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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SHAFIQ (Afghanistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the Afghan delegation, I should like to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are confident that the present session will, under your able leadership, witness significant steps toward finding solutions to many of the problems confronting human society.

2. We should also like to express our sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, for his able handling of the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. My colleagues and I also wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the energy and perception with which, since his election to the post of Secretary-General, he has embarked upon the manifold duties and heavy responsibilities of this highly esteemed office.

3. In the changing world of today, with problems increasing both in number and in dimension, human society in general—and the small countries in particular—are placing special hope in the United Nations. We all see with regret that many parties to many of the problems facing the world today try their best to avoid bringing to the machinery of this Organization, its organs and specialized agencies questions in which their vital interests are involved. If this process is allowed to go on unchecked in the direction in which it has been heading in recent years, it will inevitably lead to this result: either the United Nations will become a burdensome bureaucracy, or the world will be misled into a dangerous condition of self-deception, or both.

4. In the not-too-distant past, the world discovered too late that this course of events could only lead us to catastrophic consequences. It is still early enough to re-examine our experience with the United Nations and to find ways effectively to carry out the basic principles embodied in its Charter. It is on this basis that the

delegation of Afghanistan wishes to emphasize the necessity for a genuine, deep and practical discussion of item 24 of the agenda.

5. In this, I address myself not only to the great Powers but also to the entire membership of this Organization. It is the responsibility of all of us to make the Charter, and this Organization, an effective instrument to create better political, economic and social conditions in the world in which we all live and must live together.

6. We shall present our view on that subject when the question comes before the General Assembly for debate, so we shall not go into detail about it here. However, I do want to say that, as a small nation, we should like to see the United Nations reflect the true conscience of the world whenever the idea of naked power, and of economic and political dominance, attempts to obscure the need for a balanced approach to international politics.

7. This Organization should not in any way be prohibited from serving as a free forum of the community of nations and as an instrument for arriving, by means of constructive dialogues, at just and viable solutions to the many problems facing the world. In this spirit, my delegation would like to voice its full appreciation of the remarks made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report to this Assembly on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1]. We hope that the détente of the great Powers will encompass the finding of means to strengthen the United Nations, rather than by-passing this Organization and taking the world back to the methods of the era before its birth.

8. In this context, it would be relevant to refer to one tragedy the shadow of which continues to hang over the conscience of all of us who have assembled here. From this rostrum we have spoken a number of times about the fate of the people of Viet-Nam. It is high time that the community of nations as a whole seriously addressed itself to this continuing threat to international peace and security. Afghanistan has always supported a solution of the question of Viet-Nam—and of all Indo-China—based on the decisive role of the will of the peoples of the area themselves in determining their own destiny without any foreign intervention. We shall continue to render our support to the struggling people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula on the basis of these principles, which can be considered the sole criteria for the solution of their problems.

9. We shall have the opportunity of commenting on the individual items composing the agenda of this session of the General Assembly as they arise. Being conscious of the necessity to economize the very valuable time of this

August Assembly, I shall only summarize very briefly at this time the views of the Afghan delegation, and of my Government, on some of the major developments of the period between the last session of the General Assembly and the present one.

10. The first of these developments is, fortunately, a positive one. The increasing recognition of and adherence to the philosophy of non-alignment, and its role in world politics, is a source of particular satisfaction to Afghanistan. In the past year alone, many events and even the attitudes of some of the great Powers have indicated this trend. The recent Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Georgetown, Guyana in August, has made a significant contribution to the further development of the concepts of peaceful coexistence and to the application of independent judgement to international events solely on the basis of their merit. The non-aligned countries of the world are looking forward to the summit meeting to be held next year in Algeria and are confident that it will make a positive contribution both to the noble cause of international peace and security and to the development of better relations among the different members of the world community.

11. The question of international peace and security naturally leads to that of world disarmament. We would like to join in the earnest appeal of all the peace-loving nations for a rapid and complete end to the dangerous race in armaments. If we do not achieve the goal of total disarmament for which our generation and the ones preceding us have so earnestly longed, the planet on which we live will be an inherently unsafe dwelling place not only for us and for our children but for their children as well.

12. With regard to the problem of terrorism, we would like to bring to the attention of this Assembly the following essential observations. To disturb the safety of innocent people anywhere in the world cannot be tolerated under any circumstances. However, in the light of this same basic norm of human conduct, no one should be allowed to deceive the world into believing that equally innocent people, deprived of their land and communal entity, shall have no right to fight for the recovery of their usurped homes. It is the urgent responsibility of this Organization and particularly of the major Powers of the world to use all the means at their disposal for finding and applying a solution to the problem of Palestine. Among all the matters of war and peace, none is more dangerous nor demands our attention more than the situation in the Middle East—a situation created by the occupation of Arab territories by Israel and by its blunt refusal to withdraw its forces from those territories. With a shaky and precarious history of cease-fires, no progress has been made towards a satisfactory settlement in that troubled area.

13. Over 20 years of usurpation of the Palestinian people's rights and the continued trampling of their ancestral land by an alien conqueror should not lead the international community to forget that there exists a distinct entity called Palestine and a distinct people called the Palestinians, whose destiny is indistinguishably linked with the soil on which they have been living since time immemorial. It is our ardent hope that the General Assembly at its present session, by taking adequate measures in this regard, will

contribute to the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The immediate and complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all territories of the three Arab countries—namely, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan—is another essential prerequisite for the establishment of a durable peace in the Middle East. To deal with the problem in any other way would be, to paraphrase a Persian poem, “Wiping the tears from our faces without assuaging the anguish from which we weep”.

14. My Government welcomed the spirit that prevailed in the conference of the leaders of Pakistan and India at Simla. It is truly within the spirit of the Charter of this Organization that, at last, in the troubled Indo-Pakistani subcontinent dialogue is beginning to replace the use of arms or the threat of such use. It would be a significant contribution to the victory of the principle of pacific settlement of international disputes to see peace reigning at last over the countries of the subcontinent, and to see Pakistan, Bangladesh and India co-operating in the different spheres of life for the benefit of all the peoples of all three countries.

15. The noble efforts deployed by the United Nations Committee on decolonization<sup>1</sup> have all the support of the people and the Government of Afghanistan. I would like to reiterate once again our sympathy with, and our backing for, all nations and peoples still struggling for the recognition of their right to self-determination. The abolition of all forms and manifestations of colonialism and imperialism and of racial discrimination and *apartheid* is a basic objective of the Charter; and all of us present here are bound by our pledges to its provisions and purposes to extend whatever support is at our disposal to the achievement of these goals.

16. For Afghanistan itself, colonialism has left a very unfortunate heritage. It is our hope that the question of Pakhtunistan will be solved on the basis of the right of self-determination for the Pakhtun and Baluchi inhabitants of that land. It is the national and international duty of the people and the Government of Afghanistan to pursue, by all peaceful means at their disposal, the just and noble cause of the people of Pakhtunistan. This problem, in essence, emanated from a very typical colonial injustice.

17. The right of the people of Pakhtunistan freely to choose their own destiny was denied them when the classical form of Western colonialism ended in the Indian subcontinent through its partition a quarter century ago. The land of Pakhtunistan, in spite of not being part of the subcontinent, was added to one of the two new States without its inhabitants having been accorded an opportunity to exercise freely their right to self-determination. The peaceful settlement of this matter is one of the major aims of Afghanistan's foreign policy; but since the question has not been formally put before the General Assembly, it is not our intention to go into further discussion of the problem at this time.

18. The economic development of the under-developed peoples of the world, which unfortunately constitute the

<sup>1</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

majority of the inhabitants of our globe, is essential not only to the question of international peace and security but also to the well-being—present and future—of human society as a whole and to the decent self-respect of us all. The outcome of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held at Santiago in April and May, was a source of genuine disturbance to the small and poor nations of the world. If the menacing gap between the rich and the poor countries continues to widen further, it will soon be very difficult to consider the inhabitants of the world as one human society in the true sense of the word. We hope that this problem will be given sufficient time and consideration during the deliberations of the present session of the General Assembly so that the flame of hope for the future of the developing countries can remain alight.

19. At this juncture one point deserves special mention. As we all know, it is specifically stated in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] that special measures in favour of the least developed countries should be adopted so as to enable those countries to benefit fully and equitably from the general measures contained in the Strategy. In the view of my Government, the general division of the world into developed and developing countries is a simplistic view which is no longer valid. The developing world is divided into two groups, developing and least developed. That fact has already been recognized by the International Development Strategy, as well as in numerous resolutions of the various bodies of the United Nations system. Some of the least developed countries are land-locked and are thus doubly handicapped.

20. As I stated earlier, the gap between the developed and the developing countries and between the latter and the least developed among them is fast widening. The identification of the least developed countries is a dramatic phenomenon in the painstakingly slow process of searching for solutions to the socio-economic problems of the countries of the world. The concept of the developing countries as a single group having more similarities than differences proved to be inaccurate. The criteria established for the identification of those countries demonstrate that they are countries with extremely vulnerable subsistence economies. Two years of continued and severe drought in the case of my country, for example, not only disrupted the precarious economic balance but also plunged the country into unprecedented socio-economic chaos.

21. We agree, as we have often repeated in various international documents that the primary responsibility for the economic development of the developing countries rests upon those countries themselves. But there is another fact, which applies in no case more than it does to the least developed countries: the efforts of those countries for development cannot succeed without urgent, comprehensive and sustained international assistance and co-operation. That fact has been recognized by the developed as well as other developing countries in numerous documents, the most recent of them UNCTAD resolution 62 (III),<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex IA.

which contains specific commitments and measures. It is high time to ascertain to what extent these promises are going to be kept.

