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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

Address by General Sangoulé Lamizana, President of the Republic of the Upper Volta

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I consider it a very special honour to be able to express on behalf of the General Assembly to His Excellency General Sangoulé Lamizana, President of the Republic of the Upper Volta, the high esteem of this Assembly for the co-operation which his Government has at all times rendered to the work of this body and for its constant and generous contribution to the cause of peace.

2. I am happy to greet him and to tell him that the Assembly will consider itself honoured to hear his words. I now invite General Sangoulé Lamizana to address the Assembly.

3. General LAMIZANA (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): It is a special pleasure to express my most sincere congratulations to the President on his election to preside over this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In this case we have honoured the outstanding qualities of a brilliant representative of the Latin American world. But above all, I should like to recall that Mr. Benites is a man who is perfectly acquainted with the United Nations, since he has been serving here since 1960. His experience of men and things has confirmed his militant conviction that the world Organization deserves all our efforts and all our support. We hope that the faith which inspires him will be broadly shared.

4. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to express again to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, our warmest congratulations on his accession to the high post which he holds and welcome the unflagging efforts which he exercises so admirably in seeking the most suitable solutions for the many complex and sometimes bewildering international problems.

5. The present session is an important stage in international relations, coming after the entry of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, and particularly after the détente between East and West; the simultaneous admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic put a real and happy end to an era. We are among those who practice the religion of specific dialogue. If at times the differences between us are deep, we believe that nothing is lost if we can talk together face to face, man to man.

6. As every year, questions which are acutely topical will no doubt animate the debates. With regard to events in the Middle East, I hope that a just solution will be found as soon as possible.

7. I should like to express my gratitude to this august Assembly for having agreed to include in the agenda an item which is no less topical, namely, that of the populations of the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region, which have been affected by the drought [item 101].

8. I have the awesome honour to speak before this illustrious Assembly within the framework of that particular event. I have a very clear feeling of the responsibility involved in drawing the attention of the world to that situation, the more so because of the fact that I am in charge of a joint mission on behalf of Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Chad and the Upper Volta.

9. It would hardly be suitable in this statement to go into the details of all the figures and projects which, in any event, are available to members.

10. The entire world has been informed of the tragedy which has afflicted the Sudano-Sahelian region of Africa for more than five years, the culminating point of which occurred last spring. The Sahelian man, who is accustomed to vast spaces and in general is serious and courageous, is a tireless walker, behind or in front of his cattle, looking for water and pastures. The star-studded sky on high was the large tent under which he felt suffused with an indescribable inner joy—which is usually called happiness—after long days of walking. But the drought struck, more aggressive than ever, literally drying up the wells, scorching the soil, destroying pastures, and consuming crops. Television has given the whole world its picture of an apocalypse: the exodus of the nomads, the corpses of animals lying along the traditional roads, the spectre of famine which has become a nightmare for millions of human beings.

11. Given the vastness of the tragedy, those responsible in the countries concerned have themselves taken the

initiative, we must emphasize, to organize help within the extent of their means and in accordance with our traditions of solidarity.

12. The international community was understandably moved. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations launched an SOS to the wealthy countries and set up an antenna for co-ordination at Ouagadougou; the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community approved an important programme of food aid for the Sahelian countries.

13. We must also mention the remarkable efforts made by certain countries—the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Canada and so many other friendly countries. The African States have, within their means, shown a really active solidarity. Since we cannot complete the long list of these brother countries I shall mention some: Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Nigeria, Zaire, the Ivory Coast, Morocco and Ghana. I would be remiss if I did not mention the non-governmental organizations, such as Caritas Internationalis, COR UNUM, the League of Red Cross Societies, the world Freedom from Hunger Campaign and private initiatives which have indefatigably appealed to men of goodwill.

14. This means that we have received a great deal of food-stuffs for men and for animals and medicines mainly for children. Since our needs were so vast, it was necessary to co-ordinate the channelling of aid and proceed to its distribution before the rainy season. The task was not an easy one because certain transportation costs greatly exceeded the means of most of the afflicted countries.

15. That bottleneck was removed thanks to the generosity of certain donors who supplied cargo planes to carry aid to the most isolated regions. In certain circumstances, air drops were the only means to supply some remote areas.

16. In September last, when there was a lull because of the international solidarity and a welcome return of the rains, the experts, ministers and Heads of State of the six countries concerned met at Ouagadougou for two weeks. They sought to take stock of the impact of the calamity and the accomplishments of human solidarity and, at the same time, to devise a concerted, global strategy for the development of the zone.

17. The consequences of the drought in countries such as ours which are essentially agro-pastoral have had painful repercussions in the economic and social fields. In the economic field, livestock, the main wealth of our countries, paid a heavy toll—losses ranged from 20 to 80 per cent in certain parts of the zone. In the social field, not only have the nomadic populations suffered from the disaster which befell them but they have “descended” upon the already over populated cities. Thus, in the cities the populations tripled in less than six months. How can those who emigrated from the drought return to their tents without livestock, which is their means of livelihood? Or will they succumb to the temptations and

the charms of urban agglomerations? In both cases, the responsible men of State, being aware of the genuine complexity of all these problems, decided to look for solutions that could safeguard the freedom and the dignity of the Sahelian man. Another aspect that we considered at length in September last was a concern with taking advance measures to deal with such calamities while restoring the Sahelian region.

18. Let us assume that the tragedy has temporarily passed—which is, unhappily, not yet the case. There remains the problem of the reconstitution of the livestock, mastering the waters, the regeneration of pastures and the struggle against what our friend Léopold Sédar Senghor calls “Saharization”.

19. To this end we adopted two sets of measures. First of all, we ascertained the priorities and approved a programme report containing urgent actions of a national and regional nature. Further, the better to co-ordinate our actions, we adopted an international convention and set up an inter-State committee,¹ with headquarters at Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, to fight droughts in the Sahelian region.

20. The proposals for the programmes and projects we have adopted are estimated at 200,000 million francs CFA, that is to say, approximately \$975 million, which hardly equals the capital of certain companies in developed countries. However, it is a substantial sum that must be distributed over a period of years. In other times an effort on this scale was already agreed to and it is no mere chance that President Hamani Diori spoke of the “Marshall Plan for the great Sahelian region”.

21. It is a duty and an honour for me to be present at this twenty-eighth session to express our warmest gratitude to all the donors, to the international community, for their generous contribution to the Sahelian countries.

22. I venture to urge the developed countries to make of their medium-term and long-term solidarity with the Sudano-Sahelian populations a problem for their hearts and consciences. Indeed, circumstantial assistance, however valuable, can only be a palliative. But in this specific field we ask all the donors to continue their material aid to our populations because the forthcoming cereal harvests are not up to our expectation. The war against drought requires much time, much courage and much effort, both technical and financial.

23. In Africa, patience and courage are not wanting. The fact that the affected populations have agreed to participate in the setting up of a fund of solidarity at the level of each State is manifest proof that efforts have been made nationally to mobilize our means so as to undertake the struggle against drought. We intend to use the solidarity funds for works of common interest, employing our available human potential so as to increase our production of cereals. Despite these national efforts, it is no less true that the limiting factors are doubtless technology and cash.

¹ Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel.

24. As regards technology, we know that man, because of his ingenuity, has been able to transform deserts into green gardens. While the Sudano-Sahelian African region receives rain during only three or four months of the year, it is, on the other hand, traversed by nourishing rivers whose output can be regulated by building a certain number of dams. Science and technology in this twentieth century finally make it possible to establish vast water reserves in order to banish drought and its consequences.

25. Clearly, in this gigantic enterprise, our countries need aid: morally, economically and financially. Thus, I launch an appeal to the international community on behalf of the six Sahelian States for the comprehensive implementation of the programme for the restoration of the Sudano-Sahelian zone.

26. While we do need mass aid from the international community, we hope that all the necessary provisions will be taken to ensure maximum effectiveness for this work of solidarity. Here, we must draw the lessons of the past, because if the actual philosophy of aid had lived up to the expectations of the recipient countries we would have been protected from certain catastrophes in the twentieth century. The growing gap between the developed countries and the poor countries is certainly of concern to all the world's leaders, but particularly to those in the developing countries who see their economic difficulties rising. We believe that flexibility in aid conditions, particularly in the constraints which considerably limit the absorptive capacity of the poorer countries, may in itself represent an important step towards the reduction of these disparities. It is clear, for example, that to make the carrying out of a project intended for a poorer country conditional upon financial participation that bears no relationship to its means, is to condemn it to become no longer a developing country but an under-developing country.

27. It is within the same line of thinking that we believe that it is indispensable to lower substantially the charges for external debts so as to enable our countries, which have been so hard hit by the disappearance of their main wealth, to reconstitute their production capital and to catch their breath again so as to be able to comply with their commitments.

28. Of course, we can understand some hesitation dictated by the fear of creating a precedent, but the creditor must also give proof of understanding by agreeing to consider with realism the special situation of the debtor.

29. At a time when environmental and pollution problems are agonizingly urgent and would in any event justify an absolutely extraordinary technological and financial effort, the Sahelian catastrophe must be conceived of and placed within the same order of concerns. Its "natural" rather than industrial aspect should create no illusion since it is an entire climatic balance which is in jeopardy. None of us can take his own good time, for himself alone, inside his own frontiers.

