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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHOW (China)¹ (*translation from Chinese*):
Mr. President, it is my pleasant duty, on behalf of my Government and delegation, as well as on my own behalf, to extend to you our most sincere felicitations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. This is a fitting tribute both to your distinguished diplomatic career and to the country which you represent. We of the Chinese delegation wish you every success in the discharge of the great responsibilities of your high office.

2. Notwithstanding the atmosphere of euphoria which seems to have pervaded the current scene, the world is still confronted by war or threats of war. The war in Viet-Nam has now been escalated to embrace the whole of Indo-China. The situation in the Middle East continues to be explosive. Conflicts of one kind or another prevail in various parts of the world. Although some of these may be said to be disputes of a domestic nature, their continuance could endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

3. In Viet-Nam the Communists continue to seek a military solution. They count on the pressures of world

¹ In the present document, references to "China" and to the "representative(s) of China" are to be understood in the light of General Assembly resolution 2758 (XXVI) of 25 October 1971. By that resolution, the General Assembly *inter alia* decided:

"to restore all its rights to the People(s) Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

public opinion to force the withdrawal of United States forces. The Paris peace talks have served, as far as the Communists are concerned, more as an instrument for political warfare than for serious discussions. Always with an eye on the anti-war sentiments in the United States, the Communist negotiators have been skilful in stirring up popular opposition to United States involvement in Viet-Nam. Division within the United States has made the eventual American pull-out inevitable. But the withdrawal of the United States military establishment from Viet-Nam, however, should not mean the disappearance of United States interest and influence from South-East Asia. We are confident that the United States will continue to fulfil its commitments in that part of the world, even though a nation directly threatened by aggression must now, in the light of the Nixon Doctrine, assume the primary responsibility for providing the manpower for its own national defence.

4. In terms of Viet-Nam this means that the brunt of the war must henceforth be borne by the people of the Republic of Viet-Nam themselves. Indeed, the South Viet-Nameese people have been doing just that for over two years. All evidence points to the fact that they have given a pretty good account of themselves. There is every reason to believe that they will be able to safeguard their independence and freedom against subversion from within and aggression from without after the withdrawal of United States armed forces.

5. It is gratifying that, in the midst of war and crisis, the Republic of Viet-Nam has continued to make progress in the social, economic and political fields. A general election has just taken place. Bitter fighting on the battlefields and terrorism in the rear failed to keep the voters from the polls. Given the divisive social and intellectual climate, and the disruptions of the war, no one should expect the Republic of Viet-Nam to master the mechanisms of the democratic process overnight. Of the fact that Saigon has done its best to make democracy the dominant element in its future there can be no question. One is doing no favour to the people and Government of South Viet-Nam if one allows oneself to expect too much to happen too soon. In any case, the Republic of Viet-Nam does not merit the kind of abuse and vilification which some critics have been in the habit of meting out. It is ironical that the same critics, while condemning South Viet-Nam for its undemocratic ways, do not hesitate to pay craven homage to the North Viet-Nameese Communists, who have nothing but contempt for bourgeois democracy. Obviously, they are less interested in the development of democratic institutions in South Viet-Nam than in sowing the seeds of dissension among the Viet-Nameese people. The last thing they want to see is the creation of conditions in which healthy political institutions can flourish and the Viet-Nameese may be enabled to work out their own destiny in their own way.

6. In the Middle East, guns have for the most part been silent since the acceptance by Israel, Egypt and Jordan in August last year of the United States peace initiative. The cease-fire, while no longer formally in effect after its lapse in March 1971, has by and large been observed. It is to be regretted, however, that the maintenance of the precarious cease-fire has not been accompanied by any progress towards the resolution of the basic issues which have so long embittered the relations between Israel and the Arab States. It is all too obvious that, unless the parties concerned are prepared to accept reasonable and practical compromises or the major interested Powers are willing to bring their influence to bear on the parties, peace in the Middle East will remain unattainable.

7. There are conflicts which are technically matters of a domestic nature but whose significance for international peace is beyond question. A case in point is the recent civil strife in East Pakistan. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization, the problems generated by the conflict "are necessarily of concern to the international community" [A/8401/Add.1, para. 177].

8. In purely human terms the magnitude of the tragedy is staggering. In the six months since March several million refugees have poured into India. The terrible plight in which millions of destitute and helpless people find themselves cannot but arouse the sympathy and compassion of us all. We of the Republic of China know how serious the problem can be in terms of human misery and suffering. Ever since the Communist take-over of the Chinese mainland, millions of our brethren have suffered the same fate as that which has now befallen the East Pakistanis. We therefore urge the international community to do everything possible to give relief to the innocent people who, through no fault of their own, have been deprived of their homes and possessions and have been thrown upon the mercies of an alien world.

9. Lasting peace cannot be built on the foundation of a world community in which the greater part of mankind sinks ever deeper into the miseries of under-development and over-population. It is, of course, no easy matter to close the gap between rich and poor nations. There is no question, however, that there are available material resources for this task. The question is whether there is the will to use the available resources to meet the pressing needs of development. In the view of my delegation, the United Nations is in a special position to create that will. The International Development Strategy for the new Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] is an important step in the right direction.

10. The third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], scheduled to convene in a few months, should provide an excellent opportunity for co-operation between developed and developing countries. It is hoped that the developed countries will find it in their own interest to remove the barriers which they have set up and which have operated to the great disadvantage of the developing countries.

11. The Republic of China is a developing country. It faces many of the problems which plague other developing

countries. In so far as lies within the limits of its capabilities, it has always been ready to contribute to the solution of problems which confront countries in various stages of development and to share experiences with them.

12. It must be admitted that the United Nations has in recent years lost much of its prestige and influence. In Viet-Nam it has contented itself with playing the role of a helpless bystander. In the Middle East its attempts to bring about a settlement have achieved no outstanding success. The advance towards disarmament is being decided not so much in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament meeting at Geneva as in the direct Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] between the Soviet Union and the United States. The recent agreement on the status of Berlin² was concluded outside the walls of the United Nations. The inescapable conclusion is that on the main currents of world events the United Nations has exerted only a marginal influence.

13. As a free association of sovereign States the United Nations can be only as strong and effective as its Members make it. All too often short-range national interests are allowed to prevail over the common interests of the world community. All too often the United Nations has not hesitated to resort to expediency at the expense of vital Charter principles. Its readiness to yield to force, to disregard justice, or to neglect human rights, has been to a large extent responsible for what has often been called "a crisis of confidence".

14. It is sad to reflect that, at a time when the effectiveness of the United Nations is being called into question, there are those in our midst who press for the replacement of the Republic of China, a Member of impeccable standing, by a régime whose declared policy has been the destruction of the Organization as an instrument for peace.

15. I shall have occasion to speak on the so-called question of Chinese representation when the item comes up for debate in the Assembly. I wish to make here a few observations which may help to clarify certain issues in respect of the Chinese Communist régime.

16. The first observation I wish to make is that it is erroneous to assume that the Communist régime and the Chinese people are an indissoluble whole. The fact of the matter is that the régime and the oppressed millions are two distinct and mutually hostile entities. The overwhelming majority of the people are anti-Mao and anti-Communist. Twenty-two years of unremitting regimentation and brainwashing, torture and terror have failed to make them accept the Communist régime as anything more than a transient tyranny which, like other tyrannies in Chinese history, will in time pass away. The Chinese people have never ceased to thirst for freedom, and they will struggle on until freedom is won.

17. In recent months Western journalists who have visited the Chinese mainland have painted a glowing picture of progress and achievement. It is difficult to believe, however,

² Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

that a brief conducted tour to a few cities and villages in a vast land could provide any genuine insight into the real conditions of the country. The Chinese people are too well experienced in the ways of the world to reveal their true feelings to an outsider. Yet it is possible to get glimpses of the real situation from some of the dispatches. Not a few correspondents, for example, have written admiringly about the wonderful discipline of the common people. Some have reported the existence of a new species of human being on the Chinese mainland—the “Maoist men”—austere, self-controlled, all dressed in the same drab clothing, all relating their every activity to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, all shouting the same slogans, all vowing undying fealty to Chairman Mao. What all this amounts to is that, by means of terror and ruthless regimentation, the masses of the people have been reduced to the level of robots, apparently with no will or mind of their own.

18. Yet it would be a grave mistake to view them as nothing but robots. They conform because conformity is the only way to survive in a world in which life is regulated by harsh decrees, intimidating exhortations, punishment without crime. But below the surface of seeming docility, there is a boiling and ultimately irrepressible mass of resentments and suicidal despairs. No one should give them up as irretrievably lost to the Mao régime. Despite Communist news black-out, bloody anti-Communist and anti-Mao uprisings are still going on in many parts of the mainland.

