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Official Records



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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

*Temporary President; Mr. Adam MALIK
(Indonesia).*

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the
Chairman of the delegation of Indonesia**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

*Address by Mr. Adam Malik, Temporary President,
Chairman of the delegation of Indonesia*

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The past year has brought continual, far-reaching change in the pattern of power relations in the world. The accelerated pace at which this change has come about has transformed this pattern—much faster than we thought possible—into a much more diversified power constellation, replacing the ideological rigidity of the early cold-war era.

4. We have followed with great interest the evolving process of mutual accommodation and rapprochement between the major Powers of the world. This development has been welcomed by us all, for it has ushered in an atmosphere of détente, which is the necessary first step towards global peace.

5. One of the beneficial consequences of the relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union has been the development of more cordial and positive relations between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. Now the prospect of a reduction of the nuclear arms race offers the opportunity to the highly developed nations to channel funds, previously used for armaments, to developing nations in order to assist those nations in achieving their goals of economic and social emancipation.

6. From among those subjects for which a degree of progress can be rightfully claimed, I take particular note of the recent agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. To be sure, these agreements are still limited in scope; but they nevertheless represent a commendable start in the direction of meaningful nuclear arms control and present us with the hope for more comprehensive strategic arms limitation accords in the near future. Both the United States and the Soviet Union deserve all the encouragement of the international community in furthering their efforts in this most important aspect of détente.

7. The approaches towards a normalization of relations between the United States and China are likewise to be welcomed as reinforcing the conditions for an effective reduction of international tensions. In this connexion China's entry into the United Nations last year can also be seen as reflecting the view—increasingly being accepted by the international community—that each of its Members has an equal responsibility for the fate of humanity and that every nation must play its commensurate role in the world Organization.

8. I also know that you will share with me a sense of relief in seeing armed conflict on the south Asian subcontinent ended and the peoples of that region moving from the

The printed official records of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly are published in fascicle form, the record of each meeting being issued separately. A prefatory fascicle is issued for each session, containing a table of contents and the agenda.

battlefield to the conference table. It is even more heartening to see that India and Pakistan have actually started talks on finding a just and honourable settlement to all those problems that have for so long divided them. It is our ardent hope, therefore, that before long the spirit of reconciliation will also move Pakistan and Bangladesh to establish normal and peace relations.

9. It is imperative that all those problems should be effectively and integrally resolved, so that the energy of the great peoples of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh can be directed towards dealing with the ravages of past violence and war. We all know how sensitive and deeply rooted are the issues that have set the countries of the subcontinent against one another. But if each of them negotiates with the other while possessed with a deep sense of magnanimity and with an awareness of the need for accommodation, then I am sure these problems will not be destined to lie beyond resolution.

10. Another encouraging development has been the quiet, yet most significant, progress achieved in the efforts of both North Korea and South Korea to normalize their relations in the framework of an eventual reunification of the two parts. These moves by the two Koreas towards rapprochement, mirroring the similarly encouraging trend between the two Germanys in Europe, strengthen our hopes that our world Organization may soon witness the peaceful resolution of the problem of the so-called divided countries.

11. Our optimism concerning the positive effects of détente, however, is tempered by an awareness of how limited the present détente still is, both in its substance and in its geographical scope. While, during the past year, we may have seen encouraging progress being made towards the realization of the goals of the United Nations, we have also witnessed the worsening of problems that have been of concern to the international community for quite some time.

12. We must note with deep regret that the fighting in Indo-China still continues. It is my fervent hope, however, as I know it is yours, that the present session of the General Assembly will be able to witness the beginning of the end of the human suffering and senseless destruction that is Viet-Nam.

13. The past year has brought little promise of an improvement in the situation in the Middle East. I remain steadfast in my belief, however, that the only road to a peaceful settlement will have to go by way of strict compliance, by all concerned, with all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions adopted with regard to this problem. For, if nothing else, the recent tragic incident at Munich has pointed up the desperate urgency for us to resolve the root-causes of the Palestinian problem, lest the inevitable recurrence of such symptoms continue to plague our conscience.

14. Neither should we forget that other intolerable methods of inflicting human anguish yet remain, such as the evils of racism, *apartheid* and colonial exploitation, which still beset the suppressed peoples of southern Africa.

15. Though the changing international climate can contribute to the avoidance of a nuclear conflict, the possibility and actuality of local wars seem to continue unchecked. We are all aware that the use and threat of force and of pressure are very much a part of the present-day world. As I speak here today, some nations are still engaged in the politics of power and of confrontation.

16. We are now in the third year of the Second United Nations Development Decade. But we are still nowhere near the realization of one of the fundamental aims of the Charter: to create those conditions of peace and well-being that would assure a standard of living compatible with human dignity for all mankind. Instead, we now observe a continual, and worsening, imbalance in the distribution of wealth and of power between the developed and the developing nations, further compounded by such problems as over-population, maldistribution of resources, mass unemployment and so forth. It is not to be denied that economic development remains the primary responsibility of the individual nations. The crucial link between international peace and international social justice, however, cannot be ignored. The problems of economic development, therefore, should be accepted as a common challenge to the developing and the developed countries alike. Unless both join hands in sincerely and effectively implementing the aims and strategy of the Second Development Decade, the sound basis for global peace and security will remain as remote as ever.