30. Quite apart from its humanitarian short-term aspect, the energetic and exceptional action which must

be taken leads to broader perspectives to the extent that Africa is an element of the world climatic balance, in so far as the regulation of rainfall will offer new trade possibilities to the various countries concerned, and, finally, in so far as the Sahelian region is not only the place of an original and irreplaceable civilization, but also a considerable reservoir of mining wealth.

31. The earth has grown smaller. By saving us, you will be contributing perhaps more than you know to saving yourselves as well. Be that as it may, this might be an opportunity for a new youthfulness of heart for all States Members of the United Nations, upon which I invoke whole-heartedly the peace of God in the painful circumstances we are living in, because without peace no country, no people, can live in happiness.

32. Long live the solidarity of all men on earth.

33. Long live international co-operation.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express my gratitude to His Excellency the President of the Upper Volta for the important statement he has just made. I believe I can assure him that he has been listened to with intense concern when he gave us an account of the tragic problem of the Sudano-Sahelian region, as well as when he made a moving appeal for co-operation in order to solve the attendant problems.

Mr. Sikivou (Fiji), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

35. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): Let me begin by offering to Mr. Leopoldo Benites the Malaysian delegation's heartiest congratulations on his unanimous election as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His election to that high office is an eloquent tribute not only to his own person but also to his great country, Ecuador. I am confident that with his diplomatic skill and the vast experience he has acquired during his long and distinguished association with the United Nations he is indeed most eminently qualified for his high office and that he will lead us to a fruitful conclusion of our deliberations. For my part, I pledge my delegation's utmost co-operation and fullest support in the execution of his task.

36. I take this opportunity also to say how grateful we are to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, who as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly so skilfully and in such a statesmanlike manner guided the Assembly to a successful conclusion. It is most auspicious that we should have begun our work at this Assembly by making yet further progress towards the universality of the United Nations by admitting three more States to membership. In that connexion I should like, in the name of my delegation and on behalf of the Malaysian Government, to extend our sincere congratulations and warmest welcome to

the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the occasion of their admission to membership in this Organization.

37. The admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas is highly significant, for it marks another important development in the process of decolonization. But, while it is an occasion for rejoicing, it also reminds us of the unfinished task before us—that of helping other colonial territories still under foreign domination to attain their freedom and independence.

38. We congratulate the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on their successful efforts to reach an historic accord between themselves which, among other things, has led to the admission of the two countries to membership in the United Nations. This understanding between the two German States, and the agreement reached on Berlin, which was for many years one of the most intractable problems in East-West relations, are further important milestones in the gradual progress towards international harmony and concord.

39. A recurrent theme in this session's general debate is the subject of détente. Malaysia welcomes the initiatives of the past year towards the relaxation of tension among the major Powers, among them the dialogue at the highest level between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the establishment of regular contacts between the United States and China and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Those are major initiatives which must be regarded as important developments towards an era of peaceful coexistence and positive co-operation among nations, which is more rational in concept and more beneficial to mankind than the discredited old order of mistrust, suspicion and confrontation of the cold war.

40. As a country pursuing the policy of non-alignment, Malaysia has all the more reason to welcome that development, since in a sense it represents significant progress in one of the major efforts of the non-aligned movement itself. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers last month, was most timely and had a particular significance in this context of détente. On the one hand it dramatized the relevance of the efforts of the non-aligned movement in the past in preventing big-Power confrontation and in breaking down the barriers of the cold war. On the other hand it focused attention on the future role of the non-aligned movement in ensuring that the end of big-Power confrontation does not become the beginning of big-Power hegemony, and that the third world will retain the right and the capability of playing its part in shaping the destiny of mankind.

41. In welcoming this positive development we must be mindful that détente does not automatically guarantee the peace that we all seek. The renewed armed hostilities and Israeli aggression in the Middle East must serve as a stern reminder of the slender thread by which world peace hangs in the balance. At a time when the world is beginning to feel comforted by the thaw in the cold war it must serve as a timely warning that, unless the forces of détente are har-

nessed for the just solution of such urgent problems as the Middle East situation, the world will just slip into the abyss of international anarchy. That is indeed the challenge of détente. Whether it will prove to be beneficial to mankind or whether it will be detrimental to the cause of peace, or for that matter whether the advantages of this new beginning will be wastefully frittered away, must depend largely on how the international community responds to it.

42. In the final analysis, the real success of détente will be measured in terms of its contribution to achieving the purposes and principles of the United Nations. In that context détente cannot be meaningful if it does not lead to a greater willingness and effort on the part of the major Powers in particular and of all nations in general to strengthen the efficacy of the United Nations so as to enable this Organization to play a more effective role in grappling with some of the more intractable problems of our time, the solution of which requires the full support of the entire community of nations. Détente will have no relevance if it fails to accelerate the process of decolonization, whose slow progress at the moment is caused by the stubborn refusal of the remaining colonial Powers to recognize the right of peoples to self-determination. Détente will fall short of our expectations if it fails to generate a greater will among all parties concerned to attain the goal of general and complete disarmament to which the United Nations is committed and which the peoples of the world demand as a legitimate right for survival. And, finally, détente will turn out to be an utter disappointment, an illusion, if it does not bring about a greater dedication among the developed countries to the task of discharging their obligations and redressing the economic imbalance and disparity between the developed and developing world and a political will to do so. For détente to have any meaning at all it must be more than a process of accommodation among the major Powers; it must truly serve as the vehicle for the attainment of permanent and universal peace in the world, for the just exploitation of the world's resources and for the equitable distribution of wealth and prosperity for all mankind.

43. It is in that perspective that Malaysia views with great concern the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East resulting from a renewed act of aggression by Israel. This latest act of Israeli aggression is manifestly a continuation of Israel's policy of annexation and consolidation of its occupation of Arab lands illegally occupied by force. We are concerned at the latest reports that, in its policy of aggression, Israel has resorted to bombing populated centres, such as Port Said and Damascus, causing many civilian casualties. Israel's continued persistence in carrying out that policy is not only a grave threat to international peace and security but also a serious impediment to the progress of détente and, because of that, it is all the more to be condemned.

44. Since its aggression of 1967, Israel has pursued a policy of systematic defiance of the United Nations Charter, of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and of world public opinion. Consistent with this policy, Israel has persistently aborted several peace initiatives aimed at securing the implementation of Security Council resolutions for the just and durable settlement of the Middle East problems. As a result Israel today is still

in occupation of Arab lands acquired by force, and coupled with this continuing act of aggression Israel is systematically carrying out its plans for the perpetuation of its occupation of Arab lands. Malaysia's sympathies are with the Arab peoples in their efforts to regain their lost territories.

45. Israel stands condemned not only for its aggression against Arab countries but equally for its refusal to honour and implement General Assembly resolutions on the question of Palestine. After more than 25 years the Palestinians are today still denied their inalienable right to self-determination, and continue to live in enforced exile with increasing misery and mounting desperation.

46. The renewed armed hostilities in the Middle East further emphasize the urgent need for the solution of the problem. It is more urgent than ever, more urgent than perhaps we care to admit, for this Organization to secure justice and peace for the Middle East on the basis of complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and of respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. This is a renewed challenge for the United Nations, and more particularly for the major Powers with special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, for which, in view of their new commitment and vital stake in the further relaxation of international tension, this is also a challenge of détente.

47. I turn now to other developments in the international scene, some of which are positive in character. Of particular interest to us in Asia is the agreement reached recently between Pakistan and India and Bangladesh. We welcome this whole-heartedly. We hope it will bring to a quick end the misery and sufferings of thousands of those separated from their loved ones. The agreement is an important step towards final reconciliation among the countries on the South Asian subcontinent, with all of which my country enjoys the best of relations. My delegation earnestly hopes that the initiatives already begun will continue and lead towards the final attainment of a just and lasting peace. It is also our sincere hope that Bangladesh will be admitted to membership in the United Nations at the earliest possible opportunity.

48. We welcome also the constructive efforts by both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to work towards a peaceful solution of their problem and thereby contribute to the relaxation of tension in that area. The dialogue between the two countries is an important break-through in the impasse which has for so long kept the two Koreas in confrontation with each other. We recognize the enormity of the problem between them, but at least the efforts towards reconciliation have begun. As a country enjoying friendly diplomatic relations with both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, Malaysia hopes that these efforts will eventually bring about not only peace but national reunification of the two divided countries.

49. In our constant striving for international peace and security, the most historic and significant achievement since this General Assembly last met took place in the region of South-East Asia. That was the signing of the

peace agreements on Viet-Nam. These agreements have been welcomed and endorsed by the international community since they provide a realistic and fair basis for the peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam problem. It is clearly the duty of the international community to help in the implementation of these agreements and to ensure that nothing is done to jeopardize the chances of an early settlement of the problem and therefore delay the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia. The people of Viet-Nam should be allowed to decide their own future without further interference by outside Powers. It is indeed tragic in human terms for the people of Viet-Nam that even when the country is formally at peace they should continue to endure the agony and ravages of war. This should serve to emphasize the urgency of the strict implementation of the Paris agreements and scrupulous adherence to all their provisions by all parties concerned. After more than two decades of war and devastation, nothing should now be done to undermine and destroy the solid foundation on which peace should be built in South-East Asia.

