



CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

	Page
Speech by Mr. Nakagawa (Japan) . . . . .	1
Speech by Mr. Olszowski (Poland) . . . . .	6
Speech by Sir Alec Douglas-Home (United Kingdom) . . . . .	9
Speech by Mr. Bowen (Australia) . . . . .	12

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): Mr. President, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that your outstanding knowledge and vision and rich experience in the United Nations will lead this session of the General Assembly to a fruitful conclusion.

2. At the same time, I wish to express my profound appreciation to Mr. Adam Malik, the former President of the General Assembly. It still remains fresh in our memory that the success of the exceedingly eventful twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly was to a great extent attributable to his outstanding leadership.

3. I wish also to take this opportunity to express my deep respect to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our esteemed Secretary-General. Although he assumed this high post not too long ago, he is travelling and sparing no efforts to ensure world peace and to consolidate the basis of the United Nations. I hope that the Secretary-General will continue his endeavours through his dynamic activities for the strengthening of world peace and the further enhancement of the prestige of the United Nations.

4. As various countries have become more closely and extensively interrelated in the political, economic, social, cultural and other fields, international relations have become more diverse and complex. The world of today is characterized, first, by the trend towards the relaxation of international tensions and, second, by progress in international co-operation in many different fields. This is a tendency welcome to the United Nations, which aims at the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the strengthening of international co-operation.

5. On the other hand, conflicts over many fundamental questions have not yet been completely resolved in various

parts of the world, and some questions have come to assume even greater complexity.

6. In this world of today, I believe that the role to be played by the United Nations has become increasingly diversified and has acquired added importance. At the same time, I wish to emphasize the ever-greater need for the United Nations to deal with the many questions before it, analysing carefully the nature of each case on the basis of a sufficient understanding of realities. In the present international situation it is not a constructive position either to overestimate the United Nations by expecting too much of it or, conversely, to underestimate it by expecting too little of it. It is my firm conviction that today, of all times, the United Nations is expected to make its steadfast endeavours in a realistic manner, so that its prestige may be enhanced.

7. With that realistic manner in mind, I wish to stress certain aspects of the role of the United Nations against the background of the present international situation and to try, at the same time, to view in perspective what the future United Nations should be.

8. The main trend of international relations for these past several years has been characterized by the transition from an age of chronic tensions created by the intense confrontation between the Eastern and the Western blocs to an age of relaxation of tensions against the background of the so-called multipolarization of power. The talks which took place in the first half of this year between the United States and China and between the United States and the Soviet Union were events which have further accelerated such tendencies. In Europe, agreement on the Berlin question was reached among the States concerned, and the relaxation of tension in Europe is progressing steadily.

9. Concurrently, in the various regions of Asia there is a gradually growing common awareness that peace and stability in the area should be ensured by means of mutual understanding and co-operation among the nations.

10. The Government of Japan believes that the current visit of Prime Minister Tanaka to China and the summit talks between the leaders of the two countries will contribute to the relaxation of tension in Asia and ultimately to the promotion of world peace, if a foundation is firmly laid thereby for establishing neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries.

11. Yesterday from this rostrum the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, referred to the forthcoming negotiations for a peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union [*2040th meeting, para. 55*]. The Govern-

ment of Japan is convinced that the conclusion of a peace treaty to solve the unsettled issues between the two countries would greatly contribute not only to the furthering of neighbourly and friendly relations between Japan and the Soviet Union but also to the promotion of peace and stability in Asia and indeed in the whole world. Japan's desire for the success of these talks is, to say the least, not less than anybody else's.

12. In the Korean peninsula, the way has been paved for a direct dialogue, and the spontaneous efforts for the settlement of questions between South Korea and North Korea have begun to take concrete shape, as is evidenced in the Red Cross talks between the South and the North, as well as in the joint Communiqué of the Governments of North and South Korea of 4 July 1972 [A/8727, annex I]. These trends are of course most welcome to the United Nations, which has always taken an active interest in the peaceful unification of Korea. It is essential that the United Nations should continue to keep a sympathetic eye on such dialogues between South and North Korea so that they may bear tangible fruits as soon as possible.

13. Furthermore, among the Asian States there have been noteworthy trends towards regional co-operation among the neighbouring nations and the settlement of questions of common concern, as illustrated by the recent moves of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. To our gratification, the Simla Agreement has been reached on 3 July 1972 between India and Pakistan, and efforts of reconciliation are under way among the States concerned. I hope that the day will soon come when Bangladesh will be admitted to the United Nations.

14. It goes without saying that the tendency towards the relaxation of tension observed in various parts of the world is to be welcomed by the United Nations as the Organization responsible for the maintenance of international peace. The development of spontaneous endeavours in Asia is a particularly welcome move in the light of the spirit of the United Nations Charter, which attaches importance to the maintenance and strengthening of peace through regional co-operation. I am convinced that the United Nations should continue to view with appreciation these spontaneous endeavours among the States concerned and demonstrate its readiness to extend assistance, whenever necessary, in order to make such endeavours more fruitful.

15. In contrast with these favourable developments, unfortunate circumstances remain in various parts of the world where disputes or situations persist but where there is no forum for direct talks between the parties concerned or where no direct contact has yet led to any constructive achievements. In the Indo-Chinese peninsula, armed conflicts still continue, and it seems that the prospect for peace is still uncertain. Japan welcomes the resumption of the Paris peace talks and sincerely hopes that real peace will be brought about in this area as soon as possible through negotiations between the parties concerned.

16. With reference to the Middle East, there has been an incessant eruption of violence and reprisal, as all of us have observed in the recent series of tragic events. Japan took an active part from the outset in the formulation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and has ever since been

exerting its maximum efforts, within and outside the Security Council, so that the States concerned may as promptly as possible establish a lasting peace through a spirit of self-restraint and accommodation. We ardently hope that the United Nations will continue to tackle this question in a most positive manner.

17. Furthermore, another task—not spectacular but extremely meaningful—that the United Nations can undertake is to create the basic conditions that would be conducive to the establishment of peace in the area. In this respect, I evaluate highly the activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [UNRWA], which is dealing with relief aid for the nearly 1.5 million Palestinian Arab refugees. Japan is determined to continue to contribute positively to ensuring peace in the area by strengthening and expanding further the scale of its co-operation with the relief work of UNRWA.

18. The continuation of the policy of racial discrimination and illegal minority rule in southern Africa constitutes a source of incessant tension in that region. My country has a full understanding of the sincere endeavours which African States have been making towards the goal of achieving self-determination and the elimination of racial discrimination and believes that the United Nations should further intensify its constructive efforts towards the earliest possible solution of these problems by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of its Charter. Particularly under the present circumstances, in which direct talks between the parties concerned have become virtually impossible, it is my firm belief that the United Nations should be utilized in a more positive and constructive manner as a forum for consultations in which the parties concerned participate. The settlement of the questions related to southern Africa naturally requires a patient and practical approach. In this sense, it is highly commendable that the Secretary-General has been conducting dialogues with all the parties concerned, including the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and has achieved some encouraging progress in respect of the question of Namibia, regarding which an impasse has persisted for so many years.

19. I have touched upon several points concerning what role the United Nations can play in solving major problems facing the world today. In the light of the trends towards détente apparent in today's world, I would point out that it is of vital importance for the United Nations to support, encourage and render positive assistance to further such trends in a timely and flexible manner, instead of remaining an indifferent bystander. It is an undeniable fact that a number of problems in which the peace and security of the world were involved were placed under the close observation and scrutiny of the entire international community through the public debates of the United Nations, and catastrophe was thereby avoided. It is also true that the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, carried out in the troubled areas of the world, have checked the escalation of armed conflicts and prevented their recurrence, and such action deserves high regard as a steady contribution towards securing peace in a quiet but constructive manner. These facts, more than anything else, clearly indicate that the role the United Nations has been playing for the maintenance of peace has been by no means

insignificant. I wish to point out that it is important for the United Nations to continue and intensify such quiet but constructive activities in the future.

