



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Brandt (Federal Republic of Germany) . . .	1
Speech by Mr. Andersen (Denmark)	5
Speech by Sir Alec Douglas-Home (United Kingdom) . . .	8
Speech by Mr. van der Stoep (Netherlands)	11

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour for me to welcome His Excellency Mr. Willy Brandt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, to the United Nations and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. BRANDT (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, let me begin by congratulating you most warmly on your election to this internationally very important post.

[*The speaker continued in German.*¹]

3. I speak to you as a German and a European. To be more exact, my people live in two States, but they have not ceased to regard themselves as one nation. At the same time our part of Europe is as yet not much more than an economic community, but before the end of this decade it will grow into a European union.

4. We—the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany—are no strangers here. We have long participated in the work of the specialized agencies. We maintain good relations with nearly all Member States. Here, at United Nations Headquarters in New York, we have been shown much understanding in past years.

5. I wish to take this opportunity to thank our friends who have spoken up for us in this forum when we were not in a position to speak for ourselves. We shall not forget on whom we were able to rely.

6. But I would add immediately that we have not come here to use the United Nations as a wailing-wall for the German problems or to make claims we know cannot be met here in any case. Rather have we come to assume our

share in the responsibility for world affairs on the basis of our convictions and within the framework of our possibilities.

7. The foundation of the United Nations and the most incisive break in German history were events which coincided in a dismal, though at the same time encouraging, manner. The recent history of my people is truly closely linked with the genesis of this world Organization.

8. Since 1945, my people and the two German States have put a considerable distance behind them. And yet our gratification over the fact that we have been given a friendly welcome here is mitigated by the division of Europe, which is glaringly manifest in Germany and which, almost three decades after the end of the war, still claims its victims.

9. Certainly, starting from that part of Europe which has been the source of so many tensions, we have initiated and developed a policy of understanding which was, and still is, to fill in the rifts left behind by the cold war.

10. We have, I feel, seen in the meantime that not only tensions but also détente can be contagious.

11. As the Federal Republic of Germany we shall—as our Foreign Minister emphasized here last week in internationally binding terms [*2119th meeting*]—seek to create a state of peace in Europe in which the German people also can regain their unity in free self-determination. I say this knowing very well—with all respect—that the United Nations cannot really help us in this matter.

12. The two German States, belonging as they do to different political groupings and facing the problems resulting therefrom, have learned that their inter-relationship is today of greater importance than what is known as the “national question”. This applies to Europe in general.

13. In spite of their different social and political systems, bound by treaty and conviction to different alliances, the two German States have resolved to embark on a policy of peaceful neighbourliness, coexistence and, we hope, co-operation. We shall therefore try to spell out peaceful coexistence German-style. But in view of the thoroughness which is said to be a German characteristic, I cannot promise that this will always be easy.

14. More importantly, the consistent renunciation of force as a means of achieving aims, of furthering one’s interests, and of settling differences, was the decisive factor needed to sow the seed of détente in the heart of Europe. The

¹ The English version of Mr. Brandt’s statement was supplied by the delegation.

Treaties of Moscow² and Warsaw,³ the Treaty on the basis of our relations with the German Democratic Republic,⁴ the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, and soon, I hope, the treaty with Czechoslovakia, which has already been negotiated, are based on the renunciation of force.

15. Berlin, in particular, displays constructive opportunities. It no longer needs to be a source of tension in the heart of Europe. West Berlin can bank on its interests being looked after by the Federal Republic of Germany and on its protection being ensured by the three Powers that, being the supreme authority, remain directly responsible for the city's security and status. If there is anyone to appreciate what this change means, it is most certainly the one who carried responsibility as Governing Mayor of Berlin during a critical phase of its history.

16. Renunciation of force was one element of our peace policy; acceptance of the realities the other. Accepting things as they are has been a bitter pill for some, but it was necessary for the sake of peace. For the renunciation of force and the right attitude to reality are the two basic elements of concrete efforts to safeguard peace.

17. This prepared the way for the next step. A new foundation is to be laid for security and co-operation in Europe.

18. The bilateral renunciation of force encourages us to enter a second, multilateral phase of European diplomacy, the purpose of which will be to produce a real change in the relationship between the European States on the basis of what has come about. It will do so through growing security from military threat, through intensive economic and technological exchanges, through human contacts, through better knowledge of each other—in other words, through a state of everyday peace.

19. It would indeed be a good thing if the work done in Helsinki and now being continued in Geneva could soon end with a conference convened at a level that is commensurate with the results achieved.

20. What I am talking about here will one day be understood as a significant experiment: how States can learn to master conflicts and eliminate the use of force.

21. And if we even succeed, by means of confidence-building measures, in reducing the tremendous wastage that has been the outcome of mistrust between antagonistic systems, we should then have set a historic example.

22. Security cannot ensue from trust alone. This, too, is a reality. The reverse is also true. Confidence ensues from security.

² Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

³ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

⁴ Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

23. A distinguished American spoke in this city of the—as he called it—impending “nuclear death-dance”. Well, the two super-Powers, which have in their hands by far the most powerful means of destruction, recently signed an agreement which some are still trying to fathom but which is quite certainly intended to obviate the death-dance. That agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union is oriented to the principle of renunciation of force and the recognition of realities. It is, as I understand it, a piece of active coexistence and surely also a response to the demands made by the non-nuclear-weapon States at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, held at Geneva in 1968. On that occasion, five years ago, the nuclear-weapon States were called upon to assume concrete obligations of their own. I still hold the view today that those who have power, particularly nuclear power, do not on that account have morality, or wisdom, on their side. Big dangers to mankind emanate from the big Powers, not from the small.

24. A code of responsibilities should be defined to which the nuclear Powers should subject themselves.

25. But if the two super-Powers do not guarantee peace, who could do so in their place? The responsibility of neither of the two I have mentioned can today be assumed by anyone else, and neither of them can relinquish that responsibility.

26. Thus our world today finds its balance. But it cannot achieve that delicate balance without the specific weight of the People's Republic of China, of Japan and of the European Community. In such a system the specific role of Latin America, of the African countries, of the Asian subcontinent and the other partners in Asia becomes effective.

27. Power, I feel, cannot be quantified at will. There is a limit to its expansion—a limit where power becomes transformed into impotence. But détente is not synonymous with disengagement, and it must by no means turn into disinterest if fresh tensions are not to be created.

28. At the end of the cold war there can, in my view, be neither conquerors nor conquered. Truly, peace, if it is to be secured, must not call for victory of the one and defeat of the other, but only for the one victory of reason and moderation.

29. Incidentally, the use or threat of force should be renounced by all States—regardless of whether they possess nuclear weapons or not. If we have the determination, and the luck, this can be achieved by means of an appropriate system of international agreements.

30. The only legitimate exception would remain the right to individual and collective self-defence as embodied in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

31. My Government is willing—and I wish to state this clearly—to help bring about an agreement which is being prepared in the Atlantic Alliance in order to make possible a balanced reduction of forces and weapons systems. This will not be possible overnight, but we must get down to the job seriously and consistently.