19. Nothing is more indicative of the people's profound opposition to the Communist régime than the floods of refugees who have fled, and continue to flee, the mainland. They number in the millions. Today, the border between mainland China and the outside world is closely guarded by army and militia patrols. Yet thousands have daily risked death to escape Communist tyranny. It is estimated that in the first eight months of this year, 12,500 to 15,000 made good their escape. Most of them have done so by swimming, spending up to 10 hours in the water, usually at night, and covering four to six miles. This was reported in *The New York Times* on 12 September 1971. Clearly, only hatred and revulsion of the first order can account for their decision to leave behind their loved ones, friends and possessions for the uncertainties of life in an inhospitable world.

20. If the Communist régime and the Chinese people are mutually hostile entities, it follows that the Communist régime cannot possibly represent the Chinese people in the international community. It is thus ridiculous to assert that to bar the Communist régime from the United Nations is to deny 700 million people, a quarter of the world's population, of their representation.

21. This brings me to the second point I wish to make, namely, that the Chinese Communist Party, whose total membership represents only about 2 per cent of the population, is torn by dissension and factional strife, and that it faces an uncertain future. As is well known, during the Cultural Revolution, the Party apparatus was completely demolished and hundreds of thousands of Party members were subjected to all kinds of indignity and inhuman treatment. Many of them have since been purged. Chou En-lai, in an interview with Arab newsmen in May of

this year, said that the number of Communists who had been purged in the Cultural Revolution amounted to about 1 per cent of a total of 17 million, that is, 170,000. In the same breath, however, he added:

“There are still Communists whose problems have not been solved. We are conducting direct investigations with them. They amount to about 50 per cent of the Party membership.”

In other words, the loyalty of no less than 8.5 million Party members is still in doubt. Obviously, something must be basically wrong with the Chinese Communist Party. It seems that the cancer of fear is gnawing at its vitals. Leaders are suspicious of one another, suspicious of the rank and file. The rank and file live precariously under the whip-lash of their superiors and at the mercy of lickspittles and informers among their own comrades. It is not surprising that in recent weeks so much speculation should have centred on the cancellation of the customary 1 October military parade and on other developments on the mainland. There is every reason to believe that a new and serious power struggle is building up within the Maoist ranks. The schism within the Communist Party militates against the régime's ability to stabilize itself and consolidate control.

22. The third point I wish to make is that the world should never mistake Peiping's tactical zigzag for a basic change of policy. The cold fact is that both in words and in deeds the régime remains what it has always been—oppressive at home and aggressive abroad.

23. It is easy to understand why Peiping's change of style has been received with so much fanfare and enthusiasm. Weariness with recurrent crises and fear of nuclear holocaust have engendered in the minds of men a yearning for normality and a craving for world-wide *détente*. They are conditioned to accept Peiping's gestures of goodwill at face value.

24. It seems to my delegation, however, that this is a dangerous delusion. There is nothing to suggest that the Chinese Communist régime is ready to give up its policy of world domination. It continues to promote the violence of war; it continues to make a fetish of force. It continues to foment armed insurrection in neighbouring countries. It continues to supply arms and ammunition to rebel bands in Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia. It continues to train, equip and finance guerillas on a global scale. Rhetoric and friendly gestures notwithstanding, there is no evidence that the régime now intends to pursue a course of action consistent with the United Nations Charter. Indeed, all signs point the other way.

25. The quest for international peace and security is, and will continue to be, the dominating purpose of our age. It is to the Governments represented here that the peoples of the world look for the peace and security that they so desperately long for. So, let us whole-heartedly pledge ourselves to the noble and challenging task of translating the ideals and goals of the Charter into reality. Let us hope that this great international body will remain steadfast and true to the purposes and principles for which it was founded. Let us hope that the Assembly will refuse to subject itself to the humiliation of bowing before force. As

the Organization enters the second quarter-century of its existence, let us remind ourselves that the road to peace is indeed tortuous and long, and that lasting peace will come only when it is built, not on the quicksand of expediency and appeasement, but on the rock of moral strength.

26. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you the warm congratulations of the Greek delegation on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute both to your own high personal qualities as a distinguished statesman and to your country, with which Greece maintains relations of sincere friendship.

27. I am happy, too, to express our appreciation for the high-mindedness and great competence with which your predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, conducted the work of the twenty-fifth session.

28. U Thant's decision to terminate his tenure of office as Secretary-General saddens us. For 10 years he has devoted himself to the cause of peace and has brought to the exercise of his functions his high moral qualities, his great experience of the affairs of our Organization and an objectivity that has withstood all trials. We would like to hope, together with other speakers who have preceded us, that it is too soon to say good-bye to him.

29. The admission of four new Members, to which we address our heartiest congratulations, constitutes a positive and welcome development, adding to the many accomplishments of our Organization. Greece, which, ever since the creation of the United Nations, has applied itself to upholding all efforts made towards recognizing the right of self-determination of peoples will give its support, as it has in the past, to the search for realistic and reasonable solutions aimed at the attainment of the principles and ideals that we uphold.

30. The introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization is a document of great interest which merits our particular attention. If the record of the United Nations over the last 10 years is not negative, concludes our Secretary-General, it falls, nevertheless, considerably short of our hopes; perhaps also, I might say, of our possibilities. This is due, in U Thant's judgment, to the fact that "the rivalry of nations continues to be the dominant factor in international life" [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 6*]. In this respect the most powerful Member States bear the greatest share of the responsibility that naturally is incumbent on all Member States.

31. It is true that, if colonialism is in the process of disappearing, the confrontation of social ideologies gives rise to mistrust and explains the feeling of insecurity that pervades various regions of the world.

32. In so far as ideological dogmatism becomes the instrument of a will to power and to domination, it can constitute a threat to peace. It provokes reaction and defensive measures, as much on the internal front within States as on their frontiers.

33. We should like to believe that the philosophy of the will to power—a philosophy which generates armaments

and, what is worse, the temptation of aggression—has become obsolete. It is doomed to disappearance. It is condemned by all peoples without exception who wish to live in peace and understanding and who do not find cause for disagreement or confrontation in their social systems. That philosophy is destined to vanish because it is contrary to international morality and to the conscience of the developing peoples. Our hope is that it will disappear without having to be buried under the ruins of a nuclear war. May it disappear in the warmth of co-operation and active peace founded on independence, freedom, mutual respect and the elimination of mistrust deriving from doctrinal conflicts and inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of others.

34. We think that the United Nations is the best instrument to promote such a development. We believe that it is within the framework of the United Nations rather than elsewhere that crises are defused and lose their virulence, that the mighty recognize that power is created not only by material strength but by moral strength as well, and that the international community represents more than the mere sum of the Members of this Assembly. Universal conscience is forged by mutual understanding and co-operation amongst peoples, and is expressing itself, even though as yet incompletely, in the United Nations, despite the effects of politics and the automatic voting that sometimes occurs.

35. My country, Greece, has always had faith in the United Nations and does not forget the assistance that the United Nations has rendered to Greece on many occasions. We believe in the universality of the United Nations and in the necessity for bringing before this universal Organization all differences and all disputes.

36. We think that the United Nations should be kept informed of major political events by official communications, in order to strengthen its presence and even its action in the interests of peace. This would have a beneficial effect in both ways. It would remind Member States of their responsibilities towards the international community assumed under the Charter, and it would provide the United Nations with the advantage of all appropriate preventive action in favour of peace.

37. It is in this sense that I think it useful, in passing from the universal to the regional, to invite the attention of the Assembly to political developments that have taken place in the Balkans during this year. The re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece and Albania normalizes the situation in that region. Furthermore, by the combined efforts of all the Governments of all the countries of that area, by official visits and repeated contacts, a climate of co-operation, of understanding and of friendship has been created. It is interesting to note that the Balkan States are not only endowed with different social structures and institutions, but are also linked by very different political affiliations. This co-operation should not cast doubt on their loyalty or attachment to the international commitments they have entered into or the fundamental principles of their political orientation.

38. This proves that, to the extent that goodwill exists, it is possible to work together for the benefit of all. From this experience of co-operation in *détente* we can see that

peoples, independently of the régime they have adopted, aspire to peace and independence. In the political field, peace and independence are revealed as constituting a common denominator. In the material field, it is natural that all peoples, and particularly the developing nations, aspire to an improvement in their standards of living and to better social conditions.

