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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FACIO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, your election to preside over this important Assembly gives immense pleasure to the delegation of Costa Rica. This is a just tribute to your country, the sister Republic of Ecuador, and a well-earned recognition of your personal attributes as a distinguished internationalist and an experienced fighter for peace and justice among nations both in and out of the United Nations.

2. Mr. President, to echo the words of your inaugural statement [2117th meeting], the delegation of Costa Rica also wishes to express its sorrow at the recent deaths of two Heads of State: the constitutional President of Chile, Mr. Salvador Allende, and His Majesty King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden.

3. My country enjoys cordial diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, which it has done since its inception, and has had relations with the German Democratic Republic for the last year. We are happy now to offer a warm welcome to the representatives of those two recently admitted Members of our Organization. Their admission represents an important step towards making the United Nations truly universal. The fact that the necessary agreement was arrived at between the two German States to permit their simultaneous admission is further proof of the relaxation of tension that kept the world divided into two antagonistic and apparently irreconcilable ideological blocs. The presence in this hall of the representatives of the two Germanys is a comforting symbol of the fact that the "cold war" has almost entirely given way to peaceful coexistence.

4. The progressive liquidation of colonialism allows us also to tender our welcome to a new American State: the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We wish that young nation the greatest success and we also hope that it will very soon be admitted to our own regional organization, the Organization of American States [OAS], where all free and

independent States of this hemisphere have the right to be represented.

5. My delegation voted enthusiastically in favour of resolution 2937 (XXVII), which expressed the desire of the General Assembly that the People's Republic of Bangladesh be admitted as a Member of the United Nations. We did so with the certainty that its Government would do everything possible to comply with Security Council resolution 307 (1971) on the just settlement of the problems flowing from the armed strife and on the repatriation of prisoners of war. We confidently hope that when the Security Council deals with the matter again, its members will unanimously recommend the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

6. Costa Rica encourages the aspirations of the Korean people to a prompt reunification of their ancient country, today divided into two States: the Republic of Korea, in the south, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in the north. We in Costa Rica, too, would like this reunification to be carried out through peaceful means, without foreign interference, and by the application of a formula which will permit the two Koreas—and all the Korean people—freely to decide what they prefer concerning the organization of a single State of Korea, and the form of government and the economic and social structure that will be best suited to the present historical reality and the just aspirations of that sorely beset nation.

7. The dialogue between the organizations of the Red Cross of the North and of the South of Korea, which started in 1971, fortunately culminated in July 1972 with a joint communiqué¹ and with the formation of a North and South Korean Co-ordinating Committee. We trust that the dialogue between them will continue to be governed by a spirit of co-operation in order to overcome the obstacles that for 27 years have kept the Korean people divided.

8. This direct dialogue can advantageously replace the good offices of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. And in accordance with the hope that I expressed earlier that it will be the Koreans themselves who will solve their great problem, my Government is ready to vote for the dissolution of that Commission, as its own members have recommended.

9. However, my delegation does not believe that the moment has now arrived also to dissolve the United Nations Command in Korea, created by Security Council resolution 84 (1950) of 7 July 1950. Our view is based on the fact

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

that it was that joint Command—representing the United Nations as the only counterpart of the forces of North Korea and of the People's Republic of China—which signed the Armistice Agreement in 1953. For that reason we believe that the premature dissolution of the Command, before negotiation on agreements constituting a valid alternative to the Armistice Agreement, might endanger all the complicated arrangements that have kept the cease-fire in force for the last 20 years.

10. The Costa Rican delegation, of course, which desires to have the Koreans settle their own affairs themselves, would be ready to vote in favour of the dissolution of the United Nations Command when the representatives of the two Korean States officially notify the Security Council that they consider the Command no longer necessary.

11. Since the question of Korea appears on the agenda of the Assembly this year [item 41], we trust that, in the debate that will be held on the matter, representatives of the two Korean States will participate, enjoying the same rights and the same obligations.

12. Costa Rica has repeatedly stated its adherence to the principle of universality for our Organization. We believe that for the peace of the world and for a more effective functioning of the United Nations it is indispensable that all independent States with duly recognized Governments of their own be admitted to membership. It is for those reasons that my delegation is ready to support warmly the admission to the United Nations of both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. My Government believes that full participation in our work by the two Korean States, far from being an obstacle, would make it easier to hold new dialogues to bring about the peaceful reunification of the great Korean nation.

13. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, our efficient Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, reminds us that the original concept of the United Nations was that of "an organization of which the primary function was to maintain, and if necessary impose, international peace and security..." [A/9001/Add.1, p. 2].

14. Now, although Mr. Waldheim recognizes that this concept has been expanded by the adoption of long- and medium-range targets, he contends that the first duty of the United Nations still is "the day-to-day effort to maintain peace and security [*ibid.*]"—and it could be no other, for without a truly peaceful atmosphere, other international activities cannot be adequately developed. It is for those reasons that it is appropriate that at each session of the General Assembly we think deeply about the meaning of peace and the ways of achieving it.

15. It has been repeatedly stated that peace is more than a mere absence of war. It is, rather, the fruit of justice. In modern days, in accordance with the thinking of His Holiness the Pope, peace has become the new name for development. As a fruit of justice and the leaven of development, peace has its own channels, the main one being dialogue, communication among men. Genuine dialogue is impossible without honesty and sincerity. When it is achieved no problem besetting human relations, however

difficult it might appear, is insoluble, and thus we see the great value of the word, the spoken word, the sign of the greatness of the individual and the indispensable bridge for the legitimate progress of mankind.

16. War breaks out when words end, or, rather, when man decides to shatter his communications with other men. When we cease to hear words we begin to hear the rattling of machine-guns and the roar of cannon, and we see the realm of death take over and barbarism reign. In other words, barbarism begins when words die. Culture is words, culture is dialogue; barbarism is lack of communication.

17. And herein lies the importance and fruitfulness of the United Nations at the world level, and of the OAS and other similar organizations at the regional level. Although they do not solve all international problems, their mere existence as forums for a dialogue among peoples is an extremely important element for peace. When there is the possibility of a dialogue, then there is hope for peace. Peace began to be seen in Viet-Nam when the North Americans and the North Viet-Nameese declared themselves ready to talk. Peace has not yet been able to prevail in the Middle East because it has not been possible to establish a direct dialogue between Arabs and Israelis.

18. In Central America peace now appears promising since the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Honduras and El Salvador have begun a dialogue in Washington and in Mexico.

19. And, as I said earlier, the talks initiated in Korea by the Red Cross organizations of the North and the South promise to be an effective instrument for the peaceful reunification of the peninsula.

20. As a United Nations Member in good standing, Costa Rica struggles everywhere to ensure the consolidation of peace, and that is why we have started a dialogue with all those countries which wish to speak with us, without considering their political ideology or their form of government. We are convinced that it is not necessary to possess a nuclear arsenal or to be a world economic power in order to possess a voice that can be heard, supporting and encouraging peace. Even small nations like my own, with clear-cut historic vision and a tradition against war, can and should raise the standard of peace.

21. For my Government peace will continue to be the ultimate objective of all our activities, both domestically and externally, and thus we daily feel more identified with the primary task of the United Nations.

22. All the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations are the bases and beacons of our foreign policy. It is for that reason that this year Costa Rica, with the unanimous support of the Latin American group of States, has decided to put forward its candidacy for one of the elective seats in the Security Council. We are thus trying to show my country's readiness to accept its part of the general responsibilities of the United Nations. Were we to be elected we would make the greatest effort in that post to interpret the feelings and aspirations to peace, justice and development that imbue the peoples of Latin America,

whose representatives would be choosing us to represent the entire region.

23. In the course of the general debate at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, note was taken with satisfaction of the favourable way in which relations among the great Powers had evolved. We pointed out then that tensions between the East and the West were being reduced, tensions which for years had kept us plunged in the cold war and which at times seemed to be pushing the world towards nuclear holocaust.

24. At this new session we can again state that the détente between the East and the West has continued to grow in even more favourable conditions. The end of the war in Viet-Nam, the treaties on the normalization of relations among European States, the agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons, and the holding of the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are just so many more encouraging symptoms of an improved atmosphere for world peace. Never have we been so close to putting into effect President Nixon's idea that the era of negotiation must replace the era of confrontation.

25. But the truth of the matter is that while tension between the East and West has been considerably reduced, the underlying tension between the North and the South is emerging and becoming more acute. While the great Powers seem to find a balance of coexistence in the administration of their own welfare, there is growing dissatisfaction on the part of the under-developed nations with the exploitation of which, consciously or unconsciously, the industrialized, capitalistic or socialistic nations have made them the victims.

26. At the sessions of the United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*] the paradox—albeit an understandable one—has become evident that there is an association among the governments in the north of the northern hemisphere, which have achieved a high degree of development, vis-à-vis the just claims of the nations in the south, which are beginning to be aware of the fact that their lack of union is a main cause of their backwardness.

27. The northern nations, regardless of their political ideology, represent conservatism in the struggle for world development. But this should be no surprise. The wealthy States always tend to be conservative. They have too much personal well-being to safeguard. On the other hand, the countries of the south—where, geographically, all the countries of the third world are located—tend to be revolutionary. Since they are poor and backward they feel compelled to liquidate the national and international structures that hinder their development. Confronted by the inequity of world trade and the lack of true, multi-national economic co-operation, the winds of revolution blow increasingly stronger from the south to the north.

28. It is for those reasons that I repeat that this new process of the convergence of forces is rapidly changing the axis of international tensions. Until a short time ago, primarily for ideological and sometimes for dogmatic reasons, the axis ran from east to west. But because of the struggle against under-development, the axis of world tensions has switched and now goes from south to north.

29. A short while ago I stated in Mexico that the greatest threat to peace was no longer nuclear weapons, which seem to have found in the balance of terror their own form of coexistence. The greatest threat to international peace and security—a threat which is far more explosive than even nuclear fusion itself—is the extreme poverty suffered by the great masses living in the southern hemisphere of the globe.

30. The despair of more than 2,000 million inhabitants living miserably in the under-developed nations composing the third world constitutes the greatest challenge to the new system of peaceful coexistence advocated by the great Powers.

