



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by U Lwin (Burma)	1
Speech by Mr. Manescu (Romania)	4
Speech by Mr. Khaddam (Syrian Arab Republic)	8
Speech by Mr. Romulo (Philippines)	15

President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. U LWIN (Burma): Mr. President, allow me first of all to extend to you the warm congratulations of the Burmese delegation on your election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Notwithstanding the heavy responsibilities of your official duties at home, you have come here to be with us and to lend your eminent services to this Assembly in a truly international spirit of co-operation. We are confident that your wide experience and the perception and statesmanship which you have shown in the service of your country will prove valuable to you in guiding the challenging tasks of this Assembly towards a successful outcome, thereby giving added impulse to the cause of international peace, co-operation and progress.

2. I am particularly pleased to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, for the admirable manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The wisdom, dignity and good sense which he brought to this office will long be remembered.

3. I wish also to express to the Secretary-General the congratulations of the Burmese delegation on his able and penetrating appreciation—contained in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1]—of the realities of the present international situation and the future role of the United Nations.

4. The interval between the last session and the present session of the General Assembly has been a period marked by events of historical and political significance—events that have fundamentally changed the configuration of international relations and have brought us to the awareness that the post-war structure of international politics has come to an end. Altogether, a new era in the international order is now taking shape before us. After having passed through over two decades of a structure of bipolar world politics imprinted with a highly charged ideological conflict, a cold war, that constantly verged on the brink of a potential

nuclear outbreak, the protagonists on the world's political stage are now coming to acknowledge the realities which have emerged in the international system and seemingly are moving towards a more pragmatic relationship based upon the demands of very real mutual national interests that far transcend their differences.

5. In our view, this is clearly a welcome process. It is an evolution that fosters international détente. The more steps the major Powers take to blunt the sharp edges of ideological hostility and move towards realistic accommodation, the less justification will there be for the existence of Power blocs and the delimitation of the international community. The more the major Powers regulate their relations on the pragmatic basis of coexistence and recognize their global responsibility by reason of their great destructive capacity, the less likely are the chances of provoking a nuclear war. The world follows the current changes with great interest and with the high expectation that the major Powers will not fail to show a way out of the impasse of the last 26 years. For this to be achieved, it would obviously be necessary for any détente, any accommodation between the major Powers, to extend beyond them in order to embrace all regions, especially those where conflicts and tensions continue to exist and where the presence of such Powers is most felt.

6. The new events that have occurred are familiar to all of us and I do not propose to burden the Assembly with a detailed commentary. In summary, they include the dramatic shifts in the position of rival major Powers. After more than 20 years of hostility the first contact, established this year in Peking, between the President of the United States and the leaders of China marked a historic world turning-point. The Moscow summit last May between the President of the United States and Soviet leaders was of major political significance. These developments have led to greater flexibility in international relations.

7. The benefits of the changing international circumstances have also been felt in some long-standing areas of tension and conflict. On the Indian subcontinent and in the Korean peninsula there is a tendency on the part of the opponents to enter into a process which could, phase by phase, restore durable peace and security in their respective areas.

8. The recent Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan has contributed considerably to the lessening of tension and the promotion of peace and stability not only in the subcontinent but also in Asia as a whole. The Governments of the two countries have agreed to put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have marred their relations and to work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of

durable peace in the subcontinent so that both of them may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples. The Burmese delegation very much welcomes this positive development.

9. In Korea, a significant break-through has been achieved after years of misunderstanding and mistrust, hostility and conflict. North and South Korea have agreed that the reunification of their country shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without being subjected to external imposition or interference, that it shall be achieved through peaceful means and not through the use of force against each other, and that a great national unity shall be sought above all, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies and systems. Appropriate measures are now being taken by the two sides to achieve this national objective.

10. I cannot help also mentioning that elsewhere in Asia significant movements are under way to secure the recognition of and respect for the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and the South-East Asian region as a whole as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from any form or manner of intervention by outside Powers. We believe that the prospects for the success of these movements would greatly improve if the major Powers would cease using the region as an arena of influence and abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence—notably the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region.

11. All in all, these developments of historical and political import hold forth greater promise for the future than the last 26 years of crisis and hostility. They represent great decisions in terms of overcoming one's self and in terms of the exercise of a high degree of moral responsibility and statesmanship by the leaders of our contemporary world.

12. All countries have a clear interest in the evolution of a world which allows for peaceful and stable coexistence. The past year has seen the basic principles of peaceful coexistence gaining more and more ground among the major Powers. In this connexion it is of particular significance that the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, in their joint communiqué issued at Shanghai on 27 February 1972, and the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in their statement of basic principles on their mutual relations issued at Moscow on 29 May 1972,¹ pledged themselves to abide by the basic principles of peaceful coexistence, thus expanding the area of acceptance of those principles in international relations. As a country that has upheld those principles and applied them in pursuing a policy of active friendship with all nations, Burma naturally welcomes their application to the fullest extent in international relations. For humanity to prosper without fear or suspicion, we must engender in the world community a sense of faith and confidence in inter-State relations. The prerequisite for this is the willingness and determination of all nations to live together as good neighbours, irrespective of each other's political, economic and social systems, and to observe the

principles of peaceful coexistence—namely, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

13. In spite of the tangible results of the international détente now unfolding before us, we do not overlook the fact that in Indo-China and in the Middle East the situation is one of sharp contrast, and it is a sad commentary on our times that it should remain unsolved for years on end.

14. The continued rivalry and intervention of outside Powers in the States of Indo-China still threaten the peace and security of the South-East Asian region. This intervention has resulted only in untold suffering, the loss of countless lives and massive material destruction. As a nation belonging to the same region and having experienced the senseless rigours of war on its soil during the Second World War, Burma is deeply concerned with the tragic plight of all the peoples of Indo-China. In particular, the situation in Viet-Nam continues to weigh heavily on the conscience of nations. The tragedy is that for 30 years the people of Viet-Nam have been subjected continuously to violence and untold misery. We cannot but be struck by the scale and intensity of the hostilities that continue and the devastating proportions of the modern weaponry employed. The delegation of Burma believes that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the States of Indo-China, a firm commitment by outside Powers not to intervene in any manner whatever, under any circumstances, in the internal affairs of those States, and direct negotiations between the indigenous parties concerned to achieve national reconciliation—all these conditions are necessary to enable the peoples of those States to work out peaceful solutions to their problems by themselves.

15. As far as the Middle East situation is concerned, Burma views the stalemate as capable of sowing seeds of discord and generating unrest among the peoples of the region. This could erupt into violence and threaten the stability of their own countries, as well as the peace and security of the world. In a year in which so many sharp modifications have occurred in other areas of tension, it would be to the general relief of the international community if the opponents in the Middle East were to rethink their positions and respond to the trends of world détente. The problems of the Middle East are highly emotional and complex and can be solved only by peaceful means and not by means of armed force. To our mind, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) continues to provide a sound basis for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem.

16. Although there have been significant changes in the nature of the international system in the course of this year, three major features of the world that developed in the post-war period are destined to dominate the life of the international community for a considerable time. These are the issues of the prevention of nuclear war, the bridging of the economic gap between the developed and the developing nations, and the racial conflict over colour. All three issues, which plague humanity, are matters of man's struggle for survival free from fear of the nuclear bomb and on the basis of equality and justice.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972*, document S/10674.

17. The Burmese delegation has always been of the view that the ultimate goal of the entire human race in the field of disarmament must be the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Indeed, we believe there is no alternative to that.

18. But, as we all know, general and complete disarmament raises a multiplicity of complex and delicate issues which strike at the very heart of the security and sovereignty of nations. It presupposes the existence of an effective system of universal collective security, without military alliances, such as that envisaged in the Charter as well as a further maturing of the spirit and ideals of internationalism. Therefore the achievement of general and complete disarmament would necessarily take time. In the circumstances, the Burmese delegation feels that the immediate efforts of the international community could more gainfully be directed towards achieving agreements on what are commonly referred to as collateral or partial measures of disarmament designed to contain and reduce the dimensions of the armaments problem and thereby to bring the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament that much nearer. In this context the Burmese delegation is of the view that arms control and disarmament measures related to weapons of mass destruction should be given first priority.

19. The ominous implications of nuclear weapons will continue to impinge upon our lives; and the foremost problem, the prevention of nuclear war, can be solved only through the pursuit of measures of arms control and disarmament specifically in the nuclear field. The life of man today is corroded by his fear of the nuclear weapon, which if let loose would mean his annihilation. A world dominated by nuclear-armed super-Powers is not a pleasant prospect and each small step those Powers take towards control of their nuclear weapons should be welcomed in the context of progress in the disarmament talks.

20. The first tentative opening towards limitation of their strategic arms has been made by the United States and the Soviet Union. The Moscow agreements of 26 May 1972 of those two foremost nuclear Powers on, respectively, the limitation of and a moratorium on their defensive and offensive strategic weapons provide prospects for the inauguration of further nuclear arms control and disarmament measures. In order to underpin the viability of the Moscow agreements on strategic arms limitation, the conclusion of an underground test-ban treaty has clearly assumed greater urgency, since such a measure can help arrest the further qualitative development of nuclear weapons. Burma would urge that the first productive outcome of the Moscow agreements should lie in the direction of a ban on underground nuclear tests to complement the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty² and thus finally to achieve a comprehensive test ban.

21. Another matter which needs to be tackled with the utmost urgency is the elimination of chemical weapons from the arsenals of all States. In the view of the Burmese delegation the aim of the negotiations in this regard should

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

clearly be the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and the total destruction of existing stockpiles, and the working out of the adequate and effective verification procedures that would make such a comprehensive prohibition possible. We therefore favour a comprehensive approach to the problem, since a partial approach cannot lead to a comprehensive solution.