39. Furthermore, what I have just said is relevant to efforts made to reinforce international security, thus giving effect, in a sense, to resolution 2734 (XXV) adopted by the General Assembly during the twenty-fifth session, on 16 December 1970. I would recall that Greece has already replied [*see A/8431, sect. II*] in a positive way to the circular note of the Secretary-General inviting Member States to furnish information on steps taken in pursuance of this resolution. My delegation reserves the right to take an active part in the debates to be held on this question.

40. We also think that it is in this spirit that efforts are being made to prepare for a European security conference. This conference could be held quite soon, under good auspices, in view of the favourable development of the situation in both Eastern and Western Europe.

41. Parallel to this effort, we should pursue with vigour the implementation of the Second United Nations Development Decade programme. There can be no lasting and stable peace as long as the peoples that are to benefit therefrom are haunted by the spectre of misery and poverty and as long as the possibilities and opportunities for progress and development are not assured.

42. The question of disarmament, which we all want to be general and complete, is a matter of concern, as it has been in the past, for the General Assembly. Greece has taken an active part in the work of the United Nations on matters of disarmament. These achievements, which are well known and which I shall refrain from enumerating here, are certainly important developments. However, they are of a marginal nature, and their effect is not yet being felt in terms of the realities that condition our security and our existence. This makes necessary the existence of defensive military organizations and alliances. It is regrettable to note that the arms race continues and that year after year the quantity of weapons which weighs so heavily on the destiny of this world is on the increase.

43. Meetings, conferences and yet more conferences, always on disarmament, are suggested to us. We are ready to participate, as we have done in the past. However, we think that the process of disarmament is essentially political in nature. We must resolve differences by negotiation, abandon dreams of domination, avoid confrontation and bring about *détente*, through tolerance and the promotion of a climate propitious to psychological and emotional disarmament. Without this, disarmament will remain in the realm of fiction and polemics. No one disarms in a climate of mistrust.

44. It is well known that the question of the representation of China will be raised from a different angle this year. We think that in the United Nations there can be only one seat for China: one seat in the Security Council and one seat in the Assembly. It is a question of recognizing the

rightful holder of that seat. The question of exclusion or expulsion does not, in our view, arise. If, however, this question, which we consider essentially simple, were to be posed in a complicated form or in the form of a synthesis, we would be inclined not to commit our responsibility in a way that would risk leading us into deadlock. On this point we will have the advantage of being further enlightened when the question is discussed in the General Assembly.

45. It is natural for us to continue to be concerned with the situation in the Middle East, for as long as this illegal situation persists, recourse to violence remains an alternative and constitutes a danger to all those most directly interested—a danger to peace in this region and a danger to peace in general.

46. Our position in favour of the full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is well known. The return, in keeping with this resolution, of occupied Arab territories could not reasonably exclude a negotiated arrangement which alone would allow Israel to lead an industrious existence in peace and security. The argument of force is not always the best, and an armed truce is neither the best of solutions nor the best of guarantees. Respect for international legality opens the way to negotiation. Needless to say, as in the past, we hold that the problem of Palestine refugees should be resolved in a just and humane manner.

47. I wish equally to reiterate our attachment to past Security Council resolutions and to a very recent one, 298 (1971), of 25 September, concerning the status of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places. A considerable proportion of the Christian sanctuaries in this city has always been in the custody of the Greek Orthodox Church. Greece could not remain indifferent to this problem.

48. With regard to the Mediterranean, and apart from present considerations, one should bear in mind that the Mediterranean States represent also a permanent and important factor. To the extent that the solidarity of the coastal countries of the Mediterranean could manifest itself in a form more concrete and more in conformity with their interests and the aspirations of their peoples, this factor should be borne in mind.

49. Reference is made in the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization to the question of Cyprus. U Thant expresses his concern that as a result of the impasse reached in the talks between the two communities on the island a new crisis might occur. He states that he has been “ceaselessly urging restraint upon the Government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership” [*A/8401/Add.1, para. 232*]. Greece, being extremely interested in the maintenance of order on the island and in the search for a peaceful and just solution, has constantly acted in the same spirit. Not only has it tried to contribute to intercommunal understanding, by suggestions which it has deemed constructive, but it has been very careful to avoid interfering in the polemics which, coming from all sides, at times have poisoned the climate. We have tried to follow a responsible and serious policy.

50. At present we are making ourselves available to all concerned in order to assist them towards conciliation.

Fortunately, there is no lack of peaceful procedures. If one attempted negotiation has failed, this does not mean that other talks would meet the same fate. It is, however, necessary to recognize that our possibilities are limited. As far as we are concerned, any assistance aimed at promoting an agreed settlement in the framework of the United Nations is welcome.

51. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Mr. President, your unanimous election to the presidency of this august body, on which I congratulate you most sincerely on behalf of the Government and people of the Philippines, was a proud moment for Asia. In your modest and unassuming person, the members of the General Assembly discerned and recognized the indomitable nationalist who fought heroically for Indonesian independence; the far-sighted Asian leader who is one of the architects of regional solidarity in our part of the world; the initiator of the Djakarta Conference in May 1970 on the peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam war; and the international statesman whose exceptional diplomatic skill helped to achieve a peaceful settlement of the West Irian dispute, enabled Indonesia to return to the United Nations with undiminished prestige, and contributed decisively to Indonesia's present economic rehabilitation with the understanding and co-operation of its major economic partners regardless of their differing ideologies.

52. Your predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, who presided with admirable skill, perceptiveness and dedication over the historic twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly deserves our unstinting admiration and gratitude.

53. Mr. President, it is particularly appropriate that an eminent Asian should preside over this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We have welcomed three new Members of the United Nations, Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, all from Asia. The Philippines has co-sponsored the admission of yet another Asian nation, Oman, whose equally welcome entry into the United Nations now brings the Organization's total membership to 131.

54. For the past quarter century the world has been in the throes of dynamic, revolutionary changes. The founding of the United Nations was an historic attempt to channel those changes along constructive lines. The history of the first quarter-century of the United Nations may thus be said to have consisted in essence of the fateful struggle to form a viable world community in the face of persisting, powerful and divisive national ambitions—in time to save mankind from the ultimate catastrophe of extinction. As our Secretary-General, U Thant, aptly pointed out during the commemorative meetings of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly last year:

"It is intolerable that the peoples of the world should have to live on the brink of disaster and that so many of them continue in a state of utter misery. . . .

"Thus it has been for the most part in the first twenty-five years of the United Nations. With some notable exceptions, Member Governments have, in practice, been more preoccupied with using the United Nations as an instrument to promote their own national

policies than as a new kind of organization in which the nations of the world in co-operation could forge and execute solutions to world problems and work together for a better future" [1883rd meeting, paras. 63 and 64].

55. Unexpectedly, however, the second quarter-century of the United Nations has opened with a year of remarkable events—events that seem destined to affect favourably the course of world history for years to come. Most spectacular of these, of course, is the developing *détente* in Asia. Here, as in other regions of the world, we are rapidly moving from an era of dangerous polarization to one of pluralization.

56. This new era of pluralization will certainly be marked by a multiplicity of interests and relationships and will carry with it great opportunities for harmonization and co-operative action. Relations will become interrelations, partly political, perhaps, but even more economic, cultural and educational in character. Not only Asia but the world community generally can expect to benefit from these important changes.

57. The remarkable initiative of President Nixon appears as the single event from which new possibilities must directly proceed. The first results have been both the complication and the clarification of the policies and intentions of nations in the region. The implementation of the "Nixon Doctrine", the clear enunciation of the policies of the People's Republic of China as, for instance, in the unprecedented interview given by Premier Chou En-lai to Mr. Reston of *The New York Times*; the intense and continuing policy discussions in Japan; the adjustments in the policies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—all these point to realistic realignments among the four great Powers whose interests meet in Asia.

58. At the same time, "pluralization" means the opportunity for more creative participation in the affairs of the region by the smaller nations in joint, co-operative enterprises where their common interests meet, and for more independent initiative regarding their national interests. Speaking individually the voices of the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and others may not weigh heavily in the consideration of major decisions in Asia, but speaking with the collective voice of 300 million people, their roles and contributions must be more seriously regarded. It is against this background that the significance of joint efforts within regional organizations such as the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and the Asian and Pacific Council [ASPAC] should be assessed. Other effective and special-purpose regional groupings can be expected to emerge and play their part. The strengthening of economic and social co-operation is certain to occur and be increasingly looked upon with favour since it will offer real possibilities for solving economic problems which the individual Asian countries find it difficult or impossible to solve alone.