31. But to maintain that peaceful coexistence—one we all desire—it is imperative that we increase international co-operation for development, without ties, and establish a truly equitable foreign trade. Otherwise, the frustration of the peoples of the third world will become so acute that the tensions between the south and the north will grow, and very soon the world will find itself radically divided into two camps of a new "cold war" with much more fatal consequences than those suffered by mankind because of the already reduced tensions that existed in the previous "cold war" between east and west.

32. We are confronted now by a new session of the General Assembly and yet, unfortunately, no progress has been made in the establishment of peace in the Middle East. Despite the efforts made by our Organization, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) still has not been implemented.

33. We must repeat to this Assembly our conviction that any solution sought to overcome the crisis of the Middle East must fit fully within the terms of reference of resolution 242 (1967). That resolution combines in a balanced fashion three basic principles for peace in the Levant. Those are: (a) the principle of non-recognition of the acquisition of territory occupied by force; (b) the need to respect the sovereignty of all States of the region within recognized and secure boundaries; and (c) the just solution of the problem of the displaced Palestinians.

34. We believe that until a final solution is found, efforts should be redoubled to open the Suez Canal. The closing of the Canal has caused great economic losses not only to the countries concerned in the controversy of the Middle East, but also to the entire international community.

35. This year, as every year, we raise our voices in favour of general and complete disarmament under international control. By such an achievement not only would we safeguard mankind from the shadow of terror projected by war potential, but it would be possible for part of the \$200 billion a year devoted to the purchase of weaponry to be devoted to international assistance, which—and this bears repetition—constitutes a duty and not philanthropy. It is a duty because, by such assistance, the industrialized nations, which are the ones that spend the most on weaponry, would be in a position to give back to the developing countries part of what they have extracted from them in order to help build their own development and power.

36. We regret the fact that despite the progressive détente to which we have referred with great encouragement, it has not progressed to the point of making disarmament possible. Costa Rica has supported and will continue to support the idea of holding a world disarmament conference. We do not lose hope at the misgivings that are expressed by some of the great Powers concerning the convening of such a conference. But realistically speaking, we do not expect it to be held without the necessary preparation. It is lamentable that the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, appointed by the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, has not progressed in the task entrusted to it, particularly because of the refusal of four of the five nuclear Powers to participate in its deliberations, namely, the United States, China, France and the United Kingdom.

37. As a Latin American nation, Costa Rica is proud to be an active party to the 1967 Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), which has established in our region the only zone free of nuclear weapons. My delegation is gratified that in the course of the last year France and the People's Republic of China have joined the United States of America and the United Kingdom in signing Additional Protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco. We regret the fact that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has not as yet seen fit to do so.

38. Since the end of the Second World War, more than 70 nations which had been under the colonial yoke have achieved their independence and are today Members of the United Nations. But that triumph of the principle of self-determination of peoples cannot fully satisfy us until the process of decolonization which was set in motion by the United Nations has been completed. My delegation will continue to give its whole-hearted support to the nations that struggle to achieve their complete independence.

39. True to its tradition and being a determined partisan of the right of all peoples to choose their own future without outside pressure, Costa Rica repeats its support for the resolutions of the Security Council condemning all types of colonial policies. We also reaffirm our respect for the sanctions decreed against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and also for the validity and purpose of the resolutions approved by this Assembly, which has repeatedly repudiated any form of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

40. I cannot pass over in silence the existence of the problem of Gibraltar, the last of the colonies on European soil. It is our duty to ask for the application to Gibraltar of the United Nations doctrine on decolonization in order to restore the territorial integrity of Spain. Thus, we hope that as promptly as possible the United Kingdom will declare itself ready to resume the negotiations with Spain called for in the resolutions of the General Assembly, in order to put and end to the colonial situation, a remnant of an anachronistic past, which continues to exist in Gibraltar.

41. This year we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Surely this would be an appropriate moment to ponder the great principles contained in that valuable document as well as the way it has been either applied or set aside by some.

42. History shows that ethical codes have always preceded ethical conduct, because societies need time to be educated and to assimilate more noble norms. And even after that, perfection is never achieved. Therefore, we should not be discouraged by the differences that we note in many nations, differences between the principles that were solemnly proclaimed a quarter of a century ago and the respect shown or not shown for those norms of conduct today.

43. The shadow of the totalitarian oppression unleashed by nazism and fascism led to the unanimous adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That document was intended to sum up the separation between freedom and slavery, peace and violence, justice and injustice, full development of the human personality and its mutilation.

44. The Declaration, in admirably precise language, defined the minimum framework of rights within which human dignity can develop. The minimum includes the right to equality, freedom, economic well being and to receive fraternal treatment from other members of the human family.

45. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations sets out as one of the main goals of the United Nations the following principle:

“To achieve international co-operation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”.

46. But since the Charter itself does not specify which are those human rights and fundamental freedoms which it is a basic responsibility of the Organization to promote and respect, Costa Rica believes that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights interprets the meaning of those terms, and thus it is incorporated in the Charter.

47. Although the Declaration itself is not a binding series of rules for Members of the United Nations, as an interpretive document of the norms of the Charter that are binding it does share that binding character which calls for its observance.

48. States Members cannot claim ignorance of human rights and fundamental freedoms which they themselves promised to encourage when they adopted the Charter. When agreeing to the Declaration, they approved the list of rights and freedoms included among the terms of Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter that I have mentioned, and they therefore accepted the obligation of ensuring their recognition and universal and effective application through progressive national and international measures. It is in this way that Costa Rica interprets the situation and, at least as far as we are concerned, the ethical norms included in the Declaration of Human Rights are juridical mandates that cannot be shirked.

49. It is obvious that the dignity of man cannot be fully achieved merely by stating classic civil or political rights, or even by applying them. Human freedom is incomplete and may be spurned by others unless the individual enjoys a decent standard of living. We can also state that in the

international field a country is not sufficiently respected, although it may be politically independent, unless, through its work and by its trade with other countries, it is able worthily to maintain the life of its citizens.

50. Furthermore, it is also an obvious fact that to achieve a standard of living that is adequate for all members of society, a high degree of economic development is required. Thus we can echo the words of the late President Kennedy that development is another name for freedom. Human rights in their economic and social aspects can be achieved only if high production is combined with just distribution.

51. President Figueres of Costa Rica has quite correctly stated:

“Before the industrial revolution it was inconceivable that there would be sufficient goods and services. Tacitly it was accepted by all except a few reformers that the work of the community could not produce more than was necessary for the welfare of a privileged minority. But today, for the first time in human history, some countries are producing enough for all their citizens. The poor nations, which still constitute the majority of mankind, wish to do the same. They, too, wish to develop.

“It is in the common interest of all peoples and for the harmony of the human family that these backward nations should be allowed to develop. Economic and social rights cannot be universally exercised until the co-ordinated work of mankind produces sufficient goods and services to meet the needs of all peoples.”

52. For these economic and social rights to be fully implemented by States, they must possess the enormous financial and technical resources that only development can provide. That is why the under-developed nations cannot make human rights fully effective and why the developing nations must be assisted internationally so that, by accelerating their economic and social growth, they will be in a position to comply with the covenants that they have signed.

53. Costa Rica regrets that the International Covenants on Human Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*] have not yet been ratified by a sufficient number of countries for them to enter into force. We take advantage of this opportunity respectfully to call on the States that have not yet ratified the Covenants to try to do so as soon as possible.

54. Eloquently to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Costa Rica—which sponsored the draft resolution proposing the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights²—urges this Assembly and its Third Committee not to continue to postpone the study of this matter and to decide once and for all to give final approval to an important instrument for ensuring co-operation in bringing about respect for human rights.

55. Costa Rica hopes that the United Nations will soon make a reality of the charter on economic rights and duties

of States. This initiative, taken by President Echeverría of Mexico at the third session of UNCTAD,³ has the whole-hearted support of my delegation because, as the distinguished proponent stated, a just order and a stable world are not possible until obligations and duties are established to protect economically weak States.

56. Such a charter must include the duty of the industrialized States to give more equitable treatment to the under-developed nations in their trade relations, because trade among the wealthy and the poor nations should be the best instrument for uniform world development. If economic and social rights were universally implemented, one hour of human work done in one country could be exchanged for one hour of human work done in another. This rule—which, we recognize, is a far-distant target—could nevertheless give many economically backward countries all the income necessary for development.

57. But against that thesis it will be argued that, in the majority of activities, the yield of one hour of work largely depends on the capital invested in the worker and also on the amount of technology utilized. For example, a good operator with an automatic shovel moves a hundred times more earth than a poor worker with a hand shovel; and, therefore, the same payment cannot be given to the skilled worker as to the unskilled labourer.

58. However, in the advanced societies salary levels rise without taking the individual yield specifically into account. There are activities in which the man-hour yield has multiplied, such as in the steel industry. But there are other activities in which there has been no increase in man-hour productivity, as in the case of barbers, technicians, or musicians. But the salaries of all have grown more or less uniformly. Obviously, salaries and fees have been related to the increase in the productivity of the economy as a whole. The barber who shaves the mechanic is indirectly producing steel. This is in keeping with the aspirations of States to economic and social rights.

59. If mankind were integrated the same principle should apply internationally, and although it might appear to be a pipe-dream today, there is no moral reason why the Costa Rican peasant who produces coffee—on which the mechanic in Detroit breakfasts and then goes to build a truck to transport grain—should earn less—up to 20 times less—than his American colleague. The just role should be “equal pay for equal effort”.

60. President Figueres has pointed out repeatedly that the advanced societies hate even the least vestiges of slave labour, and the minimum wage laws prevent employers from buying cheap labour, even when foreign workers are in abundance. But they do not apply this idea to foreign trade. President Figueres has stated:

“The efforts of a vast number of workers receiving subsistence payment are purchased by the wealthy nations in the form of raw materials, and particularly

² *Ibid.*, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 98, document A/6167, para. 3.