32. It is not only a question of giving Europe an opportunity. It is a question of giving the world an opportunity to create conditions which will permit us to turn our attention, and to devote our national energies, to the massive problems of tomorrow. If I may pose the question, If the world does not succeed in quelling force and violence and effectively proscribing it, how will it then be capable of resolving the problems of peace which—free and remote from force—will demand the employment of all our energies?

33. In a world in which we are all increasingly dependent on each other, a policy for peace must not stop on our own doorstep. Small steps can, as experience has shown, take us quite a long way.

34. To mediation and conciliation in disputes we attach special importance. The strengthening of international jurisdiction, the consolidation and further development of international law, require, in our opinion, the active attention of this Assembly.

35. Our world is going through a process of rapid change. Many of its explosive problems and conflicts spread like epidemics, owing to the increasing proximity of States and continents. Conflicts can, as shown by the terrorism of the present time which either does not want to use or is incapable of using political means, have unforeseeable consequences owing to the vulnerability of highly developed societies.

36. The catch phrase "preventive conflict research", the prerequisite to "preventive diplomacy" as it is called, is born of the realization that it is no longer sufficient to investigate the so-called classical motives of disputes—and here I mean motives such as territorial claims, ideological domination, nationalistic ambitions, the temptations of imperialist dominance, the flaws in security systems, disturbances of the balance of power.

37. I am not preaching an existence free from conflict and free from tension. That would be an anaemic illusion. What I have in mind is the fruitless and negative conflicts which confirm to us every day that man, afraid of man, is capable of destroying himself. This opens up new and deeper areas of responsibility for conflict research.

38. I wish to state with all due clarity that human distress is conflict. Where hunger prevails, there can be no peace in the long run. Where bitter poverty prevails, there can be no justice. Where a man's very existence is threatened for want of basic daily needs, it is not permissible to speak of security. There must not be resignation in the face of destitution.

39. "Non-violence" is a concept we owe to the man who awakened a great Member country in this Assembly; the force of that doctrine has not diminished. But the realities of today require it to be complemented by an opposite statement of fact, namely, that there is violence through tolerance, intimidation through indolence, threat through passiveness, manslaughter through immobility. We must not stop on this threshold, for it may be the threshold between survival and decline.

40. I did not make the personal acquaintance of that President of a Latin American country who lost his life through the recent coup. But I wish to emphasize most strongly that this type of solution is not the answer. Or, if you like, unfortunately it can be. But then one day it will be said that reform could only come from revolution because changes were not otherwise accepted.

41. We are becoming more and more conscious of the limits of the globe. We must not ruthlessly exhaust its resources lest we condemn ourselves to slow suicide. We must not allow the globe's biological cycles to be poisoned any further.

42. It is surely no coincidence that man today, having seen his planet from out of the depths of space, is becoming conscious of the material and biological dependence of the inhabitants of this so very small spaceship, Earth. Not only within individual countries but also on a world basis we shall—if we want to live in freedom and security—in future have to go without some things which, though economically profitable, are of questionable social value. And some of the things which appear to be economically unprofitable have become indispensable to the existence of a modern society.

43. I know that there is a tendency in some developing countries to regard the dearth of raw materials as a special kind of political opportunity, for it may here and there swing the pendulum in highly industrialized countries from surplus to shortage. But I say this: this is no ground for satisfaction. These are problems which concern us all, and not just those who come after us.

44. We must soberly appreciate that the resources of this world will suffice to give posterity an existence worthy of the modern concept of the quality of life only if we keep population growth within responsible limits and only if we achieve a larger measure of social justice in the world.

45. The depressing food situation in many parts of the world requires us to draft a world food plan so that, in any way possible, catastrophes can be prevented by means of an integrating strategy for the production of food and its distribution.

46. Let me emphasize that we must not only establish, and very quickly, what food is needed to keep large sections of mankind from hunger, but also whether States are prepared to accept the rules required to that end.

47. On the other hand, and at the same time, we must establish what raw materials we need in order to guarantee the quality of our civilization and to improve it where possible.

48. Let me say quite frankly that, morally, it makes no difference whether a man is killed in war or is condemned to starve to death by the indifference of others. I repeat: it makes no difference morally. We shall have to decide to break with the ritualistic traditions; who proscribes war also has to proscribe hunger.

49. The United Nations, built in response to the challenge of an almost total world war, is the mirror of an age-old

dream of mankind. That dream closely matches the hopes of eternal peace cherished by the nations.

50. But the Members having some 30 years of United Nations training here know at least as well as we newcomers that 1945 did not see the start of the millennium. Unfortunately, the United Nations has not—at least not yet—crystallized into the nucleus of a world government.

51. And yet mankind has brought into this Assembly of nations not only its goodwill but also many of its problems. There is not a single Member nation that left its history at home when it came here, indeed did not find its identity confirmed to some extent in this unwieldy design for a republic of nations.

52. I perceive here a convergence of the perspectives of all continents. To comprehend and to respect the diversity of life and its systems, to enable it to present itself freely, to set up standards to that end which are binding for all—this seems to me to be the mandate of the United Nations for civilization, also in future. That is our hope, at any rate.

53. It is this very diversity which gives us the right to speak of a world society. This diversity is bound up in the tension between equal sovereignty and mutual dependence in this one, troubled world.

54. Some of the criticism directed at the United Nations sounds bitter and cynical, is filled with an almost jubilant pessimism, as if it stemmed from a secret hope that the weaknesses of the Organization would refute the idea of it and its purpose. But setbacks in pursuit of an ideal do not necessarily prove that that ideal is wrong, but often merely that the road to it could be better.

55. In this respect many of the goals which the Organization has set itself have not been achieved—the goals set in the Second World War and in 1945. I want to say that in all frankness. But we also know that this Organization has been able to prevent a great deal of misery, misfortune and death.

56. Here in this institution arguments of reason and morality have time and again and untiringly been proclaimed, arguments which have prohibited this step into the abyss. The United Nations is not a clinic where our peoples can be cured of their neuroses by patient world doctors. Yet it can help to create more solidarity among nations.

57. That solidarity is the fundamental requirement of a world society, and it is the prerequisite to its survival. That is my deep conviction. I am not speaking of the Utopian realm of the equality of all nations and of all men. But anyone who has never dreamt this dream of equality knows little of the will for justice which, beyond all barriers of continents, race and religion, is perhaps the true binding power among us human beings.

58. There is solidarity, but not enough of it. I ask for more sympathy for the victims of armed conflicts that threaten to break out anew in this or that corner of the world. But neither should we forget the victims of non-war which sometimes can be just as brutal. On the road to world citizenship we must practice solidarity. We shall not

be able to speak of a humane world order until the principle of justice is universally understood.

59. Permit me to say on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany that we shall support United Nations resolutions aimed at liquidating the anachronistic remnants of colonialism. This applies not least to our neighbouring continent of Africa. Without any addition and without any reservation I declare that we condemn racism as inhuman and as the cause of the most terrible crimes. Our own history has been a bitter experience on that score.

60. Moreover, those who take their place in this Assembly must also adopt a position on the moral aspects of international coexistence even when their own national interests are not directly affected. In this process they come face to face with two recognized principles both of which serve the cause of peace: the first is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others; the other is the principle of the universality of human rights. Not only States but also individual citizens can invoke the fundamental rights embodied in the United Nations Charter. It is peace that benefits if people and information can move as freely as possible across boundaries.

