lines, I should like to make particular mention of the recent movement in which the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East [ECAFE] is expected to be further strengthened and developed in a new direction while responding flexibly to the changing situation in Asia.

86. My country hopes that ECAFE, which covers almost all the countries of Asia, can make a great contribution to the achievement of the common goals of over-all economic and social development of the countries of the region, while overcoming the difficulties arising from the diversity and complexity involved in all the political, economic and social aspects of the Asian region. My country firmly believes that such a contribution by ECAFE is indispensable for the prosperity of Asia.

87. In this context, it can be said that the twenty-ninth session of ECAFE, held in Tokyo last April, was particularly significant. At that session, against the background of

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953*, document S/3079, appendix A.

various important events indicating the tidal wave of change in the region over the past one or two years, it was recognized that it is of utmost importance to stabilize and elevate people's livelihood through the economic development of the entire region, and thereby to strengthen the foundations for peace. I should like to take this opportunity to make a few suggestions on the significance of ECAFE and the desirable role it can play against the background of the achievements of the Tokyo session.⁸

88. First of all, it is felt that, although ECAFE has numerous achievements in the past to its credit, its recent activities have been extremely diversified on all fronts, perhaps excessively so. I think it has become necessary for ECAFE to give constant consideration to the fixing of priorities and in so doing to discard obsolete projects and consequently give preference to projects in new fields which are truly necessary for the economic and social development of Asia.

89. Secondly, in contrast with the past activities of ECAFE, which have been focused on industrialization, trade and resource development, I should like to call attention to the importance of agricultural development as the heart of the economic development of Asia. The economy of developing countries in Asia is heavily dependent on agriculture, and agricultural development is the key to their over-all economic development. From this point of view my country stressed at the Tokyo session that ECAFE should explore a new strategy for economic development, based on a comprehensive approach, with greater emphasis on more efficient agricultural development. It is gratifying to note that such a way of thinking, as set forth by my country, came to be shared by other members of ECAFE, and finally found its expression in the resolution adopted at the session.

90. Thirdly, we are all well aware that, parallel with agricultural development, a solution of the population problem is another key to Asian development. In connexion with the problems of employment and over-all social development, over-population constitutes an important cause of mass poverty in Asia. It is the expectation of my Government that ECAFE will also play a greater role in this field.

91. Fortunately, ECAFE, now headed by Mr. Maramis, the new Executive Secretary, has actively launched reforms of its activities. It is the intention of my Government to consider a wide range of co-operative measures in dealing with these problems. I highly appreciate the importance of such positive co-operation toward economic and social development by ECAFE, which represents the presence of the United Nations in Asia. I sincerely hope that the United Nations will play an ever increasing role in the over-all economic and social development of Asia through ECAFE, with full co-operation and co-ordination with other agencies of the United Nations family, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which are undertaking valuable activities in this field.

92. As I turn to the activities of the United Nations in Asia in the fields of science and culture, I wish, first, to

refer to the point I made at the outset, namely, that the world of today embraces diversities of race, creed, ideology and scales of value. In such a diverse world, greater importance than ever is attached to the role to be played by an international organization like the United Nations, which aims at adjusting the different views and values of various peoples and thereby achieving international consensus. In this spirit my country believes that the establishment of the United Nations University, which was approved at the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2951 (XXVII)*], will be a highly significant undertaking.

93. Japan has always recognized the utmost importance of the realization and strengthening of international solidarity as a means of laying the foundation for peace, and, for that purpose, has consistently endeavoured to make the United Nations University a reality ever since U Thant, the former Secretary-General, proposed that project in 1969.⁹ For reasons of history and geography, Japan has had the experience of being a cultural meeting-point between the East and the West, and has endeavoured to act as a bridge between the developed and the developing countries. With this in mind, I firmly believe that, if the headquarters of the United Nations University is established in our country, it can play an extremely important role in promoting the presence of the United Nations in Asia. The University has vast opportunities open to it in many areas of learning—such as the comparative studies of different cultures and social values in the world, the development of measures to tackle the environmental problems common to all human beings living on the “only one earth”, and studies of possibilities for co-operation between the developed and the developing countries in promoting economic and social development. The symbolic importance of locating the headquarters of this world-wide research institution in Asia is by no means small.

94. At the same time, with a view to securing sound administration of the University on a stable financial basis and in accordance with the principles of academic freedom and independence, I believe it is necessary to establish what we might term “the endowment fund of the United Nations University”, to enable the University to obtain the necessary financial resources for its administration. My country therefore hopes that the maximum number of Member States, as well as other sources, will join in making contributions to this fund and share the burden in reasonable proportions. The University can then acquire a truly international character and prove to be a most effective means of international co-operation. I wish to announce that, with the fulfilment of these expectations, the Government of Japan is prepared to make a financial contribution to the fund up to a total amount of \$US 100 million in five yearly instalments, subject to the approval of the Diet.

95. Besides those activities which I have touched upon, mention should be made of the activities of the United Nations and other related bodies in the fields of science and culture, covering such extensive and complex areas of international co-operation as the sea, outer space, atomic energy, the human environment and meteorology. With the

⁸ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 9.*

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A, paras. 196-197.*

rapid progress of science and technology, the activities of United Nations bodies in these areas are expected to become increasingly important. At the same time, in considering the Organization's activities in these new areas, attention should be paid to the enormous usefulness of regional co-operation and the possibilities of helping to solve some of these problems through a regional approach.

96. For example, in the protection of the human environment, monitoring programmes and other regionally organized activities are necessary and can be effective. In the Asian region, positive initiatives in this direction have been taken by such bodies as ECAFE, and further development of such co-operation should be considered. In the field of outer space there have also been active deliberations in the forums of the United Nations concerned with such problems as direct broadcast satellites, which will be put to practical use in the near future. It is the desire of my Government that the direct broadcast satellites to be launched over the Asian and Pacific region should contribute to the greater solidarity of the international community in that part of the world.

97. I have made some suggestions here focusing attention on the question of what roles the United Nations should play in Asia, which is on the threshold of a new era. However, in order to play its full role in responding to the expectations of Asia, as well as of the rest of the world, the United Nations naturally must consolidate its foundation and should make great strides in its future activities on the basis of a stable foundation. Before concluding, therefore, I should like to touch upon the necessity of stepping up efforts to strengthen the financial position of the Organization.