22. Efforts during the past several years by a number of countries resulted in the unanimous adoption of resolution 63 (III) at Santiago last spring. That resolution, while not satisfying entirely the needs and claims of the developing land-locked countries, could nevertheless be regarded as a major step in the right direction. As stipulated in numerous studies and resolutions of various United Nations bodies, land-locked developing countries need, first, to adapt their economies to their special geographic situation, and secondly, to ensure the free and unrestricted transit of their trade to the sea and to third countries, and vice versa. Those two needs should be satisfied simultaneously and not consecutively. Resolution 63 (III) provides guide-lines for special measures to be taken in both these fields. While the first measures, which are the responsibility of developed countries and international organizations, are of a rather long-term nature, the second set of measures, which are the responsibility of transit countries and international organizations, deserve immediate attention. Such measures as the preparation of a transport strategy and the study of administrative and customs procedures in transit countries could not be carried out without sincere and complete co-operation by the transit countries.

23. We hope that the UNCTAD secretariat, as well as responsible bodies in various international organizations, will take swift and effective measures to implement those decisions of the third session of UNCTAD. We further hope that all countries concerned will adopt a constructive attitude towards these questions and extend their full co-operation to the other parties concerned. The Government of Afghanistan, in co-operation with other land-locked countries, will closely follow developments in this field and is ready to offer its full co-operation and assistance for the implementation of the provisions of UNCTAD resolution 63 (III).

24. We attach substantial importance to the development of the law of the sea along the lines leading to the possibility of access for all the nations of the world to the riches of the sea-bed beyond the limits of the national jurisdiction of individual nations. Special attention must be paid to the status and the needs of the land-locked countries. That is true not only with regard to the riches of the sea-bed but also with regard to freedom of transit and other facilities that are desperately needed for the economic growth of those land-locked countries.

25. Afghanistan in the last three years has had to cope with the catastrophic consequences of a very severe drought. Many Members of the United Nations have generously, and in compliance with the resolution of sympathy adopted by the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly [resolution 2757 (XXVI)], extended help and sympathy to our people in their moment of distress. I consider it my duty to express, on behalf of the people and the Government of Afghanistan, our sincere gratitude and appreciation to all those countries which have so kindly extended their aid. I would like especially to thank the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, for his message to the various specialized agencies

of the United Nations concerned with this problem, and those agencies for the timely help they have rendered in the face of this natural catastrophe.

26. In conclusion, I express the hope that this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly will mark a significant step forward in the deliberations and activities of the United Nations all through the year.

27. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): Mr. President, first of all may I, on behalf of my Government and of my delegation, extend our felicitations to you on your being elected President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly? We would also like to associate ourselves with the tributes paid to you by the many distinguished speakers who have preceded me. Permit me also to express my delegation's appreciation of the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, presided over the twenty-sixth session last year.

28. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome our new Secretary-General. His ability, his wide knowledge of the ways of men and nations, and his fortitude will, I feel, be put to the severest test that any Secretary-General has yet undergone. This is because he is taking over an organization which is sick and enfeebled. The period between the last session and the present one has revealed in a striking fashion the Organization's weaknesses and failures in shaping and guiding the collective destiny of mankind.

29. The world witnessed during this period what could be described as the unkindest cut ever delivered to the United Nations. Great Powers and smaller nations discovered that complex and delicate international issues could be more expeditiously and satisfactorily settled outside this Organization through bilateral discussions rather than within it.

30. The first of these events was the resolution outside the United Nations of the seemingly irreconcilable differences which had existed between the United States and the People's Republic of China and which for a quarter of a century had been a source of international tensions and threats to peace. In the shape of the Taiwan issue it was for two decades debated inconclusively in the United Nations. Each debate left behind an accumulating residue of enmity and factionalism within the United Nations, which ensured that the next debate would be more sterile than the preceding one.

31. But now American-Chinese relations have been put on a more rational basis, not through the efforts of the United Nations, but in spite of them. Last year the President of the United States, following a series of bilateral discussions outside the United Nations, went to China and had direct talks with the Chinese leaders. At these talks both countries stated their areas of agreement and disagreement in language calculated to encourage further accord. This language was shorn of all the polemics and posturings that had been depressing features of speeches and resolutions on the China issue in our Organization.

32. The second occasion when the United Nations was by-passed was the summit meeting between the President of the United States and the leaders of the Soviet Union. This

resulted in a joint communiqué as well as a declaration of basic principles which stressed that

“Differences in ideology and in the social systems of the USA and the USSR are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations . . .”<sup>3</sup>

Here again what is worthy of note, apart from the reference to bilateral developments, is the tone of the speeches and declarations. They convey attitudes not of challenge and antagonism but of accommodation and conciliation.

33. The third instance of the by-passing of the United Nations was the signing of the Simla Agreement between the leaders of India and Pakistan. Here again what is noticeable in speeches and statements is the absence of polemics and antagonism.

34. The bilateral accord reached between the People's Republic of China and Japan in Peking on 29 September 1972 is yet another instance of differences being resolved independently of the United Nations.

35. The divided States of Korea and Germany are making progress towards rapprochement outside the framework of the United Nations. Another outstanding issue, the tragic and protracted conflict in Viet-Nam, given present indications, is more likely to be settled outside the United Nations than within it.

36. Those instances of the by-passing of the United Nations have profound implications for our Organization. As far back as 1969 [1782nd meeting] my delegation drew the attention of this Assembly to the separate decision-making network the big Powers were erecting to by-pass this Organization. What my delegation did not then foresee was that small nations too would by-pass the United Nations to resolve differences and conflicts. The Secretary-General is sufficiently struck by this development to draw our attention to it in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization. He makes this appeal:

“... But when long-standing conflicts create vast humanitarian problems and may affect the peace and security of all mankind, the United Nations should surely be involved in the attempt to settle them.” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 4.]

In saying that, the Secretary-General was not expressly referring to developments of the past year. However, he clearly had these developments in mind when making his observations. All these admittedly hopeful events occurred in contexts quite divorced from this Organization, its personnel, facilities, debates and resolutions.

37. All this is not to suggest that we should deplore settlements outside the framework of the United Nations. On the contrary, we should welcome any easing of tension and resolution of conflicts, however reached. The point I want to make is that, if the trends I have drawn attention

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972*, document S/10674, p. 91.

to persist, then the United Nations could become a meaningless and irrelevant organization—no more than an international social club for wearisome rhetoric.

38. In this connexion I should like to draw the attention of representatives to Article 1 of the Charter, which proclaims that one of the purposes of the United Nations is "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

39. The unpleasant fact we have to face is that after 27 years the United Nations is less and less a "centre" for harmonizing the actions of nations. The time has therefore come for us to begin the unpleasant task of searching out the reasons for the growing lack of confidence in the efficacy of the United Nations and for its declining prestige.

40. There is, as in all great and complex problems, more than one cause. There are the external factors, such as the conviction of the big Powers that world diplomacy should be equated with big-Power diplomacy. The interests and ambitions of the big Powers cannot, they feel, be promoted and safeguarded by striving to get a consensus among some 130 Members, with interests and conflicts which the great Powers find not only irrelevant and tiresome but also increasingly dangerous to big-Power accord. It is not an accident that the drift towards an independent big-Power diplomacy began with the accelerated increase in the membership of the United Nations and with the tacit agreement that war between major Powers must be avoided at all costs because it implied mutual annihilation. Discussions and consultations with some 130 nations would not, the big Powers felt, promote their somewhat different interests. Big-Power problems could, it was felt, be more expeditiously and satisfactorily resolved in face-to-face discussions, unhampered by the importunities of a host of small nations. In so far as the major Powers show any interest in the United Nations, it is to regard it more as a forum for scoring propaganda points and to use smaller nations as pressure groups to influence their rivals. The United Nations, in other words, is for the big Powers a supplementary but subsidiary instrument of diplomacy. If they cannot resolve their problems through the United Nations, there is always face-to-face diplomacy to fall back on.

41. The unpleasant fact that the small nations must face up to is that the great Powers do not need the United Nations for their diplomacy or the influencing of world affairs as much as small nations do. The big Powers have over the years established an international network of their own which, if the small nations are not careful, will increasingly shape the course of world events independently of the small nations. It is we, the small nations, rather than the great Powers, who stand to lose in the long run by the diminishing role assigned to the United Nations in the making of world history. The United Nations activities could, given present trends, be no more than foot-notes to the chapters the great Powers will write.

42. Without the United Nations there is no way in which the small nations can exert direct influence on the course of world history. In the early days of the United Nations, when the great Powers treated it as an important instrument of diplomacy, the smaller nations did play a not

unimportant role in the shaping of international events. The aspirations and views of the third world nations did in some measure influence the policies and attitudes of the major Powers. The small nations were wooed with an ardour and a persistence which many small nations found satisfying. The great Powers valued, if not our views, at least our votes, because at that time, at the height of the cold war, they set great store by the resolutions approved in this Assembly. But now that the United Nations has been relegated to a position of relative unimportance by the great Powers we, the small nations, run the danger of being deprived of a very important instrument that we have for shaping and influencing major decisions on world affairs.

43. It is all too easy to cast the blame for the by-passing of the United Nations wholly on the selfishness and arrogance of the great Powers. They have their faults. Their wranglings and posturings to further the ends of the cold war undoubtedly contributed a great deal to the decline of the United Nations.

44. But the small nations, too, with their wranglings and posturings, have contributed as much to the decline of the world Organization; and if we, the small nations, want to restore vigour to the United Nations—as we must if we are to play any kind of role in world affairs—then we must look at our shortcomings with a frank and critical eye. We must do so because not only is the United Nations being by-passed by the big Powers but it is also, as I have said, being by-passed by smaller nations. Like the big Powers, the small nations, too, are slowly veering to the view that the United Nations is not an organization which can be relied upon to resolve their conflicts, to solve their problems.

45. One reason is that the United Nations has tended over the years to become less and less an organization for reconciliation and more and more an arena for staging contests. That is reflected in the style and temper of many United Nations debates and resolutions. Instead of addressing ourselves to finding practical solutions to difficult and complex problems we give ourselves over to polemics and rhetoric. The object is to whip up strong emotions, affix blame to one side or the other and compose resolutions around such all-too-familiar words as "condemn", "deplore", "censure" and "expel". This is not to deny the sincerity behind these great emotions or that the felt outrage is justified. Transgressions of principles basic to our Organization, such as forcible conquest and occupation of other peoples' territories or racial segregation and oppression, must clearly be condemned; nor can there be peaceful solutions to conflicts arising from such transgressions so long as the transgressors refuse to admit that basic principles have been breached.