³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. 1a, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), p. 186.

agricultural materials. Free trade is allowed between private importers who negotiate from a position of strength in a wealthy economy and private exporters who reflect the weakness of a poor nation. Private exporters in a poor country do not feel responsible for the welfare of their people. Their main interest is to maintain the highest possible margin between what they pay national producers or workers and the price they obtain from the foreign importers. As far as they are concerned, exporting is good business at any level of price or salary; and thus, unintentionally, they delay economic development and social improvement”.

61. As long as international trade accentuates the impoverishment of the under-developed nations, it is indispensable that we continue to compensate for the imbalance by means of so-called foreign aid. Even if the terms of trade were to improve, it would still be necessary to give financial assistance to the developing countries to compensate them for the drain on their wealth during centuries of commercial exploitation.

62. In the First United Nations Development Decade this foreign aid was assessed at about 1 per cent of the gross national product of the industrialized nations; but that target was not reached. Now it has been assessed at 0.70 per cent; and yet not even 0.35 per cent has been reached. It should be much higher if we truly wish to bridge the increasing gap between the poor and the wealthy countries.

63. What chances are there of increasing foreign aid? That depends on the way in which world peace is strengthened. In point of fact, the national product of a developed country is used to pay three types of expenditure: those required to maintain the rate of development of domestic life; military expenses; and those amounts needed to encourage international development.

64. In order to increase the amount of any of those categories in any appreciable form, one or both of the others would have to be reduced. What has thus far been sacrificed is international development, because, politically, it is the least important. For obvious domestic reasons it is very difficult to reduce expenditures intended to maintain the growth of the standard of living; and for international reasons it has been considered a risk to reduce military expenditures.

65. Nevertheless, even though the expectation is not at all realistic, what will have to be reduced some day is, precisely, expenditure on warfare. Now that we are enjoying the results of a great détente among the super-Powers it should be less difficult to reduce military expenditure.

66. As President Figueres has pointed out,

“The arithmetic of this affair is almost childish. If we could reduce by one-half the present expenditure on war, there would be a budget left over sufficient to maintain order and to continue the exploration of space, the atom, the sea-bed and the very heart of the earth.

“If we could cut expenditure on warfare by half, the most developed nations, without sacrificing their standard

of living or their rate of growth, could devote the resources thus saved to development abroad. If all nations did likewise, as they should, perhaps in less than a half-century our planet could glory in the flowering of the Great Human Society.”

67. Although there remains a long road to travel, the greatness of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sheds its light along the road to progress in this last quarter of the century.

68. The enjoyment of human rights makes economic and social development an absolute necessity. Development forces us not only to correct the internal causes of poverty in nations, but also to review the entire gamut of economic relationships between the rich countries and the under-developed ones.

69. Since it is difficult to change some of those relationships, it becomes necessary, as a substitute therefor, to offer some general compensation over a long period of time in the form of foreign aid. And as President Figueres of Costa Rica has said:

“Any great increase in foreign aid depends in large measure on the possibility of reducing expenditure for war. This is not at all surprising. Human rights and world peace dwell together in the hearts of men. Together they represent the great goal of the United Nations. Peace helps development. Development engenders peace. Each is a cause and each an effect. They reinforce each other. Their common destiny is the rule of human rights.”

70. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Mr. President, fellow travellers on Spaceship Earth: it is with pleasure that the Philippine delegation offers its warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your many years of distinguished participation in the affairs of the United Nations is the best guarantee that you will guide this Assembly successfully. We are certain that under your able leadership our deliberations will proceed expeditiously and productively and that we will maintain the high standard of achievement of your eminent predecessors, the latest of whom was the distinguished Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Stanisław Trepzyński.

71. A time of change, such as the present, should be a time of opportunity. When human affairs become fluid, what has been impossible becomes possible. What could never be attempted can be accomplished. On the other hand, when old moorings are swept away and old approaches and patterns no longer work, a sense of disorientation and anxiety can overcome us. The question is how we meet change. If we utilize change, direct change, steer change into constructive channels, we can transform situations that have been intractable and we can build anew in better, more adequate ways. If we resist change, if we mourn the old ways, if we are unprepared and have no designs for a better future, then the tides of change will be blocked and futility and frustration will be the result.

72. That we are at such a “fork in history” is plain to all of us. Every field of human affairs is characterized by rapid and irreversible change. The wise guiding of change is our

major responsibility as we near the three-quarter mark of this century.

73. Even forms of government yield to change and adapt to the overriding needs and aspirations of peoples, aspirations whose fulfilment cannot be any longer delayed. Where there is no change, or where efforts are made to set the clock back, disaster is the result. Thus, in the Philippines, as in many other countries, change has become necessary and inevitable in response to the nation's imperative need for a better life.

74. At a time when many old, historically stable, democratic Governments are finding the traditional processes of democracy tarnished—I repeat, tarnished—and their stability uncertain, even more the Governments of newer and poorer nations are discerning, as the Philippines has discerned, that decisive and innovative changes are called for.

75. A year ago, President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines established what was aptly described as a New Society. In essence it was a realistic response to a compelling need for revolutionary change. The old political framework, transplanted from the West, had proved inadequate to satisfy the aspirations of our people for economic and social justice. Structural reforms were needed; indeed, the entire society had to be restructured. The paramount aim was full participation of the people in the responsibilities, as well as the benefits, of national development.

76. President Marcos said on the occasion of the first anniversary of the New Society two weeks ago:

“Basically, what we have done was to lay the foundations of national civility that have been torn up by decades of bitter political strife and social anarchy. We have redressed the most urgent popular grievances. We have established a pattern of social, political and economic stability. From this new level of stability we must now launch our nation towards new heights of development.”

The results are indeed noteworthy. Due to enhanced international acceptance, arising from greatly improved domestic stability, peace and order, foreign investments in the Philippines increased by 138 per cent—I repeat, 138 per cent. The growth of domestic business has kept pace.

77. Even more significant is the change brought about by land reform, the historic cause of social unrest. In recognition of its importance, the first act of President Marcos under the New Society was to declare the entire country a land reform area. In just one year more than 100,000 land transfers have been accomplished, together with essential supporting measures such as the establishment of co-operatives and credit financing, and the development of farm infrastructure facilities. This exceeds the total number of transfers in the quarter century since the Philippines regained its independence.

78. The six-year land reform programme envisions the transfer of more than 1.5 million hectares of farm land to nearly 1 million tenant farmers.

79. Another significant change for the better is the increase of foreign exchange reserves. Starting at a very low point, our foreign exchange reserves rose by over 5,000 per cent—I repeat, 5,000 per cent—under the New Society. In 1972, the surplus was near rock bottom at \$10 million. During the first eight months of 1973 it went up to \$531 million, and in September it rose to \$759 million as against \$10 million a year ago. There has also been a notable improvement in the balance-of-payments position, which in the past year showed a surplus of \$425 million as against only \$6 million the previous year.

80. Tax revenues have increased by more than 65 per cent, reflecting the effectiveness of tax reforms and, more important, enhanced popular support for the New Society. Tourists are coming in ever-greater numbers, and a 30 per cent increase is projected for the coming year.

81. The economic gains under the New Society are matched by advances in the social sectors. Every aspect of national development has received a fresh impetus. The New Society has acted as a catalyst, releasing the creative energies of our people. Dynamic self-help is being maximized.

82. In this great undertaking of transforming a society that had been stunted and malformed by centuries of foreign domination, we have received invaluable assistance from friendly countries and various agencies of the United Nations family. Almost by definition, poor, developing countries, particularly former colonies like the Philippines, cannot attain self-sustaining growth by self-help alone. There are critical gaps in technology, modern equipment and capital funds that can only be filled with external aid.

83. We are particularly grateful to the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], now the largest United Nations operational agency for development, for envisaging an increased indicative planning figure allocation in support of our four-year country development programme. The programme is being reviewed in the light of the New Society's development priorities. We intend to maintain close co-operation with UNDP in this exercise.

84. On the social side, the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] continues to give us urgently needed aid, particularly in the vital fields of child health, applied nutrition, and education for under-privileged youth. Important and deeply appreciated technical assistance is being provided by the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other specialized agencies.

85. But the greatest share of credit and responsibility belongs to our own people, who are now energetically working in unison under the inspired leadership of our President. “The most important gain [of the New Society],” said President Marcos, “is the transformation of our people. It is here that our Democratic Revolution [finds] its greatest virtue.”

86. We are responding constructively to the challenge of change. Politically and economically we are striving, with growing success, to put our own house in order. But in our interdependent world there can be no security in isolation.

87. Our foreign policy therefore has also undergone significant change under the New Society. Among these is a new and sustained effort to open the windows towards the socialist and/or communist countries. Last year, the Philippines established diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and Romania. And in the last two weeks, diplomatic ties were forged between the Philippines and the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, respectively. Active negotiations are in progress to normalize relations with other socialist countries.

88. It is also natural that we should be deeply concerned about the situation in our own neighbourhood, in the Asian region to which we belong.

89. With the ending of the war in Viet-Nam, a new situation confronts us in Asia. One super-Power, the United States, is withdrawing its forces from the Asian mainland and generally reducing its military presence in the area. Another super-Power, the Soviet Union, is increasing its political and military presence in the region. Then we have China, historically and actually the most important Asian country. And modern Japan represents an unprecedented, perhaps unique, factor in the sense that it is a great economic power which thus far has renounced the traditional attendant trappings of military power.

90. The crucial question for us in Asia is this, What shape or form will this momentous convergence of events and forces assume? Will the change be constructive? Or will a new struggle for domination turn Asia once again into a battleground of competing great Power ambitions?

91. In Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971, the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand—have adopted the ASEAN Declaration of South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.⁴ This Declaration expresses their desire to see peace and stability prevail in Southeast Asia and indeed in the whole Asian region, through the observance of the principle of non-intervention in their domestic affairs. It is supplemented by President Marcos's proposal for an Asian forum in which Asian problems could be considered in a spirit of amicable co-operation and Asian disputes settled by peaceful means.