22. As regards the task of bridging the economic gap between the developed and the developing nations—the situation of the “haves” and the “have-nots”—all that can be said at present is that there is as yet no evidence of a break-through. Despite all the efforts at the national and international levels, the phenomenon of a widening disparity continues to exist. When the United Nations was conceived in 1945 it was not envisaged that the conscious aim set forth in the Preamble to the Charter “to promote social progress and better standards of life in greater freedom” would have special relevance to the developing nations. Few then gave so much as a thought to the possibility that the problem of the developing nations would assume primacy in the economic and social work of the United Nations. But two thirds of the world’s population belong to the developing world and their physical needs have to be met and their hunger for human dignity satisfied.

23. We are all aware that the trends have not been in favour of the developing countries. The decline in their share of world exports, their rising burden of debt and their slow rate of growth are amply documented in United Nations reports, which bear testimony to the sad state of international co-operation in this field. The outcome of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*] held at Santiago, Chile, also provides us with an important case in point. *UNCTAD* has been useful in providing a forum for the discussion of a wide range of economic problems of interest to the developing countries. It has no doubt helped to define the issues more clearly and, as a consequence, has contributed to a better understanding and appreciation of the problems of the developing countries. However, despite this greater understanding, a more concerted international effort to overcome the difficulties was not in evidence at the Santiago session. It is common knowledge that no significant progress was made on substantive issues and that the achievements fell far short of the aspirations of the Group of 77 developing countries as contained in the Lima Declaration.³

24. The past year has also witnessed further upheavals on the international monetary scene. It is not necessary to emphasize here that a new and equitable international monetary arrangement to meet the needs of world trade and development is an urgent necessity at this time. We hope that such a system will soon be implemented with the full participation of all interested parties.

³ Declaration and Principles of the Action Programme adopted at Lima on 7 November 1971. See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex F.

25. It would be an illusion to believe that the developing nations could catch up with the developed within a few decades. What is imperative, however, is a continuing narrowing of the gap, instead of a widening of it. Obviously, no nation can be developed solely from external resources; in the final analysis the prime mover in development will always have to be a country's own effort and its will to rely on its own resources. But, the world being interdependent, the problems of the developed and the developing are in a state of permanent interaction, and progress in development can be achieved only on the basis of collaboration between the two.

26. Another challenge of our times is the problem of racial conflict over colour. Vestiges of the most virulent forms of colonialism and its concomitant evils, racism and racial discrimination, are still a live phenomenon which permeates the relation of man to man in certain parts of southern Africa. It is hardly necessary to stress that the subjection of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes not only a violation of the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples but also a denial of fundamental human rights. The persistence of repressive measures to deprive peoples of still dependent Territories in southern Africa of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence is of growing concern. The situation there is one of conflict, with international ramifications. So long as the Governments concerned continue to react against the tide of world opinion, and so long as certain important Powers tend to indulge in covert evasion of United Nations sanctions, the tension in Africa is bound to increase both in range and in intensity and to impede the attainment of the United Nations ideal of peace and security.

27. The current world-wide movement of political and social changes will inevitably have their impact on the United Nations. The challenge the Organization is faced with may be greater than in the past and every effort will have to be made to strengthen and develop the United Nations in consonance with the changed conditions and needs of the world. The work of the United Nations must, therefore, be conceived and devised against that background. Significantly, the rigid power structures of the past are giving way to a diversity among nations and new power centres have emerged, allowing for greater freedom and flexibility among nations. Simply stated, this means that the time is not far off when the Charter of the United Nations will be due for revision and for adjustment to these broad forces. In dealing with the rising concerns of the population explosion, environmental pollution and ecological imbalance, the Organization's area of work and activities will continue to grow in volume and complexity and inevitably entail increased expenditures. If we are to succeed in them, it will be necessary for the United Nations to take appropriate steps and measures for a more rational division and co-ordination of work among its network of agencies and organizations, in order that the available financial resources of the Organization may be kept within reasonable and controllable frontiers. The Burmese delegation shares the general concern at the mounting expenditure of the United Nations, particularly its administrative costs. We are therefore highly gratified that the Secretary-General has personally taken this matter in hand. We should like to commend him for the determined and decisive manner in which he has been enforcing

economy measures in the Organization, which have already yielded considerable results, and to assure him of our support and co-operation in his further efforts in the same direction.

28. In conclusion, the Burmese delegation feels that the international community is now entering upon a new era of negotiation and accommodation, leaving behind an era of confrontation and conflict. The methods of diplomacy will in our view again become of vital importance to nations which seek to pursue their interests successfully and peacefully. There can be no doubt that, in solving international problems of a political, economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, multilateral diplomacy becomes a necessity. The United Nations, as the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of that objective, is the best forum for the conduct of multilateral diplomacy. The Burmese delegation hopes that the major Powers will abandon their tendency to by-pass the United Nations in seeking solutions to international problems of vital importance and will make full use of the United Nations and its organs for this purpose. To the extent that the States Members of the United Nations actively participate in working out solutions to international problems, they are bound to have a greater sense of involvement and responsibility, thereby lending greater impetus and effectiveness to the work of the United Nations.

29. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first of all address to you, on behalf of the delegation of Romania, our most cordial congratulations on your election to the lofty post of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. To see the Chair occupied by a representative of socialist Poland, with which Romania maintains brotherly relations and co-operates fully in every field, is for us a matter of particular satisfaction. I wish you complete success in the discharge of the lofty mission which has been entrusted to you and I wish to assure you of the complete co-operation of the delegation of Romania.

30. At the same time, I should like to express the appreciation of the delegation of Romania to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia.

31. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to tell the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, of our great respect for him, and of the esteem we have for him because of his activities in the service of strengthening the Organization and increasing its role in international life.

32. I should also like to pay a tribute to U Thant for his untiring efforts and his devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

33. The participation of the Socialist Republic of Romania in international activities is based on a scientific analysis of the major changes taking place on the world stage and of the shifts occurring within the social and political forces which shape the development of the world today.

34. Indeed, an objective analysis of inter-State relations reveals an increase in the strength and the prestige of the socialist countries, the ever-growing affirmation of the States engaged on the road of independent development and of other peace-loving countries, and the rising influence of peoples and public opinion on international events. At the same time, we cannot neglect the significant changes taking place in the relative share of various countries in international life as a result of the technological and scientific revolution. The participation of small and medium-sized countries is being intensified. Those countries are highly interested in an effective participation in debating and solving the major world problems for the benefit of all peoples. All these changes convincingly show that the old imperialist policy of force and *diktat* is consistently losing ground and that there are ever better prospects for bringing about a new policy and new relations between States so as to avoid a conflagration and to establish a lasting peace. To lay a new and democratic basis for relations between States implies the recognition and integral application at all times by all States—in respect of each and every one—of the fundamental principles of international law, that is to say, complete equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual benefits, non-recourse to force or to the threat of force and the right of peoples freely to decide their own destiny.

35. The entire foreign policy of Romania consistently reflects those principles. Our country places at the centre of its policy the intensification of friendly relations and all types of co-operation with socialist countries. It is constantly widening its co-operative relations with countries that have embarked on the road of independent development and it is broadening its relations on many levels with all States in the world.

36. In the conditions of our contemporary world, all nations have the right to participate and have an equal interest in the solution of the major problems which confront mankind. This makes it imperative that possibilities be created so that all States, irrespective of their strength, size, potential or social system, may directly participate in choosing the ways and means of doing so and in implementing measures capable of ensuring the general progress of mankind in an atmosphere of peace and understanding. Harmonizing efforts towards the achievement of these common goals requires the establishment of broad co-operation among States and the continuous improvement of forms and methods of co-operation and of their efficiency.

37. In this respect, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have a particularly important role to play, as bodies called upon to stimulate co-operation, to work out standards to govern relations between States and to ensure their implementation.

38. It is undeniable that for some time we have witnessed a process of increasing the role of the United Nations in international life. That is an eminently positive development which should be welcomed by all of us. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to note that, at the same time—and many events bear witness to this—there is a growing demand on the part of Member States that the United Nations role be

further strengthened. Sometimes disappointments as well as justified apprehensions are felt in connexion with a certain erosion of the prestige of our Organization. It is a matter of public notoriety that many resolutions that have been adopted in this forum have not gone beyond a declaration of intent and have not led to effective measures that have a determining influence on the course of international life. Obviously, this is a very disturbing situation, since, given the responsibilities that we have towards peoples, we cannot afford to meet every year to discuss fundamental problems while the results of those discussions are minor and often lack in finality and effectiveness.

39. From this high rostrum the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania addresses to all States and Governments of the world a pressing appeal to contribute their best to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations and to raise its role in building a world of peace and coexistence based on understanding, friendship and international co-operation free from the spectre of animosity and suspicion.

40. As stated by the President of the State Council, Nicolae Ceausescu:

“Romania has always felt that the United Nations is called upon to act in such a manner as to favour multilateral co-operation among all nations of our planet, to promote in international life relations based on full equality of rights, which would exclude the use or the threat of force in relations among States. In our opinion, in present circumstances the United Nations can exercise a more important role in this regard.”

41. It is precisely these imperatives of our time and the responsibility that is incumbent upon us as Members of an Organization in which peoples have placed so much hope that prompted the Government of Romania to request inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of an item entitled, “Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States”. We wish to express our satisfaction at the fact that, thanks to your support this proposal has become an item on the agenda of the plenary Assembly [item 24].

42. Our initiative proceeds from the widely recognized need for the United Nations to act more firmly for the achievement of the goals inscribed in the Charter and for the observance and universal implementation of the fundamental principles of international law, and to see to it that all States refrain in their relations from the use or threat of force, from any pressure or constraint. The initiative also proceeds from the need to encourage the settlement of existing or potential disputes between States exclusively by peaceful means.