20. Similarly, I believe that the United Nations should play an analogous role in dealing with the question of international terrorism and matters related thereto. We are firmly opposed to any act of violence, whatever its reason may be, and we sincerely hope that the United Nations and other appropriate forums will take effective measures to put an end to these regrettable acts.

21. On the other hand, the role the United Nations is expected to play in the world today should not be confined to such a passive one as the prevention of the outbreak and spread of conflicts. In the past few years my country has repeatedly stressed in this Assembly hall the importance of the struggle for peace. What has been stressed by our delegation is indeed the attitude of positively winning peace; in other words, we believe that it is important for the United Nations to step up its endeavours to remove in advance the source of troubles which might cause the outbreak of conflicts, rather than limiting itself to playing the role of what may be called a fire brigade by seeking to suppress a conflict that has already erupted and prevent its expansion.

22. What, then, can be done by the United Nations in such a positive pursuit of peace? In this respect, I wish to take up, first, the efforts for disarmament; second, the efforts for international economic and social development; and third, the efforts towards the strengthening of the United Nations itself in the organizational and financial fields, the basis which makes the first two efforts possible. It is on these three points that I intend to devote the rest of my statement in order to elaborate the position of my country.

23. The most serious problem which our world is facing today is that of the control and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons, which have sufficient destructive power to annihilate human beings. In this respect, it is most gratifying that efforts by nuclear-weapon States towards nuclear disarmament have at last shown a first sign of fruition. The two and a half years of negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms conducted by the United States and the Soviet Union culminated in Moscow on 26 May 1972 in the concrete achievement of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. This tangible fruit of the efforts of these two nuclear Powers towards disarmament deserves our high regard.

24. However, to our regret, it is also the fact that a heated nuclear-arms race is still continuing among the nuclear-weapon States. Particularly, it is most deplorable that such States, ignoring the strong objections of world public opinion, should be continuing and intensifying their nuclear tests. Although, as is well known, the question of banning nuclear-weapon tests had been the greatest issue in the post-war disarmament negotiations, no tangible result has been achieved in respect of a ban on the underground testing of nuclear weapons since 1963, when the so-called partial nuclear test-ban treaty<sup>1</sup> came into being to prohibit

nuclear weapon tests in environments other than underground. Moreover, two nuclear-weapon States continue to refuse to become parties to this treaty, and have still been carrying out nuclear tests in the atmosphere despite protests registered by other countries apprehending the destruction of the human environment.

25. I wish to express my ardent hope that the current session of the General Assembly will bend all its efforts to the early realization of a ban on nuclear tests by the nuclear-weapon States and to the prompt realization of concrete disarmament measures, particularly measures for nuclear disarmament, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States in the disarmament negotiations.

26. The mutual interrelationships of States and peoples as they are developing and intensifying across national boundaries in such diverse spheres as economy, science and technology, social affairs, culture, and so forth, may be regarded as the basic feature of today's world. With all this diversification, it is inevitable that the world of today calls for greater solidarity on the part of the international community.

27. The United Nations is not an international organization which merely deals with political questions. This is the place where we debate and take action on all aspects of international life. As international relations are intensified and diversified, the importance of the role of the United Nations as a comprehensive international Organization aiming at the strengthening of the solidarity of the international community has greatly increased.

28. In particular, the United Nations has promptly applied itself to the task of wrestling with problems which are on the front line of today's world, such as the question of economic and social development, which is commonly known as "the north and south problem"; questions relating to the development and use of outer space and the sea-bed, which may be called "man's last frontiers"; the improvement and redevelopment of the human environment, and so forth. These efforts merit a high tribute, inasmuch as they open unlimited possibilities for the future of the United Nations.

29. It is from this viewpoint that I would like to take note of the significance of the two international conferences held in the first half of this year. One is the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held last April and May in Santiago, the aim of which was the further promotion of the economic welfare of mankind; the other is the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held last June at Stockholm with a view to conserving the natural environment, which is indispensable to the existence of mankind. Nothing has so symbolically demonstrated the necessity for the unity and solidarity of mankind living on this one earth as these two international conferences held 10,000 miles apart—in Santiago in the southern hemisphere, and in Stockholm in the northern hemisphere. These two conferences were clear evidence that the United Nations, embodying the aspirations of mankind, can play a most useful role in the emerging fields of the economic and social development of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

30. The sources of tension in the present world are often found in the existence of hunger and poverty. For many years, the United Nations has been endeavouring to resolve the problems of the economic gap between the developing and the developed countries, and the goals and objectives of its efforts are clearly stated in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)].

31. In their efforts towards economic independence, the developing countries have faced a number of difficulties, and this has tended to give rise to the confrontation between the south and the north. In order to overcome such difficulties, it is indispensable that a close co-ordination should be maintained between the efforts of the developing countries and the assistance extended by the developed countries. In other words, this is a problem which should be approached in the context of the common responsibility of the international community and should be solved through mutual understanding between the developed and the developing countries and by the accumulation of agreements based on such understanding.

32. Motivated by such considerations, my country, in co-operation with other participants, spared no effort to bring about a meeting of minds between the developed and the developing countries at the third session of UNCTAD. As a result of such efforts, agreements were reached on many issues, agreements based on the mutual understanding of each other's positions. I am convinced that the adoption of resolutions embodying these agreements was a significant achievement of the Conference.

33. Naturally, the results of the Santiago conference should be appraised from a long-term point of view, inasmuch as the conference dealt with problems of historical significance. However, I should like to point out that one result of the Conference was of particular significance in giving orientation to the north-south question: that is, the recognition of the need for effective participation of the developing countries in the international monetary and trade systems. This basic concord was already implemented in part when the Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues was established within the International Monetary Fund, and the multi-lateral trade negotiations beginning in 1973 are being prepared with the participation of developing countries.

34. Japan will implement the measures to which it pledged itself at the third session of UNCTAD, including such measures as the attainment of the target of bringing its official development assistance to 0.7 per cent of its gross national product, the improvement of the terms and conditions of such assistance—in particular by the promotion of untied assistance in general—and the early and substantial improvement of the generalized scheme of preferences. My country is determined to co-operate positively in solving the many problems which the Santiago Conference left unsolved.

35. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, aimed at the protection of what it called "Only One Earth" from the peril of destruction, was, in our view, one of the most successful and epoch-making conferences ever held by the United Nations. We attach particular

importance to the dramatic achievement constituted by the success of the Conference in adopting its Declaration, in the deliberations on which the delegations of 113 countries took part, with all their different backgrounds of political, economic and social systems, traditions and value judgments.

36. Among the important principles contained in this Declaration we evaluate highly the very appropriate inclusion of principle 26, which states:

"Man and his environment must be spared the effects of nuclear weapons and all other means of mass destruction."<sup>2</sup>

This principle was originally proposed and strongly pressed by the Japanese delegation.

37. With regard to the Environment Fund to be used for the implementation of a series of international action-plans for the preservation and improvement of the global human environment, it is the intention of my Government, as our representative stated at the Conference, to contribute up to 10 per cent of the target amount of the Fund. It is our hope that, through the appropriate operation of the Fund, all related activities of United Nations agencies and the efforts of every nation towards the protection and enhancement of the human environment will be effectively co-ordinated.

38. I wish to stress that it is the common goal of all peoples, whether developed or developing, to preserve a better environment for the present and future generations. In order to attain this purpose continuous and strenuous efforts over a long period of time are needed. In this context, we fully endorsed at the Stockholm Conference the recommendation for convening a second United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.<sup>3</sup> We think it desirable that the details relating to this second Conference, including its time and place, should be fully examined in such appropriate bodies as the governing council for environmental programmes, expected to be established at this session of the General Assembly, taking into account further developments which may take place in the future.

39. I wish to refer now to another international conference to be organized by the United Nations that may equal in its significance the two United Nations conferences which I have just dwelt upon. It is the third conference on the law of the sea, scheduled to be held in 1973 with the objective of strengthening the international order with regard to the sea. Japan has consistently and positively participated in the deliberations of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction ever since it was established in 1967. The Japanese Government has particular concern and profound interest in the outcome of the conference on the law of the sea.