59. Interest in collective regional defence arrangements can be expected to decline. They have had their day. In their place may well develop collective political forums among the Asians—such as the Asian Forum long proposed by H.E. President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines—for the solution of political differences which may arise in

the future. It is predictable also that the future will see on the part of the Asian nations an increased interest in and reliance on the United Nations. In this context, the keen and continuing concern of the Philippines to maximize the effectiveness of our world Organization will be more fully understood.

60. For the foreseeable future, it is plain that the paramount force in Asia is likely to remain nationalism. Nationalism is of two kinds. For the small developing third world countries in Asia, nationalism is largely defensive in nature—an attempt to maintain the conditions in which a viable nation can be created and sustained in the face of internal dissensions and the effects of external circumstances. Great Power nationalism is different in quality; it assumes international dimensions and greatly complicates relations between States big and small.

61. It is now evident that in Asia both types of nationalism are beginning to move toward more constructive expressions than have been the case in the past: the international nationalism of the large Powers is seeking accommodation, while the protective nationalism of the smaller Powers is seeking co-operative modes of expression for mutual benefit. In this connexion, I am refraining from discussing in this policy statement the question of Sabah because it is now a matter involving the highest level of both Governments concerned.

62. A new era of reality is opening before Asia. In this respect, the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is of the greatest importance to us Asians. In the past, the Philippines had taken a position against the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The new realities have led the Philippines to reconsider its position.

63. Our position on this extremely important question is based four-square on the state-of-the-nation message delivered by President Marcos of the Philippines before the joint session of the Philippine Congress on 25 January this year. These were his perceptive and forthright words:

“Vast forces are at work in Asia today. Although the full implications of the new developments are not yet clear, they bolster my belief that a process of change is under way which will radically alter our traditional view of our part of the world.

“Accordingly, the principal aim of Philippine foreign policy in 1971 is to seek an accommodation with reality. Realism will be the hallmark of our foreign policy. The objectives are to augment and diversify relations with other countries, where we feel that such will promote the national interest; and to seek new friends while strengthening ties with old ones.”

64. This policy statement of the head of State of the Philippines, made in January of 1971, some time before the dramatic announcement of President Nixon's intention to visit Peking, is the basis not only of Philippine efforts to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe, but also of our support for the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, without depriving the Republic of China of its own United Nations membership.

65. The Philippine position is based on the recognition of the fact that two Governments—the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of China—claim the right to represent the Chinese people or the Chinese State in the United Nations.

66. The reality of the situation has two aspects. It is an undeniable fact that, since the founding of the United Nations, the Republic of China has continuously represented China in this Organization. Year after year, the General Assembly has upheld this continuous representation of China by the Republic of China in all bodies of the United Nations, including the Security Council.

67. But it is also a fact that since 1949 the Government of the People's Republic of China has had effective control and authority over mainland China, while the Government of the Republic of China has had effective control and authority over other parts of the Chinese State, particularly Taiwan. Each has been accorded diplomatic recognition by an overwhelming number of nations. Recent statistics show that the Republic of China has diplomatic relations with 59 countries, 56 of which are States Members of the United Nations, while the People's Republic of China has diplomatic relations with 55 States Members of the United Nations.

68. These facts indicate why it has not been easy to reach a precise and clear-cut solution to this question, and why it has confounded this Assembly for the last two decades.

69. In this connexion I should like to recall that last year I stated for the record [*1855th meeting (addendum)*] that the Government and people of the Philippines have no desire to be in a posture of permanent opposition to the People's Republic of China. I expressed our sincere hope that our biggest neighbour in Asia would do everything in its power to merit membership of the United Nations on terms consonant with the provisions of its Charter.

70. I must emphasize this last point, namely, that the People's Republic of China should enter the United Nations on United Nations terms, not on terms which it apparently seeks to impose by proxy through its spokesmen in this Assembly. The People's Republic of China is a big Power, but it is not bigger than the United Nations, and it should not attempt to dictate the terms of its own entry into the United Nations even before the question has been decided by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

71. The Philippine delegation, in a spirit of frankness and objectivity with respect to the existing situation, believes that the fair, just and realistic solution would be for both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China to be seated in the General Assembly and be eligible to become members of other bodies of the United Nations system.

72. But with respect to the permanent seat of China in the Security Council, my Government would be prepared to agree to its allocation to the People's Republic of China with its 750 million people, in recognition of the direct and logical relationship between permanent membership in the Council and the maintenance of international peace and security.

73. At the same time, the Philippine delegation will oppose any proposal that will, explicitly or by implication, result in the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations. Expulsion, in our view, would be an act of injustice to a Government and people that have consistently shown sincere adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It would be unfair to a Government that has faithfully fulfilled its obligations under the Charter since the founding of the United Nations to be deprived of its legitimate seat in the Organization.

74. The Republic of China's population of some 14 million people is bigger than the populations of two thirds of the Members of the United Nations. Moreover, the Republic of China has attained a noteworthy degree of economic progress and stability. These are facts too relevant and important to be overlooked. Consequently, my delegation will support the position that any proposal which would result in depriving the Republic of China of a seat in the United Nations is a question important enough to require a decision by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly.

75. We feel that this Assembly simply cannot ignore the fact that the Republic of China, respecting the obligations of a Member nation, has not only represented China in the United Nations all these years but has also developed a separate social and economic system, with its own distinctive character, different from that on the Chinese mainland. And the clock cannot be turned back. What is history is fact.

76. Major steps towards accommodation and *détente* have likewise occurred in other regions of the world since the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly. We have witnessed a major breakthrough in the re-establishment of good relations in Central Europe, particularly between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This development is due in considerable measure to the commendable courage and statesmanship of Chancellor Willy Brandt. It is our earnest hope, shared, we believe, by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union among others, that the remaining difficulties will soon be overcome, thus paving the way for the entry into the United Nations of these two States at the earliest possible time and bringing yet nearer to realization our goal of universality. At the same time ways should be found to provide for the simultaneous entry into the United Nations of the other divided States, without prejudice to whatever arrangements they might later wish to make between themselves. And in this connexion, the retention by the Republic of China of its membership in the United Nations is most relevant. The expulsion of that country may close the door to the admission of divided States into the United Nations.

77. The completion of initial agreements at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Helsinki, although these agreements are not yet of great consequence in themselves, and the commendation to this Assembly of a draft convention on biological weapons,³ even though it does not yet extend

to chemical weapons, are other hopeful straws in the wind. While favourable winds are blowing, the international community should resolve to consolidate these gains with concrete undertakings and initiate new efforts in the areas of possible accommodation and consensus which are now open to us.

78. In this connexion it is vital to recall the new opportunities for enhancing the effectiveness of our United Nations. The recent reorientation of the United Nations Development Programme, the report of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly [A/8426], which we will shortly consider, the attention being given to the revitalization and enlargement of the Economic and Social Council, our review at this session of the role of the International Court of Justice [item 90] and the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [A/8425], our agreement to consider during the twenty-seventh session the overdue review of the United Nations Charter [resolution 2697 (XXV)], and the deepening concern for effective action to cope with the population explosion are all evidence of the recognition by Member States of the necessity for endowing the United Nations with the means to discharge more adequately the responsibilities entrusted to it in an era of accelerating interdependence and community of interest.

79. With regard to resolution 2697 (XXV) asking the Secretary-General to invite Member States to communicate their views and suggestions on the review of our Charter, the Government of the Philippines is preparing a detailed exposition of its views, as expressed at the twenty-fifth session, for circulation well before the twenty-seventh session. We trust that this subject will be given priority consideration by Member countries so that our discussion next year will prove as fruitful as possible.

80. Since the founding of the United Nations a major goal in the realization of international peace and security has been the achievement of safeguarded disarmament. Efforts in pursuit of this goal have been seriously handicapped by the absence from the disarmament negotiations of two of the nuclear Powers—France and the People's Republic of China. Here again, new opportunities have opened up to us in recent months. An entrance to the disarmament negotiations for the two missing nuclear parties might well be provided by the proposal for a world disarmament conference [A/L.631]. It should be understood, however, that although such a conference might well serve several purposes, including that of a timely review of the progress made thus far towards disarmament, it could in no way take the place of the kind of detailed working out of specific problems that is now being done in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Even if the results are not always up to expectations, the work of the Committee is characterized by a high degree of seriousness, commitment and competence. It may be necessary, however, to reconstitute the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in order to secure the participation of those additional countries which should be taking part in its deliberations.