43. It is absolutely imperative that, in the fulfilment of its essential task to maintain and strengthen peace, the United Nations should contribute effectively to preventing and eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflict, to securing the conditions required for the free and independent development of all Member States, and to preventing the violation on any pretext of the sovereignty of any of them.

44. Any infringement of the independence and sovereignty of a State must be regarded as incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and as entailing appropriate consequences and measures. The Organization is also bound to contribute in a more substantial way to the achievement of disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the reduction of existing gaps, and give greater support to the efforts of the developing countries with a view to ensuring their economic and social progress.

45. In the last decades there have been deep transformations in the configuration of our contemporary world. The effectiveness of United Nations action depends to the largest extent on the Organization's ability adequately to express the realities of our time. Consequently, the forms of activity and the very structure of the Organization should reflect these new realities. It is in this context that the need is felt to ensure the widest possible participation of States, by virtue of the principle of universality, in the elaboration and implementation of decisions relating to problems of general interest, in all the activities of the Organization, and in securing a more judicious representation of all States in United Nations bodies. This approach, we are convinced, is fully in accord with the spirit and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

46. The delegation of Romania is convinced that consideration in plenary meetings of the item proposed by our country will provide an opportunity for a full debate on the most effective ways and means to strengthen the role of the United Nations in promoting international peace, security and co-operation. With that purpose in mind, the Romanian delegation is willing to work together with other delegations so that by joint efforts we may reach specific conclusions and suggest concrete measures apt to promote the achievement of the above-mentioned goals.

47. The Government of Romania, as is well known, attaches particular importance to the problem of strengthening international security. As we see it, consideration of this item at the present session should give new impetus to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] in all its provisions and, at the same time, should lead to the consideration and adoption of new measures capable of securing the elaboration of a common code of behaviour to guide the members of the international community.

48. Bearing in mind the specific mutations and phenomena of our time and the most pressing requirements of international life that make indispensable the strengthening of international legality, Romania believes that it is an imperative necessity to reach an agreement of a universal nature to consecrate the higher commandments of conduct and actions in inter-State relations, as well as the fundamental rights and duties of States. In our opinion, such a code should firmly proclaim the need to respect the sacred right of each nation to free existence, to sovereignty and independence, to peace and security; should reaffirm the obligation of all States to respect the right of each nation freely to decide its own destiny according to its interests and without any outside interference; should recognize the right of all States to self-defence by all means, including military means, against any attempt to violate their

sovereignty and national independence; should recognize and establish the principle that no problem of interest to different States can be settled without the direct participation of and respect for the interests of all parties concerned; and should proclaim that any violation of the principles which should govern international relations and any interference in the affairs of other States would be regarded as acts contrary to peace and as offences against the cause of international co-operation. All countries must solemnly reaffirm their obligation not to resort to the use or threat of force against another State. The Powers possessing nuclear weapons should undertake a commitment not to use or threaten to use those weapons against any State or in any circumstances.

49. At this session we are pleased to note an evolution towards détente that is asserting itself in an ever more manifest manner throughout the world. We are witnessing a process of a vast increase, on all continents, of international contacts, meetings and negotiations, in which States that for a long time had no dialogue whatsoever are also participating. Thus we come to the conclusion that mankind is more and more aware of the fact that the only way to settle disputes is to negotiate with a view to reaching political solutions to all problems, no matter how difficult they might be.

50. Despite this positive development, it would be dangerous to be misled by the illusion that the problems facing mankind today have been or are on the way to being finally settled. We cannot afford to ignore or underestimate the gravity and the degree of harmfulness of certain military conflicts and hotbeds of tension that still persist in the world.

51. The Romanian Government resolutely demands that the flames of war in Indo-China be extinguished, that United States intervention against the heroic Viet-Nameese people cease, that the bombings and other military actions stop and that United States troops be totally withdrawn, so as to enable this people, as well as the Cambodian and Laotian peoples, freely to solve their problems without any outside interference.

52. We support the declaration of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam of 11 September 1972, a document also widely supported by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which represents a new, constructive initiative aimed at the political settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem within the framework of the Paris talks. We likewise support the initiatives of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and those of the Patriotic Front of Laos.

53. While expressing its deep concern regarding the persistence of the state of tension in the Middle East, Romania favours a political solution of that conflict on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), requiring the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and assuring the integrity and sovereignty of every State in the area. At the same time, we consider we must act so as to find a solution to the problem of the Palestinian population in accordance with its legitimate interests and ensure appropriate conditions for its independent development.

54. The Romanian Government reasserts its position that no State has the right to raise territorial claims over other States under the pretext that this corresponds to its own needs of security and sovereignty. The security and sovereignty of a State cannot be ensured by territorial conquests but solely through a policy of friendship and peace with all neighbouring States.

55. Romania highly appreciates the political initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which makes it possible to reach agreements that open up the road to normalization of relations between North and South Korea, to their peaceful and democratic reunification without any outside interference and to a unitary development of the Korean nation. Our Organization must also reach appropriate conclusions and act in support of this process.

56. In keeping with the fundamental interests of all peoples, Romania attaches particular attention to the achievement of general disarmament and in the first place of nuclear disarmament.

57. In view of the seriousness of this problem we are bound to state that, unfortunately, the negotiations that have been going on in Geneva for years have not produced results on a level with expectations. Without underestimating the significance of certain agreements on partial or collateral problems, we consider that too little has been achieved as far as the implementation of real measures of disarmament is concerned.

58. The Romanian Government is of the opinion that we must resolutely strive towards effective actions with a view to stopping the arms race, freezing and gradually reducing military budgets, establishing a concrete programme to ban the use of thermonuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, halting the production, and liquidating the stockpiles, of such arms, adopting effective measures to dismantle foreign military bases and to secure the withdrawal of troops from the territories of other States. Furthermore, we must take these practical steps leading to a gradual reduction of national armed forces and the abolition of military blocs.

59. Romania has constantly urged the convening of a world disarmament conference and is resolutely working for this. We conceive of such a conference as a high governmental forum with general competence in the field of disarmament for debates and negotiations on the basis of universal participation. The Romanian Government considers that it would be appropriate for the General Assembly at its present session to adopt a decision on the convening of the conference under the auspices of the United Nations and that preliminary organizational provisions should be adopted so as to pave the way for practical preparations and for convening the conference at the earliest possible time.

60. In addition, the Romanian Government believes that the entire activity of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be improved and expanded, made democratic and submitted to effective control on the part of world public opinion.

61. The evolution of political life in Europe has brought to light in the last few years the possibility of establishing new relations among the States of that continent and of achieving European security. As a European country, Romania has made its contribution to the improvement of the political climate on the continent, and has supported the positive steps taken towards recognition and respect for the realities in Europe and towards complete normalization and multilateral development of inter-European relations.

62. These positive trends should be continued and extended by establishing normal relations, in accordance with international law, with the two German States, as well as between the two German States themselves, and by admitting the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as Members with equal rights to the United Nations and other international bodies.

63. It is the view of the Romanian Government that European security requires the setting up of a system of clear obligations on the part of all States, and the adoption of concrete measures aimed at ruling out any act of the use or threat of force, pressure or constraint in relations among States in Europe. Such a system should guarantee the free and independent development of all countries, in accordance with the will of their peoples, as well as wide co-operation devoid of any barriers, on the basis of the principles of international law.

64. It is with those aims in mind that adequate preparations should be made for a conference on co-operation and security in Europe, to be convened as early as possible. That conference must be a democratic forum for all interested States to discuss and must adopt measures aimed at setting up new relations on the European continent, establishing appropriate conditions to overcome the present division into opposing military blocs, and creating a climate of understanding, good neighbourliness and co-operation in every field of political, economic and social life.

65. It is in that context that efforts have been made towards closer co-operation among the Balkan States. Romania, which since 1957 has submitted proposals to this end, considers that it would be useful to prepare a meeting of representatives of the Balkan countries to discuss the question of transforming the Balkans into a zone of peace, co-operation and good neighbourliness, and to reach agreement on the principles of economic, political, scientific and cultural co-operation among the Balkan countries.

66. The establishment of a European security system, as well as the conclusion of agreements on a subregional level, would open the way to the establishment of new relations on the continent. It is our belief that such relations would constitute a significant contribution to the general cause of strengthening peace and security in the world, and would have a considerable and particularly favourable effect on international life as a whole.

67. The Romanian people follows with feelings of deep solidarity the just struggle of the peoples of Africa and other continents for the preservation of their national entity and the abolition of the vestiges of colonial domination.