98. It is indeed deplorable that the United Nations is facing a serious obstacle to the effective and efficient performance of its functions as a result of the growing accumulation of debts year after year. In a realistic response to this problem, Japan has made its positive contribution to a series of new efforts to find a comprehensive and complete solution for the accumulating deficit of the Organization. To our great disappointment, however, no solution has been found to this day. Representatives of many Member States have stressed the importance of placing the finances of the United Nations on a sound basis. I am convinced that there is unanimous recognition among the Member States of the importance of settling this matter as soon as possible.

99. What is urgently required now is a positive move which will trigger concrete actions leading to the solution of the problem on the basis of our common concern. I appeal to those Member States which support the principal financial needs of the United Nations—and in particular to the permanent members of the Security Council, which are entrusted with special tasks and high responsibilities for the maintenance and development of the United Nations—to take the initiative in making voluntary contributions to the Organization.

100. In making this appeal, I should like to announce that the Government of Japan is ready to seek the approval of the Diet at the earliest opportunity for a voluntary contribution of \$US 10 million to help solve the financial

problem. This contribution is not only an expression of the high hopes and great esteem that the people of Japan have for the activities of the United Nations, but also clear evidence of my country's spirit of co-operation with the United Nations. I make this announcement with the expectation that it will induce other Member States to take similar action and thus mark the first concrete step towards a fundamental solution of the financial problem. I wish to couple this announcement with the expression of my sincere hope that all the Member States, in particular those in a position to provide the principal financial support of the United Nations, will demonstrate their constructive and co-operative attitude. At the same time, I wish to request the Secretary-General to make still greater efforts to solve the financial problem.

101. My country has a deep-rooted national policy of living as a peace-loving nation, committed to its ideal of preserving its security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peoples of the world. For a country like Japan, with its dense population and scarce natural resources, there can be no peace without peace for the world, and no prosperity without prosperity for the world. From such a standpoint, my country is determined not merely to be a beneficiary of peace but also to accept its responsibility in the building of peace.

102. The United Nations is the forum for co-operation in a wide range of fields, covering politics, economy, culture, science and technology. Such co-operation, I believe, is the best means for Japan to abide by its renunciation of the role of a military Power, and to contribute to the building of peace. As I mentioned earlier, the world is now moving into an era in which deterrence by international co-operation will assume ever-greater importance in maintaining and ensuring peace and will supersede deterrence by force. My country sincerely hopes that the United Nations will become the principal vehicle for such deterrence by international co-operation and firmly intends to redouble its efforts to strengthen such functions of the Organization.

103. In this connexion I wish to express my appreciation for the sympathetic statement by the Secretary of State of the United States in which he expressed his support of the important role to be played by Japan in the United Nations [2124th meeting].

104. I shall be extremely happy if what I have said can be taken as evidence of Japan's hopes for the United Nations as well as its earnest desire to strengthen it.

105. In closing, let me express my sincere hope that this session of the General Assembly will succeed in achieving constructive and fruitful results.

106. Mr. HAILE (Ethiopia): I find it a source of great pleasure to preface my statement this afternoon by expressing to the President my very warm felicitations upon his election to the high office of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We regard his unanimous and well-deserved election not only as a personal tribute to his eminent qualities as an accomplished diplomat of great skill and experience and as a man of great devotion to the ideals of universal peace and human dignity, but also as a recognition of Ecuador's belief in the

unreserved support for the principles that inspire the United Nations. I wish to seize this opportunity to assure him that my delegation stands prepared to place its complete co-operation at his disposal as he endeavours to fulfil the high duties with which this Assembly has entrusted him.

107. His predecessor in the post of President, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, deserves our gratitude for the competent manner in which he presided over the work of the General Assembly at its last session. Through you, Sir, I am happy to extend to him the appreciation of the Ethiopian delegation.

108. The current session of the General Assembly has, through the happy enlargement of the United Nations roster, witnessed a further positive development towards the achievement of the principle of universality of membership in our Organization. It is from that perspective, therefore, that my delegation views the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations. To all three, I extend the warm welcome of my delegation and wish to assure them of our co-operation and friendship as they join us here in the United Nations to work together towards the attainment of our common objectives of international peace and co-operation.

109. The admission to membership in the United Nations of the two Germanys, in particular, is not without its historic significance. As we all know, both East and West Germany are not States which acceded to sovereign and independent political existence immediately preceding their admission to membership, as has been the case with the preponderant majority of States which joined the United Nations as Members since the signing of the Charter in San Francisco 28 years ago. Rather, the prolonged exclusion of those States from membership in the United Nations has been a consequence of the rigidities of the polarized cold-war diplomacy that had hitherto characterized the conduct of international political intercourse. The approval without dissent of the application for membership of the two Germanys by the Security Council is therefore an event which we must all applaud and welcome as it not only appreciably contributed towards the strengthening of the United Nations itself but also established a pattern for the future resolution of the yet unsettled questions of membership in the United Nations of the remaining divided States. The significance of the admission of the two Germanys could be viewed as an added evidence of the changing nature of the international political climate, which is witnessing the steady replacement of the era of confrontation by an era of accommodation based on the perception of mutual self-interest. In this regard, it remains our firm conviction that if the United Nations is to be capable of playing the role of a constructive and effective international Organization, it must be representative and open, and not discriminatory or exclusive in its membership.

110. As in the past, the current session of the General Assembly has afforded Members yet another opportunity not only to review and examine the questions with which the United Nations is currently seized but also to address themselves to some others which, in their respective views, relate, in some manner, to the achievement of the over-all

aims of our Organization. Quite naturally, I feel that such an exercise could commence with some general references to some of the more important developments in the international scene during the past year.

111. At the outset, I am satisfied to note that the trend towards the over-all relaxation of tension in inter-State relations, and, in particular, in relations affecting the major Powers of the world, began only recently and has continued to show steady improvement. My Government attaches great importance to this welcome development as we believe that, in the present era of astounding technological refinements which, *inter alia*, have given man the unprecedented capability for instant self-destruction, every minute step taken in the direction of mutual understanding and accommodation amongst friends and adversaries alike is a positive evolution worth acclaiming. The risk to world peace—a peace whose fortunes are solely based on uncertain hopes and mere assumptions that the worst might somehow be avoided—is, to say the least, enormous. It is therefore such an appreciation, coupled with an awareness of the stark reality of the physical and political interdependence of international life today that prompts my Government to evaluate as positive, and to support, any development on the international scene that contributes towards the establishment of an enduring peace in the world. In this context, I wish to refer to some events that have occurred since we last met here which, in the view of my delegation, can be considered as developments of positive significance to international stability.