92. Still a cause for serious concern is the continued fighting in Cambodia. Foreign interference is fanning the fires of conflict between the two contending national leaderships in the Khmer Republic. But however plausible the reasons may be, intervention in the internal affairs of a State is inadmissible. We believe therefore that the basic prescription for peace in Cambodia will be to allow the Cambodians to decide their own destiny without active and material assistance from outside. It is up to the Khmer people themselves to determine unmolested the leadership and Government of their choice. If it was possible in Laos to achieve a peace settlement among the contending parties, it is reasonable to expect that a similar accord could be reached in Cambodia. The adjudication of differences within nations and among peoples of the same race, of the

same culture and tradition, if left alone, should be easier to accomplish. Another aspect of the Khmer conflict is the claim put forward that the government in exile had remote control of that territory when it took flight. The United Nations should reject this claim as it is incredible and also fraught with dangerous implications for every Member State.

93. The ASEAN countries were heartened by the Shanghai communiqué of 27 February 1972, in which China and the United States agreed that no single Power should exercise hegemony in Asia. They are encouraged by the professed desire of Japan to play a constructive role in the peaceful development of the Asian region and they hope that the Soviet Union, in developing its policies and its presence in Asia, will take fully into account the Asian peoples' aspiration to peaceful progress.

94. While Asia claims our primary interest, we are no less concerned with the state of the world as a whole. In this larger context, change is also the order of the day. And so it must be with our own world Organization. The United Nations cannot afford to stand still. It must move resolutely toward the future in a sustained effort to bring into being a peaceful and equitable world motivated by justice and humanity. Building the future can be, and should be, a joyful process of co-operative construction. But if change is resisted, if nations are grudging in participating in the communal task, if they refuse to see the handwriting on the wall, then humanity will shed many more bitter and wholly unnecessary tears.

95. Our skills are not so lacking, our understanding is not so meagre, that Spaceship Earth cannot be managed, cannot be piloted successfully toward a better future. No, the ingenuity and imagination of men, the knowledge and wisdom we already have in hand are not so deficient that we can find an excuse in ignorance or a refuge in lack of vision, or in a failure to meet the urgent requirements of our times. The blame, if blame there is to be, must lie in the spirit of separatism and of insularity and in efforts to maintain the *status quo* rather than in exploring together and planning together for that future toward which we are inevitably travelling and in which we shall find that our common identity is the only workable, the only practical and the only functional reality.

96. There can be no secession from the world. No nation can return to former, less complicated, less interdependent days. Instead, the implications of our new interdependence have to be spelled out and must, for survival's sake, be implemented without delay.

97. In many ways our world Organization has demonstrated remarkable adaptability, innovation and originality. In the passage of time, it has generated "global departments" for many of humanity's most urgent needs: among others, in the fields of health, food, education, economic assistance, atomic energy and, even more recently, in environment, population and soon, we hope, a régime for the sea-bed and ocean space. It can be said without exaggeration that these "departments of planetary management" are fundamentally sound, if inadequately supported. Considering the restrictions on their activities imposed by limited resources, they have to their credit many significant achievements.

⁴ See document A/C.1/1019.

98. Clearly, however, the United Nations is not yet receiving the support or the recognition of its centrality in the affairs of all its Members which is required for successful, joint, co-operative approaches to man's most pressing problems—problems which cannot be met and mastered except at the global level. The near-universality of the Organization, and the new steps achieved at the beginning of this session, suggest a growing realization of the essential and fundamental role the Organization will be required to play in the future.

99. I should like, at this time, in my turn to offer my congratulations and the warm welcome of my country to the three new Members of our Organization: the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. We look forward to the important contribution which we are sure they will make to the work of the United Nations. The roster is now nearly complete, and we look forward to the membership of the remaining divided countries at the earliest possible time.

100. We have already heard in this general debate several references to the encumbrances of an Organization which has not changed as rapidly as it should, which continues to be handicapped in its work by improvisation, *ad hoc* inventions and last-minute efforts to head off major disasters, a tactic which is foredoomed to failure. It is perfectly true that improving the structure and functioning of our Organization will not mean that it will automatically be used more effectively by its Members. At the same time, however, every improvement we make will remove one more excuse for the non-use of the United Nations.

101. Improvements in our pre-atomic-age Charter have been long, almost disastrously, delayed. The structure of the Security Council no longer accords with reality. It should be enlarged and made more truly representative. The human rights functions of the Organization seriously need rationalization and centralization. There is no standing machinery for conciliation in political disputes. The peace-keeping machinery is still *ad hoc* in character. We have heard earlier that it may now be possible to move ahead, finally, in the institutionalization of the peace-keeping function which is vital and indispensable to world peace. Our earnest hope is that renewed efforts will bear fruit in the near future.

102. It is plainly embarrassing to old and new Members alike that the odious phrase "enemy States" remains in our Charter. We must consider it a disgrace that we were unable to remove this anachronism before the admission of new Members this year.

103. It is high time indeed for deliberations on the ways to adapt our Organization more effectively to the increasingly heavy demands that will be, and because of the inevitability of future history must be, placed on the United Nations. Our distinguished and able Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, has raised for all of us the fundamental question in very clear terms in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

"Do the majority of Member States really want an Organization which is more than a conference machinery

and a forum for the pursuit of national policies? Do they really want an Organization which can play a useful and active role in focusing international efforts on the solution of the most difficult and controversial problems...?" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 8.]

Those are the questions posed to us by the Secretary-General.

104. In my view, the answer to these questions is at the present time neither yes nor no. The Members are ambivalent about the United Nations. They begin to see the absolute and inescapable necessity for the Organization to perform functions global in scope that no States nor group of States can perform by themselves. At the same time, implied in implementing vital tasks for the world community is a major change, if one might say so, in gravity, a shift in focus from go-it-alone national attitudes and mechanisms to machinery for global co-operation, consensus and the common pursuit of collective solutions.

105. But we cannot expect to enjoy the fruits of collective action on common problems without prior commitment to a community approach. International peace and security, collective economic security, disarmament and universal human rights will always elude us unless the prerequisite commitments to common processes are firmly and finally made.

106. It is with those considerations in mind that the Government of the Philippines has resolutely stood for the improvement of our Organization. I wish to make it absolutely clear that we have taken this approach for no ulterior motives. We have none. We have not undertaken it from ambition for a special place in the Organization. We have none. We have not undertaken it as the agent for any super-Power or for any nation other than ourselves. Our concern is simply to help bring our Organization up to the highest peak of efficiency and effectiveness achievable at this critical time. We are well aware, like the majority of Members, that this is not the case today. As, during the coming year, we prepare for a sober consideration of the views and suggestions of Members for the improvement of the world Organization, we anticipate that all Members will be giving this important endeavour the serious reflection it deserves and requires. We look forward to co-operating again with like-minded colleagues from many countries as we recommence the work we began on the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization.

107. This, too, is an anniversary year—the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one of the noblest, most far-reaching texts of man, and a testimonial to the essential soundness of mankind's vision and aspiration. The acceptance of a guide of planetary norms for the treatment of human beings is wholly without precedent. Its adoption marked a new "coming of age" of the human race. For the first time, man, the noblest of species, was called upon to respond and to respect the integrity of all of its own kind.

108. The intervening years have seen stumbling progress, halting progress, but real and substantial progress nevertheless. Yet the right to self-determination, the only basic human right enshrined in both of the International Cove-

nants on human rights [*see resolution 2200 A (XXI)*], continues to be defiantly denied to remaining colonies, particularly in Africa. And above all evils, the evil of *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination still divides us, still pits man against man, still inflicts wounds on the body of mankind.

109. We are embarking on a new effort to eradicate this most ancient evil. We all have our responsibilities in this regard. But some Members in a position to effect change have a particular and unique responsibility and, if I might say so, the opportunity to ring down the curtain on this aspect of man's inhumanity to man. Does the exercise of this opportunity cost something in terms of short-term strained relations or immediate benefit? Then we must ask, What is that cost, compared to the freeing of whole enclaves of humanity into their proper estate, and to the gratitude which will be universally felt?

110. We welcome the growing spirit of *détente*—as long as it bears fruits to be shared by all the world. It should, for instance, extend to the Middle East and inspire a new and determined effort to resolve that crisis on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). And *détente* should be merely the prelude to renewed and intensified efforts within the larger framework of our Organization to find concord and to tackle the blights of our planet with resources released from strife. A *détente* that stops short will be a source of disappointment, and can even become a source of global danger. For *détente* is only the beginning of opportunity—opportunity to approach the neglected agenda of man's most urgent needs. The United Nations has recently been the birthplace of important new concepts of the greatest potential importance for peace and justice. In connexion with the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the concept of the common heritage of mankind was born. In connexion with the material disparities which are inflicting untold suffering on the "southern world", the concept of "collective economic security" is now under consideration and elaboration, together with the Mexican proposal for a charter of economic rights and duties of States, which may ultimately become one of the means for the emancipation of man from want and hunger. Only when that comes to pass will the full dimensions of human creative energies become manifest.

111. In any case, we must begin immediately to plan together and to plan carefully for the equitable access of all peoples to the finite resources and benefits of our small, beautiful and irreplaceable planet. To protect short-term gains against the requirements of long-term global planning is to prepare the world for strife and the human race for suicide. While we have time, there is, as we have often been reminded, no time to spare. If we cannot plan for our collective future in the United Nations, then where shall we confront the task? Progress thus far has given only mild reason for hope and, in some areas, it has been plainly disappointing. For instance, which of the resolutions adopted at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have been honoured and implemented? Which? To what extent are the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade to be achieved? The record so far has not been encouraging, and it sharply challenges complacency. History will judge harshly those that have the power, and thus the oppor-

tunity and responsibility to act, and yet have so far neglected to do so.

112. The importance of the Conference on the Law of the Sea is well understood by us all. In particular, the Conference will provide for archipelagic countries like my own the possibility of a much more adequate recognition of our special problems, which have been ignored in the past. The Philippines, in common with other archipelagic States, has a profound interest in this question, and we intend to take an active part in its detailed consideration by the appropriate Committee of the Assembly.