46. But if the intention is conciliation, concession and problem-solving, then the polemical approach—the arena atmosphere—will hardly accomplish any of these things. That is why earlier in my address I drew attention to the literary style of communiqués and statements that preface successful bilateral discussions: they are invariably barren of polemics. Even when they testify to disagreement, they avoid apportioning blame. They see their problems and disagreements not in black-and-white but in shades of grey. The language of conciliation, of the problem-solver, has to

be publicly expressed in shades of grey, whatever our perception of them may be in private.

47. That is not to say that we should not clearly enunciate our disagreements and the nature of our disagreements. But in situations of crisis and conflict, rhetoric and polemics, far from reducing tensions, make positions rigid, especially when uttered publicly to provoke and humiliate an adversary. Under these conditions, compromises and concessions become well-nigh impossible because, against the backdrop of polemics, concessions and compromises become humiliating defeats.

48. The situation is aggravated by the curious expectation in this Organization that countries not directly or even indirectly involved in a conflict should line up on one side or the other. This expectation is based on the premise that friends should prove their friendship by making enemies of their friend's enemies.

49. The consequence is that a conflict between two Members is, over a period of time, transformed into a generalized conflict involving many more Members of our Organization. The interested bystanders, instead of helping to resolve the conflict, themselves become contestants. That is one reason why many issues that come up before our Organization remain unresolved year after year. Where initially the parties to a dispute are few, it becomes unwieldy through the accretion of fresh partisans, resulting very often in everyone losing sight of the initial causes of the dispute.

50. This may explain why some of the issues that have haunted this Assembly for decades have been more satisfactorily resolved through direct negotiations between the original parties to the dispute. Presumably in bilateral discussions the initial causes of the dispute are recollected in relative tranquillity.

51. Another reason for the success of bilateral discussions is that for the most part they take place in private. Unfortunately, most of the proceedings in the United Nations not only have the atmosphere of an arena, but they are also public. We perform not only for the home audience but for a world audience as well. We believe that what we say and do is being eagerly followed by the press, television and radio the world over. This may have been the case once, but it is my impression that in recent years the publicity media too have grown weary of us.

52. This is not to advocate that all proceedings of this Organization should be behind closed doors. However, this Organization should give serious consideration to supplementing public discussions with more private and closed-door discussions, especially in regard to issues of great delicacy involving profound emotions and what the Asians call "face". For example, my delegation would not object if the Security Council were to attempt to resolve sensitive problems without formal open sessions through informal consultations with interested parties. This is preferable to protracted meetings where no solutions are arrived at because sometimes the purpose of the Council is to decide who is innocent and who is guilty.

53. The gist of my plea is that the United Nations should become less of an arena for public contests and more of an Organization for smoothing out conflicts, for reconciling differences. The relative success of recent bilateral discussions holds an important lesson for our Organization. It is that we should inject into our Organization the spirit as well as the techniques successfully employed in bilateral negotiations. Such negotiations are private, they are informal; the participants go there not to decide who is guilty and who is innocent, but to reach accord while containing differences.

54. I am not saying that this approach will resolve the many and difficult problems that confront our Organization. There are no simple and quick remedies to many of our problems. All I am saying is that, so long as most of us view the United Nations as an arena for dramatic contests, there is very little chance of our being able to restore to the United Nations the vigour and prestige which it deserves.

55. Maybe it is not the United Nations which needs to be reinvigorated and nursed to health. It may well be that we have got the United Nations we deserve. For the United Nations has no existence outside of the Members that constitute it. The United Nations is no more than a mirror reflecting the collective weaknesses and defects of us all.

56. Outside of us the United Nations is nothing. Without the United Nations we, the small nations, may be nothing too in the drama of world politics.

57. Mr. HILLERY (Ireland): Mr. President, I wish to convey to you the very warm congratulations of the Irish delegation on your election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

58. In your inaugural address you stated that your country

“... owes its existence, its freedom, its independence and its present dynamic development to great effort on the part of its people but also to tremendous sacrifices”  
[2032nd meeting, para. 55].

Here I am reminded of an observation made by the Polish representative in the Security Council on 29 August 1946 in connexion with our application for admission to the United Nations. On that occasion Dr. Lange said that

“... the people of Poland have always, throughout the whole history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had a great sympathy and feeling of great and deep community with the people of Ireland”.<sup>4</sup>

These are sentiments which are fully reciprocated by the Irish people. Consequently my delegation is most gratified that the presidency of the Assembly should be assumed by Poland, and we are particularly happy that this high office should devolve on a personality of your experience and competence. The proceedings over the past three weeks have demonstrated that you will discharge your functions in a manner calculated to promote the purposes and

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, First Year, Second Series*, 57th meeting, p. 102.

principles of the United Nations and to enhance the standing of the Organization.

59. I should like, too, to say how much my delegation welcomed the election last December of Mr. Waldheim to fill the office of Secretary-General. Naturally his long experience in the field of international affairs, both as representative of his country at the United Nations and elsewhere and as Foreign Minister, eminently fitted him to undertake the onerous duties of that office. In the intervening months we have admired the initiative and drive he has shown since assuming those functions.

60. We have in particular been gratified by the Secretary-General's determination to use the powers conferred on him by Article 99 of the Charter to call attention to serious situations and by the readiness he has shown to make himself available to help in resolving such situations. We sincerely hope that the international community will heed his advice and will take advantage of the services which he, as depositary of important responsibilities under the Charter and ideally placed to play a detached role, is so well qualified to render. My delegation much appreciates his offer to help in any way possible in connexion with the North of Ireland.

61. When I spoke in this Assembly at the twenty-sixth session [1956th meeting] I said that we in Ireland believed that political and moral power grew not out of the barrel of a gun but out of the will of people to act together so as to translate values into facts. The United Nations was established for this purpose.

62. Men of vision and goodwill felt that the old international order of sovereign, independent States which had characterized the nineteenth century was no longer adequate. The social, economic and political realities of the modern world require that we achieve a saner and more balanced view of our relations with our neighbours, within national societies, and between nation and nation, and indeed a saner and more balanced relationship between man in general and the earth which we all inhabit.

63. To meet our individual and collective purposes we are constantly adapting structures and institutions or developing new ones. If the structures fail the fault may lie not in the institution itself but in the will of the national or the international community to make it work. As a structure, the United Nations, the Secretary-General reminds us in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, is "not an independent sovereign organization but an association of sovereign Governments, and . . . its failures are also *their* failures". [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2.]

64. The ability of the Organization to succeed is primarily dependent on the will of its Members. I believe that, if one examines the Organization's work and achievements to date and, more importantly, its capacity to meet the needs of the contemporary international society, one must conclude that as a structure, while some adaptations and adjustments could profitably be undertaken, the United Nations remains adequate for the tasks which it has assumed. It is not the structure which is lacking. It is the will and commitment to make it work that must be continually reinforced.

65. The central political function of the United Nations, as the Secretary-General has recalled, is, in the words of the preamble to the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We can do this by making the Organization an instrument of collective security. Although mankind has been spared the horror of a third world war, nevertheless we are all aware that the United Nations has been unable to act to end a series of bitter and long-drawn-out localized conflicts. However, its failure in this regard is not due to the weakness of the Organization itself but manifestly to the unwillingness of the parties to those conflicts to make use of the instruments of peace-making and peace-keeping which the United Nations has at its disposal.

66. This is the eighth regular session in which our agenda includes as an item "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects" [item 41]. It is well known that the Irish delegation has long stressed the importance of this item, for it is obvious that situations can arise, and quite unexpectedly, in which the peace-keeping role of the international community is the most effective means of containing potentially explosive conflicts. Ireland consequently has contended that it is essential that the United Nations evolve a system, within the existing structure, by which a peace-keeping operation can be mounted at short notice and can be effectively pursued until it has achieved its purpose. We have always held that the establishment of a peace-keeping operation is primarily a matter for the Security Council, but we have contended equally that if the Council cannot take that step the residual authority of the Assembly should be capable of being invoked. Moreover, once an operation has been mounted, it is vital that its successful completion should not be jeopardized through the inadequacy of the method of financing it.

67. Many previous speakers have referred to recent encouraging and hopeful developments in international and political relations—the movement towards détente and dialogue between the great Powers and between nations and States which are divided or dismembered by ideology or the fortunes of war. Ireland welcomes these developments, as we welcome, too, the movement towards full universality in this Organization, which gained enormous momentum last year when the People's Republic of China took its place among us. My delegation believes that Bangladesh should be a Member of the United Nations. For dialogue, détente and universality must surely serve to strengthen the structure of the United Nations and strengthen both the confidence of the peoples in the Organization and their will to make it work.

68. The difficulties confronting national and international society are frequently more acute and more complex in the economic area. The United Nations, through UNCTAD, is engaged in what the distinguished Foreign Minister of France rightly called a "great movement of solidarity" [2041st meeting, para. 73].

*Mr. Scott (New Zealand), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

69. The problems with which UNCTAD has to deal are numerous, delicate and difficult. They directly affect the well-being and livelihood of all the peoples of the world.

The relatively disappointing results of the third session of UNCTAD, which took place some months ago in Chile, should not, therefore, be allowed to weaken our determination to persevere. The session should not be judged solely in the light of its immediate or concrete results. It served to define more clearly the areas in which our efforts must be concentrated and has made the international community both more aware of what needs to be done and more alive to the need to do it. It also demonstrated that, while the many problems involved are interrelated, the best hope of success lies in attacking them individually rather than in trying to solve them all simultaneously.

70. The interplay of our will to act and the structures through which we can act in the political and economic spheres is also manifest in the complex relations between man in general and the earth which we all inhabit. There has been a growing realization in recent years of the importance of achieving a saner and more balanced view of the relations between man and the human environment. Piecemeal and unco-ordinated development of industry, overpopulation, urbanization and rural depopulation, we now realize, can disturb, and have disturbed, the delicate balance between man and his ecological habitat. Resources have been depleted by rapacious exploitation; other resources have been destroyed by pollution and industrial waste; and many of the great cities of our civilization have been made barbarous by the refuse of mindless consumerism and planned obsolescence.