40. My country sincerely hopes that that conference, after an elaborate and impartial study of all aspects of the

<sup>2</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter IV, resolution 4 (D).

peaceful uses of the ocean, will succeed in establishing a new global order which will benefit the whole community of nations and will harmonize in the fairest manner the interests of all the countries in the world. We shall make every effort to see that that hope is fully realized and shall maintain close contact with all the interested countries in the course of the preparations for the holding of the conference.

41. Twenty-seven years have elapsed since the United Nations was founded, aspiring to permanent peace and the welfare of mankind. During this period the United Nations has had remarkable achievements in various fields of its activities. But has the United Nations fully lived up to the expectations held for it at the time of its foundation? One must admit that in this respect the general assessment is not always favourable. This is especially the case with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the primary objective of the United Nations.

42. As I stated in the earlier part of my remarks, the peace-keeping operations have certain weaknesses, owing to the lack of specific provisions in the Charter relating to them. I believe that the same can be said about the fact-finding functions of the United Nations.

43. Of course, no organization can properly function without the will of those who run it. It may be true that many of the criticisms now directed against our Organization have arisen, not exclusively from the organizational or constitutional defects of the United Nations, but, in many instances, from the absence of the will on the part of Member States to observe the United Nations Charter. It is obviously important, therefore, that the Member States should reaffirm their determination to observe faithfully the Charter of the United Nations and prove their determination by their deeds.

44. Nevertheless, there is no gainsaying the fact that, with the passage of 27 years since the foundation of our Organization, there have appeared many discrepancies between the organization and functioning of the United Nations as originally envisaged by the Charter and the way it actually functions today. When we think that these 27 years have seen the most drastic changes in the history of international relations, the emergence of such discrepancies could well be regarded as inevitable. But I believe that it is not for us to leave these discrepancies as they are without probing into them, if we have hope and confidence in the future of our Organization and a desire to see it strengthened.

45. The United Nations, which is the sole parliamentary organ of international society, can function in a truly effective manner as the focal point of international peace and co-operation only if we recognize fully the changes which have occurred in international society in the past quarter of a century and adjust ourselves to them with appropriate flexibility.

46. I am convinced that it is high time for all Member States to put aside all past differences and to study with an open mind ways and means for strengthening the organization and functioning of the United Nations. I earnestly hope that constructive steps forward in this direction will

be taken during the present session of the General Assembly.

47. It is of utmost importance that the United Nations should be provided with a sound and solid financial basis if it is to fulfil its expected role. I should like to invite attention to the deplorable situation in which the United Nations finds itself, prevented from performing its effective and efficient activities because of ever-accumulating deficits. For any organization, sound and rational financing is a prerequisite to its viability. And without such financing, no organization would be able to conduct a long-term and effective operation. I do believe that now is the time for Member States to join forces to solve the problem. Japan considers that those Member States which are directly connected to the cause of the present financial crisis of the United Nations should adopt constructive attitudes conducive to a solution of the problem. However, in view of the fact that this is an important question confronting all Member States, Japan wishes to render its co-operation from a practical standpoint.

48. Furthermore, as the United Nations expands its fields of activities every year, it has become all the more important to secure and use effectively the funds necessary for such activities. I believe it is imperative for the Member States to take a keener interest and give positive co-operation on this question of securing the funds for United Nations activities. Lately, Japan's financial contributions to the United Nations have been increasing at a very fast pace. This reflects the great expectations and ardent support of our people for the United Nations and its activities. It is the intention of my country to continue to increase its contribution in this field as far as its national capacity permits.

49. Twenty-seven years ago, mankind placed in this Organization boundless hope for the achievement of permanent peace and the promotion of the welfare of mankind.

50. Deeply conscious that there is no other international peace machinery to replace the United Nations, and recalling the spirit which inspired the United Nations at the time of its foundation, I believe we should make as large an effort as possible to foster and strengthen this Organization.

51. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization for the year 1971-1972, the Secretary-General stated:

“The Member States alone can develop the potential of the Organization by using it and obeying its rules, by holding to the long-term objectives of the Charter in spite of short-term disappointments and frustrations, and by accepting the imperfections and shortcomings of the United Nations not as a mark of failure, but as part of the inevitable process of growth which any institution must pass through in its early stages of development.” [A/8701/Add.1, p.2.]

I fully share the Secretary-General's view.

52. While frankly admitting the shortcomings and limitations of the United Nations, Japan is fully aware of the importance of the role it is playing in today's world and is

determined to do its utmost for the consolidation and advancement of that role. In this regard, I was very much impressed by the remarks made the day before yesterday by Mr. Rogers, Secretary of State of the United States, on the role to be played by Japan [2038th meeting, para. 64].

53. I sincerely hope that this session of the General Assembly, recognizing the fact that the future of the United Nations depends entirely on the determination of its Member States, will succeed in achieving meaningful results in international co-operation and in the constructive and just settlement of the various questions now before us.

54. Mr. OLSZOWSKI (Poland): Comrade President, on behalf of the Polish delegation and on my own behalf I wish to offer you heartfelt congratulations upon your election to the high post of President of the present session. Your election is viewed by the Polish delegation as an expression of the appreciation by the United Nations of the peaceful and constructive work of the Polish People's Republic at the international level.

55. May I now be permitted to present Poland's position on some of the key issues facing the international community today.

56. At the present session of the General Assembly, Poland can note with satisfaction the favourable direction in which the international situation is developing in Europe. This direction was determined by such events as the coming into force of the Treaties between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>4</sup> and between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>5</sup> the four-Power agreement on West Berlin<sup>6</sup> and the agreement concluded on this question between the two German States on 17 December 1971 and that concluded between the German Democratic Republic and the Senate of West Berlin on 20 December 1971.

57. The recognition of political and territorial realities which resulted from the defeat of the Third Reich reflected in those agreements provides a good point of departure from which the situation can evolve towards détente and a basis for the strengthening of security and for the consolidation of peaceful co-operation.

58. This is all the more important in so far as in the past, owing to historical factors, a number of antagonisms were built up in Europe which culminated in two World Wars in the course of this century. After the Second World War, along the line where the two largest military and political blocs of the contemporary world meet—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty Organization—there were recurring and dangerous tensions, to mention only those relating to West Berlin.

59. Of the European antagonisms, the centuries-old German-Polish conflict engendered by the eastward pressure of German aggressive forces was especially acute. It

was no coincidence that the Second World War began with the aggression launched by the Nazi Reich against Poland.

60. Poland's western frontier on the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse established by the Potsdam Agreement of 1 August 1945 eliminated the territorial consequences of the expansion of German imperialism and created possibilities for shaping relations in Central Europe on a new foundation. Poland's neighbour, the German Democratic Republic, had drawn the correct conclusions and recognized that frontier in the Zgorzelec Agreement of 1950,<sup>7</sup> which created the foundation of relations of real friendship between Poland and the German Democratic Republic. In the Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, too, recognized this frontier as inviolable, thus providing a final settlement of the question of the recognition of Poland's western frontier in accordance with international law and thereby creating a basis for the normalization of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany. The recent establishment of diplomatic relations between the two States constitutes another step in this direction. This agreement proves that there are no international problems so complex as to defy solution by negotiation if all the parties concerned have a will and determination to find a solution.

61. The fact that the question of frontiers has been settled once and for all is a historical victory for the positions held by the Polish people. It is also a victory for the cause of peace inasmuch as any attempt to infringe upon our territorial integrity would constitute a threat to peace in Europe and in the world. It is also a victory for all those nations and Governments that have been providing us with their moral assistance and direct support in our efforts to gain recognition of the Polish western frontier. I wish on behalf of the Polish people to offer our warm thanks to those nations and Governments.

62. The normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic is now becoming the order of the day. Complete normalization of their relations should be achieved as soon as possible on the basis of the generally accepted standards of international law. It is now a glaring anomaly that the German Democratic Republic should still be discriminated against. It is becoming perfectly obvious that no major European problem can be solved effectively without the participation, in accordance with the principle of equal rights, of that socialist German State, which lies in the very heartland of Europe and has a vast economic potential. Poland is of the opinion that conditions are now ripe for the simultaneous admission of the two German States to the United Nations.