61. I would add that if we speak our mind on violations of individual human rights, on the suppression of the freedom to express critical opinions, on artificial barriers at national frontiers to the exchange of people and information, the decisive criterion for that attitude will not be whether the offender is an ally or one with whom we have friendly contractual ties, or whether it is a less friendly Power. What matters is that we do not remain indifferent on these questions—even if some details should at first sight or in general be hard to assess.

62. A policy of peace, solidarity and renunciation of force is indivisible. The conflict in South-East Asia has not yet burnt itself out and the smouldering conflict in the Middle East has not yet been defused. In both cases the main thing is that those concerned should talk, not shoot.

63. I wish to stress our interest in a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. That is the interest of the Federal Republic of Germany. My Government shares the hope that the international community will not relinquish the possibilities of mediation. My Government also feels that it is primarily direct peace talks between the Arab countries concerned and Israel that will best secure a balance of the elementary interests of both sides.

64. The struggle for peace and the fight against misery require us to recognize that in the one world we live in our fate is, after all, indivisible. Here, too, mankind is therefore under the compulsion to establish solidarity. Where else than in this United Nations should we be able to discuss freely new forms of vital co-operation?

65. No nation should live at the expense of another. Anyone who refuses to accept this principle may be the instrument of our having to pay dearly for it. National egoism is no shield. On the contrary, it is an obstacle to that very solidarity which, in the last report, is the best guardian of natural and legitimate national interests as well.

66. We should not speak of “young” and “old” nations. It is more realistic to distinguish between young and old nationalisms. Ours, in Europe, are old, although a century or two are only a couple of short breaths in history. But believe me, the wild dream that the destiny of a nation can be fulfilled only in unbridled nationalism has in our case completely faded away. We learned from painful experience that there have to be more rational, more reliable forms for the lives of nations—and that such forms actually exist, namely, good neighbourliness.

67. The countries of Western Europe have resolved to establish the first regional community that is more than a classical alliance and at the same time does not imply that its members subject themselves to a set of ideological rules. Our aim is to achieve if possible in the next decade the union of our economies, our currencies, our social systems and our foreign policies, and—as dictated to us by the signs of our time—our security.

68. The membership of the Federal Republic which I represent, also strengthens the presence of Europe in the United Nations. We are sure it will also be of benefit to others.

69. The European Community, we hope, can become an example of economic achievement and social balance. It establishes itself as a power without imperial pretensions. The European union will be a power of peace and will be outward-looking.

70. The Federal Republic of Germany has declared in its Constitution its willingness to transfer sovereign rights to supranational organizations and it has placed international law above national law and made it directly applicable. This expresses the realization that the sovereignty of the individual and of nations can be secured only in larger communities, that the meaning and fulfilment of history can no longer be attributed to the nation-State.

71. Thus I end my speech with a plea: let us all together be on our guard against making sacred a concept which I regard as perhaps the most dubious legacy of European history: nationalism, which has claimed millions and millions of human lives and under whose banner fertile country has been devastated, thriving cities destroyed, peoples exterminated, and a whole civilization—our own—nearly swept away.

72. Europe has ceased to pretend that it is the measure of things for the rest of the world. But it has occasion to warn the nations of the world about the great error which almost brought about its destruction: negative nationalism. And I believe we have to a large extent shaken off that hypnosis.

73. The nation no longer finds its security in isolated sovereignty. In actual fact, isolation creates dependencies which have ceased to have anything to do with enlightened sovereignty. We need the larger community which gives us peace, security and, hence, freedom.

74. There is, perhaps, not yet “the world free from war” nor “the world-wide rule of reason” enunciated by the President of the United States on 26 June 1945 after the proclamation of the United Nations Charter in San Fran-

cisco’s opera house. But mankind must not allow itself to become paralysed in the face of gigantic, seemingly insoluble problems. What we need now is a programme of new confidence in man’s abilities.

75. Therefore, I make this plea.

76. Let us courageously and jointly venture forth on a new road to the great goals of eliminating conflicts, bringing armaments under control, making peace safer.

77. Let us courageously and jointly fight for universal recognition of the renunciation of force as a principle for the solution of political problems.

78. Let us courageously and jointly—and I hope we will be many—work untiringly to ensure that human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and may be exercised all over the world.

79. Let us courageously and jointly—and I hope we will be many—fight to defend the right of nations freely to decide their own destiny and to ensure that the remnants of colonialism are removed and that all forms of racism are banned.

80. Let us courageously and jointly promote the further development of international law, in particular by an effective convention against terrorism.

81. Let us courageously and jointly do what is necessary to sustain the viability of the world we live in by protecting the natural environment and—partly by intensifying and widening scientific exchanges—securing for mankind conditions of a quality that will make life worth living.

82. And let us courageously and jointly, in addition to our endeavours to foster the further development of world trade, make fresh efforts to intensify economic co-operation and development; and, above all, let us in this way combine all our energies and declare war irrevocably on hunger around the world.

83. Man’s ability to apply his faculty of reason has made the United Nations possible. Man’s propensity for being irrational makes it necessary. Reason will have won the field if one day all States and regions come to live and work together as world neighbours in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

84. That will not happen in my lifetime, but I want to do what I can to make it possible. And I exhort us all to give every assistance we can, progressing step by step, to ease the task of future generations.

85. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to thank His Excellency the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany for his statement.

86. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): Mr. President, I am happy to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We rejoice in the honour thus bestowed on you personally and on your country, Ecuador. We are fully confident that you will

guide the affairs of this Assembly with impartiality, and we assure you of our full co-operation.

87. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1] the Secretary-General presents a penetrating analysis of the situation, objectives and potentialities of the United Nations. We would be well advised to study closely his important observations and to consider carefully the entire range of problems raised by the Secretary-General.

88. Over the years we have become accustomed to hearing much criticism of the work of the United Nations. Our Organization and the tangible results we achieve are often looked upon with impatience and disappointment. To mention but a few of the shortcomings pointed out to us: our results fall short of expectations; we speak too much and act too little; the provisions of the Charter are inadequate; our activities should be expanded or reduced, or new organs should be created.

89. This impatience is understandable; it reflects the uneasiness or even insecurity, but also the hopes, prevalent in a time marked by new departures.

90. The United Nations was founded 28 years ago. The world Organization was the fruit of the aspirations and resolve of a horrified mankind to create, by reason and humanity, a world of peaceful and ordered coexistence of States and nations. The purposes and principles of the Charter have proved to be of durable value. The international machinery which has since evolved will continue to be an indispensable framework and an essential precondition for genuine international solidarity. However, it is not enough to support the United Nations in words. And it is not beneficial to misuse the vast potentialities of the Organization for campaigns in pursuit of narrow and nationalistic aims. If we were to take stock of the situation, we should learn that the constant and considerate application of the United Nations machinery is the best way in which to enrich our heritage.