71. The recent success of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June, is therefore a heartening sign. It is evidence of a growing realization of the gravity and complexity of the problems which world industrialization and urbanization have created and of a willingness to develop through the United Nations system a means of regulating growth and achieving and maintaining a proper equilibrium between the exploitation and conservation of the earth's resources. The tasks of the United Nations in this regard and its responsibility to succeeding generations are hardly less arduous and grave than those which it has assumed in its primary purpose of saving our children from the scourge of war.

72. Twice in this century the clash of opposing national wills brought war to Europe. And the tragic lesson which war sometimes teaches and out of which the United Nations was born has a crucial relevance for Europeans. Those who had endured those terrible years had also reaped a new wisdom. The leaders of Europe realized that, if the continent was to avoid a further and perhaps final catastrophe, a profound transformation of European relations was necessary. National economic and political rivalries and dissension had to be replaced by co-operation and consensus.

73. Just as the adoption of the United Nations Charter laid the foundation of a new world structure and order, the Treaty of Rome<sup>5</sup> laid the foundations of a new regional structure and order in which the peoples of Europe would assume obligations which bound them even more closely

and committed them to work out together the common destiny to which both geography and history summoned them. In the years since 1957, when the Treaty of Rome was signed, the European Economic Community has undergone a process of evolution and development—which has been sometimes painful and often difficult but which, we are confident, is now about to repay the work, the tenacity and the vision of those men who laboured to translate the ideal of European economic and political unity into a reality.

74. Since I last addressed this Assembly the Irish people have expressed their overwhelming will to participate fully in the European Economic Community, which in a few months' time, with the accession of new member States, will group together some 250 million people. Ireland will bring its own heritage to this community of complementary cultures—which in Europe is endeavouring to build unity in diversity and, through co-operation and consensus, to guarantee to all our children that birthright of peace, of physical security, of material prosperity and of moral enrichment which should and can be the right of all mankind.

75. One paragraph in the speech made in this general debate by the United Kingdom Secretary of State struck me as being especially arresting. Speaking in the context of Europe about East-West relations, he said:

“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.” [2042nd meeting, para. 107.]

76. These remarks are, I feel, cogent in another context, that of Northern Ireland, and relevant to another relationship, that of my country and Great Britain. For the relationship between Britain and Ireland could not escape the influence of events in Northern Ireland over the past three or four years. These events have tended to reduce the problem there more and more to its most basic elements. The problem derives essentially from a conflict of political wills and is aggravated by a defective political structure.

77. The conflict of wills is that between Unionism and anti-Unionism, between those who seek to perpetuate a nakedly sectarian state in Northern Ireland—while protesting their loyalty and allegiance to Britain and British democracy—and those who are struggling for basic civil rights and substantial recognition of the legitimacy of their allegiance to the ideal of a united Ireland.

78. Northern Ireland was created as a political entity in order to provide an area in which to cater separately for unionism in Ireland. In the demographic and political circumstances of Ireland as a whole in 1920, when Northern Ireland was established, unionism could not—and cannot today—exist on its own. A purely Unionist area could not, and cannot, be established as viable. To cater for unionism therefore required the creation of an area divided

<sup>5</sup> Treaty establishing the European Economic Community. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 298, No. 4302.



into two communities with assured dominance for one. The structure of Northern Ireland, in consequences, had political instability built into it from the beginning. As a solution for the Anglo-Irish problem it was, in the words of my Prime Minister, "a recipe for slow disaster".

79. A permanent peace and genuine democracy cannot be established until all the elements of the dilemma in Northern Ireland are squarely faced and dealt with together. And as I have said, the central dilemma of the North lies not only in a conflict of wills, but in the fact that this conflict of wills can never be resolved within the existing structure of Northern Ireland. A permanent solution therefore can only be found, in the view of my delegation, through a genuine attempt both to resolve the conflict of wills and to replace the existing structure.

80. To date, all the attempts by Britain and by successive Belfast administrations to bring about consensus government in Northern Ireland through reform have focused on only one element of the dilemma. In 1969 when the abuses which the divisions within the area had made virtually inevitable came to world attention Britain intervened to see to the reform of these abuses. Attempts at piecemeal reform and the violent refusal of the more reactionary Unionists to accept them brought no stability and the situation grew worse.

81. Moreover the attempts at conciliation were accompanied by efforts to coerce the minority, which simply increased their alienation, and generated tolerance or support for violent tactics, and this in turn left the two communities in the North of Ireland even further divided than before. In short, these attempts to resolve the conflict of wills failed. Six months ago, in March, in the face of persistent violence and instability, Britain took the more drastic step of suspending the structures of dominance within the area by proroguing the Northern Parliament in an effort to reassemble the shattered pieces of the structure in a more equitable and stable way. But what Britain has to face is that the very structure of Northern Ireland—the unworkable attempt to create an area to deal separately with unionism in Ireland—is the fundamental difficulty and that there is no way in which the pieces can be put together again so as to have permanent stability within a purely Northern Ireland setting. If a successful political structure is to be built, it must be one which is open to, and capable of, operating in a wider context, that of Ireland as a whole.

82. But the conflict of wills must also be faced. Britain and Ireland together with the divided communities in the North will have to be involved in the resolution of that conflict. The deepest concerns of the Unionist community in Ireland will have to be, and can be, met by an eventual accommodation with the national majority—by negotiation and on terms acceptable to both. And the deepest concerns and desires of the Unionist community in Ireland cannot be met any other way—certainly not by coercion or by the intercommunal violence which threatens all Irishmen with common ruin.

83. It is evident that there can be no instant solution to the present difficulties. Short-term measures alone, based on a simple balance of forces within the area, will not be enough.

84. There is general acceptance at present of the need to provide a new framework for administration in the North of Ireland. This administration must provide for an equitable division of political power between the elected representatives of the communities in the area, and there must be no possibility of the abuse of security powers in the interests of one community. Beyond this, there must be recognition of, and a real political outlet for, the legitimate aspirations of the non-Unionist community.

85. Interim measures can allow a process of reconciliation to begin: membership by Britain and both parts of Ireland in the European Community will undoubtedly help. But the process of reconciliation will advance only if there is an acceptance of the need to promote and work positively towards a stable and lasting settlement on a new basis in Ireland. It is not enough simply to speak of this as a "legitimate aspiration", or to suggest that reconciliation, now, is a prerequisite to any progress towards this aim. If a real and lasting process of reconciliation is to begin now, there must be courageous and far-sighted policy decisions aimed at such a settlement, and there must be provision for movement towards it as the opportunities become available.

86. In brief, the aim must be not merely to hope for but to encourage actively, by every available political means, progress towards a new Ireland. It would clearly be wrong to repeat on a larger scale in the island as a whole a pattern which has already proved unstable in the North. So we must try to achieve, by agreement, new political institutions in Ireland which do not divide its communities or subordinate one to another, but which are responsive to all elements of its population and their diversity of outlook and tradition. A beginning must be made now which will promote and encourage progress in the right direction, but it would be unwise to demand absolutes, or to set a rigid time-table.

87. In speaking to the General Assembly as I have done on this issue, which deeply troubles us in Ireland, I should like to emphasize that my Government does not consider that the interests of the national majority in Ireland are in any way at variance with the real, long-term interests of the Unionist community. Nor are the interests of the Irish people in conflict with those of the British people. We consider that a stable and lasting settlement in Ireland on the basis I have outlined is in the real interest of both, and we believe and hope that the British Government will come to see this, if indeed it has not begun to do so already.

88. Over the past year there have been exchanges of view between the British and Irish Governments on the mutual problem of Northern Ireland. The situation there and the approach to it I have outlined require deep involvement by both Governments.

89. The Irish Government, for its part, is fully prepared to play a constructive role in reaching a just and lasting settlement of this last difficult problem in Anglo-Irish relations. It will act, by every constitutional means open to it, to work towards a reasoned political settlement, because it believes such a settlement would be clearly in the interests of everyone in Northern Ireland, of both the British and Irish Governments, and of all the people of both islands.

90. Sir Edward CAKOBAU (Fiji): Mr. President, it gives me much pleasure to add my delegation's congratulations to the many you have already received on your unanimous election as the President of this session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your wise and able guidance the work of the session will be successfully concluded.

91. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay my delegation's tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, who guided the deliberations of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly with such great distinction.

92. May I also congratulate our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on his appointment to his high office. His ability was already well known and his dedicated and wise leadership since assuming office is ample evidence that our trust and good judgement in appointing him have not been misplaced.

93. Fiji would particularly wish to commend the Secretary-General for the many personal initiatives he has taken on matters of international concern. I should like to reassure him of Fiji's continued co-operation and support.

94. I welcome the privilege and the honour of addressing this Assembly. I particularly welcome the opportunity of speaking to you about developments in my part of the world, an area which does not often feature in international news but where there is quiet progress along new courses. I also welcome the opportunity to comment from the South Pacific viewpoint on the events of the past year and on the work of the United Nations.

95. The past year has been unusually eventful. On the one hand we have seen the outbreak of renewed violence both between and within nations. We have seen continuing conflicts unnecessarily costing many lives. We have seen the wasteful and destructive diversion of wealth and resources to the purposes of war when, increasingly, the people of the world need their rational and constructive deployment for peaceful ends.

96. In the same year, we have, on the other hand, seen important initiatives taken towards easing the tensions which cause these conflicts. The various bilateral meetings which the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and Japan have recently held have already yielded encouraging results.

97. We welcome the moves made by the opposing wings of divided nations to achieve through dialogue some relaxation of the tensions which otherwise can have calamitous consequences for the peoples concerned and for the rest of the world.

98. The agreements reached between West and East Germany, and between West Germany and Poland, are pleasing developments. Another is the dialogue between the two Koreas. We are pleased that this Assembly, in its wisdom, has respected the wish of the Korean people to be left alone to work out their own reunification. Removed from the spotlight of international attention and shielded from interference, encouraging progress has been made in

their bilateral talks. We trust that by our next session even greater progress will have been reported. Indeed, we hope for an end of the mistrust and bitterness which have divided Korea and its people for more than two decades.