113. All States stand to benefit from the rationalization of the law of the sea. And, as cannot be said too often, the placing of the bulk of the resources of the sea under the auspices of a new United Nations régime will guarantee new economic benefits, equitably shared, and the preservation and protection of the "common heritage of mankind". To achieve that goal will require a high degree of restraint and a sense of community born of a truly enlightened self-interest. To fail to exercise this attitude at the forthcoming Conference would be to forfeit one of the major opportunities now open to the family of nations. The measure of joint planning and consensus for mutual benefit at the Conference will be the measure of maturity in the world community.

114. Not only will the Conference on the Law of the Sea be held next year, but, as we are also aware, the World Population Conference will convene during a year dedicated to a re-evaluation of the carrying capacity of the planet and of the responsibilities of each nation with regard to population questions, a field in which the United Nations Fund for Population Activities has been rendering exceptionally efficient and commendable service. Each of these major issues which has come before this Organization—as, last year, the vital question of preserving and enhancing the human environment was before us—serves to demonstrate the overriding need for effective world approaches and for effective world institutions to implement them. Thus, each passing year underlines the importance of our work and can serve to renew our determination to succeed in our endeavours.

115. In the light of those considerations, it is to be regretted that this year has not seen more substantial progress in halting and reversing the arms race, which, like a cancerous growth on the body of humanity, parasitically drains off so much of the world's material and scientific wealth not only into non-productive but into monstrously threatening channels. It is a matter of particular regret to the nations of the Pacific basin that the appeals of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly with regard to the end of all nuclear testing have gone unheeded. While we welcome whatever forward motion has been registered in the existing forums, the results are disappointingly meagre and slow, leaving humanity still in jeopardy and with an uncertain future. The acceleration of progress towards a ban on all nuclear tests should be the overriding consideration—not whether one or another forum at any particular time should be given eminence.

116. We fully realize that no single meeting or series of meetings, no single forum or series of forums will provide

instant general disarmament. Yet we believe that each avenue which offers some promise of greater understanding and progress should be most seriously considered. We would point out that progress made during the coming year will assist greatly in ensuring a productive review of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)].

117. General and complete disarmament, in the long run, depends, as it always has, upon the simultaneous creation of a viable and just world order able to assume and discharge the responsibilities of peace-making and peace-keeping and the safeguarding of equity and justice that no nation or group of nations can ever again provide for themselves. It is thus urgent that we begin “thinking in parallel”—in designing provision for the parallel augmentation of our international institutions for global peace and security at the same time that we redouble our efforts to curtail and finally to end the nuclear arms race. Nor must the conventional arms races in areas of tension—which until now have been all too often overlooked—be neglected. Not only do they take on ruinous economic dimensions and threaten military disaster for the States concerned, but they can also serve as the fuses for general conflict. We would hope that the United Nations may be encouraged to assume a part of the task once performed by the League of Nations in the publication of available data on arms budgets and arms transfers. Such publication would be wholly without prejudice to the parties concerned, but would provide the world community with instructive information and perhaps guide-lines as a basis for action in dealing with this extremely important problem.

118. In a related field, my Government takes a profound interest in the forthcoming conference on human rights in armed conflict,⁵ called at the suggestion of the International Committee of the Red Cross. We particularly applaud the efforts of those whose far-sighted and humanitarian endeavours are directed to limitations and restrictions on particularly indiscriminate or cruel weapons, and we remain hopeful of progress in this area.

119. Each year of the following decade, like the years of the past decade, is sure to be described as “unprecedented”; and each time the statement is made it will be absolutely correct. Our annual meeting provides the opportunity for a trip to the mountain-top to broaden our perspective, renew our vision and chart a course of constructive change for the period ahead. At times, all that is required is course correction; at other times, major shifts in orientation and commitment are inescapable. No less than the best we have to offer will suffice to see us through the fateful changes of the period immediately ahead.

120. Its major characteristics will relate to the implementation of interdependence in new institutions and in adaptation of the best of the old; they will relate to the central fact of irreversible human convergence and to the need for securing the richness of human diversity as the accompaniment of human unity. It has been well said that we have no alternative but to enact our age-old ideals—for purely technical reasons. The planet cannot be steered save

from the cockpit of Spaceship Earth on which, for better or for worse, we are all fellow travellers. The requirements of its passengers cannot be analysed or quantified adequately except from the central clearing-house. What our individual nations can perform adequately for their peoples can, should and will remain with them; what they cannot, must be pooled for accommodation and the hammering out of collective decisions. The road of conscious comity leads to a peaceful and harmonious future; the alternate road of separatism and self-defeating selfishness leads to disaster.

121. Our United Nations gains daily in importance in the discharge of our common task. May it gain daily also in the commitment of its Members.

122. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, I bring to you and to all our colleagues assembled here the greetings and good wishes of the Government and the people of India. I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your accession to the high office of President of the General Assembly. In selecting you as its candidate for President, the continent of Latin America has shown its appreciation of your ability and experience and has helped the Assembly in choosing a man whose faith, competence and devoted services to the United Nations can assure us of a successful session. You can always depend on the full co-operation of my delegation in carrying out your tasks as President.

123. I should like to record our appreciation of the outgoing President, Mr. Trepczyński of Poland, for the skill and patience with which he discharged his responsibilities. With his leadership we accomplished much that was valuable in the work of the United Nations.

124. Our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has now been in office for nearly two years. We have admired his dynamism, and the sense of purpose he has brought to his work. We look forward to his wise counsel and assessment on many of the issues we shall deal with during the current session.

125. We deeply mourn the death of the President of Chile, Dr. Allende, in such violent and tragic circumstances. I do not intend to comment on internal developments of a sovereign State. In the wider context, however, I must express profound regret and concern over the setback that the democratic tradition of the people of Chile has suffered as a result of his overthrow, and over the violence, bloodshed and deprivation of human rights and infringement of diplomatic obligations which have recently been reported from that country. We earnestly hope that peace and harmony will be restored soon so that the people of Chile can resume their work of national reconstruction and reconciliation without any outside intervention and without further violence.

126. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1], has indicated the value of the United Nations in the present-day world, and has emphasized once again that the United Nations can only be what its Member States wish it to be. Few delegations will disagree with that assessment; the universal desire to render the United Nations a more effective instrument for promoting international peace and co-operation will depend on the willingness and ability of

⁵ Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts.

the States represented here to appreciate and reconcile different points of view and to arrive at decisions which serve those interests which are shared by most of us. Surely, our effort should be to extend the area of co-operation through identification of those interests. At the same time, in discussing any problems we must look at them in their totality and apply the Charter provisions in all their aspects and not selectively or in a piecemeal fashion.

127. The year that has just passed since we last met has seen important, though uneven, developments, but, on the whole, the world has moved forward, however haltingly and however slightly, towards our goal of peace, justice and progress. The gradual reduction of tension between rival blocs, which many of us had long been urging, is now clearly noticeable. The recent improvement of relations between the great Powers and the increase in contacts between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, and the United States of America and China, are important in themselves, and also as an indication that the trend that developed last year has maintained its momentum. The Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, concluded between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in June of this year, and the understandings between them in several other fields are welcome. We are also gratified that this steady search for international peace and security has led to important developments in Europe: in the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, in the treaties between the two German States and between the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries in Eastern Europe, and in the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

128. We join others in welcoming the process of mutual accommodation and co-operation and the consequent reduction of tension. However, this spirit of détente has yet to extend to all parts of the world and should not be limited to mere coexistence among the major Powers. Regrettably, such concepts as the balance of power, spheres of influence and power vacuum are yet to be discarded. Unfortunately also, the great Power rivalry continues to show itself in many ways and in many areas; this brings severe stress and strain in international relations. The power of the strong is still to be placed at the common service of mankind. Only through genuine co-operation can the peoples of the world move forward towards a better future, in accordance with their own wishes and without any feeling of subordination and dependence, or of imposition or pressure from outside.

129. I was privileged to take part in the Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers, where those problems received the most careful and comprehensive examination from the largest gathering of Heads of State or Government ever held. The most significant feature of that great Conference was the confidence it created and the will it generated to work together for realizing our common objectives. Those States are determined to achieve, together with all nations of the world and with a spirit of constructive co-operation, equality among all nations and an equitable exploitation of resources of the world. We shall thus encourage the march forward of man for peace and for a better life. Political understanding and economic co-operation among major

Powers are therefore to be so arranged and channelled that they do not become, even unintentionally, instruments of new forms of domination and dependence.

130. The maintenance of world peace and security will depend to a large extent on the speedy removal of economic and social disparities, both nationally and internationally. The non-aligned countries wish to build, together with other developing States, a collective self-reliance within the framework of international understanding. They are determined to remove all forms and manifestations of injustice and inequality, discrimination and oppression wherever they may exist. Their dedication to this cause should not be mistaken as a confrontation with any particular country or a group of countries. They have reaffirmed their firm resolve to strengthen the United Nations, which remains the best available machinery for world-wide co-operation.

131. The world has changed a great deal since our Charter was signed in San Francisco nearly 30 years ago. The Charter must evolve with the times in order to remain an effective and dynamic force for peace and progress. Thus, there is an understandable desire for a comprehensive review of it. We believe, however, that in the prevailing climate of international politics, it would be premature to do more than examine the Charter in certain fields.

132. We welcome this year three new Members: the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We have excellent relations with those States and look forward to working with them in the United Nations. The Bahamas joins us as the newest Member State from the Caribbean within a few weeks of attaining freedom. We cannot forget in this connexion that there are still a number of countries which are to be freed from colonial rule.

133. The simultaneous admission of the two German States to the United Nations may well signal the disappearance of tensions and hostilities of the past and the beginning of a new era of understanding and co-operation in Central Europe. We welcome the new pattern of relationship. The two German States, as Members of this Organization, could indeed make a significant contribution to world peace and development.

134. The admission of these States marks an important step in achieving the goal of universality of membership of the United Nations. This makes it all the more regrettable that Bangladesh, a sovereign State recognized by over 100 Members of the United Nations and with a population of over 75 million people, has not yet been able to take its rightful place among us. I should like to emphasize the call made by the Algiers Conference for the admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations. Member States will no doubt recognize that the continuing denial of Bangladesh's right to be in the United Nations injures, if not defeats, the purposes and principles of the Charter of this Organization.