17. These and the other problems we face in the remaining decades of the century are not problems simply of one or two nations. A nuclear confrontation is not going to limit its destruction to the sphere of the nuclear Powers alone. No single nation can be secure while another nation is beset with a sense of insecurity. No nation can enjoy the full extent of economic development as long as other nations remain destitute, for the economic fabric of the world is like a single chain which is only as strong as its weakest link. Every nation will suffer when the earth is unable to provide its inhabitants with those resources that are necessary for a decent life. Neither is the environment subject to the sovereignty of nations. When it is diseased for one nation it is diseased for all nations.

18. Permit me, on this occasion, to express my sincere hope that all of us assembled here will extend the fullest support to the next President of the General Assembly in his task, not only of steering our world body into facing up to its immense task of shaping a new and better world of tomorrow, but also and simultaneously of enhancing the viability of the United Nations as the best instrument to reach that goal.

19. Let me observe that in this quest we are truly fortunate to be able to rely on a man of such experience and talent as Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our new Secretary-General.

20. With this in mind, and deeply convinced of our joint and firm commitment to the measure of co-operation necessary to face the arduous tasks before us, I strongly believe that the success of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly will far outshine those of previous sessions.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

21. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly, at the beginning of each session, shall appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. Accordingly I propose that for the twenty-seventh session the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: Belgium, China, Costa Rica, Japan, Senegal, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America and Uruguay.

22. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that those countries are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

23. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Guevara Arze (Bolivia) and Mr. Njiné (Cameroon) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	132
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	132
<i>Abstentions:</i>	4
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	128
<i>Required majority:</i>	65

Number of votes obtained:
 Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) 128

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński (Poland) was elected President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

24. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Trepczyński and invite him to assume the Presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Trepczyński took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly

25. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): First of all, I wish to express my gratitude for the trust you have so kindly placed in me by electing me President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I consider this honour you have conferred upon me primarily as an expression of the international regard in which the peaceful policy of the Polish People's Republic and that of the community of socialist countries, with which my country acts in concert and with perseverance to strengthen peace in the world, are held. I also consider my election to be a tribute paid to the Polish delegation to the United Nations for its past activities. I can assure you that I shall discharge the high responsibilities just placed upon me in keeping with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter in order to help in successfully carrying out the important tasks which lie before the General Assembly.

26. I am all the more aware of my responsibilities as I am called upon to succeed, in this capacity, the eminent representative of the great Asian continent, Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, who spared no effort to ensure that the previous session was an effective and a fruitful one.

27. In performing my duties, I count on the willing co-operation of all delegations, and especially on close collaboration with the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and the Chairmen of the Main Committees, who are soon to be elected by the Assembly. I also know that I can count fully on you, Mr. Secretary-General, whom we all hold in the highest esteem—that I can count on your unfailing assistance and co-operation, as well as on your highly competent colleagues.

28. During the 27 years of its existence, the United Nations has participated in some memorable and lasting achievements of the contemporary world. The scope of these achievements has often exceeded the hopes of the founders of the Organization. One illustration is the progress of nations towards an independent existence, a development that is unprecedented in the history of mankind. Further illustrations are the effective struggle waged against the spectre of another world war, the tremendous headway made at the international level in social and economic relations and the incredible conquest of space which has been accomplished in a context of peaceful co-operation.

29. The noble actions undertaken in our Organization have always been accompanied by faith and trust in the possibility of fulfilling the great purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter.

30. We may note with satisfaction that the opening of our debates is taking place at a time when signs of a good augury have appeared on the international horizon. In the period since the previous session, we have witnessed events which have awakened many justified hopes. Statesmen—who bear a particularly heavy responsibility—have been equal to their task and have made the historic attempt to bridge the gap that existed between their nations and to settle the disputes which constituted a heavy burden for the world.

31. Agreements have been signed which may mark a decisive turning-point in the development of international relations. Preliminary but extremely important work has been done to ensure that notions such as negotiations, renunciation of the use of force, limitation of the armaments race, international co-operation and peaceful co-existence— notions which have hitherto re-echoed too often as mere elegant platitudes—begin to acquire some real substance.

32. The European continent, whose history has been a succession of endless wars—and the last almost engulfed the whole world and exacted a toll of 50 million human lives—is witnessing, for the first time, the possibility of eliminating armed conflicts for ever and of basing co-existence on the principles of peace, security and mutually advantageous co-operation. Taking the renunciation of the use of force and respect for territorial integrity as their starting-point, representatives of European and North American States are preparing to sit down together at the conference table in order to solve, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the problems of regional security and co-operation in Europe.