81. A world disarmament conference would be a major step towards giving meaning and substance to the Disarma-

³ Draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction (A/8457-DC/234, annex A).

ment Decade, now running concurrently with the Second United Nations Development Decade. In two years the Assembly has not succeeded in taking any other new initiatives on a scale or of a content sufficient to justify the designation "Disarmament Decade", or adequately to emphasize the interdependence between a Disarmament Decade and the Second Development Decade. It will be recalled that the Government of the Philippines advanced some preliminary suggestions in this regard during the twenty-fifth General Assembly.⁴ We will return to these proposals at an appropriate time.

82. Meanwhile we would suggest that any world disarmament conference should either be held under the auspices of the United Nations or be organically related to it. Thought should be given to the activation, for this purpose, of the Disarmament Commission, that body of the whole which has not been utilized in recent years. The present new opportunities may make it possible, for the first time since the founding of the United Nations, to move beyond "non-armament" measures to measures providing for actual, concrete steps towards the reduction and destruction of armaments. Thus will begin the redeeming of a vital promise made to the world's peoples a quarter of a century ago.

83. Rather suddenly, the United Nations is faced with a number of new issues having global aspects beyond the possibility of resolution by the efforts of individual States alone. Foremost among these is the question of the deterioration of the human environment. Under the auspices of the Stanley Foundation, this important subject was discussed in depth at the Sixth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, held at Sinaia, Romania, last June, by world statesmen, and a report on the conference proceedings was submitted to the Secretary-General. Nothing can serve to illustrate more vividly than the problems of environmental pollution the common destiny of mankind, the profound, global ramifications of local actions and the urgent need for a unified, integrated approach to economic and social development. Air and water are the first lifelines of space-ship earth. If they are anywhere impaired the total system is to that extent impaired. Most specific pollution problems can and must be dealt with locally, but that does not absolve the international community from the ultimate responsibility to see to it that they are resolved.

84. The time is past for mere lip-service in this vital matter. For instance, we continue to hear pious protestations of grave concern over the pollution of the human environment. Yet nuclear tests, with their concomitant danger of contaminating the air and the seas with their radio-active emissions, continue in disregard of the expressed wishes of the peoples affected. The Philippine Government has repeatedly protested the testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean, which washes its eastern shores, but these protests have gone unheeded.

85. A second major subject of global scope concerns the utilization of the resources of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdictions as the common heritage of mankind and the elaboration of an international régime for that purpose.

86. My country, which is an archipelago, is vitally affected by this problem. In the course of the current general debate, some countries, particularly Iceland [1945th meeting] and Fiji [1951st meeting], referred to the question of archipelagos in connexion with the conference on the law of the sea in 1973. My Government expects that in the forthcoming conference this problem with other related issues will be settled along the lines demanded by the progressive development and codification of international law affecting peace and stability in ocean space.

87. In his report, the Secretary-General calls our attention to the fact that to deal with such global issues it may be necessary, "in the near future, to envisage new subsidiary organs or substantive departments in the United Nations" [A/8401/Add.1, para. 91]. He correctly states that the creation of such new bodies "should be viewed by the membership as an appropriate response to the ever new challenges of our world" [ibid.].

88. Should we fail to endow the required efforts with the requisite resources or authority, then, of course, we shall have nobody but ourselves to blame if the unwanted conditions persist. Our hopes are high that the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm in 1972, and the projected conference on the law of the sea will take the first major steps toward meeting the issues involved at the level and on the scale necessary to be effective.

89. Only a year ago this Assembly made an historic decision. It adopted for the first time an International Development Strategy which would serve as the programme of action for implementing the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. Today the international trade and monetary crisis, which is still unresolved, threatens to undermine that Strategy and casts a pall of uncertainty over the prospect of attaining the goals of the Development Decade itself.

90. By far the most deplorable aspect of this crisis is the plight of the developing countries. Innocent bystanders, with no role either in precipitating the crisis or in its solution, these poor countries stand to suffer the gravest injuries from its consequences.

91. The predicament of the developing countries has been recognized by the President of the World Bank Group, Mr. Robert S. McNamara. In the introduction to his address to the World Bank's Board of Governors on 27 September, he declared—and these are very important words:

"It is clear that we are in for a difficult period of basic readjustments in international monetary and trade arrangements and that the repercussions may continue for some time. Although the solution of these problems is not the responsibility of the World Bank, we are deeply concerned with the manner of their resolution because of the impact it may have on the external trade of the developing countries, and on the resource flows to them."⁵

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, First Committee*, 1749th meeting, para. 52.

⁵ Robert McNamara, *Address to the Board of Governors* (Washington, D.C., International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1971), "Introductory Paragraphs Inserted After the Body of the Text Was Printed".

92. Mr. Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, Chairman of the Executive Board and Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, was even more explicit in his statement of the same date. He said:

"I am particularly concerned about the impact of the current situation on the developing countries. Inflation and balance of payments difficulties in the industrial world . . . The present exchange rate uncertainties add a new and serious impediment to the development efforts of these countries, which also must contend with the effects of the U.S. import surcharge and the cuts in U.S. aid. All this is not an auspicious beginning for the Second Development Decade, when developing countries have the task of finding new avenues of productive employment for their growing populations."⁶

93. Both officials stressed the need to take into account the plight of the poor countries in the search for a solution to the international trade and monetary crisis.

94. Mr. McNamara said:

"Whatever steps are taken to improve the operation of the international monetary system must be such as to permit a continuing increase in capital flows to meet the targets to which the developed countries have subscribed: an increase in public development assistance from \$8 billion per year in 1970 to \$12.5 billion in 1975."⁷

95. Mr. Schweitzer expressed the hope that the solution of the monetary crisis by the industrial countries would be followed "by an increased willingness in these countries to maintain a steadily improving volume and quality of development assistance and to widen access to their markets".⁸

96. Such is the hope. But what is the reality? Mr. McNamara's own report contains the following sad and ominous admissions:

"The developing countries have justifiable grounds for complaint that they are being treated unfairly in their attempts to expand their manufactured exports to those markets [the markets of the richer countries]. On the average, tariffs are higher on the kinds of manufactured goods imported from poor countries as compared to imports from rich countries. . . .

"Even worse than the absolute level of tariffs is their structure. Tariffs rise with the degree of fabrication . . . This . . . could well offset the comparative advantages in processing found in many developing countries."⁹

He continued:

"Finally, and perhaps worst of all, non-tariff barriers to trade have proliferated throughout the rich countries in

recent years . . . They too are more severe for developing countries."⁹

97. In other words, the promotion of economic diversification, of a fair and rational international division of labour, and of the progressive industrialization of the developing countries, goals which are accepted in principle in the United Nations, are in fact being impeded if not actually negated in practice.

98. Nor is the sombre situation limited to manufactures. The Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization, Dr. Boerma, has called attention to what he has described as the "completely unbalanced" state of world agriculture, warning that if this condition is allowed to persist, it might provoke intensified trade war.

99. There is something fundamentally wrong in an international economic order under which such things can happen. The Philippine delegation feels that the time has come for the United Nations to discharge fully its duties under paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 1 of the Charter with respect to international co-operation in the economic and social fields. It should henceforth be one of its urgent major concerns to help devise means of protecting the poor countries from the adverse effects of international monetary and trade crises concerning which these poor countries have little or no say but which could ruin them financially or set back their development efforts for years with disastrous economic and social consequences for their peoples. We must arrest the present accelerating drift towards a new age of domination based on economic advantage.

100. In other major fields of United Nations concern, the glaring discrepancies between principle and practice, between the felt needs of the international community and the limited action permitted by national ambitions and interests, are also apparent.

101. Despite the welcome signs of growing *détente* in Europe, to which I have referred, peace in the Middle East continues to hang by the thread of a cease-fire tenuously maintained amidst a mutual escalation of armaments.

102. In this International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, no substantial progress has been achieved in the struggle against *apartheid*. Meanwhile, the flow of trade and investments, as well as the supply of arms, that sustain the practitioners of *apartheid* continue, hardly abated by United Nations sanctions against that universally condemned policy. Remnants of classical colonialism, which is also a form of racial oppression, likewise continue to exist in its last strongholds, particularly in Africa, in defiance of the United Nations Charter and of the repeatedly expressed will of the international community.

103. Every year, references are made to the need for a stronger support for the United Nations. Yet this same Organization has been permitted to reach the brink of financial bankruptcy. One major Power concerned has announced that it will contribute an "important" sum to help cover past United Nations financial deficiencies; other Powers equally concerned, however, have remained silent.

⁶ Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, "Presentation of the Twenty-sixth Annual Report", *Summary Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors—September 27-October 1, 1971* (Washington, D.C., International Monetary Fund, n.d.).