50. We welcome also the signing of the Vientiane Agreement² as another positive contribution towards peace-building in Indo-China in particular, and in a broader sense in the region of South-East Asia. The strict application of the Agreement is therefore important and essential if peace and stability are to be restored and national harmony established in accordance with the aspirations and wishes of the people of Laos.

51. With regard to Cambodia, it is deeply regretted that no agreement has as yet been attained to stop the armed conflict. We hope that the parties in the conflict will achieve a peaceful settlement of their problem. And in this connexion we believe that the people of that country should be allowed to determine their own future without interference from outside, and that the parties concerned should be allowed to take their own initiatives and work for the reconciliation and settlement of the problem in accordance with their own wishes. Nothing, therefore, should be done that would prejudice the wishes of the Khmer people as this would constitute interference in their affairs. The best contribution we can make towards peace in Cambodia is to show complete and scrupulous respect for the right of the Khmer people to unfettered freedom, without outside interference of any form, to reconcile their differences and achieve a peaceful settlement and national reconciliation.

52. I would now like to address myself to another area which is of serious concern to the international community. I refer in particular to *apartheid* in South Africa and colonial oppression in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and other remaining colonial Territories. The peoples of these countries are experiencing the most serious forms of exploitation and oppression, and the failure of the world community to redress their situation has led them to resort to the only legitimate action left that promises some hope of recovering their fundamental human rights and dignity—that of armed struggle. The recent declaration of independence by Guinea-Bissau is an important

² Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, signed at Vientiane on 21 February 1973.

development in the struggle of the African peoples against Portuguese colonialism in that continent. The fact remains, however, that the colonialist and racist régimes in Africa are now even more entrenched in their position, convinced that some of their powerful friends and trading partners, some of which are permanent members of the Security Council, will obstruct any effective action by the United Nations. The persistent repression carried out by these régimes constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a grave threat to international peace and security.

53. One of the most serious and urgent problems confronting mankind is that of general and complete disarmament. No true and lasting peace is possible while the question of disarmament hangs in the balance. In view of the awesome consequences to mankind of a nuclear holocaust, it is imperative that all nations subscribe to constructive efforts towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. Merely to give verbal acquiescence to disarmament is not enough. It is the hope of my delegation that the spirit of détente will generate a political will among the major Powers seriously to apply themselves to the question of disarmament, for it is they, the major Powers, which, with the awesome arsenals of destruction in their possession, have the final responsibility for saving mankind from self-annihilation.

54. We recognize that there has been significant progress in this important field of disarmament where a number of agreements have been signed since 1963 for partial disarmament measures.

55. But while these significant gains are being made it is with grave concern that my delegation views the recent nuclear tests in complete disregard of world opinion. Both from the point of view of the dangers they pose to the environment and of their effects on the spiralling arms race all forms of nuclear testing must be halted. This is one of the crucial problems which the General Assembly must tackle with the utmost urgency and seriousness. Mankind has a right to demand the cessation of all nuclear testing in all environments. A treaty on such a comprehensive test ban is long overdue.

56. Having recognized that the question of disarmament is crucial to the attainment of true and durable peace, my delegation would like once again reiterate its support for the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations and pledge its readiness to play a role in that conference.

57. Another way by which we, the smaller nations, may contribute to disarmament is by creating conditions favourable to the relaxation of tension. In this belief, we welcome and support efforts for the creation of zones of peace. Malaysia, as a signatory to the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 27 November 1971,³ which seeks to establish South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, welcomed and is working for the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. It is of great interest to us that an area bordering upon our region

should be meeting the challenge of détente by seeking to make itself free of big-Power hegemony and interference. In the same spirit, we salute the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁴ which establishes Latin America as a nuclear-free zone. Malaysia equally welcomes all moves for the creation of other zones of peace and would pledge its support, sympathy and encouragement to those who seek to establish such zones.

58. As regards the proposal for making South-East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, Malaysia takes a realistic approach. The proposal seeks to withdraw the region of South-East Asia from being an arena for major-Power contest for spheres of influence. But we do not see the zone as a tight-knit inward-looking entity that would seek to deprive outside Powers of all their interests in the region. Rather, we envisage a situation where there will be no inhibition upon the pursuit of legitimate interests by all foreign Powers, restricting only the pursuit of illegitimate interests. The proposal additionally seeks to enhance co-operation among States in the region and to develop a sense of regionalism so that all who belong to the region need not feel themselves in a hostile environment. Towards that end Malaysia has established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and, together with our partners in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], we are committed to the expansion of this Association to include all States in the region.

59. A committee of senior officials of the signatory nations of the Kuala Lumpur Declaration has been at work to draw up the blueprint for the establishment of the zone. It is the view of Malaysia that satisfactory progress is being made, and upon completion of the blueprint a significant step will have been taken towards the point in time when States in the region begin the process of phasing in the South-East Asian zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. It is our hope that the sense of brotherhood and kinship that we expect to evolve from our partnership in the proposed zone will result in a solidarity that will prevent our differences from assuming proportions which in the past have resulted in their exploitation by those outside the region, to our terrible cost.

60. Malaysia is encouraged by the understanding and support already given to this proposal, particularly by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in August in Ottawa and the fourth non-aligned summit Conference in September in Algiers. The declared will of the major Powers to work towards true and permanent peace, and their profession of the spirit of détente are grounds for further encouragement for the realization of this regional initiative.

61. Before I move to the problems confronting us on the international economic scene, I would like to address myself briefly to the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Malaysia has profound interest in the Conference and hopes that it will achieve positive results in establishing an equitable basis

³ See document A/C.1/1019.

⁴ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967.

upon which the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction could be shared among the nations of the world. It is also our hope that the Conference will achieve agreements on a wide range of issues, such as the question of sovereignty over territorial seas, to which Malaysia as a littoral State attaches the utmost importance. Malaysia takes an active interest in the subjects and issues that have been seriously considered by the sea-bed Committee⁵ and will work positively towards the establishment of a law of the sea that would be more fair and realistic, and one that would take into account the legitimate interests and rights of all States, particularly those in the developing world.

62. In the economic and social fields, the problems confronting the developing countries continue to cry out for attention. Most of the developing countries are beset with problems of mass poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, hunger, disease, maldistribution of income, low levels of productivity, an inadequate net flow of external resources and an increasing debt burden. These are not new problems. Yet, despite our best intentions and despite the efforts of the international community, the problems continue to confront us with growing complexity and increasing urgency. The fact is that time is not on our side. The third world cannot afford the luxury of waiting at the pleasure of the developed countries before we can hope to receive a sympathetic hearing or a helping hand from the richer and more industrialized countries, most of which laid the foundations of their present-day prosperity through the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the developing countries. If détente in practical terms means the finding of a *modus vivendi* among the richer and more powerful countries on the issues of peace and security without at the same time making a perceptible and measurable movement towards finding a solution to the problems of economic and social development facing the developing countries, then détente for the developing countries will fall short of our expectations.

63. In 1970, in an atmosphere filled with promise and hope, we adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. Yet, with only two years gone by, the signs are very ominous, and the preliminary assessment is not at all encouraging. The Committee on Development Planning, a committee of experts, has concluded in its report⁶ that the Strategy remains very much more a wish than a policy, and it goes on to say that the cause of development has lost momentum. No doubt we will be discussing the question of review and appraisal of the Second United Nations Development Decade in greater detail later. Suffice it for me to say here that the objective of the discussions should not be to make recriminations or to apportion blame but to infuse the Strategy with new life and lift it from the doldrums by identifying the shortfalls and reasons for them and by bringing it up to date with the inclusion of fresh ideas and innovations that have come to the forefront since the Strategy was

adopted. A concerted effort has to be made to ensure that the provisions of the Strategy are implemented. Developed countries should not seize upon the reservations and objections they entered when the Strategy was adopted as an excuse to evade their responsibilities. What is needed is the political will among all of us, more particularly by the developed countries, to make a true success of the Strategy.

64. One area where there is a need for the political will to manifest itself is on the question of official development assistance under the Strategy. Not only has such development assistance from the developed countries fallen short of the prescribed target, but the rate has in fact shown some decline. This is indeed a matter of grave concern, and one which undoubtedly will be given great attention in our later deliberations.

65. In a period which stands out singularly for its lack of initiatives in the field of trade, the multinational trade negotiations now taking place represent a welcome initiative on the part of the developed countries. However, following the experience gained from the previous rounds of negotiations, developing countries cannot but express guarded optimism at the outcome of the current negotiations. What is of paramount importance to the developing countries is that their interests are not lost sight of and that they would indeed gain tangible and lasting benefits from trade liberalization measures which will be discussed at the negotiations. This is not asking for much, for such measures would have mutually beneficial results, both for the developed and for the developing countries. More trade would mean that the developing countries would be able to increase not only the tempo of their development efforts through the expansion of their export earnings, but also their purchases from developed countries, thus eventually contributing to a viable system of world trade and payments.

66. The progress made towards that end will be consolidated if we can, at the same time, bring about reforms in the present unstable monetary system as soon as possible, resulting in a stable and durable monetary order that will take into account the special interests of the developing countries and the need for them to participate fully in the decision-making process.