91. At the same time, we must remain responsive to constructive criticism and steadily prove able to adapt our Organization to the ever changing challenges. Since the Charter was signed, many years ago, the world has changed more than in any other period of the same length. The relatively static social pattern has been replaced almost everywhere by mobility and new departures, often in the face of considerable opposition from the established society. A new generation has grown up which questions our very objectives—a generation to which the machinery we have provided is a matter of course; a generation which measures our performance principally in the light of the capability of the United Nations to offer the individual equitable conditions, freedom, security and dignity; a generation which insists upon our Organization being able to add to international relations a human dimension consonant with the ideals which all human civilizations have evolved.

92. We are facing a dual challenge: to safeguard and further develop a harmonious co-operation within the family of nations, while linking to our aspirations and our decisions the human dimension which alone can enhance the quality of life of the individual.

93. If we attempted to evaluate the present situation we could perhaps say that it is characterized by a growing recognition of the need for well-balanced efforts—at the global, regional and bilateral levels—to tackle fundamental problems which in reality affect us all and whose solution is a key to safeguarding and humanizing our existence. We must also realize that at the same time the situation is characterized by the lack of resolve with which we transform our recognition into practical action.

94. In the political field, positive features which previously were just traceable have become much more distinct. The favourable development in relations between the major Powers is continuing. And in my part of the world, in Europe, further efforts towards détente have led to the gratifying result that we were able a few days ago to welcome the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic as Members of the United Nations. The importance of the process which paved the way to the admission of the two German States cannot be overrated. The mainspring has been the initiatives taken and persistently pursued by the great statesman who has just addressed this Assembly, Chancellor Willy Brandt, and by the Federal Government.

95. In Europe, a noteworthy event since our last General Assembly session has been the enlargement of the European Community by three new countries: Ireland, the United Kingdom and my own country. The developments manifested in this enlargement are of vital concern to the individual human being in a part of the world which twice in one generation has been embroiled in devastating wars. This dynamic evolution results from a recognition of our identity and our responsibility towards ourselves and towards the world at large. In accentuating community coherence, the very foundation of which is our democratic institutions, we do not forget our relations with and responsibilities towards the outside world. We welcome this, as it has consistently been the policy of Denmark to promote and develop open-mindedness in our relations with the entire world.

96. Particularly in relation to the United States, the European Community is engaged in a dialogue in which we have great hopes. I am confident that a positive outcome will prove of benefit to the world community at large. We welcome the fact that this dialogue was given added impetus at the meeting in Copenhagen on 10 and 11 September of the Foreign Ministers in the family of the nine members of the Community.

97. After thorough and successfully completed preparations, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has entered its second phase. On the basis of recent trends towards détente the primary aim of the Conference must now be to create the conditions for a new forward thrust in the process of détente and co-operation. If we succeed, we shall have attained a result that again will be of importance not only to the countries directly involved. All the way through it remains important to aim not only at peaceful and correct relations among States, but to further the quality of life of the individual, which is the basis on which all efforts should be measured and judged. It is important that we arrive at a point where the implications of détente are translated into palpable reality for the

peoples of the European countries in the form of concrete and well defined measures.

98. As I said a while ago, there seems to be a growing recognition of the need for common solutions to major problems facing us, but that recognition is not always translated into action. In the field of disarmament, the world Organization has made strenuous efforts for a long time without achieving much progress. Over a number of years we have witnessed certain advances through the adoption of some limited disarmament and arms-control measures. But realistically we must admit that deplorable stagnation has occurred. We are still waiting for the progress that could reduce the risks inherent in continued armament and the resultant senseless waste of resources. To put it in more specific terms, I think the time is now ripe for a comprehensive test-ban treaty and a treaty prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of all kinds of chemical weapons and providing for the destruction of existing stocks of such weapons.

99. In the Middle East, energetic efforts have been made, not least by this Organization, its Secretary-General and his personal representative. And yet the situation remains deadlocked, and we are regularly witnessing tragic events. World opinion on this question is marked by growing and understandable impatience, which is also felt in my country. I call upon all parties to make a whole-hearted effort to find a solution in conformity with the guidelines which the Security Council established in its now almost six-year-old—I repeat, six-year-old—resolution 242 (1967). My Government will welcome initiatives suitable to break the present deadlock and lead to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

100. Once again we must note that in southern Africa there has been no progress in the cause of reason and humanity. On the contrary, we receive reports of acts of violence, encroachments and bloodshed in that distressed area. I appeal to those responsible to wake up to the reality of the situation before the sands run out. My Government is ready to take an active part in efforts under the provisions of the Charter to find a peaceful solution securing for the African peoples the right of self-determination. The Secretary-General has made commendable efforts. We hope he will be enabled to continue his endeavours.

101. In the South Asian subcontinent, responsible statesmen are striving to overcome the controversies of the recent past, and expectations have been raised that a solution satisfactory to all may soon be worked out. I hope that the three Governments may succeed in this endeavour of reconciliation and so be allowed to turn their full attention to the future.

102. The situation in Indo-China as a whole, although still marked by human suffering and instability, has improved over the last few months. But much restraint will be required of the parties to exploit the opportunities that have been opened for a final and peaceful solution to the protracted and bitter conflicts.

103. The difficult bilateral talks aimed at normalizing relations between the Republic of Korea and the Demo-

cratic People's Republic of Korea have been continued. Decisive for our Organization is the maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula in order that the conciliation of the two Korean States may take place in the best possible climate and in order that they may be enabled to play their proper role in the world community.

104. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be commemorated during this session. For a quarter-century the Declaration has represented a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations in their efforts to ensure respect for the dignity of man.

105. In spite of the progress made in this field we must deplore the fact that fundamental rights as set forth in the Declaration are still being disregarded and that freedom of thought and freedom of speech are far from always respected in the Member countries.

106. We are alarmed by the many reports of torture or other cruel or degrading treatment of human beings, and thus we understand and respect the many endeavours aimed at condemnation and elimination of the use of torture.

107. Disregard for the individual becomes particularly acute in armed conflicts, where in modern times the civilian population is exposed to severe risks. It is therefore imperative that as many States as possible participate in the work which the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross have started in order to develop the rules of humanitarian international law in armed conflicts. We must endeavour to attain universal adherence to those new rules.

108. The Danish Government is gravely concerned about the frequent acts of international terrorism victimizing innocent persons. Concerted international efforts are required to break the vicious circle of terror and counter-terror. All nations must recognize their responsibilities by taking concrete steps in this direction.

109. Denmark attaches great importance to the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. What is at stake is not only the law of the sea in the classical sense but the ability of our Organization to find suitable solutions for the distribution of the wealth of the seas and the sea-bed.

110. Coastal States should be accorded more extensive rights to the living resources of the sea. In particular, there is a need to give such rights to coastal States among the developing countries and to States or regions whose populations are heavily dependent on fisheries for their livelihood and without alternative employment possibilities. The legitimate interests of other nations and of the international community as a whole must be taken into consideration.

111. The work of the United Nations in the economic and social fields is this year marked by the first review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)].

112. Although statistics may yet be incomplete, it is evident that the balance-sheet of the first two years of the

Second United Nations Development Decade does not give grounds for complacency. On the whole, the expectations of progress in the developing countries were not met. Nevertheless there are signs that may augur well for the future.