⁷ McNamara, loc. cit.

⁸ Schweitzer, loc. cit.

⁹ McNamara, op. cit., p. 26.

104. The present international trade and monetary crisis has simply dramatized the central dilemma that has afflicted the United Nations since its inception. The Member States, particularly the great Powers with the special responsibilities inherent in their status as permanent members of the Security Council, have never quite accepted the requirement, implicit in the Charter, to subordinate narrow national interests to the general well-being of mankind, or—as last year's Conference on Human Survival¹⁰ so aptly put it—to recognize that “human sovereignty transcends national sovereignty”.

105. In moving from the era of frozen polarization into a new period of pluralization, it is essential to accept that the first requirement is for a flexible common instrument through which that pluralization can be constructively and creatively expressed. But although that instrument already exists in the United Nations, its full utility as the focal point for forging collective decisions has yet to be realized. “Foreign policy” in this sense is becoming obsolete. Nations now hold collective responsibility for a non-divisible world. The policy-making emphasis will be more and more toward joint problem-solving for planetary development and management. Only in such a context can the security and freedom of nations and peoples be assured and the great promise of our earth for the well-being of mankind be realized.

106. And now permit me to conclude my statement with three expressions of well-deserved tribute. The first is to Mr. Paul Hoffman, the exceptionally able Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], who is about to retire after some 12 years of devoted service to the cause of that indispensable component of lasting peace: economic and social development. Under Mr. Hoffman's inspired and dedicated leadership, UNDP has become the largest operational agency of the United Nations in the field of development with good prospects of doubling its operational funds to \$500 million by 1975. This impressive progress has been achieved through far-sighted planning, sound operational methods, including the application of pre-investment aid in the vital sectors of national development programmes, and effective response to the keenly felt needs of the developing nations. The United Nations owes Mr. Hoffman an inestimable debt of gratitude for his work in building up UNDP to its present size and its enhanced potential for service towards the accelerated development of the poor countries.

107. My second tribute is to the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], which is observing its twenty-fifth anniversary this year. Supported entirely by voluntary contributions, UNICEF has rendered invaluable service to countless mothers and children in needy countries throughout the world. Starting as an emergency operation, it has with admirable flexibility adapted its work to the changing requirements of the developing nations and is now involved in vital aspects of development concerning mothers, children, youth and the family. It deserves a special tribute for a quarter-century of devoted service to mankind under the direction of that distinguished humanitarian, the late Maurice Pate, and his worthy successor as Executive

Director, Mr. Henry Labouisse. The United Nations Children's Fund has merited our gratitude for having projected across national and ideological frontiers during the past 25 years the profound concern and compassion of the United Nations for the new generation of children and youth, who will have the responsibility of building a better world.

108. Finally, I would like to pay a tribute to our modest, loyal and highly esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant. He has had the unprecedented responsibility of leading the United Nations Secretariat through an entire decade of grievous trials and crisis. And he has discharged this heavy responsibility so admirably that he could, if he wished, command unanimous support for continuing to occupy his eminent position. Much of his work for the preservation of peace, the promotion of human rights, and the attainment of a better life for all mankind has been accomplished by quiet diplomacy, an art in which he has few equals. A place of high honour is assured for him in the history of our time. And it is most fitting that this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which may be the last that U Thant is attending as Secretary-General, should salute him as one of the immortals of the United Nations.

109. Mr. AL-JABER (Kuwait):¹¹ Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to express to you, on behalf of the Government of Kuwait, which has close ties and good relations with Indonesia, heartfelt congratulations on your election to your high office. Your election as President of this session of the General Assembly is a true reflection of the prominent role which the Asian continent now plays in international affairs. I should also commend the high status you enjoy in international circles as a statesman with wide experience and an outstanding reputation. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Hambro, for the manner in which he presided over the past session of the General Assembly. He lived up to his high reputation as a veteran statesman in United Nations affairs and as an eminent authority on public international law.

110. We warmly welcome the admission of the four new Member States, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and Bhutan, to the United Nations, owing to our conviction that the new Member States will strive to strengthen the United Nations and uphold the principles enshrined in the Charter. Making membership open to all States will promote the principle of universality within our world Organization and will enable these States to work within the international family to fulfil the principles and purposes of the Charter and to co-operate on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

111. At the beginning of this year my Government established diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. The exchange of diplomatic relations is the outcome of the good relations which have existed between Kuwait and the People's Republic of China for a long time and which yielded their fruit in the field of economics and trade. In conformity with the political reality of the People's Republic of China, we are in favour of its admission to the United Nations as the sole representative of the friendly people of China, who have always supported the Arab position in Palestine. We are

¹⁰ Sponsored by the Kettering Foundation and held at the United Nations, New York, from 25 to 28 May 1970.

¹¹ Mr. Al-Jaber spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

confident that the admission of the People's Republic of China to the Organization as the sole representative of the Chinese people will improve the effectiveness of the United Nations and the prospects for peace, especially in the region of South-East Asia.

112. We are fully aware of the dangers engendered by the armaments race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We therefore call for renewed efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament. We would like the funds which are being spent on destructive weapons to be used to combat famine, poverty and privation in the world. We advocate using atomic energy for peaceful purposes and to serve mankind. General and complete disarmament and the prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and outer space will promote the welfare of mankind and its prosperity, and improve the prospects for peace.

113. We attach great importance to the discussions that are being held at the ministerial level in preparation for the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD].

114. The Group of 77 emerged within the framework of UNCTAD as an effective element in the field of economic and social development. The events of the past few years have brought members of the Group closer to each other. The Group has become a cohesive force and a constructive element in international relations. The demands of the developing countries are fair and necessary to bridge the gap which separates them from the advanced countries, to promote world prosperity and to strengthen international peace and security.

115. It is important to note that the third session of UNCTAD will be held at a time of crisis, in which the foundations of the monetary order are shaking and while some of the advanced countries are pursuing protectionist trade policies.

116. The recommendations of the first and second sessions of UNCTAD have not been implemented. The passivity of the advanced countries is reflected in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], which is devoid of any binding commitment on the part of the advanced countries to make available annually to the developing countries financial resource transfers amounting to 1 per cent of their gross national product. The developed countries have refused to pledge in an unequivocal manner to carry out the numerous recommendations aimed at accelerating economic and social progress in the developing countries.

117. I cannot help noting in this respect that the foreign aid which has been and is being extended by Kuwait amounts to one third of the State budget.

118. The United Nations has adequate machinery which can be used to provide disinterested aid with no political or military strings attached. The main organ in this respect is UNDP which is now passing through a transitional phase which we hope will enhance its effectiveness and increase its resources. This cannot be done unless the advanced

countries contribute generously so that UNDP may formulate sound criteria for providing aid according to the actual development needs in the recipient countries.

119. It is a sad reality in the world today that some nations are still under the yoke of imperialism or subjected to foreign control and racial discrimination. The main organs of the United Nations condemned these practices, which are contrary to human principles. It is incumbent upon us to insist on the implementation of United Nations resolutions so as to put an end to these unlawful activities.

120. The recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding the legal consequences for States of the continued illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia¹² constitutes an incentive to the international community to take concerted action so as to put an end to this human scourge.

121. We should also demand withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of other States, especially from Indo-China, to enable the people of that region to exercise their right to self-determination in complete freedom and without any foreign pressure.

122. The problem, which it has become customary to call "the situation in the Middle East", continues to receive our most serious attention, as it has done in past years. This is so not only because of its effect upon the fate of fraternal Arab peoples and sister Arab States, or because of its impact upon the security and prosperity of our region, but also because of its import for the destiny of the international system.

123. It is well known that the primary victim of the problem in question is the Arab Palestinian people, which has suffered dispersion, oppression and deprivation of its basic human rights for a quarter of a century.

124. It is also well known that the Arab States adjacent to Palestine, sizeable portions of whose territories have been subjected to Israeli occupation for over four years, constitute the second victim in the Middle Eastern situation.

125. And it is well known that the entire Arab area of the Middle East is the third victim of that situation, inasmuch as its security, stability and prosperity are adversely affected by what has been happening in and around Palestine.

126. However, what I wish to discuss now is not any of these aspects of the problem—in spite of their importance in themselves and the special importance which Kuwait attaches to them—but rather the effect which the problem is likely to have upon the United Nations and upon the foundations of the international order which this Organization strives to establish.

127. For the conflict in the Middle East—between Israel and the Palestinian people, and between Israel and the Arab

¹² *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.*

States—is, in one of its aspects, a confrontation between Israel and the international community.