63. The speedy normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia is also necessary.

64. The favourable political developments in Europe which I mentioned earlier facilitated the commencement of

<sup>4</sup> Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

<sup>6</sup> Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

<sup>7</sup> Agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of Poland regarding the Demarcation of the German-Polish Frontier, signed at Zgorzelec on 6 July 1950.

multilateral preparatory talks on holding a European conference, with the participation of the United States and Canada, which could start constructing a lasting system of security and co-operation throughout the whole of Europe.

65. Poland's special involvement in, and active work for, European security stems from her historical experience. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for nearly a century and a half, Poland was deprived of independent existence as a sovereign State. Subsequently, after 20 years of independence, it fell victim to Nazi aggression, and paid an extremely high price to regain its freedom and independence. For Poland, then, security and the opportunity for international co-operation are of basic importance.

66. But there still exist certain political forces in Europe which stake their future on the continuation of tensions and artificial dividing-lines. Such a development in European relations, however, is contrary to the universal desire of peoples for the peaceful coexistence of nations, since wide segments of the people in all European countries, as well as among their ruling circles, are beginning to realize that all European States, regardless of the differences in their systems, have a common interest in striving for peaceful and secure development. There is a growing conviction that to safeguard these common fundamental interests in existing conditions is not only necessary but also practicable through our common efforts and a constructive programme of action.

67. The Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries have long been proposing such a programme. A number of documents issued jointly by the socialist States, and in particular the latest document adopted in Prague last January by the Political Advisory Committee of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, elaborated further on this programme and made it more concrete, thus providing a platform for a more lively dialogue which has confirmed the desirability of convening a European conference on security and co-operation.

68. In our opinion, conditions have now been created in Europe for the establishment of a system of commitments to safeguard the inviolability of existing frontiers and ensure respect for the territorial integrity of all States, the non-use of force and the elimination of the threat of its use in inter-State relations, while confirming the principles of the equality and sovereignty of States and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

69. At present conditions are ripe for the acceleration of steps to expand co-operation among all European States in the fields of economy, science, technology, culture and protection of the natural environment. However, such co-operation will be fully beneficial only when the old model of relations based on the armaments race and a balance of fear between opposing military and political blocs is replaced by an all-European system of collective security.

70. Much still remains to be done in the field of the expansion of free trade in Europe. The abolition of import-export restrictions is one of the first steps that must be taken towards this goal.

71. The two integrated economic structures which are developing in Europe—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community—being the result of an objective process of economic integration do not by themselves constitute an obstacle to inter-European co-operation. However, impediments arise when, for political reasons, West European integration implies discrimination against non-member partners and the disruption of the natural inter-European ties. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in its forms of economic integration, is free from any discriminatory practices vis-à-vis non-member partners. We expect the member States of the European Economic Community to respect such principles inasmuch as it is only such all-round co-operation that can gradually bring about changes in psychological attitudes and in the minds of people, thus closing the gap of mistrust between them. Such co-operation would also facilitate progress in the field of disarmament, leading to the allocation of major means for the settlement of the urgent economic and social problems of our planet.

72. Poland desires to contribute most constructively to the new era beginning in Europe and to the vision of the future of Europe which is now emerging.

73. For many years now Poland has been building relations with numerous West European States on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Relations between Poland and France are developing very well indeed. The traditional ties of friendship linking our two peoples are being transformed into ever more constructive co-operation in many fields, benefiting both Poland and France. Similarly, Poland is shaping her relations with the Nordic States, with which for quite some time we have been engaged in a useful dialogue regarding European issues and with which we have enjoyed advantageous co-operation which is developing well in the fields of economy and culture and in other areas of interest.

74. Guided by our concern for the security and peaceful development of Europe we have begun the process of normalization of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany—relations which are severely affected by the tragic historical experience of the Polish nation. We were gratified to see the positive evolution of the policies of the Federal Republic of Germany and the contribution of the Brandt-Scheel Government to the détente in Europe, expressed in the recognition of realities indispensable to the present and future development of inter-State relations in central Europe. This, despite the retrograde forces of opposition which are active in that State, justifies our approaching with confidence the settling of the bilateral problems which confront us in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Treaty concluded by our two States.

75. We wish to expand dynamically, as in the past, our relations with Italy, the Benelux countries, neutral Austria and other European countries as well.

76. I have been discussing these matters primarily in the European context. One of the reasons for this approach is my belief that the comprehensive form for co-operation in resolving numerous problems within the framework of the European continent can and should play a positive role in

stimulating co-operation with States in other parts of our globe, and first and foremost with the developing countries.

77. We attach major importance to the systematic cementing of political, economic and cultural bonds with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mindful of the ambitious developmental aspirations of those countries we shall help them to the best of our abilities by providing them with assistance and shall share with them the experience we have acquired in the process of overcoming our inherited economic backwardness and in the course of our present dynamic development.

78. In Latin America, Asia and Africa many countries continue to be subjected to various forms of political and economic pressures devised to dissuade them from effecting progressive internal reforms and from pursuing independent foreign policies. Poland will, as it has been doing up till now, consistently favour the position that the legitimate rights of all countries and peoples of those continents should be respected.

79. We are also expanding our relations with the United States. The recent visit to Warsaw paid by Mr. Richard Nixon, the President of the United States, was an important development in Polish-American relations and no doubt has contributed to the expansion of our mutual relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

80. Also, recently, we have noted that further progress is being made in various fields owing *inter alia* to the talks held several days ago between the representatives of the Governments of Poland and of the United States. Poland, a socialist State consolidating its alliances and common activities with the countries of the socialist community, wishes to expand its relations with the United States in the interests of strengthening peace and security and of developing co-operation between States having different socio-political systems.

81. The détente in international relations achieved during the recent period is an iron-clad fact. This is first of all a great achievement by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community through the programme of peace adopted by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and consistently implemented by the Soviet political leadership. The détente in international relations is also an achievement by all those realistic forces in the world which have for years now been treating the concept of peaceful coexistence as the sole basis for the development of international relations ensuring peace and security.

82. It was with great satisfaction that Poland welcomed the fact that as a result of the talks between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and other Soviet leaders, and Mr. Richard Nixon, the President of the United States, the principles of peaceful coexistence were accepted as a basis for the relations between the two great Powers.

83. Poland also acclaims the agreements achieved on the question of the limitation of strategic nuclear armaments and hopes for the further and fruitful continuation of the talks on the limitation of strategic armaments and hopes for

the further and fruitful continuation of the talks on the limitation of strategic armaments in order to make progress in the direction of the elimination of this most dangerous of weapons.

84. I wish to express our full support for the proposal put forth recently by Andrei Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [A/8793].

85. We fully endorse the initiative to convene a world disarmament conference. At present there are proper conditions for the convening of such an authoritative forum and for ensuring that its debates would produce positive results.

86. The implementation of those initiatives would constitute another step towards the attainment of the fundamental goal of nations and of the United Nations, that is to say, the strengthening of security, the consolidation of peace and an expansion of international co-operation.

87. The principles of peaceful coexistence and equal co-operation among countries are indivisible and cannot be applied selectively only to certain countries or to certain regions alone.

88. The echoes of bombs being dropped on towns and villages in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, on South Viet-Nam and on other countries in Indo-China arouse condemnation and protest in Poland and serve to strengthen solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China, who are waging a heroic struggle for their freedom. Because of its membership in the International Supervisory Commission for Indo-China, Poland also demands that an end be put to the war in Viet-Nam and favours a peaceful solution to the conflict in accordance with the proposals submitted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

89. Highly alarming is the intransigence with which Israel continues to refuse to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We believe that the Arab territories occupied by Israel must be returned to their rightful owners. Only on such basis can the conflict in the Middle East be resolved and conditions created for the safe existence and development of all States and nations of that area.

90. In the course of recent years we have been witnessing increased terrorist activities in which innocent people lost their lives. I wish to emphasize that Poland condemns acts of violence and terror as they poison the international atmosphere and increase international tensions. We are in favour of effective steps to prevent such acts. However, the slogan of combating terrorism cannot be used to restrict the right of peoples to struggle against aggressors occupying their lands, nor can it be used to serve the policies of colonialism, racialism and discrimination. In condemning and combating terrorism we should be aware that the source and root cause of terrorism are the practices resorted to by invaders, colonialists and racists and it should be precisely the root-causes that we should seek to eliminate.