67. Since I have said much about developed countries and what is expected of them, it may justifiably be asked what sort of role developing countries themselves should play. The answer to this is clearly stated in the Strategy: the developing countries themselves bear the primary responsibility for their own economic and social development. The Strategy also establishes the well-being of the individual as the ultimate objective of development.

68. Malaysia is mindful of that, and all our national efforts are geared towards that objective. As our Prime Minister has said, "No plan is good enough until it has reached the people and has received their acquiescence." Hence there is active participation of the people at all levels in the development process. We in Malaysia have learned through painful experience that pursuit of the growth of the gross national product alone is not enough and that socio-cultural factors have also to be taken into

⁵ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

⁶ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 5.*

account. That is especially so in Malaysia's case, where inequalities in the distribution of income coincide with racial divisions.

69. Hence the main objectives of the second Malaysia plan 1971-1975 are to eradicate poverty among all, to bring about a more equitable distribution of income, to ensure balanced development between the urban and rural areas, to create more employment opportunities for the growing labour force, to eradicate racial distinction in economic functions and to restructure society as a whole. In addition to that, the Malaysian Government has also oriented its educational programmes towards meeting the increasing demands for technical and managerial skills and is pursuing an active policy on family planning. Thus our development plan aims not only at the economic betterment of the country but at achieving it in a way that will improve the quality of life of all our people and promote the unity of the nation.

70. In order to meet the challenge of economic development it is imperative that the developing countries improve their bargaining position vis-à-vis the developed countries. The developing countries are individually prone to the vagaries of international economic and financial relations, and find themselves at the mercy of market forces dominated by the developed countries. Developing countries are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of mutual assistance, co-operation and self-reliance among themselves. It is only by standing together, by trading more with one another, by establishing institutional frameworks within which such trade can be conducted and by exchanging experiences which are relevant to the aspirations of their peoples that they can reduce the impact of adverse developments on their economies and development efforts.

71. That point was underscored by the recent summit meeting of non-aligned countries. The meeting called for the convening of a conference of developing countries on commodities which would give them the opportunity to work for a fair deal in world trade. That will go a long way in improving the bargaining position of the third world. The success achieved by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] in that respect is a very good example of what can be achieved through action based on solidarity and co-operation. If developing countries take those steps we shall then have achieved something we can be truly proud of.

72. In conclusion I wish to say that my delegation looks to the future not only with great expectations but also with the realization that those expectations can reach fruition only if we respond with dynamism to changing situations. Rarely has mankind faced such a challenge and opportunity as we now see before us. It is vital that the nations of the world have the strength and the wisdom to rise to the occasion and meet this challenge and opportunity with a positive and dynamic response. For only then can we bring ourselves nearer to the attainment of universal peace and a better quality of life for all.

73. Mr. CISSOKO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly of the United Nations is at present

no doubt living through one of the gravest and most decisive moments in its existence. The events unfolding throughout the world, particularly in the Far East and in Africa, where injustice, arrogance and exploitation are regarded as rules of international conduct, clearly indicate that we must assume our responsibilities with all the equity and determination dictated by the situation. This session is therefore crucial, and that is why my delegation is happy to see that the Assembly has elected a political personality of Mr. Benites' wisdom to direct our work. You will all understand the satisfaction we feel as we congratulate him on his brilliant election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Through his august person we also convey our felicitations to his country and to the third world of which we are a part for their important contribution to strengthening the United Nations. We wish also to associate ourselves with the congratulations offered to his predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, who conducted the debates of the twenty-seventh session with courtesy and great lucidity.

74. My delegation cannot, of course, overlook the efforts the Secretary-General continuously exerts in his search for peace.

75. The brave people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands have turned a new and glorious page in the history of the liberation of peoples.

76. Indeed, after a succession of decisive victories against the enormous military and industrial apparatus placed at the disposal of Portugal by its NATO allies so as to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa, the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands on 24 September 1973 proclaimed at Boé the independence of that country.

77. The sacrifice of our brother Amílcar Cabral was not made in vain. It is fitting to pay a tribute to the memory of that pioneer of independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, that authentic son of struggling Africa who was treacherously assassinated on 20 January 1973 by the executioners of the Fascist Lisbon Government.

78. We salute the birth of that new State. We welcome that event as one of the most characteristic of our times. It meets one of the great hopes of peoples which love peace, justice and freedom.

79. It was perfectly normal for the people and Government of the Republic of Mali, which consider that victory to be their own, to recognize the State of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands immediately on the proclamation of their independence.

80. Indeed, the Head of State of Mali, in his message to his brother Francisco Mendes, the Chief Commissioner, said:

"This historic act, which is a new victory of Africa against its foes, must make all African patriots more determined than ever to commit themselves resolutely

in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*".

81. In inviting the representatives of the national liberation movements to participate in its work and in giving them assistance, the United Nations has acted in accordance with the trend of history. The people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands have confirmed that view. To be true to itself, our Organization must as soon as possible decide to admit that new State to membership.

82. Henceforth, any hostile act of the Fascist Lisbon régime against Guinea-Bissau or the Cape Verde Islands should be considered an attempt against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State. The United Nations will then merely have to put into effect the appropriate provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter against the Portuguese Government.

83. It is a pleasant duty for my delegation to welcome to this Organization the worthy representatives of a brother State, the Bahamas. The people of the Bahamas has after a long struggle turned a new page in its history. We are happy to see it, and on behalf of the Government of Mali, I want to tender our heartfelt congratulations to the delegation of this State.

84. We are sure that the initiatives which were taken throughout the year by certain Powers to improve their relations contribute to creating a new international order, which thus must succeed the state of confrontation resulting from the cold war. It is to this process that we owe the restoration in 1971 of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and the admission to the United Nations at the present session of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. These victories, which mark our difficult path towards the universality of the United Nations and which are indeed a triumph of reason and wisdom over the vanity of material power, are evidence that the peoples do not need tutelary power to accomplish their destinies.

85. The Government of Mali, true to its policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, could of course only entertain the happiest relations with the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The admission of these two States to the United Nations meets one of the warmest wishes of the international community, and we are very happy to see it.

86. The universality which I have just mentioned will of course have no real significance unless it is understood as a possibility for exchanging political, intellectual and moral values among nations.

87. The Preamble to the Charter reflects cardinal principles whose correct implementation would normally produce a better world. Since our moral, intellectual and material resources are such as to enable us to achieve this purpose, we should welcome every initiative and every action which commits the international community to this process.

88. Whether what is involved is protection of life, respect of human rights, the struggle against injustice,

slavery and hatred or the right of peoples to live in decent economic and social conditions, the objectives of the Charter can only be fully met if they are consonant with the profound aspirations of the peoples on behalf of whom the Charter was adopted.

89. In fact the struggle for peace after the Second World War has been a continuous confrontation between the forces of progress and those forces which feel that they can continue to govern the world. The latter have found out the hard way that the sacred and permanent values on which our society is based are so lofty that they can be temporarily ignored but can never be really destroyed. This reality should be sufficient in itself to establish the philosophy of greatness on the triumph of these values and not on the search for the means to destroy the human race.

90. To the impossibility of dehumanizing the world has now been added the futility of using weapons in the settlement of conflicts among States, and while we await the establishment of complete justice in the world, peace can be based only on the principles of the Charter, whose essence is based in turn on comprehension and tolerance among nations.

91. The progress which has been achieved towards détente, even though inadequate, nevertheless is a positive contribution to international relations, and we must now not only continue this tendency but also orient it so as to give it a universal character and thus prevent the explosion of anger of the peoples who have been so frustrated in their aspirations to freedom and progress.

92. If peace requires genius and if genius requires patience, we can only welcome the conclusion of the cease-fire in Viet-Nam, the cessation of the bombings in Cambodia, the conclusion of the agreement on the repatriation of the Pakistani military and civilian personnel, the conclusion and implementation of the agreement on the formation of a coalition government in Laos, the continuation of negotiations on co-operation and security in Europe, the improvement of co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union and the development of the relationships between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

93. The signature in Paris on 27 January 1973 of the agreement on the cease-fire in Viet-Nam⁷ has officially put an end to 18 years of military commitment by the United States in that country, and it is indeed a victory of the heroic people of Viet-Nam, which has written some of the most glorious pages in the history of the liberation of peoples. It has shown once again that faith in human dignity and the nobility and greatness of the nation is not to be destroyed by any weapons, no matter how powerful. The authentic representatives of that country have already taken their place among their comrades in the same struggle among the non-aligned nations, while we await their appearance among us here.

94. We can only hope that the Paris Agreement, which was concluded after an objective analysis of the political

⁷ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam.

and social realities in Viet-Nam, will be really applied by all the interested parties in accordance with the spirit which presided at its signature.

95. We can only hope that the search for a false subcontinental balance will not prompt Thieu and his masters to repeat the acts which were condemned by the universal conscience and which were so contrary to the appropriate provisions of the Charter.

96. We pay a tribute to the Viet-Nameese people for having overcome aggression and at the same time having established the political and social structures of the nation.