112. The effort not long ago initiated to establish a more stable international system increasingly free of the risks of nuclear confrontation was given further impetus by the official visit to Washington last June of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev. Although it may be premature to evaluate with precision the over-all impact of the various agreements signed by President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev subsequent to their summit talks, we can nevertheless venture to assert that the spirit which underlay those accords was a further positive development in strengthening international peace and security. We believe that the code of conduct signed by the two leaders to reduce the risk of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union and between either party and other countries is, in particular, a major contribution to the preservation of peace in the world.

113. The convening in Helsinki, Finland, of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at the beginning of July this year was another event which we consider to be of significance. Viewed against the background of the seemingly unbridgeable political and economic schism that had characterized Europe after the Second World War, indeed the recent attempt at Helsinki to establish a better foundation for improved and mutually advantageous relations was one that must be commended. Unless for emphasis, the obvious fact that Europe had, for over two decades, remained a potential flash-point for war need not be restated here. We hope the desire to reduce tension in this part of the world will find further concrete expressions in the years to come.

114. As we ushered in the new year, an important agreement was signed in Paris which sought to terminate the active hostilities which had raged mercilessly in Indo-China for over a decade, causing untold sufferings to the inhabitants of that peninsula. The Paris agreement of last January, which called for a general cease-fire in Viet-Nam, also provided for the withdrawal of foreign troops, thus paving the way for the people of Viet-Nam to exercise their inalienable right to determine for themselves, without any outside interference, the future of their political destiny. My Government is satisfied that it has at last become possible for the parties in the Viet-Nam conflict to resolve their differences by negotiation and mutual agreement rather than through recourse to destructive violence, the continuation and escalation of which had posed a serious and dangerous threat to international peace and harmony. We are all the more pleased at the outcome, as we had, in this and other international forums, repeatedly advocated, as the *sine qua non* for ending the war in Viet-Nam, the same cardinal elements eventually incorporated in the Paris Agreement. It is the earnest hope of my Government that, with the end of the hostilities, the people of Viet-Nam will begin to enjoy the peace and tranquillity in their land denied them for over a quarter of a century and will now have the unhampered opportunity to channel their energies into the pursuit of their social and economic goals.

115. Similarly, we have taken note of the pact of Vientiane—the agreement signed last February on restoring peace and achieving national concord in Laos. Indeed, it has been gratifying for us to observe that the contagion of peace in Viet-Nam has spilled over into neighbouring Laos. We hope that agreement will continue to be respected so that peace will prevail in the country.

116. The situation in Cambodia, unfortunately, continues to be the anomaly of the trend in the rest of Indo-China. The military conflict continues unabated and with it the anguish and suffering of the people of Cambodia. It is our hope that the people of Cambodia will be left to themselves to find appropriate solutions to their own political problems.

117. While it is true that we take satisfaction from witnessing the accelerated tempo in the normalization of relations among the great Powers, as well as from the observation that some of the pressing international problems in some regions of the world, notably those in Europe and in South-East Asia, are being resolved, we cannot nevertheless, hide our dismay and serious concern at the lack of concomitant progress in the search for solutions to such vital issues as decolonization, the Middle East, disarmament, and economic development.

118. That the United Nations efforts to bring freedom and dignity to the millions of Africans still suffering from colonial and racial oppression have not registered any single perceptible success within the past year needs no emphasis. Nor does the sad and well-known fact of the escalation of the brutal repression of the African masses by the colonial-racist régimes of southern Africa require any detailed recitation on the part of my delegation.

119. My Government notes with profound regret that the continued stifling of the legitimate aspirations of the

oppressed peoples of southern Africa to freedom and dignity by those who hold their own selfish and misguided interests of surpassing importance has not caused sufficient moral indignation in the international community to compel it to act in concert not only in the defence of the rights of the peoples of southern Africa, but, more importantly, in the supreme interest of the overriding principles that are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is the considered view of my delegation that it is this apparent neglect of the anguish and sufferings of the peoples of southern Africa by the international community that has encouraged the colonialists to engage in unconscionable excesses in order to guarantee their position of controlling the lives and destinies of the peoples they remorselessly subjugate and exploit. The incalculable death and destruction that are now being perpetrated by the colonialists in southern Africa as well as in Guinea (Bissau) are the direct consequence of the failure of the international community to which I have just referred.

120. In the face of the regrettable complacency on the part of the allies and trading partners of Portugal regarding the plight of the peoples under Portuguese subjugation, it is indeed no surprise that Portugal has continued to prosecute its colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau with ever more ferocity. The recent revelation of the massacre of 400 innocent men, women and children at Wiriyamu in Mozambique is but one more example of the depth to which Portugal is prepared to sink in its vain attempt to force the surrender of the liberation struggle. How many horrifying massacres of the type that took place at Wiriyamu are needed before the friends and allies of Portugal realize their responsibilities and begin to deny their support to a country that insists on enslaving millions of Africans and exploiting the resources of their territories?

121. The situation in Zimbabwe continues to deteriorate as the rebel régime, in co-operation with Portuguese and South African forces, increases its military offensive against the liberation struggle, thereby escalating tension in the colony. In an apparent attempt to emulate the policy of *apartheid* as practised in South Africa, the rebel régime announced, in Salisbury last March, plans for the establishment of "bantustans", which it euphemistically called "regional authorities", thus confirming our suspicions that the rebels are determined to impose *apartheid* on the African masses of Zimbabwe. In spite of such a turn for the worse in the situation in the colony, what we now hear is not of any new resolve on the part of the administering Power to rectify its mishandling of the insurrection in the colony, but rather of further disquieting reports of contacts between Britain and the rebels, the purpose of which could only be to legitimize the rebellion of the racist minority in power and to relegate the overwhelming African majority to perpetual subjugation.

122. As for the sanctions imposed against the Territory by the Security Council, their ineffectiveness continues to be starkly demonstrated by the defiant survival of the Salisbury régime itself as well as by the increase in the number of breaches that are taking place. The recent sale of three Boeing jet aircraft to the régime clearly underscores the urgent need for a critical reappraisal of the sanctions policy if the effort to restore legality in the Territory is to be successful.

123. The question of Namibia has remained deadlocked as the South African Government continues to manipulate the opportunity provided by the decision of the Security Council in its resolution 309 (1972) that requested the Secretary-General to initiate contacts with it. After repeated and patient attempts to probe the South African intention with respect to the political future of Namibia, the Secretary-General has, in his latest report,¹⁰ confirmed the failure of the South African Government to provide an unambiguous response in regard to the question of granting to the people of Namibia the right of self-determination and independence envisaged under resolution 323 (1972). This South African equivocation comes to us as no surprise since we had nurtured no illusions to begin with about South Africa's true designs and intentions with respect to Namibia. It is our belief that the United Nations must abandon forthwith any false hopes and consider the adoption of other means to extricate the Namibian people from the illegal colonial occupation of South Africa.