68. The resolute and consistent way in which Romania has always sided with peoples fighting for their liberation or concentrating their efforts on achieving political and economic independence enjoyed significant recognition in the warm and enthusiastic welcome given to the President of the State Council of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, on the occasion of the visit he paid this year to eight African States. That welcome eloquently demonstrated the feelings of friendship, esteem and solidarity binding the Romanian people and the peoples of the great African continent. That visit enabled the Romanian messengers to see for themselves the magnitude of the energy resources and creative capacity of those peoples, and the influx of fresh and constructive forces they can bring to the community of nations.
69. Romania grants active political, diplomatic and material support to the national liberation movements of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and other Territories, and to the anti-colonialist struggle of peoples to conquer and consolidate their independence as States. We consider that new actions should resolutely be taken in order fully to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. To that end, international recognition of the national liberation movements and the drawing up of concrete programmes by the United Nations and its specialized agencies so as to give those movements material support would be of particular significance. It is also necessary for the United Nations to condemn in no uncertain terms the repression by the colonial Powers of the national liberation movements and to draw up practical measures for the prompt cessation of colonial domination and the proclamation of the independence of oppressed peoples.
70. We resolutely condemn the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the racist minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. We are in favour of the adoption of effective measures aimed at eliminating all forms of propagation of racism, prohibiting the instigation of hatred and discord among peoples, and banning propaganda against peace and humanity.
71. Under-development represents one of the most important and grave problems of contemporary society, one on whose solution the peace, progress and prosperity of the entire world depend.
72. The problem of eliminating the wide gap between the industrialized and the developing countries has at present acquired a world-wide dimension. For many long years we have been witnessing the tragic situation of a world where under-development continues to worsen while vast material resources are wasted for military ends.
73. The international community, the United Nations and its specialized agencies are called upon to undertake action and to carry out programmes to support more energetically the efforts of developing countries in order to ensure maximum development of their natural and human resources.
74. The multiplication of international economic relations and the development of exchanges of material and spiritual values among all States of the world in a spirit of equity and irrespective of their level of development or their social-political systems respond to an objective necessity of the contemporary age and constitute a fundamental prerequisite for universal progress.
75. Bearing in mind these realities, Romania, in view of the fact that it is itself a developing socialist country, consistently declares itself in favour of the intensification of international co-operation, which can accelerate the economic and social progress of all countries and, in the first place, of the countries which strive to liquidate the heavy heritage of the past. My country gives its support to all constructive actions undertaken within the framework of the United Nations and to the recommendations of UNCTAD.
76. My country, on whose initiative the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples was adopted in 1965 [resolution 2037 (XX)], continues to believe that a major concern of the international community should be an in-depth consideration of the complex problems of the young generations and the establishment of the necessary structures in order that youth may take an effective part in the economic and social development of peoples and have the possibility to express its opinions on all the essential questions of contemporary life.
77. These are the guiding principles and the fundamental options of socialist Romania in foreign affairs. It is in this spirit that Romania will ceaselessly work in order that the United Nations may make an increasingly active and effective contribution to the common endeavours of peoples to build a world where all nations, free and equal in rights, will be able to fulfil their legitimate aspirations to peace, well-being and progress.
78. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic):⁴ Mr. President, in the name of the Syrian Arab delegation and on my own behalf, I am happy to extend to you our warmest felicitations on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. The unanimous support for your election to this high office reflects the great respect and appreciation which the world community has for your people, your country and your eminent self.
79. We would also express profound appreciation for the constructive efforts which your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, exerted with ideal objectivity and which produced significant contributions to the positive achievements of the world Organization.
80. We congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his election to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations and wish him full success in discharging the onerous duties of his office with impartiality and effectiveness.
81. While we welcome the new Secretary-General, it behoves us to express well-deserved appreciation for the work of his predecessor, U Thant, who directed the affairs

⁴ Mr. Khaddam spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

of the United Nations through most critical and stormy phases. We shall remember with respect and appreciation the work and the personality of that worthy son of Asia.

82. Every year we stop for a while to review and assess the work of the world community. If we assess the achievements of last year objectively and realistically we find that international relations have made little progress in promoting the freedom, security and welfare of the large majority of the peoples of the world. For, despite important developments aimed at reducing points of international confrontation, the majority of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America feel that their integrity continues to be endangered, their freedom constrained and their dignity infringed upon and that they are still exposed to the worst forms of exploitation.

83. These peoples welcome the elimination of points of tension that involved dangers to the very existence of the human race. They are also gratified at the wider acceptance of the concept of peaceful coexistence. But it is also their ardent desire that the beneficial results of the new developments should extend to the peoples of the world, regardless of their size and power.

84. In this respect the Syrian Arab Republic considers the proposed conference on European security a commendable step towards establishing security in a region which, like our country, borders on the Mediterranean. The Syrian Arab Republic has therefore expressed full support for the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971 and the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany on 12 August 1970, on the one hand, and between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany on 7 December 1970, on the other.

85. While welcoming the proposal for the holding of a European security conference, we would point out the inseparable connexion existing between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean basin. The geographical situation of many European countries and the interaction between the interests of European countries and those of countries bordering on the Mediterranean make any arrangement for European security that neglects the security of the Mediterranean countries quite futile. And there can be neither peace nor security in the Mediterranean region unless an end is put to the continued Israeli aggression by ensuring the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and by restoring to the Arab people of Palestine their usurped rights.

86. Another significant development is the proposal calling for the convening of a world disarmament conference. As a developing non-aligned State, we fully support all international efforts aimed at complete and comprehensive disarmament that would free the world from its fear of a nuclear war by destroying existing nuclear stockpiles, prohibiting further production of nuclear weapons and establishing effective international control to see to it that these goals are fully implemented.

87. We are not unaware of the hopeful vistas that have been gained through these welcome developments, but we cannot overlook the oppressive conditions from which peoples of the third world continue to suffer. The Israeli

aggression is continuing. With the passing of time, its dangers and the miseries it brings are ever on the increase. The peoples of Indo-China continue to suffer from the imperialistic United States aggression, while extensive parts of Africa continue to be subjected to direct colonialism and to the abominable practices of racial discrimination, involving, as they do, acts of plunder, exploitation and complete disregard for human rights.

88. Despite the efforts exerted by the developing countries, the gap between developing and developed nations in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields is constantly becoming wider. This is an inevitable result of the increasing inequality between the two groups of nations and of the pressure exerted from the outside on the peoples of the third world, which aspire to taking determined steps along the path of progress and equality and to making an effective contribution to the noble aim of ensuring a decent life to all human beings without distinction as to race, colour or creed.

89. An analysis of the prevailing international conditions would demonstrate that the system of international relations set up after the destruction of Nazi despotism has not proved a success, notwithstanding the terrible sufferings of the Second World War and the lessons humanity should have learned from them regarding the need to uphold the objectives and principles we have all agreed to respect in order to ensure a better life for all peoples. True, the balance of nuclear terror has so far protected us from total and sure destruction. But, in spite of its effectiveness in preventing a total war, it has produced little effect with regard to barring of the use or threat of force in international relations. Moreover, it has had no effect whatsoever on the inequality prevailing between the developed and the developing countries. Many peoples therefore continue to suffer from enslavement, exploitation, occupation and persecution—a fact which reveals the extent to which we have failed to achieve the lofty aims of the Charter. In view of this regrettable and dangerous situation the Syrian Arab Republic continues to consider it a sacred duty to share in the pursuance of the struggle against the oppressive conditions that threaten world peace and violate the principles of the United Nations Charter.

90. Indeed, the Syrian Arab Republic is struggling alongside those peoples fighting to ensure for humanity a future free from aggression, domination, oppression, fear, hunger and ignorance. Our country's determined opposition to new and old colonialism has entailed for us a great deal of suffering and sacrifice. As all members know, Syria has been and continues to be the victim of aggression, occupation and all kinds of threats and pressure. But we shall not budge from our position of unshakable determination to liberate our land and to fight imperialism and colonialism. We shall continue to maintain this position until the cause we defend is vindicated through the struggle of the peoples of the world to achieve for humanity freedom and a peace based on justice and equity.

91. In consonance with the principles we uphold, we have firmly supported and shall continue to support the peoples of Indo-China, victims of United States imperialist aggression. We have supported the heroic struggle of the people of Viet-Nam to preserve their national unity and territorial

integrity and to defend their right to determine their future freely and without foreign interference. We reiterate our belief that the seven-point plan put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam presents a constructive attitude to the solution of the Viet-Nameese question.

92. We condemn the escalation of United States aggression against the people of Viet-Nam—the bombing of non-military targets, the deliberate destruction of economic establishments, dams and irrigation projects, and the wanton killing of civilians—children, women and old men. The entire international community and the civilized world ask: Do not these acts constitute most hideous war crimes, directed against the whole of humanity?

93. The Syrian Arab Republic also condemns United States military interference in Cambodia and Laos. We believe that the Cambodian Government of National Union is the only legal representative of the people of Cambodia. We support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, held in 1970, and believe that peace in Indo-China can be achieved only through the withdrawal of foreign troops and the exercise by the peoples of Indo-China of their right to self-determination without outside hindrance or interference.

94. The Syrian Arab Republic supports the new initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning the peaceful unification of Korea. We call for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the closing down of the United Nations Command in Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea's territory.

95. In perpetrating their crimes against the peoples of Africa, the colonialists and imperialists have resorted to all the methods of old and new colonialism, including settler colonialism and the imposition of a terrible form of racial discrimination in support of foreign minority régimes which have been exploiting and plundering extensive areas of the African continent.

96. The Syrian Arab Republic declares its full and complete solidarity with the African peoples struggling to end colonial domination. We also support the decisions taken at the ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]⁵ aimed at putting an end to colonialism in Africa in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

97. The Syrian Arab people strongly condemn the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa. We also condemn the insistence of that Government on occupying and administering Namibia. We express full support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the despotic and oppressive rule of an exploiting racist minority. We strongly support all liberation movements in Africa, and particularly those of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10741.

98. The Arab people, which has been plagued by Zionist aggression based on settler colonialism and racial discrimination and by expansionist attacks in the Arabian Gulf, regards the peoples of Africa, who are victims of imperialism and colonialism, as comrade strugglers against a common enemy that follows the same methods and uses the same weapons to uproot the native inhabitants, replace them by racist immigrants, impose on them political and economic domination, and usurp and exploit the natural resources of their lands. The Arab people of Syria is determined to continue the common struggle alongside the peoples of Africa until final victory is achieved and the last bastion of imperialism in Africa is completely destroyed.

99. The Syrian Arab Republic—an early member of the non-aligned movement—believes that the principles first formulated at the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung 17 years ago⁶ have affirmed, despite imperialist plots, the will of the peoples of the third world to achieve liberation and build up a future for humanity in which peace and security prevail.

100. We regard the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 11 August 1972, as a step forward in the struggle of the non-aligned States to ensure a victory for liberation movements throughout the world over all forms of imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination. The resolutions of the Conference supporting the struggle of the Arab people against Israeli aggression and occupation, condemning the crimes of kidnapping and international piracy committed by the Israelis against Syria and Lebanon, expressing support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to regain their national right to their lands and homeland and their right to self-determination, and supporting the struggle of the peoples of Indo-China and the liberation movements in Africa and all parts of the world, have confirmed the force and independence of the non-aligned movement and its ability to withstand all forms of imperialist pressure. We are determined to continue the struggle to ensure the triumph of the principles of non-alignment, regardless of the sacrifices involved.