113. The multilateral trade negotiations which have now been initiated under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade should, together with an early agreement on a durable and equitable reform of the international monetary system, help create optimum conditions for world trade and, in turn, for economic growth, to the benefit of developing as well as developed countries.

114. However, economic growth is regarded no longer as an end in itself but rather as a means to improve the quality of life of the individual. It is therefore gratifying to note that within a wide range of areas this conception is gradually being translated into action on a global scale. In endeavours to ensure the quality of life of our own and future generations the questions of environment and population also loom large. We welcome the efforts now under way to follow up the consensus of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, and we are looking forward to seeing the World Population Conference next year lay the foundation of realistic and far-sighted population policies.

115. The United Nations has a unique role to play in promoting international co-operation for economic and social progress in the less fortunate countries of the world. The growing sense of solidarity should inspire us—the better-off countries—steadily to improve our contribution to this global development effort. My country for one is resolved to follow such a course.

116. I have tried to draw attention to a number of factors, problems and trends of prime importance. We must promote co-operation and détente. We must realize the need for genuine disarmament. Goodwill must be shown to settle the Middle East conflict. In southern Africa the law of justice and humanity must be obeyed. The promising progress towards an over-all solution to the conflict in the South Asian subcontinent must be continued. A satisfactory solution must be found to the Korean question. The existing possibilities of a final and peaceful solution to the conflict in Indo-China must be exploited. Economic co-operation must be expanded, not least for the benefit of the less fortunate nations. Human rights must be respected in the widest sense.

117. The topics I have touched upon demonstrate the scope of our Organization's activities. They demonstrate also the challenges confronting the world community. I am convinced, however, that we who are responsible for the continued existence and success of the United Nations will be able, by persistence and dedication, to take a step forward on the path of détente and conciliation, peace and co-operation, towards the ultimate goal: an international society committed to the dignity and worth of the individual.

118. Sir Alec DOUGLAS-HOME (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to join with my colleagues in congratulating you on your high office. Ecuador will rightly feel a reflected glory.

119. Sir, I have spoken on many occasions in this Assembly and have usually felt it right to deal with the main topical and urgent issues in the field of international affairs. I do not intend to do this today. Many of them, it is true, remain as difficult and contentious as ever, but they will feature on the agenda of the various Committees of this Assembly and the views of the British Government will be explained when they come up for discussion. All of them should be soluble by patient bilateral diplomacy, assisted as the need arises—and it arises more often day by day—by the conciliation machinery of this United Nations organization for conciliation. This must be the order of the day in the middle of this twentieth century. Now, however, I wish to concentrate only on two major long-term problems in the world, both profound and in the long run decisive in terms of what I shall call in shorthand the problems between East and West and North and South.

120. The first duty laid upon the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. We have had a deeply troubled century. Twenty-one years after the First World War the world was just beginning to recover from the appalling carnage when it all started all over again. It is now 28 years since the ending of the Second World War. So far we have avoided a global holocaust, although at all times the situation has been saved only by knife-edge diplomacy. But there are signs at long last that we are just starting to learn. Whether peace has been forced upon us by the realization of the ultimate horror of the nuclear weapon, or whether the miseries of two world wars have taught us the bitter lesson that war solves nothing, unless it is that in the main the innocent pay the penalty, or whether the United Nations, if it has not preserved peace, has helped men to talk themselves into a more sober mood in which they realize that there are no slick answers to the modern problems of this world. Perhaps it is in fact a mixture of all three. But the hope must be that one way or another at this moment of time—late, it is true, but better late than never—the lesson of the futility of violence is being learned.

121. Herr Brandt just now said that we should talk, not shoot, and as a European I stand here to say that it was that failure in Europe which very nearly led to the destruction of our continent; and that, surely, should be a lesson for all.

122. In his thoughtful introduction to his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General rightly reminds us that while it is easy to criticize the limitations of the United Nations in matters affecting peace and security, the Organization, and particularly the Security Council, does have to its credit real achievements in defusing disputes. Of that at least we should remind ourselves lest we lose heart. But he would be a bold man who would say that an era of universal peace is within our grasp. War, although contained, is still with us. Man has not solved his basic needs for security, for food and for shelter. At this time of the twentieth century I think we ought to remind ourselves that there is no excuse for these shortcomings apart from prejudice, fear and suspicion, for we have all the technical means that we need to provide for man's very modest needs.

123. Since 1945 the international scene has been dominated by the problems arising from the totally different social, economic and political systems of the East and West

and from the aftermath of rapid decolonization. In East-West relations there have been periods of comparative calm and moments of acute peril. Coexistence has been preached. But it has meant different things to different people and the shock waves of tension between the Communists and the rest have spread, and the impact has been felt world-wide. Those who have wished to avoid the contagion of the rivalry of the great Powers have not always been able to do so. The rigid confrontation of the major Powers and the continuing escalation of force and counterforce was not only a source of grave danger in itself to the countries in the Northern Hemisphere but, worse perhaps, also paralysed the use of common resources and stultified the economic development of nations much further afield—nations that otherwise would have been able to do something to bridge the gap between the developed and the developing countries.

124. Now, at long last, these preoccupations seem to be yielding to a wider perspective. It is not, of course, easy for Communists and the rest to live together and work together when philosophy and practice are so different, but, at long last, at least there are signs of flexibility. The United States has established a relationship with China. The Soviet Union and the United States have softened the edges of their bilateral relations. It became possible for serious negotiations to begin between the Western Allies and the East over the future of Berlin. The two German States have made real progress in their joint discussions and are now both Members of this Organization—a historic step, which my Government welcomes—and if it is followed up with tolerance and with generosity this will undoubtedly have beneficial effects in Europe. The European Community, now enlarged, is finding its own identity and looks outward to fruitful contacts with the rest of the world; and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has met and defined an agenda for work leading towards détente. Up till now it is no more than that, but lest we are to despair, we must recognize it as a start in reconciliation and try to build further upon it. That being said, I must make it clear that détente must be real and not an illusion. Lip service to détente which evaporates at the first test is a trap. Like so much in life it is the will to work together for the highest common factor that counts and certainly as far as my Government is concerned the will is there. Our strong desire is that, however difficult it may be, the two political systems should live together not only without enmity but in broad accord. We will therefore take risks for peace, but at the same time we will not be duped by empty declarations into jeopardizing our security and our chosen way of life which goes with it. I would echo the words of Mr. Kissinger a few days ago [2124th meeting]: my country, like his, seeks true peace, not an armistice. Let us, therefore, share our ideas, share our resources and share our cultures. Let us resolve not to undermine but to understand, not to confront but to reconcile. We—that is, the East and the West—will have the chance to put these sentiments to the test in phase two of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. I trust that the Communist countries will be able to prove that they care for the basic freedoms of people everywhere; for, I say with great respect, it is people, not bits of paper, that politics, national and international, are about. We will try to respond in a constructive spirit in phase two of that

Conference, remembering always that, as Mr. Andersen has just reminded us—and I think it is too often forgotten—that politics are also about the quality of life.