124. The armed struggle now under way in southern Africa as well as in Guinea-Bissau between those who are in legitimate pursuit of their freedom and dignity and those who insist on continuing their colonial and racial domination has reached a new and dangerous level. As the liberation forces intensify their armed struggle to dislodge the oppressors, the colonialists in unholy alliance among themselves have stepped up their vicious and indiscriminate wars of oppression. We believe that the United Nations has a responsibility to assist those who, by fighting for their rights to self-determination and independence, are also fighting for the respect of the principles that are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. The recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples must be coupled with the resolve to render not only moral but also material assistance to the liberation struggle. We consider the decision adopted at the last session of the General Assembly to grant observer status to African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to be of great political importance to the anti-colonial struggle. In this regard we also consider the convening of a conference in Oslo, Norway, last April¹¹ in support of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa to be of significance particularly from the point of view of its advantage in creating international public awareness regarding the gravity of the problem prevailing in southern Africa.

125. That colonialism and racialism have denied Africa peace and tranquillity has now become too obvious a fact. In this connexion I cannot emphasize too much the urgent necessity of effective pressures being exercised on the culprits of southern Africa, particularly by those States Members of this Organization which, by virtue of their close friendship, have the leverage to persuade and prevail upon them to put an end to the wanton killings and mass destruction they are perpetrating in that part of the world.

126. Since the founding of OAU 10 years ago last May, African States have co-ordinated their efforts in the

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1973*, document S/10921.

¹¹ International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa (see document A/9061).

unremitting struggle against the colonialist-racialist alliance. As a concrete harmonization of African policies to combat effectively the oppressions and injustices which are being perpetrated on African soil, the positive role which is being played by OAU has indeed been significant. The consolidation of the freedom struggle in Africa owes as much to OAU as it does to the sacrifices which the various African national liberation movements themselves are making to liberate their land from ruthless subjugators. To this extent it will be no exaggeration to say that OAU has been complementing United Nations efforts in the sphere of decolonization.

127. All men of good conscience must realize that the liberation struggle in Africa is essentially a struggle for human rights. As States Members of the United Nations prepare to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I wonder how much thought will be given to the plight of the peoples of southern Africa who have for long been denied the most rudimentary individual liberties which many of us take for granted.

128. We note that no progress has been achieved in the past year in the effort to bring peace to another area of potential danger to international stability. I am, of course, referring to the situation in the Middle East, where the task of finding a just and lasting solution to the problem continues to be stalemated. A hazardous state of suspended hostilities has characterized the area ever since the cease-fire agreement went into effect in August 1970. In the meantime, violence and retribution continue to be perpetrated, as what has come to be described as "the Arab-Israeli secret war" assumes new scope and dimensions with its inevitable hazards to those innocent bystanders who are unrelated in any way to the conflict in the Middle East.

129. On the diplomatic front, the recent broad review conducted by the Security Council of the situation in the Middle East has failed to yield any new direction which might have been pursued in the important search for an acceptable and durable peace in the Middle East.

130. Because of our close proximity to the area of hostilities, I cannot help but declare our most profound distress at the fact that the quest for peace has become as elusive as ever. Our support for Security Council resolution 242 (1967) was prompted by our strong desire to ensure that an acceptable formula was established as a framework for resolving the central issues that have remained at the root of the Arab-Israeli problem. In this context, I wish to refer to the statement made by my august Sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries:

"The peoples of that region require a just and lasting peace to realize their human potential and develop the natural resources of the area for the betterment of their lives. As a condition to a lasting solution, we must call upon Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories she occupied six years ago."

131. Let me now turn briefly to another important issue which, because of its increasingly enormous bearing on

world peace, has been of great concern to our Organization ever since its inception. It is universally agreed that among the means of ensuring international peace, one of exceptional importance is that of disarmament. Yet, in spite of this recognition, progress over the years towards the goal of both conventional and nuclear disarmament has become painfully slow. Nevertheless, we note with satisfaction the agreements signed last June between the United States and the USSR on the prevention of nuclear war and the limitation of strategic armaments. The expressed intention of achieving agreement from the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks within 18 months is also encouraging.

132. The hope we expressed last year for an early conclusion of an agreement to ban chemical weapons has not, regrettably, been realized. My Government would like to urge once again that no effort should be spared to reach agreement not only on a comprehensive prohibition of all chemical weapons, but also on a provision to ensure the destruction of the existing arsenal of chemical weapons.

133. Last August marked the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Moscow¹²—a treaty which banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, on the surface of the ground and under water. It would have been most appropriate if during this anniversary year, it had been possible to eliminate the two defects of the Treaty—firstly, its implicit legitimization of underground nuclear tests and, secondly, the absence of the other nuclear Powers from the roster of the signatories of the Treaty. In this regard, we wish to emphasize the extreme importance of making every effort to prevent any further radioactive defilement of the atmosphere.

134. The armaments race has proved to be not only a drain on vital resources which could have been employed to improve the quality of life for mankind, but also a paramount reason for the erosion of mutual trust and confidence among States. It has often been stated that it is the balance of terror that has somehow reduced the possibility of a nuclear confrontation among the great Powers. For our part, we should like to see peace assured, not by virtue of a hazardous balance of terror, but by positive and effective measures of disarmament. And, in this regard, no doubt a carefully prepared and properly convened world disarmament conference could be a useful exercise. But, as the experience of the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has so far shown, the understanding and co-operation of all nuclear weapon States becomes indispensable if any progress is to be registered in the effort to halt and reverse the armaments race.

135. Among the problems which continue to tax the energy and imagination of our Organization is the area of international economic and social development. The recent review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade has shown that even the modest and agreed targets we had set out to achieve are proving to be extremely difficult if not altogether impossible to attain. The statistics in this regard are, at the very least, discouraging. While of

all the developing countries of the world only one third exceeded the over-all target of a 6 per cent annual growth rate in 1972, one half of them could not even register a growth rate of 5 per cent. Indeed, to make matters worse, in about one fifth of the developing countries a decline in *per capita* income was evident.