97. Asia, like the rest of the world, aspires to peace. The success which was achieved in Viet-Nam and the formation of a coalition government in Laos are preludes to a political and social stabilization in the Far East, and this will allow, if these agreements are kept, a reconstruction of the nations which have suffered so much in that region of the world.

98. Peace which is imposed by the force of arms alone is fearsome as such, because it contains the seeds of its own destruction. Indeed the very timid agreements which were achieved among the super-Powers cannot really reassure us, because the mad arms race is continuing, and the spectre of the destruction of mankind can only be banished by general, complete and controlled disarmament.

99. The implementation of the promises which were given with regard to the chance to conclude in 1974 substantial agreements on the second phase of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks is awaited by the whole of mankind with legitimate impatience, because it may perhaps allow us to free ourselves from the nightmare of self-destruction.

100. However, peace and security are so complex that they must have a universal character, which alone can ensure their permanence. A search for solutions to international problems which is based on this fundamental reality can of course lead to concrete results, and Europe gives a partial justification of this view.

101. Indeed the idea which was advanced in 1966 for a global discussion of the problems of that continent by all the States composing it has finally become affirmed and was concretized on 3 July in Helsinki by the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

102. Of course, an analysis of the political and social crises in Europe through more than five centuries and the impact of these events on the peoples of the other continents and their negative impact on the normal development of most of the countries which are now called "the third world" justifies our interest in any step which can create objective conditions of stability in that part of the world.

103. But we must recognize that, whereas it may be easy for a continent or subcontinent to draw material boundaries, it is not quite so easy to find solutions to problems

of collective security—and this because of the interpenetration of the interests of the nations and their interdependence. This fundamental fact makes it incumbent upon us to envisage global solutions to the problems important for the future of mankind. The use of force and circumstantial arrangements can only lead us to an absurd equation and to precarious balances.

104. In the view of my delegation, the international community can really give the full measure of its creative genius for producing durable and great works only in a climate of détente. But unfortunately we see that in Asia, Latin America and Africa, where intolerable events are still taking place, peace and security are still looked upon by foreign Powers in terms of power relationships.

105. Thus, the illusion is fostered that islands of peace and prosperity can continue to subsist in a tormented world and that the great majority of men will accept forever to live in conditions of mere survival.

106. A correct appreciation of political, economic and social realities in the world and of the role which every State must play in a universe which wants to be democratic has not always prevailed in our attempts to bring about a settlement of international conflicts, because certain Powers continue to consider themselves as the only ones capable of interpreting the law, while others display a permanent attitude of contempt for the international community, and mock with impunity the values which are the very essence of our existence.

107. Is it not really frightening to see that, at a time when the whole of mankind wants stability and at a time when the Viet-Nameese people envisage a future of peace, Powers exist which invoke democracy to support the hysterical clique of Thieu, which wishes with all its heart for new hostilities and a new conflagration?

108. The proposals for the return to normal life in Viet-Nam that were made by the Provisional Revolutionary Government are so logical that they must be supported by the signatories of the Paris agreements and by the whole of the international community.

109. But it remains evident that the task of making peace in the Far East will be unfinished until the plot against the Cambodian people has been thwarted.

110. The Cambodian Royal Government of National Union has achieved many victories over the forces of reaction, despite the blind bombings, the systematic massacre of innocent people and the intensive arming of mercenaries in the pay of wealthy Powers.

111. The policy of the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea, presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk is based on neutrality and is in keeping with the deep aspirations of the Khmer people. It is in agreement with the principles of the Charter and the policy of non-alignment, which has contributed to the positive development of international relations.

112. The Government of the Republic of Mali would like to express its satisfaction at seeing the Royal Govern-

ment of National Union of Kampuchea re-establish its legitimate rights, recognized by the historic summit conference of the non-aligned countries in Algeria, which astonished the world by its unity, by its proper assessment of the international situation and by its proposals which, we are sure, will inspire the action of the international community, because they are based on contemporary realities.

113. One of those realities, which is based on the legitimate representation of peoples in international organizations, requires, as was the case for the non-aligned countries, that the spokesman for Cambodia in the United Nations should be the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea, which has always been the Government of the Khmer people. Its sound opinions are especially necessary here at the very time when we are working to establish a new order in the world.

114. Last year, in completing my review of events in the Far East, I said that peace was "...within reach in Korea. In order to safeguard it, it would be sufficient to help the parties to accelerate the process of peaceful reunification which is going on."⁸ The People's Democratic Republic of Korea, true to the principles of settling conflicts by negotiation, proposed last February, in its discussions with Seoul, a peace treaty containing five points which would implement the peaceful reunification of the country. As one could expect, the representatives of the South rejected those proposals, fearing that the United Nations Command would disappear and thus showing that they owe their existence only to the presence of American troops, which are still stationed in Korea under the banner of this Organization. A graver insult could not possibly be offered to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

115. We want to reaffirm again that the intervention of the United Nations in Korea is a flagrant contradiction of the spirit of the Charter. The so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has given those who created and supported it an eloquent example of an accurate appraisal of the Korean realities by inviting us to recognize that it is not needed and to disband it. The attempts to endanger the territorial integrity of Korea, in their turn, are condemned to failure because the United Nations, which has always affirmed the indivisibility of the Korean nation, can only reject such proposals aiming at perpetuation of the partition of that country.

116. With respect to the Middle East, the situation remains explosive because of the persistent refusal of Israel to comply with the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

117. As though the sufferings of the last world war had not sufficed, as though one had erased from memory the ultimate sacrifice of millions of men from every continent who fell on the battlefields to bring about the downfall of racism and of genocide of the Jewish people, as though one no longer remembered the cavalier treatment

accorded the League of Nations, there are Powers, some of which are permanent members of the Security Council, that encourage and arm Israel in its scorn for the sacred principles of the Charter.

118. Whereas on the one hand we affirm the precariousness of any political settlement based on force, on the other hand some encourage by all means the establishment in the Middle East of a so-called balance that would be based only on the power of arms.

119. Thus Israel, which no longer limits its dreams of conquest and whose actions have been reproached by the universal conscience, has deliberately set itself up as a terrorist State. The destruction of a commercial Libyan aircraft, the hijacking of an Iraqi plane, the repeated attacks against Syrian and Lebanese population centres by Israeli fighter planes, the hand of death striking in Beirut and other actions are eloquent illustrations of this.

120. The genius and superiority of a nation are measured by its contribution to peace and not by its capacity to unleash useless violence.

121. The faith of peoples in the restoration of their usurped dignity is a force so powerful that Israel would stand to gain by pondering the fate of those régimes which have attempted to break that faith; it would draw sound lessons if it did not wish to expose its people to international hatred and condemnation.

122. The community of nations would stand to gain in authority if after a quarter of a century of guilty passivity in the face of the tragedy in the Middle East it granted the legitimate demands of the martyred Palestinian people.

123. To the knowledge of my delegation there has not been, apart from cases of unconditional surrender, situations where negotiations on ending conflicts were started without restoring the conditions that existed prior to those conflicts.

124. The unconditional withdrawal from Arab territories occupied by Israel and the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are the only basis for a just settlement of the Middle East crisis. To interpret those clear resolutions inevitably leads to distorting them. Yet that is what Israel and its allies are doing, thus blocking any initiative for a peaceful settlement of this tragedy, in particular the efforts of Mr. Jarring and of the African Heads of State.

125. The members of the international community would be accomplices to flagrant violations of the Charter if they did not take energetic measures to repress in an exemplary manner the threat to peace in the Middle East. The belligerent and indefinable idea of secure and recognized frontiers advocated by Israel is a tendentious distortion of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

126. The resumption of hostilities last Saturday in the Middle East proved that the situation of "no peace, no war" which prevailed was only an illusion and that any incident could set off an explosion which would lay waste the entire region. Israel bears full responsibility for the

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2045th meeting, para. 21.

tragic development of that crisis. It is time for the allies of Israel to understand all the risks which their negative attitude entails for peace in that region, which, for the fourth time since 1948, has become a battlefield with its attendant misery, destruction, humiliation and frustration.

127. Let us recognize that one cannot be for peace and support Israel and international Zionism in their insulting and persistent defiance of the community of nations. One cannot be for peace and sanction the occupation by Israel of the Arab territories of Gaza and Sinai, the Golan Heights and the west bank. One cannot be for peace and challenge the inalienable rights of the martyred people of Palestine to self-determination and to a homeland. One cannot, finally, work for peace in Europe and continue to support Israeli aggression against the Arab nation in the Middle East. The contradiction which characterizes the international conduct of the allies of Israel is, to say the least, an aberration. The complicity of Israel's allies is condemnable and our Organization must draw the lesson by having recourse to the relevant Articles of the Charter to compel the Zionist State to co-operate in restoring peace in the Middle East. In this connexion, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination must not be coupled with any condition or requirement. It is at that price, and that price alone, that our Organization can halt the chain reaction of violence in the Middle East and re-establish there a just and lasting peace in accordance with the historical mission entrusted to it by the Charter.

128. We are told that the world is in a state of détente; intransigence born of misunderstandings and mistaken appreciations of the profound aspirations of peoples is vanishing. Despite this ray of hope and the solemn commitment undertaken in 1945 to fight, if necessary with arms, all threats to human dignity, we are compelled to note that the most abject colonialism and the most infamous oppression are still rampant in Africa and elsewhere.