91. Poland attaches major importance to the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Problems relating to our participation in the work of the United Nations were discussed in the useful talks we had with the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, during his recent visit to Poland.

92. We feel that the United Nations should concentrate on the consolidation of peace and international security. The Organization should also continue to play an active and inspiring role in the development of international co-operation in economic and social matters. Our Organization can and should play an important role in making peaceful use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The war against hunger calls for intensified efforts by the United Nations. Our Organization can contribute to the goal of making rational use of the resources of the seas and oceans for the benefit of the whole of mankind. The problems of the use and exploitation of outer space require further regulation. And, last but not least, the need for the preservation and proper protection of the natural environment of man is ever more universally felt.

93. Such is the catalogue, far from complete, of problems which in the near future will be absorbing the attention of our Organization.

94. Poland is deeply convinced that the United Nations meets all the conditions for coping with these tasks. This conviction stems from the evaluation of the past activities of the United Nations. The balance-sheet of the Organization's work is positive in principle. But this does not prevent us from seeing the shortcomings which we have observed on more than one occasion, and which we continue to observe, in the activities of the United Nations.

95. Poland, which has consistently defended the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter, wishes to emphasize once again that the path towards improving the activity of the United Nations lies, not in a revision of the Charter, but in a fuller utilization of the constructive possibilities provided by its provisions. One of the fundamental conditions is the implementation of the principle of the universality of our Organization.

96. It is also of essential importance to maintain administration within reasonable limits and to remedy the Organization's financial situation, in order to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

97. We believe that when these conditions are met—and also given the active role and assistance of the Secretary-General, who with great energy has begun discharging the tasks entrusted to him—our Organization will not fail to live up to the hopes placed in it by mankind. Poland, as heretofore, is ready to contribute actively to resolving the important issues confronting the United Nations.

98. Sir Alec DOUGLAS-HOME (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to start by echoing the congratulations which my colleagues have extended to you on your assumption of office as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. It is a tribute to you and to your country.

99. As this is the first time that I have addressed the Assembly since the election of the Secretary-General, I should like to take this opportunity also to salute him. He has proved in the last nine months our wisdom in electing him and he has brought to this Organization the same dedication and the same talents he gave to his own country as diplomat and Foreign Minister.

100. There is an arresting phrase in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter. It bids us all "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". The United Nations was born from the death and destruction of two world wars in this century in which it was proved beyond any doubt that there is no longer any gain, economic or political, to be won from aggression. Those wars started in Europe. It is not therefore surprising that we have concluded in Western Europe that there is no future for any country in trying to achieve its economic or political aims by the use of force, and we are combining to remove the past rivalries in Europe and the causes of them. It is only when that lesson, which we have painfully learned, gains universal support that we shall have fulfilled the precept of this Charter which requires us to live as good neighbours. We long ago decided that collective action was necessary to meet any potential aggressor. We organized accordingly and, although at great cost, Western Europe has enjoyed physical security. As long as there is a threat we will sustain the necessary effort.

101. But, in addition to defence, national leaders have two responsibilities which must run in harness. The first is to achieve for their people a continuing improvement in the standards of education and living and the second is to guide their country's policies so as to contribute to harmony in international society. Civilization for man can thrive only in a climate of peace.

102. At this point of history, therefore, the public experiment in partnership being conducted by the enlarged European Community is of prime importance. Western Europe, late in the day—but better late than never—is putting into practice for the common good a philosophy which embraces full economic and political partnership. We are doing so for two overriding reasons: to outlaw the wars which have twice brought the continent to its knees and to enhance by a customs union the prosperity of the member States. We do not intend to lose our national identities but to merge our complementary personalities for the greater good of all. These developments must be of profound significance in the context of the wider world.

103. Were the Community to confine its benefits to the compass of its own membership, it would be missing its opportunity in terms of the general health of the world community. An inbred and introvert community could indeed invite trade wars and stimulate selfishness. For the United Kingdom, a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, any form of narrow European isolation would be totally alien to our whole philosophy. But there is no question of any such thing. No one contemplates that in the European Community. The call for the policies of the good neighbour in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations finds an echo in the Preamble to the Treaty of Rome, where the purpose of the Community is stated thus: "Desirous of contributing by means of a common

commercial policy to the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade” and “intending to confirm the solidarity which bind Europe and overseas countries, and desiring to ensure the development of their prosperity, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.<sup>8</sup> So the Community has explicitly shown that it is pursuing the same objectives as the United Nations, a fact of undeniable importance when it is realized—as perhaps it seldom is—that the Community conducts 41 per cent of the trade of the world and that Europe’s contribution will be of great importance in the discussions of, for example, international monetary reform.

104. In each of the last three years the total flow of resources from Britain—multilateral and bilateral, private and public—to developing countries to help them raise their standard of living has been over the target of 1 per cent of our gross national product. The existing members of the Community have already played a notable part in this international effort. But I believe that the European Community as a whole can make a much more effective contribution by co-ordinating the efforts of individual member States in a conscious, co-operative programme for the development of the developing world. The deliberations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] in 1972, in which we were glad to play a leading part, serve to remind us how complete is our interdependence. We must find more satisfactory solutions to the problems to which UNCTAD has drawn such graphic attention. Europe, too, can make a telling contribution to solving the accumulating problems of the twentieth century, which may be grouped under the heading “the environment”. I am glad to announce that, subject to parliamentary approval, the United Kingdom will contribute up to £2 million over a five-year period to the proposed United Nations Environment Fund, depending on the response made to the \$100 million target.

105. In all these ways, the enlarged European Community will pass the test of neighbourliness which is set in the preamble to the United Nations Charter, in terms both of its own membership and of its future relationship with the rest of the world.

106. Can we in Western Europe extend the area of confidence and hope, a theme to which Mr. Schumann, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, spoke yesterday [2041st meeting] with eloquence and general acceptance? For that we shall need in Western Europe the active response of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe when the conference on security and co-operation in Europe and negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions come to be staged.

107. We must face the facts even when they are unpleasant. Since the last World War the confrontation over the years between the Warsaw Pact countries and those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led to an almost total loss of confidence. Western Europe had no desire for this, but the fact is that neighbourliness, once confidence is broken, cannot be recreated in a day.

108. Progress in détente has by any standard of tolerance been painfully slow. Nevertheless, there have been modest

gains. The test-ban Treaty<sup>9</sup> holds; the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have placed a limitation on anti-ballistic missiles; the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and between the Federal Republic and Poland are a contribution to stability, as the Polish Foreign Minister has himself just declared; the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin can do much for the security and well-being of the city’s inhabitants. This is a notable contrast to the days when Berlin was threatened by isolation and the need for an airlift. We should mark that contrast. Negotiations between the Federal Republic of Germany and its East German neighbour are at last making some progress. And in this improved climate, which I think most of the speakers have marked in this debate, a European security conference may be able to identify and to exploit other areas which can be used for the common benefit both of Western Europe and of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It will not be easy. Where social and economic systems are so different and where the gulf is so wide between the Soviet interpretation of the free life and that which is practised in the West, it is best to try for limited objectives. But we must, if life is to be tolerable, replace the negative conception of coexistence with a fabric of trust. We willingly put our hand to that task in Western Europe and look forward to this first meeting—an event in itself—on a common platform of countries that are members of the Warsaw Pact Organization and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to be joined by the European neutrals. Mutual and balanced force reductions present a daunting problem because there are so many facets, military and geographical, which go to make up what is known as the balance of power in Europe, and indeed the balance of power in the world. So far it is a fact of life that it is the military balance on which the present peace rests, and that is likely to be so for some time to come. It will be our objective in all these discussions to find new approaches to neighbourliness with the East, consistent with the physical security of our respective peoples.