136. The gap between the developed and the developing nations is thus increasing rather than decreasing as had hopefully been anticipated with the launching of the Second Development Decade. That there is a direct correlation between both economic and social development, on the one hand, and international stability, on the other, is a fact which has now become accepted. In view of this, it therefore becomes incumbent upon all members of the international community to renew their solemn commitments to the struggle against the basic economic and social ills impeding the achievement of an improved quality of life for all mankind. In the interdependent world of today we simply cannot afford to falter in our courage to rise up to meet such rudimentary challenges affecting the daily lives and over-all welfare of the human family.

137. The United Nations, as an international institution dedicated to the service of all mankind, has, over the years, evolved in response to the demand of changing times. We thus see it today grappling increasingly not only with issues of international peace and security—to which it accords high priority—but also with problems of trade, development, outer space, the sea-bed, population, environment and human rights. Many of these are staggering problems whose effects transcend the confines of geography and political ideology. They are problems with wider and, in some instances, global implications. And, as such, they can only be tackled effectively within an integrated international response. I believe that the United Nations has the basic institutional set-up needed to facilitate such an international co-operative endeavour. Obviously the United Nations can be improved institutionally to better meet the challenges of contemporary times.

138. But it is no use to decry the United Nations for failing in this or that sphere of endeavour while we ourselves fail to live up to the commitments voluntarily assumed by the fact of our membership in this Organization. If the United Nations has failed to meet many of the expectations of international public opinion it is because its components—the States that comprise its membership—have been unwilling to give it all the support and co-operation it needs in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to it. And if it is at all possible to affix blame to any single factor for the ills of the United Nations, it can perhaps be ascribed to the general paralysis of the political will of the membership.

139. That the world needs an effective and strengthened United Nations is a fact that no one can controvert. Let us therefore make this recognition our point of departure and resolve to rededicate ourselves not only to the letter but also to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations so that the world will be a secure and better place to live in for present as well as future generations of mankind.

140. Mr. NAFFAH (Lebanon) (*interpretation from French*): It is my pleasant duty to extend to Mr. Benites

¹² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

my warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. These congratulations are all the more warm since Lebanon maintains with Ecuador, as indeed it does with all Latin American countries in general, particularly cordial relations.

141. I also take pleasure in paying a tribute to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, who assumed with competence the presidency of the last session of the General Assembly.

142. It is also my pleasure to express the appreciation of my delegation for the devotion of the Secretary-General of our Organization. Mr. Waldheim's attachment to the purposes of the United Nations and his tireless efforts in the service of peace resulted most recently in his visit to the countries of the Middle East. I should like to state here that his visit to Lebanon was very highly appreciated and very useful. My Government is a convinced supporter of the action of the Secretary-General and would express the wish that his efforts be crowned with success.

143. These wishes are not just a matter of form. Lebanon, a founding Member of the United Nations, has always had great confidence in our Organization and has always shown a sincere and constant attachment to it. It has participated in its activities and supported its actions in so far as it has been able. At a time when the United Nations is preparing to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, permit me to mention as an example the contribution made by Lebanon to that historic event. I should also like to remind you that in the Middle East, of which it is a part, Lebanon has always tried to promote United Nations action and to make available to our Organization and the specialized agencies all of the facilities it has been in a position to offer. Thus 10 organs of the United Nations are today represented in my country. The Lebanese Government has decided to establish, in co-operation with our Organization, a United Nations Centre in Beirut. The Economic Commission for Western Asia, the establishment of which in Lebanon has just been approved by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1818 (LV) and will undoubtedly also be approved by this session of the Assembly, strengthens even further the ties which exist between the United Nations and Lebanon.

144. The United Nations, for its part, has always shown a great deal of understanding towards my country and has lavished upon it all the support it has been in a position to give. During the course of the suffering which has afflicted the Arab countries since 1967, it is worth while reminding you that Lebanon has had frequent recourse to the Security Council to denounce the acts of aggression directed against it by an irascible neighbour. Eight times the Security Council has condemned Israel and supported the Lebanese Government.

145. Lebanon, therefore, a small country devoted to peace and a resolute partisan of international co-operation, would like to express its most fervent hope that the Organization will be strengthened, its prestige enhanced and its means of action increased. Unfortunately, however, when one takes a look at the agenda of this session and compares the results achieved by our Organization with the responsibilities

which it would normally be expected to assume, one cannot help feeling some disillusion. How many major problems still remain unsettled. All our debates in the past, the many resolutions we have adopted, and all our efforts have not succeeded in settling them. The Middle East crisis remains in a state of deadlock; the question of Korea has not yet been settled; colonialism in Africa is not slackening its grip, and racial discrimination continues to exist there. The disarmament discussions are still in their embryonic stage; the difficulties encountered by the developing countries are becoming ever more serious; and the gap between the poor and the rich countries is growing constantly wider.

146. Nevertheless, the agenda does, of course, reflect positive aspects and the progress achieved in certain areas. Although we are far from final solutions, we note with satisfaction that the United Nations is approaching constructively the economic and social problems which arise in the international sphere, particularly those of the environment, population, trade, the sea-bed and so on. Considerable progress has been achieved, too, towards universality. We therefore are gratified at the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the great family of the United Nations. May we be permitted to express the hope that in the near future the United Nations will become synonymous with the international community as a whole?

147. We note with equal satisfaction the progress achieved in the past year towards the relaxation of international tension. Although bilateral diplomacy has played a decisive role in achieving this progress, there is no doubt, that the United Nations has contributed, and continues to contribute, to an improvement of the international atmosphere by promoting better understanding and by creating broad possibilities for dialogue. The rapprochement between the great Powers, the agreements on South-East Asia, the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the talks between the two Koreas, the bilateral negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons and the agreements on the problems of the Indian subcontinent are all positive results which reflect the new international spirit and encourage optimism.

148. Of all the political questions which will be considered at this session, the one which causes the most concern to us is obviously that of the Middle East. I should like to express here and now the deep conviction of my delegation that this question, and indeed all those which involve the fate of human communities, whatever their size, can be settled satisfactorily and lastingly only if such a settlement is based first and foremost on a spirit of equity and justice. Political manoeuvres, considerations based on the balance of forces and interests should in no way be allowed to stifle the voice of right and justice.

149. Let us take care not to stifle that voice any longer. History teaches us that every time the voice of right and justice has not been heeded, the result has inevitably been an explosion, leading to the collapse of structures which had been established to maintain the peace.

150. The fundamental facts of the Middle East problem are very familiar to this Assembly. They have been so

amply set forth, commented upon and debated that I have no intention of repeating what has so often been said in the past, nor do I intend to anticipate what other speakers may say at this session. I shall confine myself simply to recalling here certain basic truths and to setting forth succinctly the views of my Government.