99. It is significant that these peaceful and constructive developments have taken place outside the aegis of this Organization. We are convinced that the United Nations can at times best serve the cause of world peace and security by not venturing into areas where its intervention may not be helpful.

100. There are occasions, however, when the Organization must intervene, and indeed has a bounden duty to act, in the interest of international peace and security. It is a source of regret to us all that, despite some hopeful developments, the last year has given little evidence of the ability of the Security Council to discharge more effectively its primary responsibility, the maintenance of peace and security.

101. Fiji assumed its place in this Assembly in the sincere belief that all countries, large and small, have a role to play in promoting the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that, given goodwill, tolerance and understanding, all countries can, through this Organization, contribute effectively to the promotion of world peace and security. It is unfortunate that the exercise of a veto in the Security Council can so easily bring to nought the efforts of this Organization.

102. It may well be that the question of Security Council membership, both permanent and elected, and the power of veto which lies with permanent members, could benefit from a thorough reappraisal with the object of re-establishing the effectiveness and credibility of this most important organ of the United Nations. We are encouraged that during this current debate other speakers have also expressed a similar view.

103. My Government is gravely concerned at the recent upsurge of terrorism and senseless violence which endangers the lives of innocent persons. There can be little justification for international terrorism. It disturbs the very fabric of international peace and good order. My Government therefore commends the initiative of the Secretary-General in bringing this matter to the attention of this Assembly for its urgent consideration [A/8791 and Add.1]. We would support any internationally agreed preventive measures designed to protect especially the lives of innocent people.

104. In the economic and social sphere, Fiji as a developing country is deeply grateful for the valuable assistance which we receive from the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Fiji is glad to receive international aid where it is given on the basis of mutual respect and equality. We do not, however, welcome aid that seeks to impose conditions incompatible with our sovereignty. I should like to emphasize that, although we seek and welcome aid, we ourselves realize that for our own development we must depend ultimately on our own resources and efforts.

105. Like most developing countries, Fiji has a development plan for the improvement of the quality of life of its

people. In this, our primary aim has been to encourage and accelerate the social and economic development of the less favoured sections of our community, and in particular those who live in rural areas. One of our tasks is to bring home to those who enjoy economic advantages that it is in their interests to do everything possible to encourage and accelerate the development of those who are less fortunate.

106. In a wider context, we believe that only a decisive and combined effort by both developed and developing countries will make it possible to eliminate widespread conditions of poverty and the disparity between the rich and the poor. And it is only by bridging the gap between the great prosperity of the few and the poverty of the many that we can build a firm foundation for lasting peace and international security.

107. Fiji welcomed the opportunity to participate in the third session of UNCTAD. The past year has seen increased activity on the part of developed countries in the preparation and promulgation of their general non-reciprocal preference schemes. In Santiago, however, the developed countries showed no great support for the developing nations' urgent appeals for new initiatives. This must be a matter of common concern to all, both developing and developed countries.

108. One wonders about the developed countries. They pay lip-service to the need to bridge the gap between themselves and the developing countries; and yet at international conferences they do not hesitate to thwart proposals put forward by developing countries where these run counter to their vested interests. Such negative attitudes are reprehensible and in direct opposition to the ideals of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

109. The problem that all developing countries face in maintaining their export markets in developed countries is crucial. It has assumed a new sense of urgency for Fiji with the background of low prices for primary products and the changing pattern of economic relationships in the developed world. Fiji depends on sugar and copra for about 75 per cent of its visible export earnings, and half of its sugar production has been sent for many years to the United Kingdom under the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement of 21 December 1951. The coming negotiations with the European Economic Community are thus of particular concern to us. It is our hope that the highly developed countries in that Community will appreciate our problem and will not require us to make far-reaching adjustments in our economic relationships, particularly with our neighbouring countries in the South Pacific, as the price of continuing access to the British market in an enlarged European Economic Community.

110. The last occasion on which I was present at the United Nations was only a few years ago, in 1966, before Fiji became independent, when my country was the subject of review by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is a particular pleasure, therefore, to be able to view the work of the Special Committee from a very different perspective, that of an independent member contributing to its counsels from its own very recent

experience of evolutionary constitutional change. I should like to commend the realistic, constructive, and vigorous way in which the Special Committee is dealing with the question of the remaining colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories. Many of the remaining Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned are in our part of the world. We have been particularly satisfied with the progress made towards self-determination in the neighbouring Territories of Papua New Guinea and Niue and the Tokelau Islands. It is our hope that the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, at present under the trusteeship of the United States, will also be able to resolve its difficulties in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants.

111. Progress has been regrettably slow in the remaining African Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned. The question of Namibia is still unsolved. The important personal contact made by the Secretary-General with the Government of South Africa, and the recent appointment of the Secretary-General's representative regarding Namibia, will, we trust, open the way for the achievement of self-determination and independence by the peoples of that Territory.

112. In Rhodesia, the Pearce Commission in its report<sup>6</sup> has recorded the wish of the people to reject the terms of a settlement negotiated between the British Government and the illegal Smith régime. Fiji accepts the findings of that Commission and is hopeful that a compromise, acceptable to all, may yet be achieved. In this regard, Fiji supports the call for a constitutional conference with equitable representation of all the Rhodesian people. We appeal to all the parties concerned to give the matter their most urgent attention, and warn against the danger of relaxing efforts to find a speedy solution to the problem.

113. I turn now to the Portuguese Territories. We are concerned that no significant progress has been made in their decolonization and deplore the violent measures used by the Portuguese authorities to repress the legitimate aspirations of their colonial peoples. We strongly urge the Portuguese authorities to cease all hostilities and to hasten decolonization processes in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

114. A sphere of activity where years of preparation have begun to show results is that of the environment. Although Fiji is relatively free of the major forms of pollution which threaten the developed world, we are confronted with environmental problems arising from our lack of development and, in common with many other developing countries, we stressed at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment at Stockholm, and do so again now, that the special needs of developing countries should be kept clearly in view and should not be submerged in any campaign for environmental perfectionism which, however well-intentioned, the developing countries simply cannot afford.

115. A more immediate issue for an oceanic State like Fiji, which has always been dependent for sustenance on the

<sup>6</sup> See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

resources of the sea, is the work of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. Assured control over coastal marine resources and international agreement on a régime for the high seas are of crucial importance. We have been in close consultation with members of the sea-bed Committee whose interests are similar to our own. We are hopeful that we shall be able to formulate principles to define the concept of an oceanic archipelago which will be acceptable to the international community and enable it to recognize our special position and our special needs.

116. Although progress in the sea-bed Committee has sometimes been painfully slow, there is gratifying agreement on the comprehensive list of subjects and issues relating to the law of the sea [A/8721, para. 23] and on the preparatory work required for drawing up an international régime. Fiji believes that, given the political will and a spirit of co-operation and mutual accommodation among its members, the Committee will make more rapid progress during its sessions in 1973. It is with this expectation that my Government favours the convening of the third conference on the law of the sea at an early date and shares the view expressed by many delegations in the sea-bed Committee that the conference should begin its first session at the end of 1973.

117. A subject closely allied to the questions of international security, the environment and the law of the sea—to which I have already referred—is that of nuclear testing. Ever since Fiji has had the opportunity of making its voice heard in the international community, it has protested the carrying out of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, and particularly the atmosphere of the Pacific Ocean. It is a source of great regret that I must record that those protests, which have been echoed by many of our friends in this Assembly, and notably during this session by my colleagues from Australia and New Zealand, have gone unheeded. This year France has again exploded a number of nuclear devices on Mururoa atoll.

118. We are assured that these tests produce little radiation. They are said to be harmless. That being so, many countries in Fiji's part of the world question why France needs to conduct them at a point on the earth's surface which is as far removed as possible from the mass of its own territory and population.

119. The tests are contrary to the terms of the partial test-ban Treaty,<sup>7</sup> to which the vast majority of the Members of this Organization, including Fiji, have subscribed. It is true that France is not a party to that Treaty and that there are other countries which also continue to test in the atmosphere. At a time when wider agreements are being sought for complete disarmament and for the cessation of all nuclear testing, the activities of countries which persist in testing nuclear devices in the atmosphere must be repugnant to the international community as a whole. We will not relax our efforts, in concert with other like-minded nations, to persuade those responsible to bring their programmes of destruction to an end. In this regard

we strongly support and commend an initiative jointly taken by our neighbours Australia and New Zealand to bring the question of nuclear testing before this Assembly [A/8741] with a view to banning all such activity, especially in the South Pacific.

120. The questions of race and racial and other forms of discrimination continue to be a major source of friction and confrontation. This Assembly has, by a Universal Declaration and by conventions, a distinguished record of activity in trying to overcome these evils. Still the problems remain. Still we see the institutional entrenchment of racial segregation, and some countries continue to apply discriminatory policies which are condemned by the international community. These policies give cause for particular concern because they threaten international peace and security. Such policies will inevitably yield before the rising tide of international opinion and the resentment of those who are made to suffer. Still we are faced with new examples of intolerance, deportations and other forms of persecution. In whatever form their perpetrators may attempt to present them to themselves and to the world, these policies find their roots in racial resentment and the inability of man to come to terms with the dissimilarities of man. Let us not be guilty of double standards, but be ready to condemn this evil wherever it may appear.

121. As a member of the Commonwealth of Nations which tries to uphold the ideal of non-racialism, Fiji finds racial discrimination abhorrent not only where it is practised by whites, as in southern Africa and elsewhere, but also where it is used by others to distinguish unfavourably those of different ethnic origins. In this connexion we should like to record our appreciation of the efforts being made by the Secretary-General and others to alleviate the sufferings of the Asians expelled from Uganda, and we hope that those efforts will be successful.

122. To us in Fiji race is a fact of everyday life. We have a multiracial community, composed largely of people of Indian origin and of indigenous Fijians, but with substantial minorities of Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific islanders. But we are striving to build a non-racial community. I believe that the lessons we have learned in our own society, which have led us to a more creative attitude to the differences which exist between us, could have some value in the wider context of international relations.