128. It is a confrontation between a régime which arose, entrenched itself and achieved territorial expansion through the use of force, on the one hand, and an Organization which came into being in order to prevent the resort to force and to deprive those who do resort to force of the ability to enjoy the fruits thereof, on the other hand.

129. It is a confrontation between a régime which has habitually violated international covenants and the rules of international law and an Organization which strives to promote respect for the law and observance of its principles.

130. This aspect of the Middle Eastern problem is indeed worthy of the attention of us all and calls for serious and responsible consideration of the obligations it lays on us all.

131. I must admit that, whatever its role may have been initially—whether in the creation of the problem in the first place, or in the adoption of an attitude of passivity towards its subsequent aggravation thereafter—the United Nations has at last begun to correct its attitude, particularly after Israel had finally unmasked itself and revealed its true image so clearly that neither those who had formerly chosen to ignore the facts, nor those who had been deceived by appearances, could fail to see the truth about that country.

132. Thus, the United Nations has come at last to adopt the position required by the principles and purposes of its Charter.

133. Accordingly, the mistakes committed in the past with respect to the Palestinian people were corrected when the General Assembly declared, at its twenty-fourth session [resolution 2535 B (XXIV)], its recognition of the inalienable rights of that people, and proceeded at the following session [resolution 2672 C (XXV)] to reaffirm that recognition, to proclaim that those inalienable rights included equal rights and self-determination, to emphasize that full respect for those rights was an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and to make specific mention of the people of Palestine, along with the peoples of southern Africa, when condemning those Governments that deny the right to self-determination of peoples recognized as being entitled to it [resolution 2649 (XXV)].

134. It is true that such belated recognition of its inalienable rights is not sufficient by itself to redress the wrongs done to the Palestinian people in consequence of the initial denial of those rights, nor is it adequate to compensate that people for the tragedy it has been suffering for a quarter of a century as a result; nor is it enough to ensure progress towards the creation of opportunities for its actual enjoyment of its human and national rights. Nevertheless, the mere declaration by the General Assembly of its recognition of those rights was a significant initial step in the right direction, which we note with appreciation.

135. Similarly, with respect to Israel's occupation of the territories of some Arab States and its policies and practices

in those occupied territories, the United Nations has not failed to insist that the occupying authorities should act in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

136. As far as occupation in itself is concerned, the Security Council has repeatedly emphasized "the established principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by conquest"—a principle which the Council reiterated for the fifth time less than two weeks ago in its resolution 298 (1971). In its turn, the General Assembly proclaimed this principle in two general Declarations issued at its twenty-fifth session and reiterated it with particular reference to the Middle East in its resolution 2628 (XXV) of 4 November 1970, in which it also deplored the continued occupation of the Arab territories since 1967.

137. Likewise, the responsibility for obstructing progress towards a peaceful settlement embracing, *inter alia*, Israeli withdrawal has been unambiguously defined by the Secretary-General who, together with his Special Representative, has been assigned special functions in an attempt to achieve peaceful settlement. In the introduction to his latest report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General states:

"Ambassador Jarring feels, and I agree with him, that, until there has been a change in Israel's position on the question of withdrawal, it would serve little useful purpose to attempt to reactivate the talks" [A/8401/Add.1, para. 219].

138. Lastly, on Israel's policies and practices in the occupied territories the United Nations has defined its position unequivocally in 52 formal resolutions. Those resolutions have dealt with Israel's annexation of some of the occupied territories; its forcible mass displacement since the occupation of tens of thousands of the rightful inhabitants of these territories and its forcible individual exile of hundreds of others; its prevention of the return of Arab refugees, displaced persons and expellees to their homes; its importation of Jewish settlers and establishment of new settlements on confiscated Arab lands in the occupied territories; and its repressive measures against the population under its control—including the imposition of collective punishments, the destruction of homes, the confiscation of property, the subjection of people to prolonged administrative detention, the torture of prisoners and other acts prohibited by the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949¹³ and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

139. By those resolutions of the United Nations, the international community has demonstrated that it has no uncertainty as to who is responsible for the aggravation of the problem, and that it has no difficulty in establishing Israel's guilt and no doubts about the imperative need for rectification of the conditions resulting therefrom.

140. For the resolutions in question contain no less than 38 expressions of the "regret", "concern", "alarm" or "distress" felt by the international community as a result of Israeli actions in the occupied territories. Furthermore,

¹³ Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

those resolutions no less than 27 times “deplored”, “censured” or “condemned” Israel or its policies and practices.

141. Such a record leaves no room for doubt about the position of the international community. However, it does cause some concern about the value of its being content with adopting resolutions, expressing displeasure or issuing condemnations; and it raises questions about what the United Nations should do, now that it has established that general international covenants, universal declarations and particular resolutions are equally incapable of deterring Israel from pursuing its policies or of ensuring the restoration of rights.

142. What should the international community do in the face of this Israeli defiance? This is the challenging question that now persistently faces us all.

143. You have heard Israel’s reply, voiced during the present general debate [*1946th meeting*]: the United Nations should desist from adopting more resolutions on the question.

144. This advice, which can hardly be described as disinterested and non-self-serving, has been heard before by the international community, and it has been consistently rejected, for the international community has recognized that the pursuit of this course, recommended by those who have shown contempt for its principles and disregard for its will, is tantamount to the abdication of its responsibilities and is certain to lead, in the end, to the loss of its authority, if not its very being.

145. Nor has the United Nations been content with dismissing this Israeli counsel. It has actively searched for a way out of the dilemma caused by Israel’s continuing refusal to show respect for international resolutions. In the course of that search, some United Nations bodies and specialized agencies have in fact conducted certain experiments with alternative methods of shaking Israel’s intransigence.

146. First among such experiments was the attempt to give wide publicity to the facts about Israel’s policies and practices, and to the reports and resolutions of United Nations bodies regarding them. This attempt was predicated on the belief that such publicity would enlighten world public opinion and might stimulate some international moral pressure upon Israel that might influence its policies and practices. This appears to have been the hope entertained by the Executive Board of UNESCO when it adopted its decision No. 4.3.1 at its eighty-third session, and by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights when it adopted its resolutions 10 (XXVI) and 9 (XXVII).

147. But the lesson already learned by the international community from its experience with the racist régime in South Africa soon proved to be equally true in the case of Israel: namely, that a régime based on disregard of the rule of law and on contempt for moral principles is hardly likely to be deterred, by the mere displeasure of world public opinion, from proceeding along its ordained course. Particularly is this the case when such a régime feels confident that the recognized superiority of its propaganda will counteract

and prevail over the efforts of international agencies, and that the facts will remain concealed from the sight of the world.

148. The Security Council selected a different course. It chose to warn that if Israel persisted in its violations, further and more effective steps or measures might be adopted. As members of the General Assembly are aware, the Security Council has issued such warnings on eight different occasions since 1967: twice with respect to Israeli measures purporting to change the status of Jerusalem, and six times with respect to Israeli military attacks on the territories of Arab States.

149. However, the mere repetition of these warnings, time after time, without the actual adoption of any measures indicating the sincere determination to put them into effect, deprived the successive warnings of their credibility and effectiveness. Moreover, Israel’s certainty that it would receive continued support under all circumstances from one of the permanent members of the Security Council has served to embolden it to ignore and dismiss disdainfully the repeated warnings of the Council.

150. The General Assembly’s request addressed to the Security Council in paragraph 3 of resolution 2535 B (XXIV), to “take effective measures” to ensure the implementation of past resolutions of both bodies, failed to elicit any response from the Council or to produce any effective enforcement measures. Nevertheless, the mere issuance of such a request by this Assembly was a significant sign of impatience with Israel’s continuing violation of international conventions and its defiance of United Nations resolutions.

151. This impatience was expressed more clearly by the Commission on Human Rights in the latest of its resolutions dealing with Israeli policies in the occupied territories; I refer to resolution 9 (XXVII) of 15 March 1971, in which the Commission declared that

“Israel’s continued and increasing violations . . . indicate the necessity of collective action on the part of the international community to ensure respect for the human rights of the population of the occupied territories.”¹⁴

152. Confronted with the sterility of the first method, namely, the reliance on moral pressure exerted by world opinion to influence Israel and cause it to alter its policies voluntarily; and confronted also with the futility of the second course, namely, the warning that effective enforcement measures would be adopted, some international organizations have begun lately to consider a third course, namely, the adoption of punitive measures.