109. The Secretary-General, in the wise introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1], has rightly drawn attention to the important signs of détente among the great Powers, signs which include the developments which I have just described. But the Secretary-General equally rightly pointed out the contrast between these signs and the persistence of conflict in several key areas of the world and the failure, both of the Governments concerned and of the international community, to find acceptable solutions to the underlying causes of the confrontation.

110. Although there are signs of rapprochement in Europe and indeed in Asia, there remain historic areas of continuing hostility. The danger in these places is that deadlock will be tacitly accepted as the best for which anyone can hope. That is the last doctrine which this Assembly can accept. The Secretary-General’s statements and actions since he assumed office bear witness to the fact that he has no patience with the passive acceptance of deadlock. To resolve the Middle East conflict we at the United Nations made a start by framing Security Council resolution 242 (1967). My Government continues to adhere firmly to

<sup>8</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 298, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

that resolution. It will be commonly conceded, I think, by all my colleagues who are here, that we will not arrive at any alternative framework which would command a comparable measure of consent. It is better, therefore, to stick to it. This resolution provides the essential basis of any just and durable settlement primarily because it acknowledges the essential requirements of the parties, first for withdrawal, and secondly for security.

111. My Government has consistently supported the mission of Mr. Jarring, the Secretary-General's Special Representative appointed under the resolution. I very much hope that in the months ahead no opportunity will be missed to work towards an end of the present confrontation with the long-drawn-out misery of the refugees which it entails, and also the ever-present threat of war.

112. In the last few months there has been a dramatic change. Egypt has dispensed with Soviet military support. It should be recognized that this step towards depolarization is an opportunity to resume the quest for a peaceful settlement. It may be fleeting, so it should be seized. Nor should we be deflected from this aim by the cycle of violence and reprisal which has been given fresh impetus in recent weeks.

113. Mr. Rogers, Secretary of State of the United States, drew our attention on Monday [2038th meeting] to many instances of the world-wide problem of terrorism and violence. This is a disease to which many of us in this Assembly have fallen victim. We have our own special problem of indiscriminate terrorism in Northern Ireland. In 1971 in this Assembly I drew urgent attention to our responsibilities for the climate in which the terrorist operated his beastly practice. I said: "Sooner or later, uncompromising confrontation leads to violence...". [1944th meeting, para. 86.] I also said, "... time works for the anarchist". [Ibid.] I then drew the attention of this Assembly of nations to the situation which seemed certain to develop, and here you will forgive me if I quote once more: "... anarchy superseding the law of nations—and with it the inherent challenge to all governmental authority." [Ibid., para. 87.] This is exactly what is happening now. I continued with a quotation from my statement at the 1838th meeting: "We must call on those who have taken up arms to lay them down... even though they claim to be carrying them in the name of justice." [Ibid.]

114. Now we are up against many situations in which terrorists are meting out destruction to the innocent in the name of some hideously distorted interpretation of justice. We have wasted time in these last two or three years. Terrorism must be stopped so that law and order in the world society will not be totally undermined—and we all know this in this Assembly.

115. The Secretary-General was right to recommend this subject for inclusion in our agenda [A/8791 and Add.1], and I am glad that the Assembly has so included it [item 92]. This question must be vigorously pursued. We in Britain will support drastic measures to stop this rot, and we welcome the initiative of Mr. Rogers. I think we must recognize that the essence of the success of any action lies in the collective application of the remedies. It is only

through the international community that effective measures can be taken to end the hideous cycle of terror and violence. That is the lesson all of us in this Assembly have to accept and to apply.

116. There are certain practical steps we can all take. First, on the question of hijacking, States which have not yet become parties to the Conventions of The Hague<sup>10</sup> and Montreal<sup>11</sup> should move with all possible speed to do so. We should also do all we can to bring into effect further measures to close every haven to the hijacker and the saboteur. The United Kingdom, at the recent meeting of the Legal Committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization, has worked actively to that end. Secondly, there are three main areas in which we should make urgent progress in dealing with the problem of international terrorism. We must agree on further obligations which States should assume in regard to the prosecution and surrender of perpetrators of terrorist acts. We should decide on further controls which could be imposed to prevent the movement of terrorists from one country to another. We should do everything possible to increase co-operation among national police and security forces by encouraging the exchange of information and by taking other measures to prevent these acts and to apprehend their perpetrators. These and other measures should be considered without delay, but I repeat that action, to be effective, must be collective. We shall make our full contribution in the discussion that has already begun at this session of the General Assembly.

117. The good-neighbourliness to which we are summoned by the Preamble to our Charter applies to us all without exception. It is not limited by geography or race. The Ugandan Government's action in expelling Ugandan Asians and confiscating their assets, without clear and unequivocal assurances of full and prompt compensation, illustrates the degradation to which intolerance can bring its disciples. This is an outrage against standards of human decency, in the face of which this Assembly cannot remain silent. These Asians have had their homes in Uganda, some of them for generations. They are now being ejected and stripped of most of their belongings and of their savings accumulated over many years. My Government, in spite of the fact that Britain is a small, overcrowded island, had made arrangements whereby Asians from East Africa holding British passports were coming into Britain in an orderly flow over the years. As far as Uganda is concerned, this agreed programme has been thrown out of the window, and the Asians have been given a time limit of 90 days in which to leave. There are now only 42 days left. President Amin has said that if the Asians have not left before that deadline he will put them into "camps". We do not accept that that deadline has any justification in law or in morality. The Government of Uganda is responsible for the proper treatment of those who have lived in that country for many years, and putting them into "camps" is contrary to all accepted standards of civilized behaviour. We have an obligation to take into Britain those who are British nationals and have nowhere else to go. We will keep our

<sup>10</sup> Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at the Hague on 16 December 1970.

<sup>11</sup> Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

word, and we will keep the law. But the law is not everything. There are human problems, rights and feelings which should have equal consideration. The Ugandan Government should be called upon to change its policy and treat these people with humanity and not with contempt. Injustice must be condemned wherever it rears its ugly head, whether it is perpetrated by Europeans or Africans or Asians or whoever. Every country in the Assembly, therefore, should use its influence to insist that this injustice should end.

118. I am making two direct and simple requests to you as members of the world community assembled here. The first is to show your good-neighbourliness by sharing some of the practical problems of resettling these unhappy people. I am exceedingly grateful and pay a tribute to all those who have come forward with offers of help. The second is that you should all join in calling upon General Amin to extend his arbitrary and inhumane deadline of 90 days and to allow the Asians expelled to take their belongings with them. These are two simple, humane concepts. My delegation will today request that this question should be added to our agenda as an urgent and important item.<sup>12</sup> We ask that the Assembly debate this matter without delay and we are ready to submit a draft resolution—for this inhumanity which creates refugees is of international concern. I trust that it will be overwhelmingly accepted, because, should this Organization fail to do so, there is no one to whom any person, whatever the colour of his skin, can turn for common justice. This is the basis of my appeal to all of you today.

119. In conclusion, therefore, I believe that when we speak or write we should constantly remind ourselves of those words in the Preamble to this Charter: “to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours”. Our minds admit the sense of this precept, but our acts fall far short of it. We must be vigilant and careful for our fellow men and act with urgency if we are to gain that peace with justice which all our people so intensely and insistently demand.

120. Mr. BOWEN (Australia): Mr. President, I should like, on behalf of the Australian delegation, to add my congratulations upon your election as President of this General Assembly session. Our two countries are far apart geographically, but our peoples have had some common experiences which have given them, I believe, a respect and understanding of each other. With the exchange this year of diplomatic representatives, the relations between our two countries are entering a period of constructive and fruitful development. In your high office, to which you come with distinction and obvious talent, you may be assured of the full co-operation of the Australian delegation.

121. I wish also to express my warm appreciation of the contribution made by the President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, who brought to the office of President great charm and distinction, as well as wise counsel. Australia and Indonesia are close neighbours and we take special pleasure in recalling Mr. Malik's presidency.

122. May I be permitted also to commend the dedication to his task that the Secretary-General has shown in his first year of office. The Australian delegation appreciates his distillation of the essence of his report in a short introduction. In this introduction [*A/8701/Add.1*] he has set forth his determination to work actively for peaceful solutions to international problems. Most of what he has said in that brief explanation of his conception of the duties and objectives of the United Nations, and of his own responsibilities, will be accepted without qualification by my Government.