123. Like my colleagues the Foreign Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, who have spoken earlier in this debate, [2042nd and 2045th meetings, respectively], I wish to mention the South Pacific Forum. Since Fiji's independence in 1970, there has been a growth in South Pacific regionalism. Only a little over a year ago the first meeting of the South Pacific Forum took place in New Zealand. It was a historic but still tentative and exploratory meeting of the leaders of seven countries in the South Pacific. It was called to answer the need of small newly independent island nations to reach out beyond the confines of their own shores to share the common experience of government. It also helped to meet the wish of our friends in New Zealand and Australia to establish a new, post-colonial relationship. The first meeting led to the second meeting of the Forum in Canberra in February this year.

<sup>7</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

124. From these beginnings the South Pacific Forum has gained in strength and stature. We in Fiji were proud to have had the privilege of hosting the third meeting of the Forum in Suva a few weeks ago. This meeting marked the full emergence of this new institution in the region it is designed to serve.

125. The meetings of the heads of government are friendly, frank and informal, and range over many common problems. The desire to turn ideals into practice is shown by the establishment of the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation, which will promote intra-regional trade among the islands and trade between them and their neighbours in the Pacific basin, and will facilitate new forms of regional economic co-operation in such areas as shipping, tourism and manufacturing.

126. Just as we in Fiji are discovering anew the spirit of co-operation and mutual assistance in our own region, so we continue to seek it in this world Organization, to which we belong. I have pointed to what we regard as some of its shortcomings, but disappointments do not justify indifference or the tendency of some to regard the United Nations as irrelevant.

127. Since 1945, and more particularly since 1955, many new and smaller nations have emerged and gained dignity through their membership in the United Nations. The voices they raise may not individually have been strong, but collectively they have been an influence for right and good. They have spoken out for small peoples and against tyranny and oppression. They are in the vanguard against racialism and colonialism, oppression and militarism.

128. It is true that the United Nations was unable to avert the tragedies of the Koreas, Bangladesh and Viet-Nam, but it has tempered the suffering through the help of its agencies.

129. At a time when man has reached out and explored the surface of the moon and now moves on to other planets, surely it is not beyond his ability to look at the United Nations, recognize the new circumstances that have arisen since its birth and, using the goodwill it has engendered, fashion from it an instrument for world peace and service.

130. Mr. PRATT (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you on your assumption of the high office of President of the twenty-seventh session. I wish you every success in steering the deliberations of this august Assembly.

131. May I also take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, for the efficient manner in which he chaired the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly when discussions of far-reaching importance to this Organization were undertaken.

132. It is now nearly a year since the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, assumed his duties. At that time we expressed to him the best wishes of the Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone [2031st meeting]. I wish to commend him for his achievements over the past nine

months. Very soon after assuming office, the Secretary-General made historic visits to various parts of the world, including Africa. He met and exchanged views with heads of State and government and foreign ministers. We are confident that during his tenure of office he will raise aloft the high ideals of the United Nations.

133. We congratulate him in particular for having succeeded in persuading the racist régime of South Africa to permit an officer of the United Nations to enter Namibia in order to investigate in great detail the political situation in that Territory with the ultimate aim of granting it independence. My delegation takes this opportunity to thank him and his staff for the report they have submitted on this question.<sup>8</sup>

134. May I take this opportunity to report that our new Republic, under the Presidency of His Excellency Mr. Siaka Stevens, has definitely brought progress, order and stability to Sierra Leone. We look forward to renewing our efforts to strive together with the international community for the further development of peace and progress on earth.

135. Let me now highlight a number of matters which may be deliberated during this session of the General Assembly and which reflect certain aspects of Sierra Leone's foreign policy.

136. My Government stands firmly committed to the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which enters into its second decade next year. The OAU has developed into a strong institution, capable not only of harmonizing the views of different African States but also of solving the difficulties which may from time to time occur among its members.

137. In Africa we are plagued with different forms of imperialism which we can no longer tolerate. In the north of the continent we have for long endured the Middle East conflict. We had hoped that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) would be accepted by all parties as the basis for solving this particular conflict, but it seems that our hopes are not being fulfilled. In the south we witness the worst forms of inhumanity by man to man, an imperialism which seeks to enslave the soul of the African under the doctrine of white-skin racial superiority. The various resolutions of this Assembly condemning *apartheid* and racial discrimination have failed to have any effect on the racist régimes. In scattered pockets of the continent, colonialist Powers like Portugal continue to impose the yoke of colonialism and imperialist domination on peace-loving Africans in continued defiance of resolution 1514 (XV) and other resolutions of this body. Even those African States which have won their independence the hard way now face a new form of neo-imperialism. Certain big Powers not only directly interfere in their internal affairs, but even stir up internal subversion and mercenary activity in order to topple progressive African Governments not to their liking.

138. Africa is the continent now zealously trying to evolve new and practical democratic patterns, utilizing some of the

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10738.

norms handed over by the erstwhile colonial masters, while at the same time inventing and applying political institutions which would project the African personality. My delegation implores the various Governments assailing the independence of Africa to let us alone and give us a chance to make our own contribution to the cause of international peace.

139. The Middle East conflict seems to be oscillating between hope and despair. Towards the beginning of the year there was hope that an end to the conflict was in sight. As we meet during this session, those hopes seem to be receding into the distance. We have had problems of the kidnapping of personnel in Syria and southern Lebanon by Israel, and we join those who demand the unconditional repatriation of such kidnapped personnel. While these problems remain unsettled, we have been shocked at the recent killing of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games. Before reason could prevail, we witnessed military invasions against Lebanon, letter-bombs being sent to Israelis in different parts of the world, and a threat of the renewal of the conflict. My Government has developed friendly relations both with the Arab nations and with Israel, and it pains us to witness such carnage inflicted from time to time by either party.

140. We have always been strong supporters of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In a joint communiqué issued by my President, Mr. Siaka Stevens, and Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia in January this year, an appeal was made to the parties concerned to facilitate a peaceful settlement based on that resolution. My delegation fervently hopes that Mr. Jarring will be given the opportunity to solve this problem. Israel, in particular, should understand that it is in its own interest for the work of the Jarring mission to continue to a fruitful and successful conclusion.

141. My delegation continues to propose, in addition to the Jarring mission, the convening of a peace conference on the Middle East conflict that would bring together all the parties concerned and recommend general guidelines based on the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The presence of the permanent members of the Security Council at such a peace conference would go a long way to justify the views of those who have been calling upon the permanent members not only to take effective steps within the United Nations framework to resolve the Middle East conflict but also to give their full support to Mr. Jarring.

142. The permanent members of the Security Council owe it to the international community not to get directly involved in the Middle East conflict, even by the supply of arms; rather they should ensure the early withdrawal of Israeli armed forces now occupying Arab territories and enforce guarantees by both Israel and the Arab nations that neither will attack the other.

143. Once again it is the bounden duty of my delegation to reaffirm my Government's stand condemning the *apartheid* policies of the racist régimes in southern Africa.

144. The African States have tried to frame principles of peaceful coexistence in the Manifesto on Southern Africa.<sup>9</sup> However, we all know that the colonialist and racist Powers have completely rejected the principles of the Manifesto, thereby making it quite clear that the subjected African people are left with no alternative but to intensify their armed struggle for the liberation of their fatherlands and the enjoyment of human dignity. In the face of the adamant opposition of the colonialist and racist Powers to peaceful change, my delegation is convinced that there is a need not only to recognize but also to assist the legitimate armed struggle of the liberation movements in southern Africa. We would emphasize the importance of working out specific programmes at the international level for providing materials of practical use, and other forms of political solidarity, in such a way as to make a decisive contribution to the eradication of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

145. My delegation is fully prepared to support any action considered expedient to meet the South African menace. My country has already imposed the most severe restrictions on trade with South Africa and, in compliance with the decision taken by the OAU, my Government is committed to a policy of isolation, no-dialogue, and the imposition of sanctions on the régime in South Africa.

146. We shall do all in our power to ensure that the millions of black indigenous Africans of South Africa are treated with equality and human dignity, which is their rightful heritage.

147. My delegation is deeply concerned that no effective steps have yet been taken to stop Portugal from conducting in Africa a war of liquidation, armed with the most modern military equipment, which it has undoubtedly acquired from its NATO friends. Indeed, we note with amazement that people who are loud in their condemnation of lapses in others are themselves so often guilty of the worst manifestations of double standards. Once again we call on those NATO Powers, without whose help Portugal really would be shown up in its real impotence, to desist from continuing their military and tacit support and to exert all the pressure of which they are capable to persuade their Portuguese friends not only to end brutalities against innocent victims in Guinea (Bissau), Cabinda, Mozambique and Angola but also to practise that humanitarianism which is such a cherished virtue of the NATO Powers.

148. The situation in Southern Rhodesia remains precarious. The people of Zimbabwe have overwhelmingly rejected the proposals for a settlement<sup>10</sup> between the United Kingdom Government and the illegal régime of Ian Smith, and it is gratifying to note that the United Kingdom Government has accepted the Pearce Commission report. My delegation warmly welcomes that independent report, which truly reflects the political maturity and courage of the people of Zimbabwe.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

149. My delegation is of the view that the United Kingdom Government should now be more positive in its action and attitude towards Ian Smith and his clique, who have recently defied world opinion by restricting the movements of African nationalist leaders in Zimbabwe and continuing their suppression of the people of Zimbabwe. The Government of Sierra Leone calls on the international community to do its utmost to ensure that independence is not granted to Southern Rhodesia before majority rule.

150. It is my delegation's view that a national convention of all groups in Zimbabwe should now be summoned in order to decide the form of constitution on the basis of which that country should proceed to independence, and that all nationalist leaders detained should be released immediately so that they could participate in any discussion on the constitutional future of their country. The United Kingdom Government should assume the responsibility for summoning such a national convention, which should be afforded facilities freely and frankly to deliberate the burning issues involved and arrive at just solutions or acceptable compromises. Another independent commission, or even the Pearce Commission, could be entrusted with the task of arranging and servicing such a national convention.