135. India seeks friendship and co-operation with all nations on the basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect. With over 75 States of the different continents of the world we share the common ideals of non-alignment. Together with these and many other developing countries

we face the common problem of economic development and are working for a better world order.

136. With western Europe our links go back for centuries and the future holds bright prospects for greater exchanges in various fields. Our political and economic relations with the countries of eastern Europe have shown steady and fruitful development. With the Soviet Union we have achieved a close and co-operative friendship, based on mutual trust and understanding, which we greatly cherish. Both the United States and India have a strong faith in democratic systems and we share many common values. Our contacts and associations with Britain have lasted for hundreds of years and now continue to develop on a basis of mutual respect and equality. Our common cultural values and liberal traditions provide a strong base for our growing friendship with France. As close neighbours, India and China have to live in peace and amity, and we hope that our relations will soon move in that direction.

137. Japan's rapid industrial advance is a lesson for us, and we welcome that country's co-operation in various fields. We are glad that Australia, Canada and New Zealand are sharing, more and more, our values and attitudes and are showing greater awareness of Asian and African aspirations. In Ottawa, we had a successful meeting of the Commonwealth countries about six weeks ago.

138. With our most immediate neighbours—Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, Nepal and Sri Lanka—we maintain and seek the closest friendship and wide-ranging co-operation. We are making all possible efforts to end the era of confrontation with Pakistan.

139. The most significant development in our subcontinent has been the search through direct negotiations for normalization of relations. The New Delhi Agreement of 28 August 1973 provides for the settlement of the humanitarian problems left over from the conflict of 1971. It represents yet another step in the fulfilment of the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, which had set out the framework for the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent.

140. Ever since independence, India has tried its utmost to live in peace and friendship with Pakistan. In spite of many setbacks and frustrations, this has remained, and will remain, a fundamental objective of our foreign policy.

141. The tragic events in the subcontinent in 1971 were a direct consequence of the short-sighted policies and adventurist actions of the Pakistani military rulers to which the President, now Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto himself has made repeated references. The military oligarchy, having failed to crush the determination of 75 million Bengalis, involved India in a war by suddenly bombing from the air several places in western India on 3 December 1971. I state these simple facts only to give a proper perspective, and not with any desire to dwell on the past. Our purpose is to look forward.

142. The war lasted about two weeks and the fighting stopped in Bangladesh on 16 December 1971. From that moment onwards, we took a series of steps to restore normalcy and achieve durable peace in the Indian subcontinent.

143. In the eastern sector, all Indian troops were withdrawn from Bangladesh within a period of 90 days by agreement between the two Governments; all the prisoners taken in Bangladesh were transferred to India as a result of a decision by the joint Indo-Bangladesh command; and all the refugees—nearly 10 million of them—returned from India to Bangladesh in three months' time, by the end of March 1972. In the western sector, the unilateral cease-fire declared by India came into effect on 17 December 1971.

144. Soon after the cease-fire, we sought negotiations with Pakistan. As a result of the initiative taken by Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi a summit meeting was held in Simla. An agreement was arrived at on 2 July 1972, which, among other things, provided for, first, a line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, secondly, evacuation of territories occupied during the conflict; and thirdly, troop withdrawals. All these decisions were implemented in less than six months. An area of over 5,000 square miles occupied during the conflict was vacated and restored to Pakistan. In addition, all the prisoners of war taken by either side in the western sector returned home.

145. Our next initiative was to make a joint declaration with Bangladesh on 17 April 1973 for solving the major humanitarian problems which arose as a result of the 1971 conflict. Three groups of people were affected: (a) hundreds of thousands of Bangalis stranded in Pakistan and prevented from returning to Bangladesh; (b) hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis in Bangladesh whom Pakistan was refusing to receive; and (c) about 90,000 prisoners of war and civilian internees held in India. Bangladesh showed a spirit of accommodation and statesmanship in delinking the humanitarian problems from the unresolved political issues between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

146. Following negotiations with Pakistan on the basis of this joint declaration, an agreement between India and Bangladesh, with the full concurrence of Bangladesh, was arrived at and signed in Delhi on 28 August 1973. This agreement provides for simultaneous repatriation of all the three groups I have just mentioned.

147. As regards the 195 prisoners of war, all three Governments agreed that they should be kept in India pending a final settlement. The Delhi Agreement further provides, and I quote:

"On completion of repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees in India, Bengalis in Pakistan and Pakistanis in Bangladesh referred to in Clause (v) above, or earlier if they so agree, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan will discuss and settle the question of 195 prisoners of war. Bangladesh has made it clear that it can participate in such a meeting only on the basis of sovereign equality."

148. We hope that the Delhi Agreement will be fully, speedily and smoothly implemented with goodwill on all sides. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. Simultaneous repatriation of Bengalis from Pakistan, Pakistanis from Bangladesh, and prisoners of war and civilian internees from India has already started.

149. I doubt if there is any comparable instance in modern history where a cease-fire, demarcation, troop

withdrawal, evacuation of occupied territories and repatriation of persons detained or stranded, following an international armed conflict of significant character, has been brought about within such a short period. All this has been achieved through direct negotiations, and as a result of the understanding shown on all sides, after taking into account all aspects of the problems. Therefore, to discuss now piecemeal and in isolation any of these problems from the point of view of any single party would be, to say the least, of little profit.

150. These concrete facts clearly show that our search for normalization of relations and the establishment of a durable peace in the subcontinent has continued and has produced significant results. Our commitment to this goal is unequivocal. If we succeed in making the subcontinent an area of peace and co-operation, it not only will lead to a better life for over 700 millions of its people, but also will have a salutary impact on other areas as well.

151. The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam was signed in Paris this year. For many years we had repeatedly expressed our conviction that a military solution in this area was not feasible. Therefore, the massive and what seemed to be avoidable destruction of life and property in Indo-China shocked and pained us. The final terms of settlement, including provisions for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Indo-China and for bringing about a workable cease-fire in that area, are not much different from what we have been advocating all these years. The tragic sufferings of the people of Viet-Nam must come to an end and the full implementation of the Paris Agreement offers a challenge as well as an opportunity; every effort should be made to ensure lasting peace and to promote full and speedy reconstruction.

152. As with the people of Viet-Nam, so with the people of Laos and Cambodia, India has always had close historical, cultural and emotional links. They can always depend on our sympathy, understanding and support. In this context, we welcome the recently concluded agreement among the parties in Laos. We hope that the people of Laos will soon be able to set up a national coalition government in accordance with their legitimate aspirations without any outside interference.

153. The peace in Indo-China will not be complete until the war in Cambodia has also been brought to an end. We are deeply distressed at the suffering which the people of Cambodia are still undergoing and the heavy toll of lives that is still taking place. We would urge that the people of Cambodia should be enabled to determine freely, and without any outside interference, their own future so that peace can return to that unhappy and tortured land. The international community can best assist this process by respecting fully the legitimate right to freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of Indo-China.

154. The comprehensive debate on the situation in the Middle East in the Security Council this summer showed once more, and most convincingly, that there can be no solution to this problem until Israel withdraws from the territories it has occupied by force as a consequence of the 1967 war. Israel's persistent refusal to vacate the occupied Arab lands and its violation of the rights of the inhabitants

of the territories occupied by force are the direct causes of tension and conflict in this area. A just solution based on the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians can lead to an enduring peace in this region. The Secretary-General's visit to the Middle East must have brought into clearer focus the views of the contestants. His analysis may well help the parties and the Security Council to continue the search for a just and speedy solution to this explosive situation. We, on our part, will be guided by the principles we have always followed in regard to the problem of the Middle East; they are: the non-acquisition of territories by force of arms, the right of all States in the area to exist, and the inalienable rights of the Palestinians.

155. We have noted with satisfaction the direct dialogue established between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea for the intensification of contacts to solve humanitarian problems and the eventual reunification of the Korean people. In these talks, as indeed in the whole of Korea, the less outside interference there is the better will be the chances of the parties reaching agreement. Any proposal before the United Nations on this subject will be examined by us with these considerations in mind.

156. The twin phenomena of colonial domination and racial bigotry in Africa are the greatest burden on the conscience of the contemporary world.

157. The situation of the people under Portuguese domination was tragically highlighted by the disclosures in the international press of the gruesome massacres in Mozambique. We must continue to expose the criminal character of Portuguese colonialism.

158. We welcome the declaration of independence by the people of Guinea-Bissau and extend our support to Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde in its work of national integration and consolidation. We have no doubt that the peoples of Angola and Mozambique will soon succeed in their struggle for independence.

159. The will to be independent must be sustained by the United Nations not only in the areas I have specifically mentioned, but in many others which we shall consider during these three months. We were disappointed, therefore, that when the question of terrorism was discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism, the refusal by some to admit the possibility of freedom fighters using all means to achieve their objectives, prevented the Committee from coming to any conclusion.

160. In Zimbabwe, the racist régime continues to maintain its illegal administration in defiance of world opinion. We regret that the Security Council has been prevented from taking any decisive action for applying the existing sanctions. In addition to improving the effectiveness of sanctions, their extension and strengthening is necessary. The breach of sanctions by some countries and trading interests is most regrettable, particularly when we recall that the sanctions were imposed by a unanimous decision of the Security Council.

161. Nowhere are the obligations of trust vested in the United Nations more binding than in Namibia. The people

of Namibia have demonstrated the greatest courage in asserting their own rights by boycotting the recent so-called elections in Ovamboland. Clearly, the South African Government is not willing to work with the United Nations in bringing about Namibian independence and unity. The efforts made through the United Nations Council for Namibia, its High Commissioner, and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa could, if their activities are planned and co-ordinated in a well-thought-out manner, contribute effectively to the political independence of the Namibian people as a whole.

162. In this session, the General Assembly will consider the adoption of the Draft Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [item 53 (b)]. We shall support all measures to intensify and widen action for outlawing this intolerable and inhuman doctrine which has brought so much suffering to millions of human beings in South Africa. Only recently, the world was shocked with the brutal killing in Carletonville.