151. The first truth is that Israel, a Member of the United Nations, to which it owes its very existence, continues to occupy by force territories belonging to sovereign States which are also Members of this Organization. That occupation constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and a defiance of the United Nations, which, by several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, has condemned the acquisition of territory by force. Israel no longer troubles to conceal its ambitions with regard to the fate of these territories. Through the words of its most authoritative leaders and by the military, economic and settlement policy which it has been pursuing for six years, it is systematically applying a policy of conquest and annexation. Of course, the Arab countries will do everything in their power to resist that colonial policy, and they will offer that resistance as long as is necessary. But the problem transcends the context of the Arab countries and involves the international community as a whole. The question is whether we live in a policed world or must resign ourselves indefinitely to the law of the jungle. Lebanon has appealed to the United Nations whenever the occasion has arisen and exhorted it to contemplate concrete and effective measures to ensure the rule of law and right. From this rostrum I firmly and solemnly repeat the same exhortation.

152. The second truth is that Israel has driven a whole people from its motherland, gained possession of its property and trampled underfoot its most elementary and sacred rights. Israel has inflicted and continues to inflict upon it and upon all those who have granted it their hospitality most brutal violence: violations of air space, bombardments, abduction of soldiers and civilians, punitive expeditions, occupation of strategic points, hijacking and destruction of civilian aircraft. At the beginning, Israel pointed to the activities of the *fedayeen* in an attempt to justify its aggression. As we know, those activities were committed sporadically, I would say, by uncontrollable elements. But today Israel no longer takes the trouble to find justifications. It claims the right to take preventive measures against Palestinians whom it has driven from their homes or who have fled the ostracism of the invader.

153. The fate of the Palestinian people constitutes the heart of the problem in the Middle East. Even if other aspects of this problem were settled to the satisfaction of all the States concerned, even if the territories were liberated, the Holy Places restored to their universal function and questions of shipping resolved, as long as the fate of the people of Palestine was not settled in accordance with equity in a way satisfactory to their legitimate aspirations to freedom and human dignity, nothing would really have been solved. That people must be consulted on its future. It is entitled to respect, understanding and consideration.

154. Everyone knows that Lebanon took no part in the military operations of June 1967. It was not, therefore,

directly involved in that conflict. But that conflict has had a profound effect upon it, not only because it is a member of the League of Arab States and considers itself bound by ties of solidarity with those States but also because Israel has certain designs on its territory and its waters, and because more than 300,000 Palestinians live on its territory.

155. Lebanon will, in so far as it is able, participate in the search for a just and lasting solution. But Lebanon has no territorial problem to discuss with anyone, either directly or even indirectly. The only international document which defines its position on Israel is the Lebanese-Israeli Armistice Agreement of 1949. That Agreement put an end to hostilities and established the supervision and control organs with the co-operation of the United Nations and under its chairmanship. Whatever allegations to the contrary may be put forward by Israel, that document is still in force. The Security Council itself has repeatedly decided so, most recently by its resolution 337 (1973), adopted unanimously on 15 August 1973.

156. Lebanon considers that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) primarily concerns those countries which took part in the 1967 conflict. It does not, therefore, have either to accept it on its own account or to reject it. But it does support it, because it sees in it a basis upon which the over-all solution should be built. That resolution contains, among others, a provision calling for the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from occupied territories and stating the need to settle the Palestinian problem equitably.

157. It is no longer possible in our day to apply the old adage, "Politics first". Economic matters have assumed such an importance that they are now inseparable from politics.

158. For 25 years Lebanon, like other Arab States, has constantly suffered the disastrous economic consequences of an unresolved political conflict. Only the establishment of peace can permit the peoples of the region to devote their resources and energies to constructive purposes. And this peace cannot be beneficial only to the peoples of the region themselves. It will also serve the interests of the human community as a whole and will strengthen international stability and security.

159. The subject of economic and social development, which has been given prominence for many years now, has unfortunately not yet produced sufficient concrete results. The evaluation of the Second United Nations Development Decade, in the light of the discussions in the Economic and Social Council and the Food and Agriculture Organization particularly, is not very encouraging. The rich countries do not seem sufficiently aware that in the world of today, in which everything is interdependent, it is in their interests to increase substantially the effort asked of them. For their part, the developing countries seem to be confining themselves more and more to a demanding attitude unlikely to facilitate a dialogue.

160. The problem of disarmament is no less distressing than that of poverty. Everything has already been said on this subject. I would simply like to suggest that, if a decision is taken to reduce armaments, the possibility be studied of creating within the framework of the United

Nations a special fund designed to give rapid assistance to countries afflicted by natural disasters, a fund financed by a portion of the financial resources at present devoted to the production of means of destruction.

161. The United Nations quite rightly is displaying growing interest in the problems of the environment. Man, the marvellous creator, has suddenly discovered that he is also a ruthless destroyer. He knows that nature is threatened by death. That realization has already led to abundant research and study, which has not, however, yet been translated into action by a rescue programme. I should like to mention that my country has made a special effort in the area of the protection of nature. A Mediterranean conference was held in Beirut last May to study ways and means of fighting pollution in the Mediterranean basin. It adopted a programme which it called the Beirut Charter and established a standing conservation committee which will be staffed by the National Council for Scientific Research in Lebanon.

162. Another problem which is worthy of our attention is that of the sea-bed. In its resolution 3029 (XVII), the Assembly entrusted the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction with the task of preparing a draft convention to be submitted to a plenipotentiary conference in Santiago next April. Unfortunately, the draft convention is not yet ready. In the course of the many meetings which have been held, Member States have not shown a sufficient degree of co-operation. The Assembly proclaimed, amidst general enthusiasm, that the resources of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction constituted the common heritage of mankind as a whole [see resolution 2749 (XXV)]. An international organization was to be set up to exploit these resources for the benefit of all nations. These fine promises seem to have been forgotten very quickly. The conflict of national interests has overshadowed respect for the interests of the international community, and almost diverted the Committee from its initial task, which was to work for the development of international law of the sea and not to try to stifle it.