125. The other division in the world—the division between the rich and the poor countries—is just as profound and just as likely to breed tension. This is essentially an economic rather than an ideological division. Even if there was no conflict between East and West, and even if this conflict had not sometimes spread to the third world, we would still face the great human problems caused by the vast difference between the living standards of the developing and the developed countries because of the accidents of time. I understand the emotions which break out from time to time in the wake of the colonial era. But we have a situation now in this modern world which requires not slogans, however tempting, but cool, rational analysis and a realistic assessment of what can be done under a number of headings: investment, credit, commodity arrangements, debt, aid and trade. They are all relevant to the relationship between the rich and the poor countries and during this session of the General Assembly we shall be discussing the first review and appraisal of the progress of the Second United Nations Development Decade, and I hope it is these things—and I will repeat them: investment, credit, commodity arrangements, debt, aid and trade—which will be the subjects of analysis and, if possible, of agreement. We shall not agree on every aspect of these and of other subjects. Important interests of both developing and developed countries are involved and *prima facie* at times they seem to diverge but, again, if one looks at each one separately under those headings that I have listed, it will almost always be proved by careful analysis that the interests of the developed and the developing are complementary and not antagonistic. Our common deliberations, therefore, will be fruitful only in so far as we make a deliberate attempt to find the common interest and act on it to a point where we all can see that we can gain as well as give. We must simply not allow politics to intervene to hamper or cripple the fine economic prospects for ordinary people in developing and developed countries. I conclude from this that the key word for the future of economic development is “partnership”. Let us recognize the situation for what it is and work together to put it right. In short, the less emotion there is, the quicker we shall get on. For partnership to work it is necessary that each understand the realities which limit the possibilities for action of the other.

126. We are—and again I make no apology for reminding the Assembly of this—we are dealing with human beings, not with units on the economist’s slide rule. So the developed countries must understand the right of the newly emerging countries to be master of their own fate, to control their economic, political and social destinies. What else is nationhood about? And in turn it should be clear that politicians in countries like my own which are governed by a parliamentary democracy have to satisfy their electors that the money which is deliberately being diverted from them is not only being well spent for the benefit of the recipients but to the long-term advantage for all. We in the Western countries—and here I can speak especially for the enlarged European Community—are tackling these questions with energy. The European summit

conference last autumn⁵ gave to the outside world a high place in its programme. But we can be really successful only if we can move forward with the developing countries in a spirit and practice of partnership and create an atmosphere of mutual purpose and of mutual trust. So I repeat, partnership in this age and day is the key word to success.

127. We also have undertaken to transfer economic resources and expertise to developing countries and are doing so on an expanding scale. But the word “transfer” means just what it says, at least in the short term. Money and resources, in other words, which would otherwise be available to the donor country are transferred for the benefit of another and I would invite the developing countries to recognize the problems of presentation which, for example, we in the United Kingdom have when we are speaking to our own electors. We could do a lot ourselves with the £300 million or so which we agree to transfer to others. We are willing to forgo these advantages for ourselves, but the transfer of resources must be seen to be directly related to the achievement of general prosperity all round. That is the only condition we make, but I think it is reasonable.

128. My country continues to attach high importance to aid. Our official aid flow has steadily increased. In the two years between 1970 and 1972 it rose by nearly half as much again and it is our intention that it should continue to grow. I was interested, in this context of aid and investment, in what Mr. Gromyko had to say yesterday [2126th meeting], and in particular in his proposal for a 10 per cent reduction in the military expenditure of the leading Powers [A/9191]. My recollections in this Assembly go back some way, and I thought I had recollected having heard this before. I was right. In 1958 the Soviet spokesman stated:

“The Soviet Government’s proposal is to reduce the military budgets of the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France by 10 to 15 per cent and use part of the savings so effected for assistance to the under-developed countries.”⁶

That was debated. It did not at that time find favour, for reasons which I think were then valid—how do you measure, for example, military budgets?—and which may still be valid now but I am not concerned in prejudging what the decision on this proposal may be not in 1958, but in 1973. But I would not like it to be thought that in other countries things have stood still on this front of aid and investment. For example, in terms of international aid our contribution in the United Kingdom is many times greater than that of the Soviet Union and, incidentally, it so happens that our total aid is already about 10 per cent of our expenditure of defence. In other words, as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, this is a field in which we should welcome more competition from the Soviet Union and from other countries.

⁵ Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Enlarged Community of Nine Members, held at Paris from 19 to 20 October 1972.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 750th meeting, para. 56.

129. There is, of course, the question of how much of the total flow of resources could be met by official aid and how much by private investment. Whatever the proportions achieved, it will remain true that the private investment will play a significant role in development and I would remind this Assembly of the Pearson report, which says as follows and I quote:

“There can be no doubt about the contribution which private capital can render to economic development. Indeed, dollar for dollar, it may be more effective than official aid”⁷

It is of course important that private investment should be properly integrated into the development plans and priorities of the host country. Investors should involve the nationals of the recipient State to the maximum, strive for maximum participation of local capital and reinvest a fair proportion of the profits in the enterprises of the country’s enterprise which is concerned. But there is a reverse side to any coin and, as the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade put it, developing countries should bear in mind the importance of the attraction of foreign capital of conditions conducive to sustained investment. The plain fact is that private investment will not flow to the countries which do not provide the conditions in which it can bear fruit. It is therefore necessary once again to underline and emphasize that it is necessary to create an atmosphere of partnership if enough resources are to be transferred from those who have them to those who have not to make any real impact at all on the gap between the developed and the developing countries; and this applies both to official aid and to private investment.

130. A pre-condition, therefore, of success is that we must get away from the concept of conflict, whether ideological or racial. We have a common and a material interest in this and it is our joint responsibility as leaders of opinion to see to it that our peoples understand the destructive implications of actions and words which are designed to fuel the fires of intolerance and, by contrast, realize the benefits which flow from partnership which is open and trustful.

131. I cannot accept that the greater East-West détente must somehow be at the expense of the developing world. The reverse should be the case. If détente means anything, it must entail a liberation of resources from both East and West—a liberation of resources for more constructive ends. In a sense, the problems of the relationship between East and West and between the developing and the developed countries are linked, and success in dealing with the one will ease the anxieties of the other. When problems exist they can either be approached in an atmosphere of tension and conflict, as if a solution can be reached only by the victory of one side and the defeat of the other, or they can be faced in the belief that reconciliation and partnership is possible and should be pursued with relentless purpose and vigour. This Organization—I believe we ought to remind ourselves—was founded on the latter premise. That was the basis and the inspiration of the Charter. Until now it has

⁷ See *Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 122.

been confounded by political distrust and, for the reasons of which I have spoken, we have left undone much that ought to have been done together. It is in the basic belief that man has the capacity to reject his baser instincts and accept the disciplines inherent in reconciliation that we in this Assembly should formulate our policies and lead our peoples.

132. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): Sir, on behalf of the Netherlands delegation I wish to congratulate you warmly on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. As a Latin American you will understand that my words are mingled with sadness: sadness about the death of a statesman from the continent you represent, Salvador Allende of Chile, who had earned the respect, and indeed admiration, of many peoples in all parts of the world; sadness because his death not only meant the end by violent means of this democratically elected President, but of a form of democracy which, once it had overcome its tremendous initial economic setbacks and the hostility it encountered, could have become exemplary for vast masses of peoples still longing for justice and for their share of prosperity, so long overdue.