101. In this connexion, I wish to second and support the very sound suggestion put forward by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico [2050th meeting], rightly claiming a permanent presence of countries of the third world in the Security Council.

102. We have always advocated universality of representation in the United Nations and all its agencies. During the past year all of us have noticed the positive changes in the work of the world Organization resulting from China's regaining its seat in the United Nations. China has supported the peoples of the third world and is in the first rank of the States committed to the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism. It has worked sincerely and hard to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

103. We support the admission of all peace-loving States which respect the Charter to membership in the world Organization and believe that the admission of the German

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 533rd meeting, para. 146.

Democratic Republic to membership in the United Nations would strengthen the Organization and help to promote world peace.

104. The political independence of any country remains shaky unless it is accompanied by freedom from economic dependence. To achieve this freedom the developing countries should follow an economic policy conducive to raising the national income and consequently the standard of living of their citizens. The gap between developed and developing countries is widening, as demonstrated by the third session of UNCTAD, held this year at Santiago, Chile.

105. We agree that developing countries should follow the path of self-reliance, initiate development projects and make efforts to increase the volume of trade exchange among themselves. On the other hand, developed countries should respond not only to the dictates of solidarity and historic responsibilities but to their real interests as well, and the interests of world peace and humanity in general, by taking the steps needed to create the political will to adjust international economic relations in a manner which will ensure justice and equality, put an end to cases of flagrant injustice and gradually reduce the tremendous gap separating the standards of living of the developed and the developing countries.

106. Realizing the great importance to the future of humanity of the topics of discussion at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm last June, the Syrian Arab Republic participated in the Conference and in the efforts that contributed to its positive results. It is to be hoped that the present session of the General Assembly will give the subject of the human environment the attention it fully deserves.

107. The Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab people of Palestine and three Arab countries which are Members of the United Nations is becoming more fierce and more flagrant, as well as more fraught with grave danger to the peace and security of the Middle East region and of the world.

108. The five years that have passed since the Israeli aggression of 5 June 1967 have revealed to United Nations Members and to all the peoples of the world the real nature of the aggression with which we are confronted.

109. The Middle East question, which is in fact an extension of the Palestine question, represents the gravest challenge to the United Nations and a most serious threat to world peace and security. The fate of the world Organization as a means of deterring the aggressor and eliminating aggression depends on its ability to ensure due respect for its resolutions and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

110. Although recent years have witnessed a greater realization by United Nations Members of the danger to the international community as a whole resulting from Israel's expansionist policy and repeated acts of aggression, the gulf separating the wishes of the United Nations as manifested in United Nations resolutions on the one hand, and the ensuring of the requisite respect for and actual implementation of those resolutions on the other, has become

wider than ever, with the result that small nations no longer consider the world Organization capable of furnishing an adequate guarantee of their independence and security and the integrity of their national territory.

111. This challenge to the authority of the United Nations and the contemptuous flouting of United Nations resolutions relating to matters of peace and security not only constitute a threat to the authority of the world Organization but also provide encouragement to covetous expansion and aggression in all parts of the world, as long as the aggressor may be permitted to enjoy the fruits of aggression without fear of either punishment or deterrence.

112. Far from abiding by United Nations resolutions that condemn the use of force and the acquisition of territory through the use of force, Israel boasts arrogantly of retaining the fruits of its aggression of 1967, as it retained the fruits of its aggression of 1948.

113. Last June, five years after the perpetration of the 1967 aggression, Israel announced the number, type and names of the Israeli settlements established in the occupied Arab territories and produced maps showing the location of those settlements. Seventeen settlements have been established in the Syrian Golan heights, as Israel itself has admitted, 17 on the west bank of the Jordan and 16 in the Gaza sector and the Sinai and 'Araba district. Israel, of course, did not announce the names and number of the Arab villages which have been bulldozed to make way for the establishment of those settlements; and no information has been given concerning the lands from which the Arab inhabitants have been evicted so that those lands can be given to immigrants coming from the four corners of the earth, after having been misled and deceived by the Zionist propaganda machine.

114. Israel is interested not in implementing United Nations resolutions but rather in implementing resolutions of the World Zionist Congress, of which every clause involves a violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and resolutions adopted by the various United Nations organs relating to the Palestine question.

115. The resolutions of the twenty-eighth World Zionist Congress, which was held in occupied Jerusalem early this year, were more covetous and aggressive than those of former Congresses. They approved Israeli aggression and expansion, sanctioned denial of the human and national existence of the Arabs, mobilized Zionist resources for the colonization of Arab lands, and, with a spirit of racial and religious fanaticism, called on all Jews, wherever they happen to be and regardless of their political affiliations and of the régimes under which they happen to live, to emigrate to Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, and thereby participate in the crime of expelling the native inhabitants and obliterating the Arab heritage and civilization—all this in order to help fulfil the mad dream of a "Greater Israel" extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

116. At a time when Israel refuses to repatriate the Arab refugees and displaced persons to the lands from which they were expelled and which lie so close to their place of exile, the World Zionist Congress expressed deep gratifica-

tion at the accelerated rate of immigrants pouring into Israel from all parts of the world, called for a continued effort to stimulate the emigration of Jews from all countries and régimes, and declared that the right of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel is beyond dispute.

117. This attitude, which derives from arrogance, selfishness and defiance, shows the true nature of zionism and its offshoot, Israel. Between 1949 and 1971 the United Nations General Assembly adopted 24 resolutions confirming the Palestinian refugees' right to repatriation. Also, since 1967 United Nations resolutions have been adopted confirming Security Council resolution 237 (1967), which was adopted unanimously on 14 June 1967, and calling on Israel to repatriate the refugees displaced since 5 June 1967. Notwithstanding all these United Nations resolutions clearly upholding Arab rights over Arab lands, the Zionist newcomers persist in claiming that their right to these lands is indisputable.

118. Such is the logic of brute force which has again exposed to this Assembly and to the whole world the nature of the Zionist-Israeli aggressors, against whom our people, who aspire to liberation and peace, are obliged to struggle.

119. Israel's record abounds in war crimes and crimes against humanity—crimes which were defined by the Nuremberg principle,⁷ that definition being later adopted by the United Nations [*resolution 95 (I)*]. It is, indeed, ironical that Israel has violated every principle and article of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949—a Convention originally drafted to prevent a repetition of the crime committed by Nazi brutality against the peoples of Europe, and particularly against Jews.

120. The destruction of Arab towns and villages, the changing of the Arab character of the occupied territories, the expulsion of their inhabitants, the imposition of collective punishments, the confiscation of Arab property, and the collective transfer of the Arab inhabitants to distant areas or to areas outside the occupied territories in order to have them replaced by new Jewish immigrants who are avowedly settler colonialists—all this constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of international law and of the most elementary human rights and principles. The entire matter has been summed up by Moshe Dayan, an acknowledged expert in violence and terrorism, in his comment that "no Jewish settlement has been built on land other than that on which an Arab village had stood". That was reported in *Ha'Aretz* on 19 March 1969. Confronted with these Israeli crimes, the Commission on Human Rights declared at its last session that Israeli acts in the occupied territories constitute war crimes and a challenge to humanity.⁸

121. Israel has raised much clamour in the world concerning the alleged inhuman treatment of Syrian Jews by Syria. Israel seems to believe that the world is deaf, dumb and blind, and therefore cannot see or hear of the racial

discrimination to which the Arabs in Palestine and other occupied territories are subjected and which is also being practised against coloured and Oriental Jews. But Syria, with a good conscience, has always welcomed representatives of the world press, who have reported on the perfect equality which all Syrians enjoy, without any form of discrimination.

122. As a result of United States support—reaching the point of abdication by the United States of its own personality—the Israelis have assumed a degree of arrogance that makes them maintain an attitude of complete indifference to the world-wide condemnation of Nazi-like methods and mentality, to which the Jews fell victim in the past and which are now applied by Israel, not only against the Arabs, but also against certain categories of Jews who are treated as second-class citizens.

123. The entire world has heard of the desecration by Israel of churches and mosques in occupied Palestine. The attempt to burn down the Al Aqsa Mosque in 1969 was not the work of a mentally deranged person, as claimed by Israel. The attempt was repeated this year, but a strict black-out has been imposed by the Israeli authorities on reports relating to it. The whole world has heard, also, of the attempts to desecrate religious places and to plunder antiquities in the occupied Arab territories. Most recently, the conscience of humanity was shocked at the action of the Israeli authorities when the inhabitants of the Arab villages of Iqrit and Kefar Bar'am were prevented by force of arms from returning to their lands and villages, 24 years after they had been expelled from them by the Israelis.

124. The whole world, moreover, has heard of the destruction, demolishing and bulldozing of Arab villages in the Jerusalem and Hebron districts under one pretext or another. Israel's policy of terrorizing the peaceful Arab inhabitants, which began with the massacres of Deir Yasin and Qibya—1948 and 1953—has been continued because the Israelis find it effective and are, furthermore, indifferent to its repercussions on world public opinion, as they believe they can deal with such repercussions through their deceitful propaganda machine and through resort to the blackmailing trick of accusing any State which fails to be deceived or misled by this machine of the heinous crime of anti-Semitism. Thus the anti-Semitic slander has been turned by Israel and zionism into a blackmailing device with which to stifle all criticism of their policies and objectives and to victimize any individual, State or institution that does not acquiesce in their plans and manoeuvres.