Mr. Boaten (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

163. Today is the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, and I recall that he was the first man to rise and revolt against the cruel practices of the Government of South Africa. He led a movement for improving the lot of the coloured people in that country, even before he launched the civil disobedience movement in India for obtaining our freedom and independence. Since India raised this question in the United Nations in 1946, practically every Member of this Organization, including South Africa's allies, has denounced *apartheid*. We shall continue to co-operate with all other Member States until South Africa gives up its intolerable policies of racial discrimination.

164. While recent developments on the limitation of nuclear armaments and the prohibition of certain categories of weapons of mass destruction are important, enduring world peace and security can be based only on total disarmament. However, the goal of general and complete disarmament, including, in particular, nuclear disarmament, remains as distant as ever. We have long urged the convening of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all countries so as to focus attention on this urgent problem. Unfortunately, the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, set up after the last General Assembly session, could not proceed with any substantive work. Given goodwill on all sides, the difficulties which arose can be removed by the present session of the Assembly so that a world conference on disarmament can be prepared for and convened as early as possible.

165. My delegation has noted with interest the new item proposed by the delegation of the USSR for a reduction in the military budgets [item 102]. The intention seems to be that the permanent members of the Security Council and other militarily significant States should use a part of the savings for providing assistance to developing countries. We have been stressing that savings from disarmament should be diverted to development assistance. We shall therefore co-operate with other delegations in a constructive effort to consider how this proposal, which will no doubt be elaborated in course of discussion, could serve the interest of disarmament and also enhance development assistance.

166. The declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] was a significant step in our efforts to reduce great Power rivalries and tensions in the different regions of the world and forms a part of our desire to eliminate military alliances and bases. I should take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the statesmanship of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka in mobilizing international opinion for this purpose. Useful work has been initiated by the 15-member *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean established by the last session of the Assembly [resolution 2992 (XXVII)] for considering measures for implementing the Declaration. This Declaration cannot be effective unless the great Powers and other major maritime Powers co-operate fully with the littoral and hinterland States.

167. We look forward with utmost interest to the forthcoming plenipotentiary Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The meetings of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction this year have brought out certain difficulties, none of which need prove insurmountable. By working together with all other countries we could achieve a just and equitable law of the sea and sea-bed which would provide for and ensure an orderly exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and a rational management of its resources, bearing in mind the special needs and interests of the developing countries, whether coastal or land-locked. A fair and viable law of the sea should also provide a framework of regulations for other uses of the sea, including those relating to the exploitation of its living and other resources by establishing an exclusive fishery and economic zone for the coastal States.

168. The concept of world-wide partnership in economic and social development has been accepted. However, the progress towards full implementation of the International Development Strategy for the 1970s [resolution 2626 (XXV)] has been extremely disappointing. Some developed countries, particularly the smaller among them, have responded well, but little success has been achieved in even its most publicized goals. The dismal fact is that the Second Development Decade is going the way of the first, and with far less excuse. The growth of most developing countries is well below the targets set. The growth in the least developed countries has been slower still. The benefits of world economic growth are not being shared equitably and the rich societies are becoming richer and the poor poorer. Full recognition of the interdependence of the world community and adoption of measures conducive to the attainment of a more balanced growth in the world economy is still lacking.

169. Many developing countries have already spoken of a real and imminent danger that, owing to the preoccupation of developed countries with readjustment of their mutual relations, the urgent need to implement policy measures in favour of developing countries may not receive the attention it deserves. The first biennial review and appraisal of the Strategy has so far been inconclusive. If agreed conclusions could be reached during this session, remedial measures to improve performance in the remaining years of the Decade would be easier to take. In the developing countries the struggle for greater equality and justice must

continue. Equally, we have to seek wider economic co-operation among the developing countries themselves. The important measures outlined recently at Algiers for this purpose should prove most useful.

170. Contrary to earlier expectations, agreement on international monetary reform has not been reached. Stability in international monetary arrangements is not yet within our grasp. The issues are undoubtedly complex. Non-aligned countries have reiterated that the new international monetary system, in the establishment and working of which the developing countries should participate as equals, should be universal. The system should guarantee the stability of international trade flows and conditions of financing; it has to recognize the specific situation and needs of the developing countries for preferential treatment.

171. The growth of world trade and the rightful share of the developing countries in it will be facilitated by the establishment of special drawing rights as the principal reserve asset, for the phasing out of the monetary role of gold, for an adjustment mechanism which is both efficient and equitable and, above all, for the establishment of a link between the special drawing rights and development finance, in order to provide for the adequate transfer of additional real resources to the developing countries. All these measures will create an orderly arrangement for adequate liquidity.

172. The Declaration adopted a few days ago at Tokyo⁶ will soon be followed by a round of multilateral trade negotiations. The trend towards liberalization of world trade is to be welcomed, but the developing countries should not emerge from these negotiations as net losers. Specific measures must be taken to secure additional benefits for the international trade of developing countries. This has indeed been agreed to in Tokyo.

173. To achieve this, the concept of preferential treatment for developing countries in all sectors of the negotiations has to be accepted. Moreover, we must ensure that the enlargement of the preferential arrangements among the developed countries, as well as the reduction of industrial tariffs following the multilateral trade negotiations, do not erode the meagre benefits which the developing countries have secured under the generalized scheme of preferences. To make this scheme fully operational will require its implementation by those who have not yet done so and substantial improvements in the arrangements already in operation.

174. The delicate and precarious balance between world food supply and demand during the last few years has emphasized the urgent need for a global strategy for food security. Widespread drought in several countries has brought to the forefront the problem of matching world resources and technology for production of food with global needs, in normal as also in abnormal years. We support the initiative of the Food and Agriculture Organization to work out an effective solution to this problem.

175. In stressing the essential link between economic development and environmental improvement we have

consistently underlined that there is no contradiction between the solution of ecological problems and the interests of developing countries. We have, therefore, spoken against ecological considerations being used to curtail aid, erect trade barriers and prevent the transfer of technology. This could be the result of a short-sighted desire to protect economic advantages: restraints on economic growth must not be adopted to the detriment of the developing world.

176. We are confident, therefore, that the United Nations Environment Programme under Mr. Maurice Strong will keep all these aspects in mind in working out a plan of action for the betterment of mankind as a whole. In this context, the development of human settlements is of particular importance to developing countries.

177. I have followed with great interest the many important views expressed by distinguished ministers and leaders of delegations gathered here. Today, I have taken the time of the Assembly to set forth our ideas on some of the important issues before us. We must ponder over the many valuable ideas presented to us by men of thought, and we must bend our energies to collective effort as men of action. The Charter provides the mechanism for translating these ideas into action. Let us, if we can, gather enough courage and wisdom and seize this opportunity to serve our fellow men.

178. Mr. KARKI (Nepal): First of all, I should like to convey the greetings and best wishes of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, for the success of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

179. I should like to convey to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, our most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. We have great admiration for your qualities. I am confident that those qualities, together with your wide experience, will serve you in good stead in your high office. My delegation wishes you all success and offers its whole-hearted co-operation in your important task.

180. I also take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the distinguished services of the outgoing President of the Assembly, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, who discharged his functions as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly in an exemplary manner.

181. Most of the speakers who have so far participated in the general debate this year have drawn the attention of the audience towards the growing détente among the major Powers of the world today. The spirit of co-operation and understanding that have prevailed between the two super-Powers has been generally welcomed. The Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States has been lauded. The dialogues between China and the United States on the one hand and between China and Japan on the other have been rightly appreciated. The improved political climate of Europe has been noted with satisfaction.

182. My delegation also views these recent developments in international relations as positive steps towards the goal

⁶ Declaration of 14 September 1973 approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.

of international peace and security. No more does the fear of a nuclear holocaust haunt us every now and then. The cold war, it seems, has come to an end. But may I remind the distinguished audience that neither détente nor peace is in itself an end. We need détente for the sake of peace and peace for the sake of progress and development and for the happiness and prosperity of mankind.

183. It has, therefore, become incumbent on all of us, especially the small and developing countries, not to be swayed by the feeling of euphoria concerning the present state of world affairs into being complacent about the urgent problems that face most of mankind today. My delegation does not intend to create any misgivings in any quarter, nor does it doubt the sincerity of the big Powers which have worked towards bringing about an atmosphere of increased détente. What my delegation wishes to stress is the need to seize this present opportunity, which is characterized by a mood of co-operation and understanding, to work towards solution of the problems that exist in the world today. The momentum of détente should be allowed to gather greater strength and deeper meaning. The mood of détente should be harnessed to bear fruitful results to mankind everywhere.

184. What I have said just now will be all too clear and vivid when we look at the problems that still beset us in our world today. First, the continuing economic disparity between the developed and the developing countries is a very alarming feature of the present-day world. In spite of the declarations at the first and the second Development Decades by the United Nations, the gap between the developed and the developing nations is ever widening. The rich countries are getting richer and the poor countries poorer every year. The target of 1 per cent of gross national product as aid to the poorer countries remains a distant goal. Unless massive doses of technology and capital are injected into the developing countries, the economic disparity will continue to grow and the world will soon find itself polarized between the rich northern countries and the poor southern countries. My delegation, therefore, makes a strong plea to the industrialized nations to try earnestly to achieve the target of 1 per cent of gross national product in aid.

185. At the same time, the industrialized nations should provide favourable trade terms to the developing countries. The spirit of détente should prevail in the field of trade and commerce as well, in order for it to have any significant meaning to the developing countries. My delegation hopes that the present negotiations being held by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in Tokyo will be able to come forward with some bold and substantive proposals towards granting more favourable trade terms to the developing countries.

186. The painful history of the colonization and economic exploitation of the developing countries has been a major cause of conflicts and war. So long as these conditions remain unchanged we cannot safely look forward to an era of peace. So long as three-fourths of mankind cannot achieve a minimum standard of decent living, peace and security remain threatened.

187. Bearing these things in mind, I believe, the framers of the Charter of the United Nations adopted the goal of

economic prosperity as one of the purposes of the United Nations.

188. Nepal has been waging a battle against the latent forces of insecurity. My Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra, has recently said:

"... the battle lies well within our territory—it is a battle against backwardness and destitution, to fight which I have exhorted the need for development... a crusade against poverty, however time-consuming and arduous it be, is a need and a moral responsibility we cannot shrug off our shoulders".