153. Readiness to take the first step along this road was indicated a few months ago by the World Health Organization, whose Assembly warned, in resolution WHA 24.33 of 18 May 1971, that the continuation of “Israel’s violations of basic human rights . . . would necessitate that the Organization should consider the application of Article 7 of its Constitution”—a measure which would entail the suspen-

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fiftieth Session, Supplement No. 4*, p. 80.

sion of Israel's voting privileges in the World Health Organization as well as the services to which Israel is entitled as a member.

154. The international community has passed the stage of reaffirming its principles. It has passed the stage of investigating Israeli policies and practices and determining flagrant Israeli violations. It has passed the stage of declaring certain Israeli measures legally invalid. It has passed the stage of demanding that Israel rescind those measures and desist from taking similar ones in the future. It has passed the stage of expressing its regret and its concern. It has passed the stage of pronouncing censures, of deploring, of condemning. It has passed the stage of publicizing, and focusing the spotlight of world attention on Israeli policies. It has passed the stage of issuing warnings that are not accompanied by indications of its determination to put them into effect.

155. It is now incumbent upon the international community, having passed all those stages, to embark upon the course of adoption of punitive measures in accordance with the Charter, in order to compel Israel to show respect for the rules of international law and United Nations resolutions.

156. For, otherwise, the United Nations has only two choices: either to go on repeating what has been proved by experience to be unproductive, or to give up and acquiesce in the fait accompli, and accept Israel's intransigence as final and unchangeable.

157. The first choice can only enfeeble and emasculate the United Nations. And the second choice can result, in the Middle East, only in further turmoil ever recurring and ever menacing the peace of the world; and, elsewhere, only in giving would-be violators of the rule of law the coveted assurance that they may do so with impunity.

158. It is a severe test that now faces the United Nations. The very being of the international order may well depend upon what the United Nations will do from now on.

159. Let us so act as to give no cause for future generations to say that our generation saw the truth but lacked the will to put it into effect. Let us so act as to give no one cause to judge that our generation saw injustice being inflicted on men, peoples and States and witnessed laws being violated and the principles of the Charter trampled underfoot, but, although it rejected what it saw in both thought and word, it remained unwilling to act to safeguard the rights of a man, a people or a State.

160. The effectiveness of the United Nations and its success in fulfilling its mission as the instrument of world peace and for the elimination of the causes of international tension are largely linked to the willingness of its Member States to react to the principles and purposes of the Charter and to respect the will of the international community. The world Organization in its present form is a mirror which reflects the conduct and the will of the Member States. The United Nations cannot be strengthened and developed unless we all work together in the spirit of one international family, transcending our individual interests and having as our sole aim world security and prosperity.

161. We in Kuwait believe in the principles of the Charter because we believe in the right of nations to live in peace and security, and because we yearn for world peace based on justice and the abhorrence of aggression, occupation and domination.

162. Our faith in these values is closely linked to our great appreciation of the role played by our Secretary-General, U Thant, in safeguarding the goals of our Organization. We would like to take this opportunity to express the hope that he will continue in his present responsibilities at this crucial stage, which necessitates granting the Secretary-General wider powers, as part of strengthening and developing the United Nations so as to ensure faithful implementation of the principles of the Charter.

163. Let our deeds match our aspirations in reaffirming the principles of the world Organization. Let us show zeal in our dedication to the United Nations, whose message is that of the human person with all his material and spiritual values.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/8500/ADD.1)

164. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Members to turn their attention to the second report of the General Committee [A/8500/Add.1]. In paragraph 2 of this report the General Committee recommends that an additional item entitled "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace" should be included in the agenda of the current session and allocated to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

165. The PRESIDENT: The First Committee will be informed accordingly.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

166. The PRESIDENT: I shall give the floor to those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

167. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Since the Foreign Minister of Ireland devoted over half of his speech yesterday [1956th meeting] to my country, I feel obliged to speak briefly in exercise of the right of reply. I do so primarily in order to underline my Government's position that the matters in question are ones which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United Kingdom.

168. In the light of that position, I do not propose here to enter into detailed argument with Mr. Hillery. I note that he, for his part, acknowledges that the responsibility for the consolidation of peace in Northern Ireland falls to Her

* Resumed from the 1939th meeting.

Majesty's Government. I should, however, like to welcome his unequivocal statement that his Government—and here I quote his exact words—

“deplores the use of violence as a means of solving political problems and more specifically . . . [deplores] the use of violence as a means of solving the problem in the North of Ireland.” [1956th meeting, para. 163.]

What is needed is understanding and dialogue, and I am pleased to note that Mr. Hillery reiterated his own Government's belief in dialogue. My Government is in close touch with the Government of the Republic of Ireland and with the Northern Ireland Government, and we shall spare no effort to achieve a solution to this unhappy problem.

169. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Yesterday afternoon [1957th meeting] the Assembly had the unusual opportunity of hearing the empty rhetoric, the eloquence of the lofty mountaineers and the provocative language of the spokesman of the Bolivian Fascists.

170. He came to this rostrum to bring the voice of a feudal oligarchy which the Bolivian people had decapitated 20 years ago and which, through the artifices of foreign intervention, has returned temporarily to hold power in that country. He came here to convey the message of his Nazi tutors whom mankind thought had been overthrown once and for all in 1945. He spoke to justify the criminal aggression of imperialism against the people of Viet-Nam, to defend the Israeli policy against the Arab States, to support his counterparts in Taiwan, to deny the existence of the movement of the non-aligned countries and to suggest that the countries of the third world should follow the same ignoble path that they had chosen of bowing to the imperialist master, to justify the Balkanization of Latin America, to oppose the mandate of unity and solidarity of our forefathers and to sow discord and provocation against the progressive forces on our continent.

171. The representative of a political grouping which in Bolivia has always stood for the backward interests of fascism, the spokesman of a group founded abroad by foreigners, financed by foreign interests and in the service of anti-Bolivian forces, Mr. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez came here to demonstrate that he continues today to be as servile to those dark interests as he was 20 years ago, when his armies with their white shirts, their ceremonial bonfires, their torches and their liturgical oaths, attempted to rob the Bolivian people of the fruits of the victory they had won in April 1952.

172. He did so as the Foreign Minister of a régime which owes its existence and passing duration to the barefaced intervention of North American imperialism with the aid of other Fascist régimes, as the representative of a régime which internally was part of the triangular concubinage of uniformed sheriffs, professional traitors and Fascists who for two decades have been attempting to restore the feudal group to full power.

173. With arrant cynicism, Mr. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez referred to the death of the glorious commander, Ernesto Che Guevara, in La Higuera on a day like today four years ago. He thus recalled how the heroic internationalist fighter was assassinated in cowardly fashion, without risk to the killers and in cold blood in that village after he had been captured in combat the day before. His assassins, who still do not dare to mention his name, hold power today in Bolivia. But the people of the high plateau who attained their formal independence with the aid of the internationalist armies of Bolívar and Sucre, who were directly familiar with the heroic struggle of Che and his revolutionary fellow fighters, have been and will remain faithful to the Guevarist message, have been and will be faithful to the sacred message of La Higuera and of 8 October, which are subjects venerated by all anti-imperialist fighters.

174. La Higuera was not a final resting place but rather a fruitful garden for the future. The glorious example Che set, his total devotion to the cause of the complete emancipation of man, his immortal thoughts, today are battle standards for revolutionaries throughout the world. The image of Che, the memory of his supreme sacrifice, his upstanding, generous and unselfish conduct, his entire life offered up in sacrifice for the liberation of the despoiled and the humiliated, are growing and will reach giant proportions with time, forged into tools for combat throughout the world.

175. He who said: “Wherever death overtakes us it will be welcome, provided that this, our war-cry, has reached a receptive ear and another hand is stretched out to take up our weapons,” is today seeing from the heart of Latin American soil how his war-cry resounds throughout the world, how his example is echoed in the rivers and mountains of our continent, how his thinking is more vibrant than ever, encouraging hope in the hearts of millions of revolutionary fighters who are also ready to lay down their lives to redeem mankind.

176. This example will live throughout the ages and through the generations like the rocks of the Andean mountains. Before this example, the oppressors of our people will become dust, as will those who, for a miserable pittance, sell American dignity to Yankee imperialism. No Fascist who is temporarily disguised as a Minister can by his paid oratory ever silence this example.

177. La Higuera was an unknown Bolivian village, but today it has become a sacred symbol and the object of deep emotion and respect for millions of men and women throughout the world. No one, however, recalls the exact address of the dung heap in La Paz where judgement was passed 12 years ago on the founder of the Bolivian Falangistas. No one will remember either what history has in store for Mr. Gutiérrez Gutiérrez.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.