133. The world, which is the subject of the general debate, is undergoing rapid change. Not only in my country, stress today is laid on well-being rather than on prosperity only. Increased importance is attached to the control of the use of raw materials with a view to slowing down the otherwise rapid depletion of the world's resources.

134. Also, greater importance is given to such control of the environment as will make the world a tolerably attractive place to live in. Emphasis is shifted from machine to man and—as everything we do is, after all, for man's benefit—ensuring him a firmer grip on the institutions which control the society he lives in.

135. We realize that both on the national and on the international level all the changes that recently have taken place and all the new priorities being set are creating new problems and new difficulties. We are still in the process of building new relationships with former adversaries. This, of course, is not an easy process and it may have caused an increase, internationally, in uncertainties.

136. However, the ideological conflicts are becoming less obtrusive. What now is at issue is, rather, agreement on the balance of power. The decline of the preponderance of ideological conflicts creates an opportunity to establish new priorities. Those who have engineered this new development—in the United States and China, in the Soviet Union and Japan—deserve our gratitude. They have unlocked new doors, and have opened up vistas of a new international order. In this context I wish to mention also Chancellor Brandt, who by his imaginative *Ostpolitik* opened a new era in East-West relations. His speech at this meeting provided impressive evidence that the Federal Republic, under his wise leadership, considers the promotion of peace, security and political détente as its primary aim.

137. One of the most important changes that the country I here represent has undergone has been that the generation which actually went through the Second World War has been succeeded by a new generation, which lived for years

with the Viet-Nam conflict. This new generation gives highest priority to the strengthening of peace in the world. The Netherlands Government has embraced that view. An active peace policy occupies a central position in my country's foreign policy. The Netherlands will seek to prevent conflicts from arising and to assist in resolving conflicts. In the broader context, therefore, my Government will seek to remove anything that gives rise to strained relations; to remedy the injustices in the world; to combat the unfair treatment of man by man; and to help bridge the intolerable gap between prosperity and poverty, both in the world at large and within individual States. Needless to say, those who pursue such an active peace policy cannot stand idly by as tensions caused by colonialism rise to ever more dangerous levels, simply because colonialism is so slow to die.

138. From the focal point of our policy—the desire to place man squarely in the most peaceful setting possible—I propose to give the Assembly the views of my Government: on the position of the Netherlands as regards Atlantic co-operation; on the search for European security and a continued détente; on the progress of European economic and political integration; on co-operation with the third world; and, lastly, on the central role of the United Nations.

139. A peace policy is by necessity also a policy of stabilization; consequently the Netherlands is an active member of the body of co-operating Atlantic nations which have joined hands in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]. Perilous imbalances might develop were it not for NATO; the proliferation of nuclear weapons might, indeed, become an immediate danger. On the other hand, nothing should be rigid in a changing world. Accordingly, we are assisting in the search for ways in which to adapt and improve Atlantic co-operation. Relations between the United States and Europe have evidently been suffering from a certain erosion. We would not regard it in the interest of peaceful relations in the world if the allies were to drift apart.

140. My Government believes the time has come for the reformulation of the aims of Atlantic co-operation and has submitted the following proposals to its partners.

141. We propose that it be stated categorically that the members of the alliance guarantee man's rights and freedoms.

142. We propose that the fate of the poor nations of the world be made one of the Atlantic nations' major concerns.

143. We propose that henceforth the furthering of détente be made paramount among the objectives of Atlantic endeavours.

144. The détente which we shall strive for must take the interests of the third world fully into account.

145. Indeed, any policy designed to strengthen peace is a policy of deliberate efforts to promote détente. It is for that reason that the Netherlands Government is endeavouring to be inventive as it plays its part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We are doing so with the firm desire to produce results, while remaining aware

that the road will be long and difficult. Any adjustment takes its time.

146. For many a partner in that Conference in particular but not exclusively the group of East European countries, it will not be easy to subscribe to our views on the free exchange of ideas and information. None the less, our views on this subject are so fundamental and inherent in our way of life and the structure of our society that we are prepared to bring it up time and again, annually if so required, and to continue the search for elements on which we can agree as the dialogue between the nations of Europe proceeds.

147. In the long run a European continent, divided by artificial barriers, behind which freedom of speech remains restricted, cannot be conceived. Every society is exposed to change.

148. Those who are in the creative vanguard of the arts and sciences usually are most apt to register the need for change. Their thoughts, if phrased in freedom, tend to become the forces of renewal and survival. To restrict their freedom of speech is to condemn society to stagnation and regression. We call on our partners in the present European dialogue to see these remarks not as an intervention in their internal affairs but as a reflection of the firm conviction that the cause of détente will be promoted by respect for human freedoms in all parts of Europe.

149. Pursuing a policy of peace also involves helping resolutely, and with initiative and confidence, to reinforce European co-operation. In my view, the European Community has for the time being reached its geographical configuration. The European union will be a reality. The question we are now faced with is what kind of European union we are going to build.

150. The first option is some sort of super-Power. The Netherlands would not feel at home in such a Europe. The second option is a Europe that would withdraw from the world into isolation and outdated neutrality. The Netherlands would not feel at home in such a Europe either. The third option, however, is a Europe in which the consequent gain in prosperity would be invested in an outward-looking community, with new civic norms and a new social policy.

151. Consequently, we hope to be part of a Europe that sets great store by mutual understanding, feelings of solidarity between the privileged and the less prosperous, tolerance based on the various social groups which have a sense of social and economic responsibility towards each other. Only that kind of Europe can become a truly stable element in the world and thus consolidate peaceful relationships. Europe is moving along the road to that objective, sometimes fairly rapidly, sometimes with a certain hesitation. My Government is prepared to transfer national prerogatives to the European institutions as we proceed along that road. We and our partners in European economic and monetary co-operation are now seeking ways to expedite the establishment of an economic and monetary union, ways in which to integrate and harness this gigantic economic and monetary potential.

152. The European Community has already embarked upon a policy of establishing new structural relationships

with the outside world. My Government is ready to accept, together with its partners, considerable responsibilities for the promotion of the well-being of the third world, including the countries already linked to the Common Market by association as well as those not to be associated. All those countries must be enabled to overcome the curse of backwardness and economic discrimination if, as my Government desires, new foundations for lasting peace are to be built.

153. I need hardly say that all those major, fundamental problems can be solved only if the institutional conditions for solutions are satisfied. We need alert institutions capable of taking decisions quickly and capable of rendering an account of their decisions to the European Parliament in a democratic fashion. My Government will also be prepared to transfer national prerogatives within the framework of European political co-operation—today still largely of a consultative nature—once the cohesion between the partners has progressed to the point at which the community of interests returns more to us than the amount of self-determination we surrender. If this process could gradually gain momentum, the countries of Europe would be making a major new move towards creating international peace and security.

154. The situation in the third world has not improved. Economic growth and the achievement of prosperity are in stagnation. Today fewer people than 10 years ago are touched by the impact of the development process. Our development efforts have failed to change the structural relationship of inequality and dependence between the poor and the rich nations, as well as within developing countries. Development has failed to reach the lower strata of society.