125. To justify their 1967 war of aggression, Israel's leaders used to pretend that the war was launched by them because the Arabs were threatening the very existence of Israel. A few weeks ago, however, Israeli generals declared that neither in 1967 nor at any earlier time was the existence of Israel in danger and that the pretence of the existence of such a danger had been resorted to in order to provide a pretext for a prearranged and carefully planned war of aggression against the Arab countries. To such limits have Israel's addiction to force and violence and its contempt for world public opinion reached.

126. The Syrian Arab Republic wishes to draw the attention of the General Assembly to Israel's refusal to

⁷ *Ibid.*, Second Session, Supplement No. 12 (A/1316), part III.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-second Session, Supplement No. 7, resolution 3 (XXVIII)*.

respond to provisions of Security Council resolutions 316 (1972) and 317 (1972), calling on Israel to release the Syrian and Lebanese military personnel kidnapped inside Lebanese territory. This kidnapping crime by Israel not only is an act of piracy, but also constitutes a violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 which bar the holding of hostages. Israel is clearly holding the kidnapped Syrian officers as hostages, as is evident from the Israeli proposal that they be exchanged for Israeli prisoners of war captured while taking part in military operations against the Arab countries.

127. Israel's failure to abide by provisions of those Security Council resolutions violates the United Nations Charter. The General Assembly should therefore take measures leading to the unconditional release of the Syrian and Lebanese officers and military personnel.

128. The worsening situation in the Middle East and the threat to world peace and security involved therein are entirely Israel's responsibility. For Israel persists in carrying out expansionist plans and in depriving the Arab people of Palestine of their national rights. The United States, which has used its material, military, political, scientific and technical potential to protect the Israeli aggressor against the Arab countries, shares in the responsibility.

129. The veto resorted to by the United States Government, for the second time in its history at the United Nations, against a Security Council draft resolution aimed at stopping Israeli aggression against Syria and Lebanon⁹ furnishes proof of United States backing for aggression. It also indicates that this great Power has abandoned its commitments under the United Nations Charter. The United States veto, which rendered the Security Council helpless against aggression, encouraged the aggressors to continue their challenge to the will of the world community and to launch a more extensive invasion of Lebanese territory on 16 and 17 September last. Following this, Israel further escalated that aggression by another against the Syrian Arab Republic.

130. In fact, the Middle East conflict is basically one between world zionism, which invaded Palestine with imperialist and colonialist help, on the one hand, and the Arab people of Palestine, who were the victims of this invasion and who, having been driven out of their homeland, have been forced for over 25 years to lead a life of dispersion and deprivation, on the other hand. The United Nations General Assembly recognized this fact in resolutions adopted after the June 1967 Israeli aggression. In particular, these resolutions recognized that "the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" [*resolution 2535 B (XXIV)*]. They also affirmed that "the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination" [*resolution 2672 C (XXV)*], and they expressed "grave concern that the people of Palestine have not been permitted to enjoy their inalienable rights and to exercise their right to self-determination", and declared that "full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of

Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" [*resolution 2792 D (XXVI)*].

131. The Middle East conflict acquired new dimensions following the Israeli aggression against three Arab countries in 1967—an aggression that represented a new phase in the Zionist-Israeli expansionist plans and constituted a grave threat to world peace and security.

132. I affirm here that the attitude of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Palestine question and to the Zionist-imperialist aggression against our lands is firm and based on principles as well as on the provisions of the United Nations Charter, rules of international law, and the dictates of justice and equity. I also affirm that there are two prerequisites for the establishment of peace in the Middle East: first, recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to their land and homeland and to the free exercise of the right of self-determination and, secondly, the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories.

133. Peace in which the aggressor is rewarded is not real peace. It is submission to the will of the aggressor and a yielding to conditions dictated through force. Contemporary European history has shown that peace which is not based on law and justice is a "respite between two wars". Rewarding the aggressor in order to secure peace is an invitation to war. We therefore strongly reject what are termed "partial solutions". These are deceptive efforts that confirm and perpetuate the consequences of aggression through a false hope of achieving a formal peace.

134. Israel and the imperialists who give Israeli aggression full support and backing are deluded if they believe that a policy of imposing faits accomplis by dint of force can result in stability and permanent peace, which will result not from force and aggression, but from freedom and justice.

135. Certain well-known manoeuvres and pressures have, in a particular set of circumstances, succeeded in getting included in the agenda of this session an item concerning measures to prevent terrorism [*item 92*]. It has been obvious from the start that the sources of these manoeuvres and pressures wanted to provoke a debate in order to achieve certain political ends. The result was that opinion inclined to the necessity of investigating the causes behind the acts of violence. We welcome this outcome, and express the hope that the discussion will elicit conclusions consonant with the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter—first and foremost among them the right of peoples to liberty, self-determination and the preservation of human dignity.

136. The Syrian Arab Republic has always taken a stand against terrorism, whether by individuals or groups or States. Syria has not failed to record the principles it stands for in this connexion in documents of the United Nations and has never ceased to strive for these principles and for the establishment of an international society ordered by law and governed by justice, under a standard of peace.

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, 1662nd meeting.*

137. The question confronting us is: What is terrorism and who are the terrorists? To answer this question, we must go back to the Articles of the world Organization's Charter and there obtain guidance, for the most extreme forms of terror against which the world is protesting have been occasioned by the repudiation of this Charter and the principles of international law by certain international forces.

138. The United Nations Charter condemns colonialism and aggression, the use of force and the threat of force. Along with this we find that the imperialist forces and the States to which they pertain practise colonialism and aggression and intimidation and that their language is the language of bombing, slaughter, and genocide.

139. The world Organization's Charter confirms to all peoples the right of self-determination. Yet this principle is scorned by the forces of aggression, which pursue a course of domination and oppression to the point of divesting entire peoples of their lands and homeland.

140. The United Nations Charter postulates equality of all peoples, regardless of colour, race or religion. Yet forces hostile to humanity and to the principles of justice and equality practise racial discrimination, elevating it to the rank of a policy and a philosophy.

141. What, then, is real terrorism? Who are the real terrorists? Is the struggle of a people for freedom and sovereignty real terrorism? Or does terrorism really lie in acts of aggression and occupation? Are the actual terrorists those who are struggling to regain a freedom denied them and a homeland from which they have been driven? Or are they those who denied those peoples their freedom and expelled them from their homeland?

142. Until recently many of the heads of delegations and the representatives now gathered in this Assembly were being described by imperialists as "terrorists". The voices which define and exploit the term "terrorism" today are the same voices which but lately labelled the freedom leaders in Africa, Asia and Latin America "terrorists".

143. As we move back in history, we ask ourselves: Were not Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin and George Washington in their time the leaders and commanders of terrorism in the view of the ruling colonial Power? Were not the heroes resisting Nazi and Fascist occupation in Europe "terrorists" in the eyes of the Nazi and Fascist leaders?

144. It is a highly strange and dubious occasion on which we see the representative of Israel stand before this General Assembly to discuss terrorism and measures to prevent it. How very incongruous that the representative of those institutions of murder and terrorism, the Hagana, the Stern gang, and Irgun Z'vai Leumi—another name for Israel—should speak of terrorism. Who was it who murdered Count Bernadotte? Who perpetrated the massacres at Deir Yasin, at Qibya, Qalqiliya, and Tulkarm? Who were the ones who blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, burying innocent old people, women and children? Who was it who organized and executed the campaign of parcels containing explosives sent by post to Egypt, causing the death of scores of people? Who were the heroes of the Lavon

scandal? And who was Lavon, the main protagonist of this episode?

145. Was not Lavon the Israeli Minister of Defence at that time, the Israeli Government's deputy in the crime, arranged by that Government, of slaughtering innocent people? The Lavon affair took place in 1954 in Egypt. It occasioned the death of many innocent, good people, the burning of the American library and the bombing of the American and British embassies in order to sabotage Egypt's relations with the United Kingdom and the United States. The Israeli newspapers at the time described this crime as savage and barbarous, before Lavon's agents, Dayan and Peretz, were unmasked.

146. What do the Israeli leaders want, then, from this feverish campaign which has led them to say that the goal of peace now occupies second place in their concern? Do they not desire to prejudice public opinion against the Palestinian Arab entity and to gain the approval, even the participation, of a number of States in their conspiracy to put down the Palestinian resistance, preliminary to initiating effective operations against that entity? What they want, furthermore, is to divert the attention of world opinion from Israeli activity in occupied Palestine and other occupied Arab lands each day, every hour, minute by minute, actions of savagery and brutality, affronts to humanity, the extreme of terrorism.

147. We would alert and warn against this manoeuvre all those who abide by truth and the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is not aimed at the Palestinian liberation movement alone; it also threatens every national liberation movement in the world.

148. We are opposed to acts of violence which do not fall within the context of a legitimate struggle for liberating conquered territory, restoring the dignity and liberty of peoples, or protecting basic human rights. We do not believe patriotism is served by violence which destroys innocent souls. Yet we shall not be a party to exploiting an emotional act of desperation in order to block patriotic activity for liberation and suffocate in its cradle the legitimate struggle of peoples. We are firmly opposed to the massive terrorism for which States Members of this United Nations are responsible, as they practise oppression against peoples who are struggling for their freedom, sovereignty, national dignity, and the recovery of their lands.

149. The experience of the peoples of the world in the struggle for liberty and human dignity has taught them that injustice imposed on an oppressed people constitutes a serious threat to the dignity and security of all peoples.

150. Aggression and occupation—maintained through killing, destruction, and religious and racial discrimination—cannot suppress the aspirations of our peoples to freedom and liberation. Rather, they would strengthen their faith in man and in the dignity of man and their belief that a people's struggle—even when confronted with destruction, occupation, and the concepts of racial and religious discrimination which the imperialists uphold—will ultimately prevail. Those who are proud and intoxicated with their power to kill and destroy and with their success in

aggression and occupation should remember that nazism, whose slogans and methods they imitate, has been crushed and destroyed, and that the Nazi leaders, at one time the gods of war and annihilation, ended up as criminals of war and the enemies of man.