123. Australia has been, not an uncritical, but a strong and consistent supporter of the United Nations. The purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter are basic to our foreign policy. This year Australia has decided to stand for election to membership in the Security Council. This is evidence of our willingness to accept our share of the general responsibilities of United Nations membership and of our belief that we can represent in a significant sense the Asian and Pacific region.

124. Throughout our participation in the work of this Organization, Australia has sought to find ways by which the Charter and the United Nations as an institution can be used more effectively for reducing world tensions and for bringing increased harmony and stability into the international system. We do not seek a simply static world order; we seek one which can encompass even rapid change. But we firmly believe that change should take place always in a peaceful and orderly way. Most nations will acknowledge that the United Nations has not yet made sufficient progress in stabilizing international political relations within a generally acceptable code of international rules. Around the world we continue to face the tragic results of attempts to settle disputes and impose political solutions by force and terror and violence.

125. We believe that the functioning of any society of men or nations, if it is to be peaceably and soundly based, must depend upon the effective working of a rule of law that is generally understood, generally accepted and generally respected. It is true to say that the work of the United Nations rests on the twin pillars of international law and justice. There can be no more constructive way of contributing to the strength of the United Nations than to look for opportunities of broadening and deepening its involvement in new areas of common international concern, with the object of widening the scope and, I would hope, the acceptability of a just and realistic code of international behaviour.

126. We have before us the question whether the Charter might need some revision. We all have in mind that it was drawn up at the end of the Second World War in circumstances that have since undergone substantial transformation. We can all agree that the Charter falls short of perfection. But as an enduring statement of political concepts and values, it has stood the test of time remarkably well. Its potential for practical implementation that will lead us to a well-ordered world system is still very far from exhausted.

127. My Government would be prepared to support amendments to specific Articles of the Charter which might

<sup>12</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/8794.

now be out of date or in other respects now irrelevant, if there were a substantial measure of agreement on the proposed changes. That might be reason to question, for example, whether the wording of Article 23, paragraph 1, makes it possible to ensure that the original intent of that provision is carried out in full. We are not, however, attracted to the idea of wholesale review. There are too many differences of opinion for such a review to be certainly profitable. We would not favour the convening of a large conference which might result in division and dissension and which might even diminish respect for the present Charter without offering any certain prospect of an acceptable alternative. The damage to the United Nations could well be difficult to repair.

128. The programme of work for this session offers us opportunities to help the United Nations to establish a world system in which agreed international laws and practices will prevail. Not all of these are equally mature for treatment by this General Assembly, but each offers some scope for removing inequalities and harmonizing relations between States.

129. The maintenance of international peace and security must remain the basic purpose of the United Nations. Australia, for its part, continues to be actively involved in United Nations peace-keeping functions, both in the field and here at Headquarters. As a member of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, we regret the failure of the Committee to make any substantial progress in recent years and its virtual stagnation during 1972. It is an unhappy commentary on the state of multilateral diplomacy within our Organization that the impasse reached on matters of substance is such that Members can conceive and develop no initiative which may offer a possible breakthrough and enable the Committee to carry out its mandate.

130. So long as we are unable to keep the peace, Governments will feel they need to go armed in a potentially hostile world. The crushing burden and the gruesome threat of modern armouries are thus a symptom of our failure to create the well-ordered world system which remains the basic purpose of the United Nations. This in the final analysis must await agreement on effective measures of arms limitation and control. In respect of the items on this year's agenda, Australia will continue to support any genuinely constructive measures that promise to contribute to the climate of world peace.

131. In this spirit, the Australian Government welcomes the fact that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have advanced to agreement, if not yet to finality. We welcome the entry into force of the treaty on arms control on the sea-bed.<sup>13</sup> Australia was also able to sign on 10 April last, the day on which it was opened for signature, the Convention to ban biological weapons of war.<sup>14</sup> We would

also certainly support the convening, at the appropriate time and after full and careful preparation, of a world disarmament conference that could bring together all nations, and particularly all those more powerful nations whose consensus will be imperative—in the words of the Charter—to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

132. Australia would particularly like to see the negotiation of a comprehensive treaty, with effective provisions for verification and control, to prohibit the conduct of nuclear weapons testing in all environments by all States. The first step towards that objective should be, in our view, the universal acceptance and application of the existing Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water. But we still do not have universal acceptance of this treaty, and there is still no halt to nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere.

133. Those peoples, including my own, that live in and around the Pacific Ocean have made clear their strong opposition to these tests. Australia and New Zealand have taken a joint initiative in calling together a meeting of nations bordering on the Pacific Ocean that have raised their voices against nuclear weapons testing for the purpose of discussing this matter. Our first meeting proved constructive and useful. We hope, as a result, that we shall, with a substantial body of sponsors, be able to bring forward a meaningful resolution at an appropriate time during the current session.

134. I move now from nuclear terror to plain human terror. In saying this I am, of course, aware that a debate has already taken place here on the question whether or not this Assembly should embark upon a discussion of terrorism and how to put an end to it.

135. My Government welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General in seeking the inclusion in the agenda of an item designed to give us an opportunity to discuss terrorism [*A/8791 and Add.1*]. This item has been included [*item 92*]. It is for all of us now to seek practical and effective ways of containing terrorism. The Secretary-General has rightly stressed the humanitarian aspects of the problem, and particularly its impact on innocent bystanders and non-participants.

136. I want to make it clear that I do not have in mind any one particular terrorist act. My Government understands fully the kinds of frustration, grievance and despair that can lead particular groups and individuals to embark on desperate enterprises designed to hold persons, often innocent persons, or even Governments to ransom. But there are two things that must be said about the growing incidence of this world-wide pattern of intimidation by terrorism, whether it takes the form of the abduction or killing of diplomats or private individuals, or the hijacking of aircraft, or political assassination. The first is that however deplorable it is that disputes between groups or countries should escalate to the point of violence and terrorism, it becomes intolerable when the side effects of these disputes begin to appear in the harassment of Governments and the endangering of the lives of innocent people in countries that are not involved, and have no reason to be involved, in those disputes. The second point I want to make is that terror creates terror, that terrorism

<sup>13</sup> Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (resolution 2660 (XXV), annex).

<sup>14</sup> Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

does not solve problems but breeds more terrorism within and among nations. If terrorism is allowed to go unchecked it must lead ultimately towards anarchy, national as well as international. It is, therefore, a matter of concern to every Member of the United Nations. The reputation of the United Nations as a whole will be gravely affected if the Organization is seen to shrink from facing the problem.

137. The Australian Government, in consultation with other Governments, has been examining possible ways of countering terrorist violence against innocent parties. We hope that the Assembly will treat this as a matter of urgency and reach early agreement on measures that may take us at least part of the way towards the solution of a problem which we recognize is full of difficulty for many Member countries, but which nevertheless demands immediate action. Looking further ahead, my delegation has had in mind the possibility of an international convention aimed at outlawing acts of violence and intimidation which arise essentially from local conflicts but which are in effect directed primarily at innocent people and uninvolved Governments. The problem is full of complexity, and there is more than one way of tackling it. The United States Secretary of State has put before us a draft convention on the subject [A/C.6/L.850], which we shall all of us wish to study with great care. Another possible suggestion that my Government has had in mind is that the International Law Commission might be asked to draft the provisions of such a convention. But these proposals are for the longer term, and are no substitute for the urgent action that is demanded by public and private opinion everywhere for effective preventive measures to defeat the indiscriminate threat of terrorism.

138. The threat is universal. It has reached us in Australia in forms no less grave than elsewhere. A bomb that exploded two weeks ago in a main street of our biggest city, at the entrance of an agency of a European Government, left 16 innocent people injured, some of them critically. Only two days ago some half-dozen of the so-called letter bombs were discovered in the central post office in Canberra. I mention both these incidents only to show how the manifestations of terrorism germinated from local grievances in any quarter of the world can threaten innocent people in countries many thousands of miles away.