163. The United Nations was created to promote the ideal of peace and justice in the world. In spite of all the setbacks and the difficulties which have been encountered, I should like to proclaim the faith of my country in our Organization and our attachment to it. Of course, as I have already pointed out, its possibilities of action are small compared with the considerable responsibilities it bears. Many of the extremely serious and urgent problems unfortunately are still unresolved, principal among which we find the distressing problem of the Middle East. But I am convinced that it is in the spirit of the Charter, and preferably within the framework of the United Nations, without excluding all other possibilities, that these problems should be examined and debated. It is upon the United Nations that all good will should converge in order to strengthen the possibilities of action and to lay down the principles of right and justice on solid foundations. We believe that it is not so much a matter of defining principles, outlining objectives and adopting new resolutions which are indistinguishable from each other, but rather a matter of tackling seriously the question of practical measures which should and must be taken in order to ensure the total and effective application of these resolutions. However that may be, Lebanon, for its

part, however humble may be its contribution, will always work in this spirit and towards this objective.

164. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran): The election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly of Mr. Benites, the representative of Ecuador, is not only the culmination of his long and distinguished service to the United Nations, but a telling reflection of the esteem in which his country and he are held within the community of nations. It is also a symbolic acknowledgement of the growing voice of Latin America in world affairs. It is most gratifying for me to greet him on behalf of Iran on this auspicious occasion, all the more so as our two countries have just recently agreed to exchange Ambassadors.

165. I deem it my pleasant duty to pay a warm tribute to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński, who guided the work of the General Assembly last year with courage and distinction.

166. We reiterate our admiration and support for Secretary-General Waldheim and wish him to know how deeply we appreciate all that he does to advance the purposes of the Charter and thus the interests of peace.

167. A few days ago, the General Assembly made history by admitting the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to the membership in the Organization. The significance of this step goes beyond its material value in decisively advancing the goal of universality. This decision has high symbolic value in that it marked the end of an era. The pattern now set may well be followed by countries in a similar position in other regions of the world.

168. I wish also to welcome to our midst the new State of the Bahamas and express our best wishes for the prosperity and well-being of its people.

169. Much good work was done last year to reinforce the fabric of peace. I am thinking primarily of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam. I am also thinking of the New Delhi Agreement of 28 August 1973 between Pakistan and India; of the conclusion of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic;¹³ of the fruitful summit talks held last June between President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev; of further signs of flexibility in the respective positions of North and South Korea; of the long awaited Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and of many other events that have added substance to the process of détente.

170. One can take comfort in the thought that conciliation is now a habit-forming process in our international life. To be sure, there still remains much that mars this process. Peace is not yet in sight in the Middle East, and remains a fragile condition in South-East Asia, in spite of efforts to buttress it. The international community is also plagued by the recurrence of acts of international terrorism by individuals, groups and States alike.

171. It is against the background of this dichotomy that I wish to turn briefly to some of the issues affecting our

¹³ Done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

common interests. A while ago I referred to the Agreement of 27 January ending the war in Viet-Nam. The shaky ground on which this Agreement is being preserved is no reflection on its significance as a basis for viable peace in South-East Asia and on the extraordinary amount of good will and negotiating skill that have gone into its making. The magnitude of this achievement should indeed be measured against the background of 28 years of incessant hostilities and the depth of alienation they had caused.

172. My Government sincerely hopes that those who joined at Paris to end the war in Viet-Nam will continue to co-operate with one another to make the agreement a viable instrument of peace and a vehicle to achieve a peaceful unification of Viet-Nam. The viability of the Agreement, however, can only be preserved through scrupulous adherence, by all sides, to all its provisions.

173. My Government, having recently established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and being equally friendly with the Republic of South Viet-Nam, will spare no opportunity to contribute to the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam, and in this spirit has agreed to assume responsibility as a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

174. In a wider context, the end of the war in Viet-Nam has eased the process of détente and its soothing effects have been felt in the improved relations among major Powers. One of the happy products of this process, this year, was the United States-Soviet Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, signed on the occasion of Mr. Brezhnev's visit to the United States.¹⁴ Though essentially a joint policy guideline, the agreement can lead to more comprehensive and binding commitments on nuclear weapons and to a more unequivocal denunciation of the use of force in international relations.

175. With regard to the question of disarmament, in our view a disarmament programme should be worked out maintaining a constant link between the partial measures and the final goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

176. In the absence of such a programme and until the goal of general and complete disarmament is achieved, countries cannot fail to look after their defence requirements. But efforts aimed at the realization of the goal of general and complete disarmament must be pursued, and I can say, as far as Iran is concerned, that we have not failed to do our part in a constructive spirit.

177. In this connexion, there seems to be no reason which could justify a lukewarm attitude towards effective disarmament measures, especially on the questions of cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests and the prohibition of chemical weapons, areas which are designated by the General Assembly as "first" or "high" priority.

178. Last year marked another failure in attempts to break the deadlock in the Middle East, but the abortive debate at the Security Council reflected a world-wide disenchantment over the retention of Arab lands. We heard

the embittered world opinion, voiced by representatives of so many nations, including my own, clearly rejecting the retention of occupied Arab territories by Israel.

179. Negotiations among the parties can only be undertaken if there is a reasonable guarantee for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories and for the realization of all other provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), including a just solution for the problem of Palestinian-Arab refugees.

180. Iran continues to maintain that that resolution provides the most practicable and viable framework for peace. We sincerely hope that renewed efforts by the Secretary-General will help to form the climate of peace. His recent bid to help break the deadlock in the Middle East conflict, which took him to the countries directly involved, was as courageous as it was timely. Against the background of six years of frustrated peace-making efforts, no opportunity, no matter how dim its prospects, should be missed without having been fully explored.

181. Terrorism continues to be a source of concern for the international community. Last year I had the opportunity to express from this rostrum¹⁵ our sense of dismay and abhorrence of acts of violence involving threats to or loss of lives of innocent people. On several occasions since, we have elaborated our position, never failing to call for strong, international action. In doing so, we have, of course, been keenly conscious of the complexities involved in this issue and the fact that radical treatment will have to deal necessarily with the source and not merely the manifestation of the evil. But neither this conviction nor the controversy surrounding this issue has lessened our proclivity for action against terrorism parallel with the study of its underlying causes.

182. This conviction is reinforced by the thought that not all terrorist outrages are rooted in injustice, and where such casual relationship exists, not all its victims can be implicated in the cause of the grievance. If we make laws to regulate the behaviour of States in armed conflicts in order to protect civilians and those unconnected with the war, we cannot concede a free hand to individuals and groups, or for that matter to States, to jeopardize the lives of innocents.