129. In opposition to the concerted goodwill to make relations between States democratic, in opposition to the happy initiative taken or about to be taken to establish this universal peace to which all peoples aspire, there are the ignominious theories and practices of exploitation of man and discrimination of all kinds.

130. Whereas during the course of the year there has been an increase in the visits and negotiations between Heads of State and Government to reduce the tensions born of the last world war; whereas associations of workers, young people, men of learning and religious men have condemned *apartheid* and colonialism, the crime of genocide perpetrated at Sharpeville has been re-enacted by the dastardly assassination of the Carletonville miners by the racists of Pretoria and the massacre of the peaceful populations of Wiriyamu in Mozambique by Portuguese soldiers—and during that time Caetano was sipping champagne in London. The United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities towards Portugal, which, with the support of its NATO allies, continues with impunity its colonial wars in Africa in defiance of the

provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization and of the principles of the Charter.

131. In Southern Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe people, which rejected the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals that would have confiscated their right to independence for the benefit of the white minority, is daily persecuted by the rebellious and racist Salisbury régime and *apartheid* is being strengthened there by the multiplication of “bantustans”. One must recognize that the non-application by certain Member States of the economic sanctions adopted by our Organization against the Ian Smith clique has simply strengthened the Salisbury usurpers' ability to resist. Even though the United States is not the only country to breach the decisions adopted against that rebel régime, it is to be hoped that the Congress of that country will accede to the wish of its Government to put an end to the importation of Rhodesian chrome.

132. The racist régime of Salisbury has increased its hostility to the independent Republics of Tanzania and Zambia by unilaterally closing the frontiers with those countries and perpetrating on their territory acts of aggression and terrorism that have resulted in the loss of many human lives. Those attempts to stifle action, which have been directed in particular against Zambia, have been rendered futile by the solidarity of the international community, which responded to our Organization's appeals.

133. In South Africa repression against African nationalists and the liberals of the white race increases while the curve of summary executions and individual assassinations constantly rises. The racist Pretoria Government continues to commit aggression against the people of Namibia, in defiance of the United Nations decision which put an end to its Mandate [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] and which has been confirmed by an opinion of the International Court of Justice at The Hague.⁹ Despite the fact that repression has become more severe, the Ovambo people boycotted the electoral sham which the South African occupation authorities organized to perpetuate their domination. The failure of the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General vis-à-vis the Government of Pretoria gives us a measure of the latter's obstinacy in refusing to co-operate with our Organization in the implementation of the relevant resolutions on Namibia.

134. Those are factors which throughout the year have hampered the attainment of the objectives of our Organization in southern Africa. It appears that the persistence of such a situation simply increases the tragic racial tension which prevails in that sensitive part of the world. The General Assembly and the Security Council are bound to draw the appropriate lesson. For its part, the delegation of Mali rejects the conclusions of the report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General¹⁰ and proposes that his mandate be ended.

⁹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1972, document S/10832, annex II.*

135. The arrogance of the Government of South Africa is a result of the support and, in particular, the material and technical aid obligingly given it by the NATO military-industrial Powers in the form of unlimited deliveries of arms and munitions. This attitude is doubtless dictated by the fact that those Powers consider South Africa to be a bulwark against I know not what Communist tide. Is it not in the name of that red peril—which, furthermore, is baseless—that the Government of Pretoria pushes its stupidity and ignominy to the extent of establishing discrimination between animals? The NATO Powers must abandon their support of the unholy alliance constituted by the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis and co-operate with the United Nations for the restoration of peace in southern Africa, because any racial confrontation that is started there may engulf that part of the continent.

136. The peace to which all our efforts are directed cannot be reconciled with the economic imbalances which characterize our world. Indeed, the gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to grow. The new economic order to which mankind aspires must be based on world co-operation which safeguards the interests of all the partners. At this time the great hopes placed in the Second United Nations Development Decade are beginning to vanish, because, according to the evaluation that has been carried out, the growth rate of the developing countries is far from having attained the 6 per cent target. The report of the Secretary-General on the world economic situation during the year 1972,¹¹ furthermore, points out that while the economic growth rate generally rose in the developed countries, the situation in most developing countries is reflected in a growth rate slightly lower than during the 1960s.

137. The reasons for such a decline are known. I shall mention only those relating to the permanent and increasingly more acute deterioration in the terms of trade, the existence of quota and tariff barriers against access to the developed countries' markets of the primary, finished and semi-finished goods of the developing countries, the exploitation of their products by transnational companies, monetary instability and the chronic deficit of agricultural harvests caused by natural catastrophes. The monetary instability which is shaking the world has aggravated the precariousness of the economies of the developing countries. While the successive devaluations of the "have" countries currencies and the unilateral readjustments that mark the end of the Bretton Woods system have had little effect on the economic expansion of the developed countries, the consequences have been drastic for low-income countries. We very much doubt that the negotiations taking place in Tokyo within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will lead to the establishment of a new integrated economic order. We rather fear that they will lead to an accentuation of the division of the world into two antagonistic poles: one in constant growth, the other withering away under the requirements of the first. Furthermore, if we are not careful, the famine which increasingly threatens mankind may attain dramatic proportions.

¹¹ *World Economic Survey, 1972: Current Economic Developments* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.C.1).

138. The tragic consequences of the drought on the economies and living conditions of the Sudano-Sahelian countries are serious warnings for the United Nations to take up the problem of food in terms of carefully thought-out plans and not in terms of circumstantial programmes.

139. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to address my sincere thanks and express the profound gratitude of the Government of Mali to all friendly countries, to national or international organizations, governmental or non-governmental organizations, which have given us aid in our efforts to overcome the consequences of the drought, which has been a hard trial for my country.

140. Nevertheless, while this international solidarity permitted us to forestall the worst, the fact is that prospects for a return to normal production conditions in our country remain distant. Indeed, the cycle of drought continues and the latest news enables me to affirm that this year again plants have dried on the ground before they attained full growth. The international community must therefore consider the urgent implementation in those countries of medium and long-term plans so as to free them from their quasi-total dependence on a capricious rainfall.

141. In our work we find ourselves facing clear and decisive choices.

142. Our success will be the measure of the determination with which we seek equitable solutions for the multiple and complex problems of our times.

143. The United Nations, because of its universal vocation, represents the ideal crucible where ideas should be merged so that, patiently but with resolution, we may, from one session to the next, contribute in a positive manner to the progressive attainment of the objectives set out in the Charter.

144. These are problems of survival which our society faces and no nation is sheltered from the storm.

145. Thus, we have no choice but to work jointly for the coming into being of a new international order based on justice and equity.

146. It is to this task that my delegation invites the Assembly of nations.

147. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): On behalf of the Government of Sri Lanka and the delegation of Sri Lanka, I extend to Ambassador Benites our cordial congratulations on his election as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His acknowledged eminence as an international jurist, his vast experience in United Nations affairs and the conspicuous diplomatic skill which he has displayed, as well as his personal qualities of patience, courtesy and tact, assure us of wise guidance and leadership during this session.

148. The United Nations owes its sincerest thanks to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, for his adroit handling of the work of that session and especially of

some particularly controversial problems. His capacity for negotiation spared the Assembly discussions that might have been acrimonious and futile.

149. On the eve of this session the world heard the shocking news of the violent change of government in a country with which we have always maintained the most friendly understanding, a country which had co-operated with us closely on important problems both of a political and economic nature, and had taken its rightful place in the community of non-aligned nations. The Government which was overthrown had sought through a socialist policy to ensure for the people of that country a greater measure of social and economic equality and justice than they had enjoyed before.

150. The Government and people of Sri Lanka heard with profound grief and distress the poignant and tragic news of the death of President Salvador Allende, who gave his life in an attempt as a politician to fulfil what his friend and compatriot, the late Pablo Neruda, described as the poet's duty to take his place alongside the people in their struggle to transform society, which has been betrayed into chaos by its rulers, into an orderly existence based on political, economic and social democracy.

151. The experience of Chile shows that the deadliest enemies of social and economic reform and of the egalitarian society are the forces of reaction within a country, that privileged and pampered *élite*, which would not shrink from enlisting the support of external forces which command unlimited financial resources and exercise a decisive influence in key areas of the economy. This power and influence embolden them to conceive and even conduct operations designed to subordinate the democratic will of the people to their blinding obsession with profits and the politics of financial and economic domination. The people of Chile have our deepest sympathy.

152. A new chapter in the history of the United Nations has been opened by the admission to its membership of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. We accord them a warm welcome to this Organization. They come here pledged to support the cause of peace and to redeem the past. We can no longer demand of them any further expiation of the crimes their leaders committed. In relations between nations, as between individuals, there is a time to remember and a time to forget.

153. We take special pleasure in welcoming the Commonwealth of the Bahamas on their admission to membership in the United Nations. We extend to them our best wishes and assure them of our close and constant co-operation.

154. The past year has seen dramatic improvements in the United States relations with the Soviet Union and China, as well as clear signs of increasingly close and friendly co-operation between Japan on the one hand and the Soviet Union and China on the other. These developments are a favourable portent for the future. We

hope that they will gain increased momentum. Above all, we hope that at least the ideology they share in common will help compose the differences that now unfortunately exist between China and the Soviet Union.