139. My Government regards all acts of that kind as utterly abhorrent to our way of life. When acts of terrorism occur in Australia, we are determined to use all our resources to apprehend and prosecute the offenders. We are equally determined that, so far as it lies within our power, we will prevent our country from being used at any time as a base for terrorist acts in any other country. We join other nations in condemning not only acts of terrorism, but also those acts of violent retaliation, understandable as they may be, which in themselves carry the seeds of escalation into further terrorism.

140. The increasing incidence of aircraft hijacking and other kinds of criminal interference with air travel constitutes only one manifestation of the insidious effects of terror by example. More often than not its effects reach beyond the limits of jurisdiction of any single country. This means that it can be contained and ultimately eradicated

only by a stringent combination of domestic and internationally agreed penalties. A beginning has been made in the form of the conclusion of three Conventions to deal with this problem, all three of which my Government has either ratified or is in the process of ratifying. But there is obviously more to be done before innocent travellers in every country in the world can feel sure that they can take to the air without the risk of placing their lives at the mercy of human terror.

141. I think we all recognize that a well-ordered system of international behaviour depends not only on dedication to accepted and established principles but also on the measure of detailed agreement we can reach on the many practical matters that affect the daily transactions of peoples and governments everywhere.

142. One of these practical matters concerns the seas and the resources that lie in and underneath them. The United Nations is now preparing for a conference on the law of the sea. This conference could be one of the most important of this decade. The Australian Government, as a member of the committee responsible for preparing this conference, is pleased at the progress the committee has made.

143. We welcome the growing acceptance in that committee of the view that the new law of the sea should accord greater recognition than is at present given by international law to the interests of coastal States in the resources, the quality of the environment, and the conduct of scientific research in the seas and sea-bed adjacent to them but beyond their territorial waters. If this is reflected in the final convention, it should be possible to confine the territorial sea to a breadth of 12 miles and to devise a satisfactory régime for passage through straits used for international navigation. This would be a progressive development of the law, in the best sense.

144. We have spoken of our desire for a peaceful and well-ordered world. We also want a world in which the preservation of a healthy environment goes hand in hand with material progress. Australia recognizes the need for international conventions in this field, most immediately in the field of control over marine pollution. We look forward to further progress as a result of the Conference on Marine Pollution to be organized by the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization in 1973, and from the continuing valuable studies of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

145. The most significant achievement so far in our efforts to preserve the global environment has, of course, been the encouraging outcome of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm. Australia will support the adoption by the General Assembly of the Conference's report<sup>15</sup> and the recommendations contained therein. At the same time we remain conscious of the fears among developing countries that the preservation of the environment might come to assume priority within the United Nations over the continuing need for assistance for economic development. And we respect this concern. We

<sup>15</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14).

consider that protection of the environment and economic development must go hand in hand, and must not be regarded as mutually exclusive or competitive.

146. Australia supports the proposal to establish a governing council for environmental programmes.<sup>16</sup> I believe that Australia can make a valuable contribution to the work of this Council. We will seek election to that body at this session of the Assembly and we have already announced a pledge of \$2.5 million to the voluntary Environment Fund.

147. I have so far been dealing with matters which directly affect us all. I should now like to bring to the Assembly some of the significant developments affecting international relations in the Asian and Pacific region.

148. One of the most exciting developments in our own area is the rapid movement towards self-government and independence of Papua New Guinea. The third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly was elected in March of this year and has now voted in favour of Papua New Guinea becoming fully self-governing on 1 December 1973 or as soon as possible thereafter. Independence will follow when the House of Assembly decides the time is right. The transition to independence by a people is an inspiring and important achievement, and I hope that the close and friendly relationship that continues between Australia and Papua New Guinea will provide convincing evidence of success in our efforts in helping to bring that country to the point of self-determination.

149. It is a short step from Papua New Guinea to the islands of the South Pacific ocean, and just before coming to New York I attended in Suva the third meeting of the South Pacific Forum, in which Government leaders of independent countries in the region now meet regularly to review common problems. It was agreed at the Suva meeting that countries like Papua New Guinea which were on the threshold of self-government or independence and wished to become members of the Forum could participate as observers until such time as they became self-governing or independent. Papua New Guinea will consequently be able to attend the next meeting of the South Pacific Forum as an observer.

150. This Forum, offering, as it does, an opportunity for frank discussion and consultation on the widest range of common problems, has already become a significant and influential regional body. The Pacific countries are actively seeking understanding and co-operation through consultation. Their efforts are a conspicuous example of the effective application of the principles of the United Nations Charter. As an indication of Australia's interest in assisting the countries of the South Pacific we have increased our development aid to the region to the figure of \$A 15 million over the next three years.

151. I have devoted some little time to Australia's relations with the island communities to our east, across the South Pacific, mainly because all those communities are now beginning to establish their own individual identity. This does not, of course, mean that there has been any diminution in the constant attention we in Australia give to

our relations with our neighbour countries to our north—to the countries of South-East and East Asia. These relationships continue to prosper in the same frank and cordial atmosphere that has prevailed since they achieved independence. Our bilateral relations with each of them are good. We enjoy very satisfactory multilateral associations with a number of them; and they are establishing closer links among and between themselves through organizations such as ASEAN—the Association of South-East Asian Nations—which promises to contribute substantially to the peace and stability of the region.

152. The exception to peace in South-East Asia is Indo-China, where the merciless and needless destruction and suffering caused by the now undisguised aggression of North Viet-Nam continue to appall the world. We can only appeal to the leaders in the North to take stock of the terrible havoc this war has wrought. Realization is long overdue that serious negotiation does not signify weakness, that a negotiated settlement does not signify defeat and that it is not impossible for different ideologies eventually to coexist in peace and prosperity.

153. My Government fully supports the terms of the offer made by the President of the United States in May of this year as a practical basis for ending the military conflict, and we can only hope that that offer, or one like it, will ultimately prove to hold the key to real progress not only towards a cease-fire but also towards an agreed settlement that will bring an end to the miseries of the long-suffering people of South Viet-Nam and also of their neighbours in Laos and the Khmer Republic.

154. Australia had hoped that at this session of the General Assembly we should be able to welcome to the Organization as a new Member Bangladesh, with which Australia has especially friendly links. We believe that Bangladesh is fully qualified for membership in the United Nations. We remain hopeful that the Security Council, upon reconsideration of the matter, will recommend in favour of the Bangladesh application and that as a result the Assembly will still be able at its present session to admit this new State to the world body as a full Member.

155. In passing, may I compliment the Secretary-General on the impressive way in which his office has tackled the enormous problem of co-ordinating relief for Bangladesh. Independent reports from Dacca testify to the expedition and efficiency with which relief aid valued at more than \$200 million has been made available to Bangladesh by the United Nations Relief Operation in Dacca since the end of last year.

156. The economic problems facing Bangladesh exemplify the need for greater assistance on more favourable terms to the developing world. Australia this year is committed to provide \$US 260 million in international aid, an increase of 10 per cent over expenditure in the previous financial year. Together with private capital flows, the net transfer of resources to developing countries this year will account for an estimated 1.27 per cent of Australia's gross national product. Australia continues to be among the first three or four donor countries in the amount of official development assistance extended in relation to gross national product, and almost all Australian aid is given in the form of grants.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. III, resolution (I).

Among other increases, Australia will be raising its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme this year by 20 per cent.

157. Before concluding, I should refer briefly to the financial position of the United Nations. We believe it remains a vital task for each of us to assist in finding a solution to the Organization's debt problem. We hope that real progress will be made when the question is taken up this year in the Fifth Committee.

158. We welcome the steps taken by the Secretary-General to restrain budgetary increases. Australia wants to see each year a budget adequate to support the expanding work-programme of the Organization. But that does not mean

that every new programme or project, however well intentioned, is to be accepted regardless of its cost. The United Nations, like other institutions, has to establish its priorities in the knowledge that not every fresh activity can be accommodated in the budget at one and the same time.

159. I have spoken about the role of the United Nations in maintaining a stable, harmonious world order, and about particular situations within and outside the immediate purview of the United Nations which closely affect my country. In all these situations there is a challenge to the United Nations, which means a challenge to all of us here. Let us hope we can accept that challenge.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*