183. In this connexion, a cruel example is aircraft hijacking and other acts of violence directed against civil aviation. Commission of these acts for political purposes has become increasingly counter-productive. We, like many others, cannot refrain from expressing our dismay over the half-hearted reactions to this international plague. If our efforts are to be effective, there should be concerted action by all States, on a world basis, for the prevention as well as the suppression of aircraft hijacking and related offences. In this connexion regional and bilateral arrangements are also of paramount importance; and here I would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that on 7 August this year, a bilateral agreement on co-operation for the prevention of hijacking aircraft was signed between Iran and the Soviet Union in Moscow.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2046th meeting.

¹⁴ Signed at Washington on 22 June 1973.

184. Iran warmly welcomes the breakthrough achieved on 28 August in negotiations between India and Pakistan which provides for a settlement of a range of issues resulting from the 1971 armed conflict. A victory of reason, the agreement bears a distinct mark of statesmanship displayed by the leaders of all parties directly involved. In voicing our support for this outstanding diplomatic achievement, I wish to express our fervent hope for a quick settlement of the remaining details that will be taken up in the ensuing tripartite talks among Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

185. A few days ago, in this hall, we listened to the inspiring address of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan [2122nd meeting]. We know that the environment of peace now prevailing in the subcontinent is to no little extent a product of his courage and resourcefulness. We wish him well in his pursuit of peace and in overcoming a multitude of other problems.

186. Peace in the subcontinent is an essential ingredient of security in our region, and to preserve it we shall continue to seek the friendship and co-operation of all concerned. It is a source of satisfaction for my delegation to note that this spirit is now fully reflected in our relations with India and is reinforced by strong economic and cultural ties.

187. The principles Iran upholds internationally have enabled us to expand our bonds of friendship and co-operation with countries of diverse social and economic structures and political orientation. With one notable exception, our relations with all our neighbours are close, friendly and productive. Our ties with our great northern neighbour, the Soviet Union, represent a full spectrum of fruitful collaboration. This was further expanded last year through the conclusion of a 15-year economic and technical co-operation treaty, which was signed on the occasion of a State visit to the Soviet Union by my august Sovereign in October 1972. A visit to Iran last March by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Kosygin and a return visit by our Prime Minister to the Soviet Union are symbolic of a new vision and hope in the relations of the two countries.

188. Our relations with Afghanistan are nurtured by deep-rooted ties, a common cultural heritage, good-neighbourly relations and mutual respect and co-operation.

189. With Turkey and Pakistan we continue to maintain exemplary relations of fraternity.

190. It is only in respect of our western neighbour, Iraq, that our efforts to normalize relations have not yet succeeded. I do not wish to reopen here old grievances. Iran has repeatedly offered to resolve its problems with Iraq in accordance with the accepted norms of international law and practice of States and with due regard to the principles of equity and mutual rights and the interests of both parties.

191. In the Persian Gulf, from which some 5 million barrels of our oil are shipped daily to the world markets, our policy has been one of vigilance and co-operation. We have insisted that the area should remain free from

big-Power rivalries and that the preservation of the security of the waterway should be the duty of the littoral States through co-operation among them all. To ensure the free outflow of oil from the Persian Gulf and the stability of its maritime routes, we seek the co-operation of all the littoral States, all of which have much at stake in this enterprise.

192. To the great continent of Africa we once again pledge our solidarity. We have supported the African cause against colonialism and racism with sustained alacrity at the United Nations and elsewhere. This support will remain a dynamic feature of our policy as we expand our bilateral ties with a growing number of African States. Since early last year Iran has established diplomatic relations with Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Zaire and Zambia. It is our hope and our expectation that our relations with all the countries of the third world will continue to multiply and bear fruit in the coming years.

193. The third world is still gripped by the basic problems that have defined its trade relationship with the industrialized nations. Enough has been said of the hazards of a continuation of the present trends in international trade to obviate further exhortations. Here we no longer deal with sacrifices to be expected from one particular group of States to accommodate the needs and the development requirements of another. One of the striking realities of our time is the transformation of our world into an interdependent entity from which there can be no disengagement. This interdependence is particularly discernible on the economic plane. The developed economies, expanded beyond national frontiers, are dependent not only upon shrinking markets abroad but more—and this increasingly so—on the profits accrued from their external investments. The industrialized countries, while having to cope with the problems arising from monetary instability and the trade relationship among themselves, have to meet a growing and better-articulated demand from the third world for fair play in international trade.

194. Facts surrounding this issue are complex and carry a built-in warning to all those who care to note it. While the world consumption of raw material increases in astronomical proportions, mainly as a result of demand by the industrialized nations, the cash value of these resources, mainly in the hands of less developed nations, cannot and should not remain the same. Moreover, the purchasing power of the exporters of these commodities—that is to say, the less developed nations—should not be subjected to fluctuations resulting either from monetary instability or unchecked inflation in the industrialized world.

195. My own country's development efforts can provide a good example. Our current development programme would require us to spend in the next five years tens of billions of dollars on imports, against a fixed foreign exchange income derived mainly from oil and other raw materials. Obviously, we cannot allow our purchasing power to diminish as a result of events in the shaping of which we have no voice or responsibility.

196. The pursuit of our national goals reached a new climax this year in an agreement, concluded at Teheran on 31 July 1973 with the operating international oil com-

panies, which transferred to Iran complete control and total operation of its oil industry. This was the fulfilment of a long-cherished national aspiration, lulled by the force of circumstances but never diminished in fervour. The historic document, ratified in July of this year, annulled by mutual consent the agreement of 1954 with a consortium of international oil companies and turned our relations with those companies into one of seller and buyer.

197. As we approach the thirtieth anniversary of the birth of our Organization, we cannot hope to recapture some of the expectations that went into the making of the Charter. The dim reality is that the concept of collective security as contemplated by the Charter has failed to materialize. Neither the ebbing system of nuclear deterrence nor the present détente could claim to provide a real guarantee for the security of non-nuclear States.

198. Under a growing state of political uncertainty, individual States find no choice but to rely first and foremost on their own defensive power and national structures for their security purposes.

199. As we move into an era of negotiation and dialogue in a multipolar setting, it is our belief that there will be an increasing need for medium and small Powers to play a constructive role in global diplomacy. Their contribution, in short, need not be confined to their own region.

200. Peace cannot be the property of one region alone and its indivisibility is not yet an obsolete axiom. A true and genuine détente can only be achieved if it is global in its dimension.

201. As power relations are being reshaped, we hope to see the United Nations regain its central role as the organ for harmonizing international activities and as an instrument of peace.

202. I should like to leave this rostrum with a reaffirmation of our faith in this Organization and with a pledge that our support of the principles of its Charter shall remain a strong pillar of Iran's foreign policy.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.