155. That state of affairs cannot continue. We cannot accept this injustice of persistent backwardness with its grave, hidden tensions and consequent threat to world peace.

156. We shall have to review the situation. This Assembly must examine whether we should not radically modify our terms of reference, whether the priority of economic growth should not be supplemented by the priority of income distribution as an equal and concurrent objective instead of one consecutive to growth.

157. Our objective should be reformulated as “growth plus structural change”. Consequently, my Government intends to put greater emphasis on problems of income distribution and self-reliance and on the structural relationship between developed and developing countries. Self-reliance and distribution of income and economic power, in fact, loom just as large in the domestic policy of my country as in our foreign policy.

158. Greater emphasis on these elements of development inevitably raises the question of national sovereignty of all countries, including the underprivileged. But in recent history, sovereign independence, important and indispensable as it is, has, in many cases and in many respects, remained an empty shell. I hope that the same will not be true of the problems of distribution and self-reliance.

159. My Government wishes to take an active part in the discussion of these matters. We believe that the radical shift in the development process to which these discussions should be directed should take place in a multilateral context, preferably in the framework of global co-operation and of a joint review and appraisal of our common efforts. We shall accord to this a high priority, because we accord a high priority to the consolidation of peace.

160. In the search for peace, an efficient world organization is indispensable. If I sound a note of criticism about the activities and operations of the United Nations at this stage, I wish at the same time to reaffirm the continuing loyalty of my country to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

161. At present, the stars of the Organization are not very propitious. The political will of the Organization's Members to help create, strengthen and consolidate the conditions for peace throughout the world should find expression within the Organization. But, on the contrary, in the last few years we have witnessed increasing confrontation; delays in taking decisions, for instance, on disarmament; and a distorted use by various Members of the United Nations family through ever more frequent appeals to the specialized agencies for political action, for which, in fact, the political organs of the Organization are intended. We are not suggesting that there should be new proposals for amendments to the Charter to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for the fostering of world peace. Many improvements needed can be effectuated within the existing Charter, provided that there is the will to do so.

162. One improvement might consist in making the Organization still more universal; my Government is prepared to assist in achieving this. We further are of the opinion that improvement of the procedures and the implementation of international legislation are required. We hold the view that in international disputes Member States should more frequently have recourse to institutionalized fact-finding. That would create a better basis for the rapid and effective settlement of those disputes. The International Court of Justice should be given a more authoritative part to play, all the more since the new rules of the Court may accelerate its procedures. The Court should not be made a forum in which to thrash out political differences, but it should provide additional opportunities for settling disputes by peaceful means.

163. There are still many strained relations that are a threat to peace. In particular, our attention should be focused on the problems of southern Africa. If we remain idle spectators, the problems and strained relations besetting that part of the world will inevitably culminate in conflicts, the world-wide consequences of which would be incalculable. The remnants of a colonial era are just as much out of keeping with today's world as is the policy of *apartheid*. Therefore, the Netherlands Government will apply the sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia with the utmost severity, in the fervent hope of promoting self-determination in that country. Therefore, the Netherlands will give humanitarian aid to the peoples in the colonial areas of southern Africa via the liberation movements—preferably through the intermediary of international organizations—and will support the claims for

external self-determination of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. Recent reports emanating in particular from Mozambique have caused grave concern in my country.

164. My Government once more urges Portugal to come to an understanding with those peoples and thus to build up a new relationship. We address a similar appeal to the Government of South Africa on the Territory of Namibia and, in addition, we urge South Africa to turn away from the policy of *apartheid*. We believe that it should be possible to continue the discussions on the subject within the United Nations and that they should not be cut short by expulsion or the severance of bonds.

165. The other main threat to peace remains the explosive situation in the Middle East. At this moment I wish to touch only on one side of the problem which becomes increasingly important, the question of the refugees. The Netherlands is prepared to render active assistance with a view to relieving this source of tension, for example through an investigation of the extent to which the restructuring of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East or the creation of new organs, might help to alleviate the human suffering and economic disruption resulting from the Middle East's political quandary.

166. It need hardly be said that substantial progress in disarmament and the control of arms is a *sine qua non* for a peaceful world order. My Government favours the imposition without delay of a ban on underground nuclear tests. Although there is probably no infallible detection system as yet, the Netherlands regards it as essential to check the arms race, since the nuclear danger continues by means of qualitative improvement of nuclear weaponry. Next to that, we shall continue to press for a ban on chemical weapons. Considerable priority will have to be accorded to restricting the use of indiscriminate weapons and inhuman methods of warfare causing excessive suffering.

167. This General Assembly will be concerning itself more especially with institutional problems with regard to disarmament. We are prepared to approach every proposal with open minds in respect of both the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the United Nations Disarmament Commission. We should also welcome a World Disarmament Conference, provided all nuclear Powers were willing to take part. But what is more important than any institution is the political will to go forward.

168. At this very moment in the context of a peace week, the combined churches of the Netherlands strongly call upon my countrymen to unite in the promotion of conditions for peace. As a consequence, the display of political will of those responsible for the furtherance of peace will be closely observed in my country.

169. The Charter of the United Nations establishes a clear link between the maintenance of international peace and security, the creation of conditions of economic and social well-being and the promotion of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without discrimination. If we clarify this link in terms of peace and justice, it would seem that there is no peace in the true

sense as long as there are situations of grave injustice in relations among the States and within the States. Peaceful co-operation between States will not mean very much if peoples and individuals remain the victims of grave injustices. After all, it is not the State as such, or an organization of States for that matter, but the well-being of human beings that is the ultimate object of our endeavours.

170. For that reason the Netherlands Government wishes to reaffirm at this very session of the General Assembly, when we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the pledge contained in the United Nations Charter: the pledge that Members will take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The date 10 December 1973 will be not only the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration but also the beginning of a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The still rampant practice of racism and racial discrimination has a devastating effect on the minds, the hearts and the fate of people and on the very essence of peace and justice. The United Nations has undoubtedly made great efforts to combat racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, especially by making people conscious of the inherent dangers of these grave types of discrimination. They, however, still persist as an evil against which all the forces of goodwill must be mobilized. If we consider the standards set forth in the Universal Declaration and in subsequent international instruments in the field of human rights, we can see an

unmistakable gap between the ideals proclaimed and the realities of life in the world.

171. Lastly, I should like to call attention to a serious matter which is not often raised before this forum, namely, the disregard of article 5 of the Universal Declaration—and article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [see resolution 2200 A (XXI)]—that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Reports from various parts of the world provide evidence that this appalling practice has become rife and is often used against people suspected of having committed a political offence. The Netherlands people and Government are gravely perturbed at this practice and wonder whether the United Nations could not take appropriate action. A strong appeal that such practices be stopped forthwith might have considerable moral impact, but I also press for the adoption of an expedient such as impartial inquiry, in order to bring the facts to light. The Netherlands Government is prepared to co-operate in any initiative of that kind.

172. The United Nations is to be, in the words of the Charter, a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. Glancing back over the years, one cannot escape the impression that there is still much to be done in this respect. I do not hesitate to pledge once more my Government's dedication to the aims and purposes of the Charter and its willingness to make its contribution in this respect.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.