151. The question of Namibia continues to receive our constant attention. We note with grave concern that South Africa is at present using Namibia as a base for violating the territories of neighbouring independent African States.

152. I have already reiterated my delegation's commendation of the efforts being made by the Secretary-General as regards the Namibian problem and our hopes that the recent appointment of his personal representative will speedily bring to a successful conclusion the responsibility of the United Nations to protect the rights and interests of the people of Namibia and to lead them without delay to independence.

153. My delegation must, however, express concern that the fate of the people of Namibia seems to be deliberately entrusted to the whims and caprices of the racist régime of South Africa. My Government has constantly opposed any form of dialogue with that racist régime. However, in the interest of the rapid political advancement of the Namibian people, and notwithstanding the 1971 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>11</sup> declaring the continued presence of the South African Administration in the Territory to be illegal, my Government did not oppose the holding of talks between the Secretary-General and the leaders of the racist régime. It now appears that progress is being stultified by the intransigence of the racist régime, which is putting all sorts of difficulties and obstacles in the way. My Government wants to stress that a clear and unequivocal commitment should be made by South Africa as regards the unimpeded attainment of independence by Namibia. My delegation would also stress that in our view the sole aim of the Secretary-General and his representative in their dealings with the South African régime should be to

bring about the independence of Namibia as a free and independent sovereign State.

154. My delegation is at a loss to understand with what justification certain great Powers continue to impose a yoke of servitude on a number of far-away countries with which they have no ethnic connexion. Those colonial Powers argue that territorial servitude must continue, either because the countries affected are too small to become economic or politically viable units or because they are culturally undeveloped or even because the inhabitants, after so-called referendums, prefer the status of colonial servitude. International co-operation on earth has now developed to the point where no nation, however small, however poor, is unable to govern itself; and no nation, however affluent or prosperous, is satisfied with being ruled by another. My delegation therefore once again appeals to all Powers having colonies, or what look like colonies, in Africa, in Asia, in America and in Oceania to take immediate steps to grant those subjected peoples a free and full measure of independence. If they really like you, they will thereupon enter into all sorts of bilateral treaties with you, and you can continue to help them. The international community would then be satisfied that your new relationship is not one of colonial master and subjected servant, but an association of free and independent States. Refusal by the colonialist Powers to grant their charges independence can only leave a sour taste in one's mouth and unsavoury conclusions about disguised economic and political exploitation.

155. My delegation continues to be concerned with the situation in Viet-Nam and condemns most vehemently the indiscriminate bombing of North Viet-Nam which has been causing so much suffering, deprivation and hardship to the heroic Viet-Nameese people. We still believe that lasting peace can be achieved in Viet-Nam only when the political realities of the situation are taken into account.

156. We therefore urge that serious negotiations for a settlement at the Paris talks should not only respect the inalienable right of the entire people of Viet-Nam, North and South, to effective self-determination and true independence without outside interference by any nation, large or small, but should also create the facilities for the two opposing political forces to come together and solve their internal problems and differences on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination.

157. My delegation is convinced that peace can come to the countries in Indo-China only if all foreign forces are removed from the area and the Indo-Chinese peoples are allowed to work out a settlement with no outside or foreign interference. We therefore join those who call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that area.

158. My delegation is disturbed by the fact that, in the process of the withdrawal of United States military personnel and other combatant troops from South Viet-Nam, the conflict continues to be extended to Laos and Cambodia by intensive bombing and fighting, resulting in irreparable loss of life and property in those countries. The peoples of those countries must be left in peace, without any outside interference, to settle their differences and problems.

<sup>11</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

159. As far as the problem of Korea is concerned, I should like to make it clear that my Government has developed very friendly ties with both North Korea and South Korea. We have impressed on those two States the fact that they must realize that they are brothers.

160. My delegation continues to support the peaceful reunification of Korea without any outside interference. We feel that it is high time that the rights of the heroic people of Korea were recognized so that they can harmonize their differences and take their legitimate seat in the councils of the nations. We are indeed hopeful that the process of peaceful reunification will gain momentum within the shortest possible period of time.

161. My delegation is extremely happy at the result of the recent summit conference between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and President Bhutto of Pakistan and we hope that these talks will continue with fruitful results for India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and with a happy solution to the problem of repatriation of prisoners of war and a lasting peace in the Indian subcontinent. We trust that the many points of the Simla Agreement will be honoured by all parties, and that Bangladesh will soon take its rightful place in the comity of nations.

162. Germany is in more or less the same position as Korea, and the German peoples have for more than a quarter of a century remained apart. My delegation welcomes the talks which have been taking place between the two German States. Last year I expressed the hope from this podium [1949th meeting] that the evident *entente* in East-West relations would result in removing all obstacles in the way of the people of Germany being represented in this world Assembly.

163. My delegation is deeply concerned at the fact that a great nation like Germany is still outside the United Nations. We are convinced that the time is ripe for Germany to play its part on the international scene. While we would not like the General Assembly to enter into discussions which might tend to magnify the differences between the two brother States, we would appeal to this session of the General Assembly to look at the German problem constructively in order to bring about a solution to the question of the admission of Germany into this world body. If the two parts of the same country still prefer to go their separate ways, we should respect their inclinations and facilitate their entry as two brother States. Twin States may soon recognize that it is better for them to become unitary than to remain divergent. The decision however should be theirs and not ours.

164. The past year has been truly called the year of international *détente*. We have witnessed a general rapprochement in international relations. The super-Powers have realized that there is little to gain by open confrontation and much to profit from in a policy of friendship. My delegation welcomes this diplomatic thaw.

165. In particular, we must congratulate the Secretary-General for emphasizing this international *détente* in the

<sup>12</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1949th meeting.*

introduction he prepared to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1]. The Secretary-General has made a realistic assessment of present trends in international relations and the Sierra Leone delegation endorses that realistic assessment. In this, his first introduction to an annual report, we can mark his long experience in diplomacy and his keen insight into present-day power realities in the world. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that the current *détente* among the great Powers is a historic development of the highest importance. The Secretary-General has, however, reminded us that we should not be too euphoric about this development since previous post-war indications of *détente* failed to materialize into a durable relaxation of international tensions. However, my delegation is happy that the super-Powers are coming together and are giving every indication that they realize that it is better to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. My delegation welcomes this evident policy of the great Powers to confront each other without warlike belligerency, the tendency to minimize the military aspects of power in great-Power relationships, and the evident emergence of an era of negotiation, an era of dialogue and contact among the bigger brothers of the international community.

166. My delegation also supports the thesis of the Secretary-General that the very fact of this international thaw calls for stronger vigilance and, we would stress, vigilance on the part of the nations of the third world. The super-Powers have embarked on a policy of *détente* because, among other reasons, they feel that the third world is becoming important. It is apparent, for example, that the third world, commanding a majority in the United Nations General Assembly, can adopt resolutions which, to say the least, might prove embarrassing to the super-Powers if they continued in open confrontation one against the other.

167. The tendency unfortunately seems to be for great-Power *détente* to lead to great-Power recognition of exclusive spheres of great-Power influence in various areas of international relations. The great Powers are coming to realize that with the growing democratization of the United Nations system they will not be getting their own way, particularly in the United Nations General Assembly. They are therefore devising a system of arrogating to themselves the responsibility for deciding the major issues of the world outside the United Nations, and many of those issues fundamentally touch the life and the very existence of the countries of the third world.

168. My delegation wishes to stress that this tendency is not in the interest of the United Nations in general nor of the developing countries in particular. The latter are now being sacrificed as pawns in super-Power politics. It is for that reason that my delegation whole-heartedly supports the call of the Secretary-General for all and sundry to realize that the super-Powers ought to accept the fact that the United Nations, their own creation, should be the central institution for harmonizing international action. We ought jealously to guard against the great Powers taking important problems away from the United Nations system to solve them in accordance with their own desires and inclinations.



169. The Secretary-General has warned that twice in this century world wars have resulted from the shortcomings of the old diplomacy in regulating the relations of the international community within the ambit of the policies of the powerful States [see A/8701/Add.1, p. 2]. The League of Nations was born because the members then genuinely felt that some order must be brought into the chaotic relationships of the international community. The League of Nations came to an end because, *inter alia*, the great Powers decided to solve the important and basic problems outside the League system.

170. The United Nations was conceived 27 years ago to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We must be careful that the United Nations does not suffer the fate of the League, because the super-Powers want to make themselves the rulers of the United Nations by solving world problems without reference to this Organization. The problems facing the Middle East, those facing Southern Rhodesia, those facing Namibia, those facing Korea, those facing the Indo-China peninsula, those facing the world monetary system, those facing world trade, are all of great concern to the international community and should be solved with the genuine co-operation of all the members of the international community. The tendency, however, is for certain great Powers to insist that those problems should be solved by reference to them and them alone. That tendency must be resisted.

171. It is not only the great Powers which are prone to weaken the structure and efficacy of the United Nations by taking the solution of problems outside this Organization. Certain smaller States are equally guilty. The Secretary-General in his introduction has drawn our attention to the fact that measures to reach solutions in countries such as Korea, India and Pakistan, and Germany are being taken outside the United Nations. While my delegation welcomes the efforts of smaller countries and countries which cannot be regarded as super-Powers to reach amicable solutions of their domestic or regional problems, nevertheless we would beg that the United Nations be brought more and more closely into the negotiation of such solutions. The Secretary-General has aptly advised that

“The United Nations provides, or should provide, the means by which all nations, great and small, participate on a basis of sovereign equality in the political process of establishing and maintaining international peace and security, in facing common problems through co-operation, and in planning and organizing for a better future.” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2.] [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2.]

If the United Nations is to fulfil that role, then we, its Members, should realize that some changes ought to be made in its structure.

172. The United Nations was conceived when the circumstances prevailing in the world were totally different from what they are now. My delegation believes that the Charter of the United Nations ought to be reviewed and improved to take account of the changed conditions and in particular to ensure that the Organization is not impotent when effective action is required. It is necessary to strive hard for changes in the Charter to give more regulatory powers to the General Assembly, to expand the membership of the

Security Council, to review its functions and efficacy and to amend the veto powers to take account of the views of the third world, generally known as the developing countries.