151. Those who persist in aggression, in flouting international laws and conventions and in violating human rights would do well to remember that history proves that right will ultimately be vindicated and that the will of peoples is invincible.

152. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): General debates have traditionally been occasions for stock-taking, for reflecting upon the state of the world and of the United Nations, and for giving voice at this universal forum to the needs and aspirations of mankind. As we approach the end of this particular general debate, we find the balance sheet a sobering blend of hope and concern.

153. The two super-Powers have taken an important step to control the nuclear armaments race by agreeing to quantitative limits on strategic nuclear weapons. Yet their competition for qualitative supremacy in nuclear weaponry continues, precluding substantial reductions in their armament budgets. And while expectations of progress towards disarmament are prominently projected, there is a significant silence on the use of the immense savings that would accrue from disarmament.

154. The great hope of the poor countries, repeatedly expressed in this Assembly over the years, that a substantial part of savings from disarmament should be committed to development aid thus remains a remote, if not indeed an illusory, hope. The link which the developing countries have sought to establish between the two major undertakings of the United Nations in the 1970s—the Disarmament Decade and the Second Development Decade—remains tenuous at best.

155. The welcome détente in Europe has undoubtedly reduced international tensions on that continent, one which has the dubious distinction of having produced two world wars and still has the potential to ignite a third one in this century. Yet nuclear proliferation continues in Europe, and one of Europe's leading countries has persisted in conducting nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific Ocean in disregard of the United Nations ban on nuclear testing in the atmosphere and under water and in defiance of world public opinion and the indignant protests of the countries in the area, which rightly argue that, if such nuclear tests are as harmless as they are claimed to be, there is no reason not to conduct them in the Atlantic Ocean, or for that matter, off the famous Riviera, where they might serve as an additional tourist attraction.

156. Next door, in the Middle East, not only has peace remained out of reach but the jockeying among the great Powers for positions of advantage and influence in the continuing crisis has not abated. Nor have the sales and supplies of arms to the combatant countries been stopped. This is a factor worth pondering in connexion with the proposal, laudable in its avowed purpose, for the non-use of force in international disputes. Does this proposal simply mean that the great Powers should refrain from attacking

one another directly? Should it not, rather, be carried a step further and taken to mean that the great Powers should not abet the use of force by lesser Powers through the convenient device of selling or supplying arms to them? In other words, is it not about time that the great Powers, unable to attack one another directly without mortal danger to themselves, ceased to practise wars by proxy, by using the third world as a cockpit for their persisting ambitions for regional or global hegemony?

157. We have noted the developing détente in Europe, but what of other regions—peace being all the more indivisible now in our ever more tightly interdependent world?

158. Latin America is in the throes of a social revolution which is unfolding within the framework of its deeply ingrained sense of solidarity, its cherished traditions of justice and responsible order and its strong desire to make its full contribution to international peace and well-being.

159. Africa continues its uncompromising struggle against *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination, hand in hand with its struggle, no less uncompromising, against the remaining strongholds of colonialism. These are struggles to which the Philippines, with its own experience of nearly four centuries of colonialism and of exploitation by foreign Powers, cannot remain indifferent; indeed we have time and again manifested our solidarity with our African friends on these fundamental issues, which touch the very heart of the United Nations Charter.

160. What of our own region of Asia? In Asia, too, signs of détente have been detected. An auspicious beginning has been made towards a peace settlement between India and Pakistan. Bangladesh has been recognized as an independent nation by many countries, although, regrettably, it has not yet been admitted into the United Nations. South Korea and North Korea are embarked on a fateful dialogue that could conceivably lead to the agreed and peaceful reunification ardently desired by the Korean people. China and Japan have reached agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations, a step of far-reaching significance. But the tragic war in Indo-China continues, with no just end as yet clearly in sight. Great Power moves to fill expected vacuums of power in the Asian region persist. There is no assurance that Asia can soon achieve the conditions of peace and stability which it so sorely needs and which found poignant expression last year in the Declaration issued at Kuala Lumpur by the Foreign Ministers of the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand—that their countries were “determined to exert initially necessary efforts to secure the recognition of and respect for South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers”.¹⁰

161. In the last several years the Philippines has increasingly emphasized its participation in regional groups organized in accordance with the Charter, most notably in the sphere of economic, social and cultural co-operation. There have been significant shifts in orientation in the two most important regional groupings of which we are a

¹⁰ See document A/C.1/1019 (mimeographed).

member. In the Asian and Pacific Council there is fresh emphasis on economic development, brought about by new developments in Asia, principally by the developing détente and the consequent realignment of forces in the area. In ASEAN, more decisive initiatives are being undertaken to promote closer regional collaboration. Early this year ASEAN took a giant step forward in its co-operative endeavours. It approved a plan for the liberalization of trade on a selective basis and another plan for industrial complementation on a similar selective basis.

162. Heretofore ASEAN had been a collection of separate co-operative endeavours. Although these areas of co-operation were—and are—important in themselves and have proved a great practical benefit to the region in such diverse fields as the development of tourism, the utilization of available technology and cultural exchanges, the economic agreement recently concluded is bound to be regarded as the hub of ASEAN activities. It is perhaps sanguine to speak of a common market in connexion with South-East Asia at this point in time, but the complementation plan drafted with the help of the United Nations may correctly be viewed as the fore-runner of an important scheme for regional economic integration. If it succeeds, it will doubtless become a landmark in Asian economic co-operation and it will have its particular contribution to make to the world economic situation.

163. The five member countries rely on ASEAN and will do so in the future to a degree which none of them had anticipated. Unless the international economic situation improves markedly for the developing countries, the members of ASEAN will feel increasingly that the maximum opportunities for co-operation with the rest of the world could best be achieved through regional rather than individual national efforts. Looking towards this possibility, ASEAN has begun exploratory conversations with the European Economic Community with the objective of improving the deteriorating market for its export commodities.

164. Thus, ASEAN is proof that the habit of co-operation can be fruitfully developed, even among countries with diverse traditional backgrounds. Less than six years after its founding, ASEAN is beginning to develop a personality of its own and to exert a modest force in Asian affairs. A few years ago the Foreign Ministers of the ASEAN countries agreed to try to help in mediating the Cambodian conflict. This year the same Foreign Ministers, in a move expressive of their deep concern over the war in Viet-Nam, proposed a formula which the parties to the conflict could consider as a means of breaking the impasse in current negotiations. We shall do so again, taking into account the objections voiced by the parties principally concerned, in the belief that the Asian voice is not irrelevant in a war being fought on Asian soil which causes a grievous toll in Asian lives.

165. The modest achievements of ASEAN are a source of pride to its member countries, which regard them as reassuring auguries of more important future accomplishments; ASEAN's progress could be enhanced and accelerated in the hoped-for climate of peace and stability for Asia to which I have referred.

166. Modest innovations recently undertaken by the United Nations have, in the view of my Government, been worth while. We are referring specifically to the reinstatement of periodic meetings of the Security Council and to the meetings of the Council held in Africa. Occasional such meetings in various parts of the globe can help to highlight and bring new efforts to bear on the problems of the region. In this connexion, the Philippine Government suggests that the Security Council should give consideration to a meeting in the near future in Asia. Asia is in a state of flux and change, and yet at the very time when there is so much new promise in Asian affairs the region remains beset by enormous problems. The effort to come to grips with both the difficulties and the new opportunities could be raised to a new level, where new perspectives could be brought to bear, in our view, by a meeting of the Security Council in Asia.

Mr. Coradin (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

167. Peace and non-interference by outside Powers—these are two of the things beyond price which the developing countries of Asia need today: peace, because in the absence of the danger of aggression we can devote more of our resources to the pressing task of development to fulfil our peoples' just desire for a better life; non-interference by outside Powers, because externally inspired and supported subversion is still one of the most serious problems confronting the developing countries in Asia.

168. In the Philippines this particular problem reached a state of extreme gravity last month and impelled President Marcos to invoke the authority vested in him by the Philippine Constitution to proclaim martial law. The President's immediate purpose was to safeguard the Republic of the Philippines from violent overthrow by subversive groups operating with external support. But he has also seized the opportunity to set in train urgently needed measures to eliminate the inequities in Philippine society by means of a thorough reform and restructuring of social, political and economic institutions that had not been sufficiently responsive to the urgent need for social justice. Significantly, one of the very first decisions was to declare the entire Philippines a land-reform area.

169. The seriousness of the Philippine situation was aggravated by the occurrence last July of the worst flood disaster in Philippine history. Over an area in which the average rainfall was 100 inches, 75 inches of rain fell in one single week, and the rainfall lasted for three weeks, flooding almost the entire vast fertile central plain of Luzon, which is known as the "rice bowl" or "rice granary" of the Philippines. Highly productive rice farms, sugar land, fish ponds, houses, infrastructures and industrial complexes—even the metes and bounds of private property—were obliterated or damaged to an extent which may set back our development efforts for three to five years. The flood victims numbered more than 2 million persons out of the disaster area's total population of 7 million; but statistical figures alone cannot really measure the immensity of the human cost of the calamity.

170. It was in the wake of the widespread material devastation and human suffering caused by that unprecedented flood disaster that the subversive groups in the

Philippines intensified their attempts to sow panic and undermine the conditions of law and order indispensable to effective reconstruction work, leaving President Marcos no alternative but to declare martial law.

171. At this point, I should like to place on record the profound gratitude of the Government and people of the Philippines for the assistance given to the flood disaster victims which we received from all quarters—and not only from Governments with which we have diplomatic relations, but also from countries with which we have not as yet established such relations, such as the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, both of which gave us generous and welcome assistance.