155. The cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam has removed one of the principal impediments to final reconciliation—the presence of foreign forces in that unhappy country, torn by internecine conflict and tormented and devastated by continuous warfare over a period of more than 30 years. But the end of war does not necessarily herald the dawn of peace. It is now left to the various factions in that country to refrain altogether from hostile acts against each other and to take the fullest advantage of the cessation of hostilities by entering into negotiations for the restoration of peace and harmony and for the initiation of the process of reconstruction. A commendable example has been set by Laos. We sincerely hope that a similar process will be started in Cambodia, uninfluenced by the interference, overt or otherwise, of outside parties.

156. The presence of both North and South Korea in our midst as observers should give a further impetus to the realization of the objective which should benefit them both—the ultimate unification of that country.

157. It is in the same spirit that we welcome the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 28 August 1973 regarding the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees in India and the repatriation of all Bengalis in Pakistan and all Pakistanis in Bangladesh, specified in the Agreement. Ties of culture and history bind us firmly to the peoples of those countries. The future of South Asia depends very greatly on the maintenance of friendly relations and co-operation between them, and we in Sri Lanka stand ready, as always, to enter into active partnership with them in all efforts to ensure stability in the region and to bring peace and prosperity to all our peoples. We believe that, given a display of fraternity and magnanimity on all sides, all existing obstacles to the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations should soon be removed.

158. The enlargement of the European Economic Community through the accession of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland creates new opportunities for some but acute problems for others, among them my own country. The increase in the strength and cohesion of the European Economic Community, while creating ideal conditions for rapid economic progress and ever-increasing prosperity for the members of the Community itself, could be so exploited as to produce beneficial consequences for the rest of the world by increasing rather than limiting trade opportunities to, and providing better markets for, the products of the developing world as a whole. The loss of those preferences which the members of the Commonwealth enjoyed in the past and the attenuation of the most-favoured-nation principle, both of which result from Britain's accession to the Common Market, create special problems for the developing members of the Commonwealth, among them Sri Lanka, whose principal trading partner has been and continues to be Britain.

159. We sincerely hope that the negotiations that have already been set in train for the establishment of a special relationship between the Community and the associable territories will bring substantial relief and advantages to those territories. Those advantages are expected to take the form of trade and financial aid schemes, as well as compensatory financing and the creation of special institutions. We welcome this policy, but must appeal for its progressive application to others not yet eligible for such special treatment, particularly Asian Commonwealth countries like Sri Lanka, which will suffer deprivation as well as denial. We will lose the benefits hitherto enjoyed under the Commonwealth preference scheme and face the problem of unequal competition in European markets. The enlargement of the European Economic Community should not be allowed to arrest or reverse the trend towards greater liberalization of international trade and the elimination of all discriminatory trade practices.

160. The President of Upper Volta reminded us today of the calamity of the Sudano-Sahelian drought and famine and the heavy toll they have taken. The time has come for us to marshal all the resources of modern technology to avert such catastrophes in the future. We therefore welcome the initiative taken by the United States delegation in proposing the convening of a world food conference [2124th meeting]. If we cannot agree on reducing our stocks of guns, let us at least try to increase our stocks of food grains.

161. Interest in the concept of collective economic security has been revived on the initiative of the Government of Brazil, and that Government deserves to be congratulated on that initiative. We also applaud the initiative of the President of Mexico in regard to the adoption of a charter of economic rights and duties. The essence of those two concepts has already been distilled in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. We would welcome any new and concrete proposals for giving expression to the concept of collective economic security, but we should like to emphasize that there is no need for any new institutions for that purpose. We already have the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, which treat the problems on an interregional or global scale, while on the other hand we have the regional economic commissions which are equipped with both the means and the authority to promote regional co-operation.

162. The results achieved during the First United Nations Development Decade were disappointing and dismal. The Strategy for the second Decade contains certain priorities, incorporated in paragraphs (24), (25) and (26), which constitute the essence of collective economic security, namely, the priority aim of "... securing stable, remunerative and equitable prices" for the raw materials produced by developing countries; the principle that "No new tariff and non-tariff barriers will be raised nor will the existing ones be increased by developed countries against imports of primary products of particular interest to developing countries;" and that priority should be given by developed countries "... to

reducing or eliminating duties and other barriers to imports of primary products, including those in processed or semi-processed form, of export interest to developing countries...".

163. These results were to be achieved by 31 December 1972. That there is little to review and less to appraise, except failure, is abundantly clear from the report on the second session of the Committee on Review and Appraisal.¹²

164. Most of the problems that exist between nations might, in our belief, perhaps be considerably mitigated, if not solved, through greater economic co-operation and the improvement of economic relations between countries.

165. More attention and encouragement need to be given to those organs of the United Nations family that are concerned with economic co-operation and questions of international trade and development, in particular UNIDO, which was established with the definite purpose of dealing with the problems that afflicted the developing countries and of establishing a more solid association and partnership between the developing and the developed sections of the world to their mutual benefit and advantage. If there is any tendency to set up UNCTAD as a rival to the Economic and Social Council, it should be resolutely discouraged. There are clear and hopeful signs of the Council's regaining its vitality and assuming the constitutional role assigned to it under the Charter. The Secretary-General has in his introduction to the report on the work of the Organization drawn pointed attention to this question and has noted with satisfaction the reassertion of the constitutional authority of the Economic and Social Council [A/9001/Add.1, p. 7]. One of that Council's most important functions is the co-ordination and reconciliation of the activities of the independent specialized agencies and other organs—steadily growing in number—through which the economic and social policies of the United Nations are carried into effect. There has to be decentralization but not at the expense of integration; there should be effective co-ordination to avoid duplication and dissipation of effort, waste of staff and inefficient use of funds.

166. The criticism is often heard that the developing countries are too importunate or too peremptory in their demands for aid. The modest targets set for the transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries do not, in our opinion, justify such a harsh criticism. Aid is like the quality of mercy: it blesseth him that gives and him that takes. If it is inspired by altruism, it is also sustained by self-interest. It is an investment that will some day yield a dividend in which the donor will himself share, as it will give the recipient nations readier access to the products of the donor nations. This is sufficient justification for the developing countries' proposal, in regard to the reform of the international monetary system, that there should be a definite link established between special drawing rights and development aid. The proposal that in the next issue of special

¹² Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 11.

drawing rights the developing nations should have a greater share is only the other side of the same coin. The creation of this next issue should no longer be deferred.

167. The question of a world disarmament conference will once again be discussed. The major Powers have an opportunity of providing an earnest of their good faith and thus creating a favourable climate for such a conference if they pledge themselves to a total and unqualified renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons; a comprehensive test ban treaty, to be concluded without any further excuses or delay; the total cessation of the manufacture of all nuclear weapons; and the dismantling of all nuclear arsenals. Those Powers which enjoy an overwhelming superiority in nuclear capacity and whose nuclear armouries pose the greatest threat of nuclear war ending in a nuclear holocaust must first set an example by giving the lead in committing themselves to these four points. If we condemn atmospheric testing, we must not content ourselves with merely making mild remonstrances against the conduct of underground testing. We must condemn all forms of testing and demand the immediate conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty, accompanied by the other and related measures which we have already proposed.

168. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has once again failed to keep its promise of producing a draft agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons. The excuse given by those who wish to retain these weapons is palpably flimsy.

169. In striking contrast to the fervour with which the major Powers appeal for the support of the rest of the membership for any disarmament proposal they produce is the attitude of disdain and superciliousness with which they themselves have treated a proposal that adopts a positive approach to the problem, one that seeks to prevent the spread of the arms race into at least one region of the world, one that seeks, as its ultimate aim, the removal of all military bases from that area and one that by this means seeks to create a climate of peace where the accumulation or the use of arms would not be necessary. I refer to the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal on which the General Assembly adopted a Declaration at its twenty-sixth session [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. This Declaration, may I remind the Assembly, failed to secure the support of the major Powers with one notable exception—China. The First Committee will shortly receive and consider the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean [*A/9029*] established by General Assembly resolution 2992 (XXVII). I do not feel called upon, therefore, to comment on the report at this stage.

170. The United Nations does not appear to be anywhere near a solution of the Middle East problem. On the other hand it seems to be coming—if it has not already come—perilously close to the eye of the storm. Institutions and individuals that ardently support respect for human rights and express their indignation over the denial to a certain group of the right to leave their country do not show any concern over the fact that the assertion

of that right results in the flagrant denial and destruction of the human rights of another group. I refer to the policy adopted by the State of Israel of establishing along the perimeter of the occupied territories a pattern of settlements in which for the most part Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union are settled.

171. Why do the champions of human rights fail to voice their objections to the expropriation of the lands of the Palestinian Arabs and to their use for the establishment of Jewish settlements on the pretext of security? This pretext cannot be reconciled with the declarations of Israeli leaders that the State of Israel commands overwhelming military superiority over the combined forces of the Arab world. This is no idle boast. More disturbing, however, are the statements of Israeli leaders that they are acting in accordance with the doctrine of the power of right or the right of power, the most naked and unabashed assertion of the principle that might is right, which is totally at variance with the fundamental principles of the Organization to which they belong and to which they have pledged their support.