189. While the urge to develop, the effort to develop and the problems facing the effort are very similar among the developing countries, the magnitude of these problems is much graver in the case of the developing land-locked countries. The land-locked countries, having been denied by geography the cheapest means of transport, sea transport, have to incur additional costs for transport in international trade. This increases their cost of production and makes their products non-competitive in the international market. This problem, having been recognized by the international community, has found expression in regional economic organizations, in the General Assembly, and particularly in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. All these international organizations have adopted various recommendations and appeals, and unless some effective way is found to subsidize the additional cost of transportation the efforts of the developing land-locked countries will be retarded.

190. Our interest in the United Nations Committee on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction and the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been motivated by the desire to count the hidden wealth of the sea-bed and ocean floor among the arsenals of our war against poverty and under-development. For us particularly, we of a country which is full of young mountains but lacking in sufficient mineral resources necessary for industrial development, and with a limit posed by topography on the extension of more arable land to grow food for the growing population, the promise of mineral wealth and fisheries is of great importance. It is only natural that we should show our eagerness to guard our rights derived from the declaration of the common heritage of mankind. This causes us to defend the area beyond the national jurisdiction from being converted into an area which becomes economically meaningless or unfeasible.

191. While we are ready to accommodate the interest of the coastal countries, we expect the same reciprocity from them. We believe that the bigger the area belonging to all mankind, the bigger will be the benefit derived by mankind.

192. The United Nations resolution [3029 (XXVII)] has clearly laid stress on taking into consideration the interests of the developing countries. Nepal, as a developing country, is ready to contribute to the attainment of the purpose of the resolution for the benefit of all the developing nations.

193. However, the sharing of benefit and the utilization of the exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the

enjoyment of the right of fisheries, and so forth, shall remain mere ideals for land-locked countries if they are not backed by specific provisions guaranteeing them free and unrestricted access to and from the sea. There should further be a specific provision for port and other essential facilities in order to make the land-locked countries able to enjoy these benefits with all the rest of the world. In order to narrow the gap of development, these essential features have to be accommodated in the convention on the law of the sea.

194. On the question of equitable sharing, while giving consideration to the needs of developing countries, further consideration should be given to the rights and interests of the land-locked countries which are least developed among the developing. What we urge is not to adopt any new norm that has not already been in practice among the international community. We only want the same norm to be applied judiciously.

195. My delegation is indeed very happy to welcome the Bahamas in our midst as an independent and sovereign country. The emergence of the Bahamas is yet another example of the decline of colonialism all over the world. But this evil has remained unmitigated in some parts of the world. In the southern part of Africa, the chronic problems of colonialism and racialism have persisted stubbornly as before. The people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau are still suffering from the worst type of colonialism practised by Portugal. My delegation strongly condemns the recent massacre of the defenceless and unarmed people of Mozambique committed by Portuguese colonialists. In utter disregard of world opinion and the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the colonial rulers of Portugal are stubbornly perpetuating their old policy. The repressive and retrogressive policies of the colonial Powers are incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Moreover, the Portuguese colonialists are exploiting the resources of those Territories while ruthlessly suppressing the independence movement waged by the freedom-loving people of the Territories.

196. The racist policy of *apartheid* followed by South Africa is a constant challenge to the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This policy is not only the cause of humiliation for the majority of the people of South Africa but also an affront to humanity and civilized behaviour. The South African régime is now trying to fortify itself further through its unholy alliance with Lisbon and Salisbury. Both South Africa and Portugal have been receiving assistance from their major trading partners, which, in turn, make huge profits at the cost of the indigenous population. The major trading partners of South Africa should stop their investment in that country so long as it does not give up the inhuman *apartheid* policy. My delegation has always supported the idea that the freedom fighters and refugees from the southern part of Africa should be given assistance to combat racism.

197. The South African régime has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia even after the termination of its

mandate by the United Nations. This is a further affront to the United Nations. Furthermore, South Africa has extended its inhuman policy of *apartheid* to Namibia. The freedom fighters of Namibia are being subjected to great pain and torture in the prisons of South Africa. My delegation strongly supports the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to discharge its function in accordance with the resolution adopted by the United Nations.

198. In Southern Rhodesia, the racist minority régime has continued the policy of discrimination and repression against the majority of the people. World opinion is overwhelmingly in support of the right of self-determination of the people of Zimbabwe. The mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the illegal régime remain ineffective.

199. This situation in the southern part of Africa constitutes a grave threat to peace. There must be a limit to the suffering and humiliation of a great number of people at the hands of a minority régime based on ruthless exploitation. It is incumbent on all States Members of the United Nations, including the major trading partners of these racist and colonialist régimes, to work sincerely for the implementation of the various resolutions on the subject adopted by the United Nations. We must all act in unison and sincerity before the situation becomes explosive, resulting in a violent bloodbath.

200. In spite of some encouraging developments in the field of disarmament, the arms build-up seems to be growing in alarming proportions among many nations. Even small and medium-sized countries are spending fortunes in trying to arm themselves. The big Powers, while trying to curb the armaments race among themselves, seem to have been seriously engaged in outdoing each other in supplying military hardware to various countries. The test-ban Treaty⁷ remains ignored and neglected by some of the nuclear Powers. Nuclear tests have continued with total disregard for world opinion. There has been no progress towards the ban on chemical weapons. Huge amounts are being spent on the production and development of sophisticated weapons of destruction. Such activities, while creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity, drain away vast sums of money which could have been utilized to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and needy people all over the world.

201. Lasting peace is not possible without achieving complete and universal disarmament. With that in mind, my delegation has been supporting the idea of a world disarmament conference, after adequate preparatory work, in which all nations of the world, including the divided ones, should be allowed to participate.

202. The Middle East problem remains unresolved in spite of the best efforts of the United Nations, in spite of the growing détente between the major Powers. That only goes to prove further that any lasting and durable solution to the problem can be worked out only by the parties themselves concerned. My delegation appreciates the initiative taken

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

by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in going to the Middle East to assess the situation and consult with the leaders of Egypt, Israel and Jordan about solving the problem. My delegation would like to reiterate our belief that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 provides a reasonable basis for a just and peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis. There is ample scope for a just solution of the problem within the framework provided by that resolution. What is needed is the political will to implement it and to adhere to the formula which has already been provided. We have in the past pleaded for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories. We are constrained, however, to find that Israel has not shown any willingness to do so; on the contrary, it is trying to bring about demographic changes in the occupied territories. We strongly appeal to Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories so that the tense atmosphere can be relaxed, which will be conducive to further negotiations.

203. There has been an alarming increase in the frequency of acts of terrorism, hijacking and other actions of reprisals and counter-reprisals. The wave of wanton killing, hijacking and kidnapping has become a matter of grave concern for us all. My delegation strongly condemns all such actions and urges that the main issue of terrorism should not be side-tracked and buried under verbose speeches.

204. I have made a brief reference to the problems that face us in the world today. I might have sounded somewhat sceptical in my assessment of the world situation. Far from being so, I have only been suggesting that the present is an opportune moment to go to the depth of the real problems facing most of mankind today.

205. My delegation takes note with satisfaction of the encouraging developments which have appeared on the contemporary international horizon. The most significant among them is the end of the fighting in Viet-Nam. The Paris peace agreements on a Viet-Nameese cease-fire were designed to end the untold misery and destruction suffered by the people of Viet-Nam for a long time. We hope that the terms of the Paris peace agreements will be scrupulously observed by all parties of the conflict so that lasting peace can be maintained in Viet-Nam. The withdrawal of American troops from South Viet-Nam is a welcome step. We reiterate our stand that the peoples of Indo-China should be left free and unhindered to decide their own future without any outside interference.

206. Another notable development is the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations this year. As a result of patient and skilful negotiations, the two countries have been able to sign a treaty on the basis of their relations towards the end of last year in Berlin. For us at the United Nations the admission of these two countries brings the Organization closer to universality. My delegation is happy to welcome the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, both of which, with an aggregate population of 73 million, a surging economy and a highly-developed technology, will no doubt be a source of great strength and energy to the United Nations. Viewed from Europe, the admission of the German Democratic

Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany marks the fulfilment of untiring efforts to bring about a spirit of co-operation and peaceful coexistence, which have been evading that continent for such a long time.

207. Nearer my country, India and Pakistan have been able to enter into an agreement regarding the repatriation of the prisoners of war and the exchange of civilians. My delegation heartily welcomes this step, which will go a long way towards alleviating the humanitarian problem that had cropped up as a result of the 1971 conflict. My delegation hopes that the spirit of understanding and friendship will prevail in implementing the terms of the agreement. This agreement should further pave the way for the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan. This improved situation in the subcontinent should help Bangladesh to obtain its rightful entry to the United Nations.

208. My delegation would like to reiterate its support for General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) regarding the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Our support for this Declaration is motivated simply by a desire for peace in this sensitive area. My delegation hopes that concrete measures will be taken to implement the Declaration as soon as possible.

209. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June 1972, was able to focus the attention of Governments and the public to the need for concerted action to preserve and enhance the human environment. The growing realization that protection of the environment is a problem being faced by both developed and developing countries, though in varying degree and nature, is a welcome fact. While for developed countries the problem of the human environment is a direct consequence of pollution and industrialization, for developing countries it has in its roots the unscrupulous use of natural resources and the inability to control the process of deterioration caused by nature. To give just one example, soil erosion has been posing a serious problem in my country. Vast tracts of fertile land are being annually washed away by rivers. We have not even been able to assess the damage caused annually as a result of the problem of soil erosion, much less to do something towards the solution of this problem. These and other such problems of the human environment should draw the immediate attention of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme.

210. In conclusion, I should like to stress that we have come to the United Nations to pledge our support and rededicate ourselves to the attainment of the noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We strongly feel that it is the only Organization which can bring peace and harmony in our world, which is divided between developed and developing nations and big and small nations. The States Members of the United Nations should work sincerely to make this Organization more effective to ensure lasting peace, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international co-operation in solving various international problems.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.