172. The International Red Cross and its affiliates, true to an old and honored tradition, responded immediately with emergency aid. So did the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] with its ready supplies, its action-oriented approach, and its wealth of experience in coping with emergency situations. The World Food Programme, the Economic and Social Council, the World Health Organization and the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] also rose admirably to the occasion, and the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, Ambassador Farouk Berkol, faced with his first major challenge, acquitted himself in commendable fashion and vindicated the wisdom of the Assembly in establishing his Office last year. The Secretariat staff and many individual contributors, in a spontaneous gesture of sympathy, collected a substantial contribution, which the Secretary-General himself transmitted to the Philippine National Red Cross through the Philippine Mission to the United Nations.

173. I have referred in some detail to the various United Nations agencies that extended assistance to the Philippines in its hour of need, because it illustrates the great constructive potential of the United Nations in assisting countries to cope with natural disasters. The Philippine delegation hopes to enhance this potential with a new proposal, following up the initiative it took at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the role of the World Meteorological Organization [WMO] in "discovering ways and means to mitigate the harmful effects of... storms and remove or minimize their destructive potentials". Our new proposal will take the form of a draft resolution entitled "International action on the mitigation of the harmful effects of storms". Its principal aim will be to bring about integrated action through increased co-operation and co-ordination among the WMO, the UNDP and the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator in the field of United Nations natural disaster assistance, particularly the prevention, prediction and control of natural disasters.

174. We hope that this Philippine proposal will attract a good number of other sponsors and that it will merit the unanimous approval of this Assembly.

175. Terrorism is on our agenda [item 92], and rightly so. Criminal acts of individuals or groups of individuals against the innocent can never be condoned by the international society, and every possible resource must be mobilized to end and prevent them. Thus, it will be remembered, the

Philippine delegation last year exerted itself particularly in the effort to develop effective means to end the hijacking of aircraft, and the Republic of the Philippines is at present taking extraordinary measures to meet similar threats at home. To the extent that acts of terrorism are irrational and aberrant reactions to unresolved international differences, they should in no way be excused, and must be condemned. But we must at the same time accept the responsibility of renewing our efforts to solve these disputes. We cannot claim to be blameless until we have exerted ourselves to the utmost to solve these disputes.

176. The United Nations, of course, has an immense potential for constructive work in every field of international activity, and it is one of the most lamentable facts of our time that this potential has never been fully used. The great Powers have never given to the United Nations the full measure of faith and support which it needs and deserves in order to attain the great goals of the Charter. During this general debate this Assembly hall has resounded again and again with commendatory references to vital prospects of détente, historic summit meetings, bold initiatives to inaugurate an era of negotiation in lieu of confrontation, and actual agreements on nuclear weapons control. And all of these, sad to admit, have come to pass outside the United Nations auspices. When it should be playing a central role in the efforts to achieve one of the primary aims of the Charter, the United Nations has been shunted off to the periphery of major developments in the field of international security.

177. A great opportunity was missed in the first year of the United Nations, when the great Powers failed to unite in support of the Charter's aims "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained". They indulged, instead, in the dangerous and sterile cold war.

178. What a vastly different world we would now have if the great Powers had channelled even a modest portion of the immense resources which they expended on the cold war to the United Nations in order to achieve the Charter's aim "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", thereby giving substance to the other primary aim of the Charter: "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

179. Is it still possible for the United Nations to have a second chance to fulfil its function of effectively helping to achieve the goals of the Charter? The latest report of the President of the World Bank Group, Mr. Robert McNamara, suggests that it is almost too late. In his address to the recently concluded meeting of the World Bank Group he said—and members of this Assembly should listen carefully to his words:

"With the [Official Development Assistance] only half achieved, the poorer nations have almost no hope of attaining the 6 per cent growth target. That will condemn them to so slow an economic advance over the decade that hundreds of millions of individuals within these

countries will be able to detect virtually no improvement whatever in their desperately low standards of living. Their *per capita* incomes will rise by no more than two dollars a year.”¹¹

Those are the words of Mr. McNamara. I quote him again:

“Projected to the end of the century—only a generation away—that means the people of the developed countries will be enjoying *per capita* incomes, in 1972 prices, of over \$8,000 a year, while these masses of the poor . . . will on average receive less than \$200 *per capita*, and some 800 million will receive less than \$100.”¹²

In other words, the infamous poverty gap is widening at an accelerated rate and the poor, developing countries are in fact on the verge of living in a global ghetto, with all the ominous implications of such a situation, one of which the President of the World Bank spells out in these fateful words:

“If the rich nations do not act—through both aid and trade—to diminish the widening imbalance between their own collective wealth and the aggregate poverty of the poor nations, development simply cannot succeed within any acceptable time frame. The community of nations will only become more dangerously fragmented into the privileged and the deprived, the self-satisfied and the frustrated, the complacent and the bitter. It will not be an international atmosphere conducive to tranquility.”¹³

And Mr. McNamara emphasizes: “The developed nations, then, must do more to promote at least minimal equity in the distribution of wealth among nations.”¹⁴

180. In this context the decline in international co-operation for development has ominous implications not only for the prosperity but also for the prospects of a stable and enduring peace in the world. The decrease, actual and proposed, in the budgetary support of some countries for the United Nations and its family of agencies is discouraging enough. But even more disheartening is the prospect that voluntary contributions of some affluent countries to such vital United Nations agencies as UNICEF and the UNDP may either stagnate or also be reduced.

181. As one of the “founding fathers” of the United Nations, I sincerely hope that these apprehensions will prove to be groundless. All the great new issues developing in the United Nations underline the undeniable oneness of the human family, the inseparable unity of mankind’s destiny on this fragile, finite and vulnerable planet earth.

182. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June, which achieved great success despite the formidable difficulties it had to overcome, brought home the sobering fact that we have only one earth and that we must act as one community to safeguard and nourish its life-support systems.

¹¹ Robert S. McNamara, *Address to the Board of Governors* (Washington, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1972), p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

183. The declaration by the Secretary-General on 20 September 1972 that 1974 will be observed as World Population Year is a cogent reminder that the earth’s resources are limited and that population planning is indispensable to the preservation of the human species and the enhancement of the quality of life in the world. The Philippine delegation is gratified at the outstanding success of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities in effectively conveying this message and is prepared to give its full support to the World Population Year’s programme.

184. The preparatory meetings for the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea pointedly remind us that sea and ocean resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction are part of the common heritage of mankind.

185. The imperatives of preserving human life and enhancing its quality in a relatively small, crowded earth with finite resources are pushing us inexorably to consider seriously the necessity of subordinating narrow nationalistic self-interest to the larger requirements of mankind. The United Nations is an indispensable instrument in this inherently difficult, perhaps slow, and certainly painful, transition.

186. The United Nations is here; it is ready and eager to serve; and it is at our disposal. Let us give it a second chance to play the central role in international affairs that the Charter intended for it. As we have repeatedly proposed, let us amend the Charter, if possible, in order to make the United Nations more effective and more responsive to the needs and the problems of today. It is axiomatic that the General Assembly provides the opportunity only for the most general assessment. The kind of deliberate consideration required by a change in the Charter can only take place in a proper body constituted for that purpose. The Government of the Philippines is ready to join in recommending that a proper forum be established by the Assembly for a careful consideration of those specific suggestions which have been made or will be made in more detail by Member Governments and qualified experts. A small but broadly representative body would sift in orderly fashion the various suggestions put forward and develop a picture of the range of agreement which exists. Those suggestions commanding broad support would be acted upon in due time by the two major deliberative organs of the United Nations.

187. Support for a considered examination of the world Organization’s Charter and an evaluation of its effectiveness in meeting the new challenges of today has come from widely diverse quarters—from Member States large and small. There is a wide-spread commitment to examine with care whatever specific proposals may be advanced. This is true, for instance, of the reply of the United States [A/8746/Add.1], a major founding Member, and also true of the vigorous statement made here in this Assembly by the People’s Republic of China [2051st meeting], which is the newest major Member of our Organization to assume its seat.

188. In the meantime, let us make full use of the United Nations as it is and give it our complete support. Now is a propitious time to begin. We have an energetic, perceptive, resourceful President of the General Assembly, who has

already shown himself to be worthy of the example set by his most distinguished predecessors, the latest being the eminent Indonesian statesman, Foreign Minister Adam Malik.

189. And as the successor of our highly esteemed former Secretary-General U Thant, whose sterling worth is indicated by his success in holding “the most impossible job in the world” for over 10 years, we are most fortunate in having Mr. Kurt Waldheim, a man of outstanding vision, integrity and moral courage. Mr. Waldheim is that rare combination of a man of wisdom and a man of action—a Secretary-General who is not afraid to take initiatives, to offer his good offices, to practise quiet diplomacy or to speak out clearly and frankly when in his judgement his duties under the Charter require him to do so. He has our full confidence and support.

190. To sum up our general debate, each year as we gather here to review the problems and the prospects in international affairs, we cannot help being struck by how radically our world has changed in one year’s time. What was seen as tentative and problematical in one year has become the immediate reality of the next. A year ago we were preparing for the conference on the environment in Stockholm. Today, following the enormous success of that conference, we have a new and deeper appreciation of the

individuality of the earth’s biosphere—that thin envelope that alone supports life, not just human life but all life. We have acquired in one short year a more profound understanding of our fundamental interdependence.

191. In the political realm, in the relations between nations, we have witnessed a no less astounding and vital leap forward toward accommodation—an accommodation which, again, has the same roots, conscious or not, in a growing awareness of the essentiality of the interdependence of man if we are to have a viable future at all.

192. Each of these vital issues seems to illustrate once again how we are moving into an era of collective responsibility for the globe and its peoples. While maintaining the rich cultural heritage and unique individuality of nations and races, we must by conscious effort surmount the narrow parochialism of unilateral national action whenever it impinges on the well-being of the world as a whole. It is in this light that my Government chooses to view each action taken by our world Organization, holding the firm conviction that with each step will come the insight that will guide us yet further in the harmonization of human affairs.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.