172. We wish to see a settlement in the Middle East—one that will guarantee conditions of peace and security not merely to the people of Israel but to all the peoples of the Arab world that are their neighbours. We wish to see a partnership established between them that can be of lasting benefit to both groups. But we must hold the scales evenly and create conditions in which negotiations, direct or indirect, can start. To invoke Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is meaningless if the violation of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories continues to pass unchallenged and unchecked. The present policy of Israel can only be described as one of territorial aggrandizement based on the territorial claims of Israel and in transgression of the very instrument that created the State of Israel within clearly demarcated boundaries. The State of Israel has a right to welcome Jews from all over the world—no one questions that right—but it must not be left free to encroach on the territory, and extinguish the rights, of the Palestinian Arabs.

173. As long as the occupation in its present form continues and is consolidated by the practices and policies systematically pursued by the Government of Israel, the conditions required for negotiation will never be created. The hope of peace will remain as remote and evanescent as ever and the danger of the outbreak of hostilities will haunt us, undiminished by considerations sacred or secular. The fighting that flared up on 6 October was a grim warning.

174. The Charter is a document that has a sanctity of its own, even if it lacks Messianic inspiration, and any violation of the Charter is a greater blasphemy and sacrilege than a decision to assert one's rights while one antagonist is absorbed in a spiritual exercise of supreme significance to him—even if that were actually the case. All faiths must be held in reverence, but it is no less a blasphemy and sacrilege to plead that the most sacred hour in one's calendar must be invoked to secure one's immunity from the consequences of one's own wrongdoing.

175. The latest news is that civilian targets in densely populated areas in the heart of Damascus are being subjected to intensive and ruthless bombing by the Israeli Air Force, the excuse being that they are close to military headquarters. There are even reports, still to be confirmed, that fatal casualties have occurred among the families of foreign diplomats. Against this background of savagery, the Israeli Foreign Minister's impassioned and propagandistic reference at the 2139th meeting to atonement sounds utterly hollow and hypocritical.

176. The inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force is a principle that must be accepted and honoured without qualification or equivocation. It is a principle that is not open to modification or attenuation. Any attempt at manipulating it through prevarication to suit a particular nation's policies and designs will deceive nobody. It is, as it were, the coping stone of the archway of peace through which all posterity must be free to pass in safety, in honour and in dignity. Tamper with it, and the whole structure will collapse in ruins.

177. It is in that spirit that the efforts to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) must be renewed.

178. The members of the international community will soon face their severest test in co-operation and compromise for the establishment of a stable and viable law of the sea when the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is convened. We shall be called upon to review existing international law and transform it, especially that part of it that derives its authority from custom, to suit the moral values, ethical standards and political principles of the twentieth century. These are entirely different from the values, standards and principles of the generation of Grotius and Selden. Any law or custom governing the conduct of nations in their relations with one another must be based on principles of equity and international social justice. If a genuine and durable reform of the law of nations, whether it be in regard to the law of the sea or other aspects of international law, is to be achieved, there has to be a willingness on the part of the powerful and affluent to accommodate the interests and aspirations of the less privileged nations of the world. A law which will ensure order as well as justice must be free from extravagance and must take into special consideration the interests of the land-locked countries, if they are to be treated as equal partners with an equal right to the common heritage of mankind.

179. The United Nations has made little progress with the problems of Africa. The savage and ruthless suppression of liberation movements in Portuguese colonial Territories by the Government of Portugal, the odious and obnoxious racist policies of the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and of the South African Government continue unabated. Civilized opinion throughout the world remains outraged but helpless. The only effective weapon, short of armed intervention—which is beyond contemplation—is sanctions if they are scrupulously enforced. It is too often pleaded that a Member State's duties and responsibilities under the Charter must be governed by realities. In the language of

diplomacy, reality is only an imaginary obstacle to the fulfilment of a binding obligation. This plea or pretext is most often advanced in regard to the enforcement of mandatory sanctions against racist régimes. More than anything else, this attitude undermines the Charter and impairs its effectiveness, while at the same time dealing a mortal blow to the prestige of the principal organs of the United Nations—the General Assembly and the Security Council. The lofty sentiments often heard in this Assembly lose their meaning when they are belied by actions and policies which reject or ignore Charter obligations.

180. In the general debate scant attention is paid to one of the principal organs of the United Nations—the Secretariat. The United Nations is the hub of the international civil service and should serve as a model to all the other members of the United Nations family in regard to the maintenance of efficiency, morale and that essential ingredient of all forms of service, loyalty to the employer—in this instance the international community. Without loss of national identity there could be subordination of it in the larger interest of the world community. Morale can be sustained only if the permanent members of the international civil service are assured of fair treatment in the matter of promotion and remuneration. Recruitment policies must similarly be designed to secure the best talent available subject only to the requirement stated in Article 101, paragraph 3 of the Charter.

181. Every Member has a right to ensure that the principle of equitable geographical distribution without sacrifice of merit and efficiency is strictly observed, but we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that there are occasions when undue pressure is exercised by delegations in regard to appointments and promotions. Where such pressures are successful and affect the legitimate career prospects of permanent members of the Organization, some degree of demoralization must result. The Members should extend their co-operation to the Secretary-General in ensuring that the highest standards are maintained in regard to recruitment and promotion, free from any suspicion of political influence, and that recruits to the international civil service have an assured prospect of steady advancement unaffected by extraneous factors, provided they maintain the requisite standards of integrity, efficiency and loyalty.

182. Another aspect of the problem which deserves attention is the remuneration of members of the Secretariat. The currency fluctuations of recent times have caused hardship to many, especially those in the lower grades. An arrangement should be made whereby the adjustments in allowances can be effected with the least possible delay where currency fluctuations have an adverse effect on the emoluments of the staff. Such an arrangement could conform in large measure to the policy and practice of the host country in regard to the members of its own civil service. Relief often comes too late, and in the meantime avoidable hardship is inflicted on the staff.

183. In section XI of the excellent introduction to his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-

General has drawn attention to the additional burden imposed on the Organization's finances through the exchange fluctuations that have occurred in recent times, particularly the decline in the value of the United States dollar. It would appear that the nervous breakdown of the United States dollar—and I deliberately describe it as a nervous breakdown, as the decline in the value of the dollar has nothing to do with economic factors such as the productive capacity of the United States economy and its competitiveness—has resulted in an increase of as much as 25 per cent or more in the cost in dollars of purchasing the currencies required to meet the United Nations regular budget obligations in Geneva, Vienna and elsewhere.

184. It would not be unfair to suggest that that extra cost should be borne by those countries whose currencies have strengthened against the United States dollar. Some of those countries have acquired that position of strength and superiority largely owing to the generosity of the United States. If the extra financial costs imposed on the Organization as a result of this development in the world's money markets has to be met at the expense of humanitarian programmes undertaken or contemplated by the Organization, the prosperous economies should not begrudge the United Nations this special measure of relief. While on this theme, we should like to congratulate the Government of Japan on its special grant of \$10 million and the Government of the United Arab Emirates on its special grant of \$1 million to meet part of the deficit under which the Organization is now staggering. Those are examples worthy of emulation by others.

185. The need for a revision of the Charter has been referred to by many speakers. In our opinion, the Charter remains the best instrument for international co-operation to secure peace, harmony and progress and the establishment of a stable world order that human ingenuity could have devised to suit the fickleness and frailty of human nature and the unavoidable partisanship that is dictated by expediency and overrides principle. There are some aspects in regard to which the Charter requires revision to bring it into line with contemporary realities. Changes of a fundamental character, especially those affecting the relationships that existed between the members of the victorious alliance of the Second World War 28 years ago, have taken place and must be considered in any revision. Two continents do not enjoy the privilege of permanent representation and the power that

goes with it in the Security Council. Political considerations today count for much less than economic factors. But in any attempt at reform we must reckon with the fact that once conferred special privileges are difficult to withdraw. The most urgent reform of all is reform of ourselves.

AGENDA ITEM 22

The situation in the Middle East (*continued*)

186. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic has asked for permission to speak in order to make an urgent communication of an informative nature. With the permission of the General Assembly, I now call on him.

187. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Acting on the instructions of my Government, I wish to communicate to the General Assembly the following information.

188. The Israeli air force today launched a dastardly attack against civilian objectives in the Syrian capital of Damascus. Property damage resulted, and five members of the United Nations Office in Damascus were wounded. One of them is of French nationality; the second is British; the third is Italian; the fourth and fifth are Jordanian. The wife of the Indian Ambassador to Damascus also was wounded.

189. The objective of the attack was the residential quarter of Damascus, where the residences and offices of most of the foreign diplomatic missions are located. This attack against Syrian civilian objectives proves the cowardly character of the Israeli enemy, who, apparently, has lost control over his aggressive actions.

190. To strike at and bombard civilian objectives and to kill peaceful civilians in the streets and in their homes is not part of a war effort as recognized by international law. On the contrary, such acts constitute a grave violation of international conventions and indicate on the part of the aggressor an inhuman hatred, malice and arrogance such as has never been seen before. Is it possible to imagine that our civilized world can remain passive in the face of such barbarism?

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.