173. The United Nations, despite its shortcomings, remains, if properly utilized, an effective institution for maintaining international peace and harmonizing international relationships. It has been correctly stated that if the early fathers had not founded the United Nations after the Second World War necessity would have dictated that the institution be established within 10 years after that event. We should not now allow the détente prevailing among the super-Powers to kill the United Nations or even to frustrate the attainment of its lofty ideals.

174. In spite of the apparent relaxation of tension among the super-Powers and a clearly noticeable improvement in the political atmosphere in Europe, there is nevertheless increasing competition among the same super-Powers in certain other regions, and especially in the seas and oceans. It is therefore absolutely necessary for the United Nations to do all in its power to promote a better climate so far as the call for world disarmament is concerned.

175. Last year my delegation endorsed the proposal for a world disarmament conference at the level of the United Nations. We then pointed out that a nuclear holocaust would affect not only the super-Powers but also all the other nations of the world. We therefore advocated that the super-Powers should recognize that the peace-loving nations of the earth had an equally potent interest in disarmament and peace research.

176. In this connexion my delegation welcomes the agreements signed in Moscow by the United States and the Soviet Union during President Nixon's visit in May of this year. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks symbolize the existing nuclear parity between the two super-States. We believe that it is a hopeful sign that the super-Powers, possessors of such awesome weapons, now recognize the futility of continuing the nuclear arms race. My delegation expresses the hope that the super-Powers will now turn their attention towards devising a more comprehensive agreement on limiting offensive and defensive nuclear weapons, bearing in mind the necessity for a newer definition of the term “aggression”. Indeed my delegation is of the opinion that at this session of the United Nations General Assembly representatives should continue the debate on the meaning of the term “aggression”.

177. At the moment disarmament matters are being discussed in two separate forums. There is, first, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which meets regularly in Geneva. There are also the bilateral arms negotiations taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union. My delegation recognizes the value of the existing machinery for disarmament negotiations. We must repeat, however, that if these are to be successful all the nations of the world ought to be involved. We therefore stress the necessity for examining all disarmament questions on a broad basis in a world disarmament conference at which it will be possible for all States to express their views. It must be recognized, however, that such a conference need not prejudice the usefulness of the existing machinery for disarmament negotiations. This strategy becomes im-

perative since, in spite of all the talks taking place, in spite of all the background negotiations, in spite of all the treaties, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which have been signed, nuclear tests continue. The opportunity for the world to come together in a world disarmament conference should engender hopes for complete disarmament even if that would take some time to achieve.

178. The issue of international terrorism should be the concern of the entire international community. The incidents of hijacking of domestic airlines and armed attacks against innocent passengers should be the concern of all of us. It is no excuse that these savage acts may be directed against particular countries or peoples; as long as they involve attacks on commercial airlines and international gatherings such as the last Olympic Games in Munich they are in fact a danger to all mankind. International terrorism has degenerated into criminal kidnapping of ambassadors and top executives and even innocent school-children. Heaven only knows where it will end if concerted action is not taken to deal with this scourge. The entire international community must join in eradicating it.

179. It is unfortunate that certain Western countries are creating the impression that African States, among others, are opposed to the inclusion of this item on the agenda [*item 92*]. No truly responsible country could oppose the inclusion of such an important item, which concerns the safety of all of us.

180. However, any resolution on this subject which would tend to interfere with the genuine liberation movements in colonial territories or expose them to armed attacks by the racist régimes of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal will be strongly opposed by my delegation, for the right to self-determination for all the colonial peoples of the world is one of the basic principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and for its attainment the liberation movements are a necessity. In this connexion, it is imperative that the term "terrorism" be clearly defined before the matter is debated.

181. The problems which attend great-Power détente are not political only: there are also economic problems, as can be seen from the results of the third session of UNCTAD. My Government continues to be greatly disturbed at the existing wide gulf between the developed and the developing nations and UNCTAD's failure at that session to arrive at effective measures to narrow that gap. We firmly believe that the developed nations must be willing to help the developing nations in their just struggle for economic independence and social advancement.

182. As far as the Government of Sierra Leone is concerned, the results of the third session of UNCTAD were most disappointing. Many resolutions adopted in Santiago were not commensurate with the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] or with resolutions adopted at earlier sessions of UNCTAD or of the United Nations. More than half of the resolutions adopted at the third session were not supported by the Governments of developed countries, which therefore could not be expected to implement them. The impression left

was that the Governments of the developed countries wanted to replace the multinational framework of negotiations by bilateral relations with developing countries—bilateral relations which the world still condemns in the existing system of international trade and developmental aid.

183. My Government prefers the multinational approach to the solution of international trade and other inequalities rather than the bilateral approach. We are sovereign States even if we may be classed as poor, developing States. It is in our view necessary to make development aid become, not a weapon of division, but an instrument for real development, an instrument for co-operation and integration not only among the countries of any particular region but also among recipients and donors as a group rather than as individual States.

184. My Government will therefore continue to play its proper role in the task of UNCTAD particularly in reducing the trade gap between the developing and the developed countries. My delegation would favour a review of the shortcomings and failures of the third session of UNCTAD, particularly in so far as developing countries are concerned, so that we can all co-operate to make the fourth session of UNCTAD a real success. My Government calls for co-operation between the developing countries and the developed countries. We strongly believe that the developed nations must be willing to help the developing nations in their just struggle for economic independence.

185. Sierra Leone, for example, continues to import brushes to keep our tables and floors clean when we produce the timber that provides the handles for the brushes, the piassava that provides the bristles and the iron ore which provides the steel clips to fix the piassava to the wood. We are not alone in such experiences and, to make matters worse, efforts have been made and still are being made in some developed countries to replace natural products by synthetic substitutes. My delegation pleads with the developed countries to take all appropriate measures to discourage production of synthetics and substitutes, particularly those competing directly with the natural products of the developing nations.

186. I have already pointed out that great-Power détente might lead to many economic problems for us, the developing countries. We must realize that new forms of co-operation among the super-Powers might lead to greater economic exploitation of our natural, God-given resources. When only one great Power was exploiting a particular country, and another great Power was, so to speak, fighting the former, developing countries were kept poor. Now that the great Powers are resolving some of the differences among them and can therefore harmonize their efforts in exploiting developing countries, the future is indeed bleak.

187. This calls for very serious and quick thinking on the part of the entire international community. If politically developing countries have been achieving their objectives, we ought not to fail economically. A number of developing countries still have a few reserves of natural resources left which they can exploit. It is necessary for the international community to ensure the proper and orderly exploitation of these natural resources in the interest of the inter-

national community in general and of the specific areas or regions in particular.

188. One such store of natural resources is in our territorial seas. My delegation therefore whole-heartedly welcomes the idea of holding a conference on the law of the sea in 1973, in accordance with a decision taken during the twenty-fifth session of this Assembly [resolution 2750 (XXV)]. As a coastal State, Sierra Leone attaches paramount importance to that conference for our economic development. In 1970 Sierra Leone proclaimed an extension of its territorial waters to 200 nautical miles. In so doing, we gave full consideration to the safeguarding of innocent passage for international commerce and scientific research geared towards the peaceful exploitation of the sea-bed.

189. Our sea resources in many cases represent the potential economic means we have left for our economic development. Ocean technology now enables considerable exploitation, which can take place as far as the 200 nautical-mile limit. My Government agrees with those who insist that adjacent marine resources should be used for the benefit of coastal and neighbouring land-locked States, and that far-away nations should not come to deplete such marine stocks any more.

190. Before I conclude, I should like briefly to mention a matter which touches the continued existence of the United Nations.

191. Certain countries have recently complained that the United Nations scale of contributions should be revised and that their own percentages should be reduced. My delegation wishes to stress that the scale of contributions does take into account the principle of equality. If an equation were devised to show the relative *per capita* incomes in the Member States, such an equation would more or less correlate with the percentages in the United Nations scale of assessments. My delegation therefore does not support any policy of reducing individual assessments within the entire scale.

192. However, we should take cognizance of the fact that a number of new nations have been admitted into the Organization. These new nations must of course support the United Nations in accordance with the formula which has been devised. Care should be taken not to overfinance the Organization, or reduce the over-all budget. Granted the optimum budget for any period, the burden of financing should be worked out and shared among the various

Members. This may of course result in the reduction of any individual Member's contribution in any particular year.

193. My delegation would, however, warn that no action should be taken which would reduce the over-all budget of the Organization. Any such reduction would result in a lowering of standards as regards the calibre of staff being recruited, in a reduction of technical assistance to the developing countries and in the general ineffectiveness of the Organization. We therefore appeal to those who want a reduction not to shut their eyes to the dangers which might ensue from such a course.

194. We look forward to the great occasion of celebrating 1973 as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. My delegation has read with interest the report introduced in the Third Committee by the Director of the Division of Human Rights [A/8820] and we congratulate the Division on the steps taken to secure the effective recognition of these rights particularly as they concern racism and racial discrimination. My delegation pleads that the axe of economy should not prejudice the work of the Division of Human Rights. The Director has outlined areas in which the effectiveness of human rights can be intensified. We should particularly emphasize the efforts being made to eliminate racism and racial discrimination, and we entertain the hope that the twenty-fifth anniversary will usher in an era of intensive and concerted action in this field and in the enhancement of the principle of self-determination.

195. We must not forget the unostentatious but nevertheless important work being performed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, particularly during this year in which momentous numbers of refugees had to be reinstated within a short period of time in the Indian subcontinent.

196. Finally, in concluding this statement, I wish to reaffirm my country's unflinching confidence in the United Nations as the only saving grace for mankind in this age of distrust, of economic exploitation and of great-Power rivalry. We in Sierra Leone believe that only the United Nations will ensure justice and economic and social progress for the oppressed peoples of the world. We will therefore continue to give our utmost support materially and otherwise towards the progress and advancement of our Organization.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*