33. In my capacity as a representative from the European continent, I wish to emphasize strongly that we Europeans, by finding solutions for the problems connected with our own peace and our own security, cannot be prompted in any case by selfish motives. Quite the contrary, we must be interested in ensuring that the favourable development of the situation in our continent proceeds concurrently with a positive turn of events in other parts of the world. It behoves us to further this aim and, if our peace-making efforts and our co-operation bear fruit, to share them with all those who are in need of them.

34. Unfortunately, the favourable climate has not yet permeated all the regions of the world. I am thinking particularly of Indo-China, where blood continues to flow, where innocent people are dying—women and children, whose modest belongings are being destroyed—where the monuments of ancient civilizations are being turned into ruins. This war cannot be justified any longer on any logical grounds by any stretch of the imagination; it violates every rule of ethics. If it is true that no one wants this war, and if the statesmen who are responsible for it wish to cease ignoring world opinion, all of us have the right to expect it to be stopped, once and for all.

35. In the Middle East region, too, there are still no signs of a lasting peace. The United Nations has committed its authority to help settle this long-standing dispute. We have a right to demand that the will and the decisions of our Organization be respected, decisions which, if fully complied with, should bring about the solution so earnestly desired, most of all by the population of that region.

36. The immensity of the tasks confronting our Assembly obliges us to reflect on the great problems facing the world of today, on the solution of which its fate and future image depend; because concern for the welfare and future of mankind must always underlie our debates and motivate all the decisions adopted at the different stages of the work of the United Nations.

37. The right to live in a world of peace and security is the guiding idea in the United Nations Charter. Human life is something of inestimable value which should be and is protected by international and national law. Nevertheless, in various corners of the earth, wars are still waged and human beings are still dying, while wanton violence is being wrought upon innocent victims. The power of modern means of annihilation is growing, and methods of extermination are becoming more and more cruel and massive in scale. A realistic evaluation of the prevailing situation compels us to take cognizance of the fact that the state of security of the world continues to be inadequate and that the overriding duty—that of freeing the world from the spectre of war and the organized forms of mass murder—has not been fulfilled. That is why the efforts made to halt the relentless armaments race, to settle incipient disputes by peaceful means only, to achieve general disarmament and equally general security—efforts to which expression is given in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by our Assembly two years ago [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]—should be applied with even more firmness and energy.

38. World opinion today is aware of the fact that modern civilization involves a threat to the biological balance of our natural environment and that its development, unless properly controlled, not only threatens the vegetable and animal world but, what is more, constitutes such a danger that the life of the rivers, seas and oceans will soon be destroyed, the earth will become sterile, and the air unbreathable. To remedy this, to prevent irreversible phenomena that endanger human existence from occurring, it is indispensable to abide by the code of behaviour which the situation requires. Safeguarding the environment calls for wisdom and foresight from all of us, a sense of subordinating individual interests to the general welfare of mankind, international solidarity and—what is particularly important—concerted action by all.

39. The satisfactory development of mankind does not, however, depend solely on compliance with the laws of nature; it depends to no less an extent, and perhaps even primarily, on universal respect for the rights and principles which protect men from the harmful activities of other men.

40. Every human being has the right to be free from the yoke of colonialism.

41. This assertion may sound paradoxical on the threshold of the last quarter of this twentieth century, which has witnessed the irreversible end of the era of the great colonial empires, and at a time when most of the countries which were regarded as overseas possessions have attained their independence and are taking part in this Assembly as sovereign States. It nevertheless remains a fact that even today millions of human beings are subject to colonial oppression and exploitation, and human lives are sacrificed in the struggle for legitimate rights. There still exist regions in which legalized racism persists. This is incompatible with the idea of elementary human rights, with all the principles set forth in our Charter. It is our duty to act in full solidarity in order to eliminate these phenomena, which are unworthy of the twentieth century.

42. Every human being has the right to be protected from starvation.

43. Yet, despite the achievements of contemporary science and despite advances in technology, despite the magnitude of the efforts that have been made—and, indeed, of the successes already gained in some parts of the world—hunger continues to be the lot of millions of people from the day they are born to the day they die. A condition of chronic undernutrition is contrary to our concept of human dignity. It is a condition which makes it impossible for millions of human beings to develop their creative energy for any other purpose than keeping themselves alive. Will not the twentieth century at last find ways of overcoming this cruel scourge of our history?

44. Every human being has the right to enjoy the fruits of social and economic development.

45. Our consciences have long since rejected the view that some are born to live in poverty while others are born to live in abundance. The existence of economically less developed societies is the result of past exploitation of the weaker countries by the more powerful ones. Healthy world development requires that the effects of the historical injustices of the age-old domination of colonialism should be speedily and effectively wiped out. Co-ordinated action by States within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade should play an important role in this respect.

46. Every human being not only has the right to creature comforts, but should also benefit from the advances in conditions of social progress.

47. Development of the human personality means that every individual and every society must be assured the opportunity of enjoying a fair share of worldly goods, that all must be assured just and decent working conditions, the fullest possibilities of intellectual development and of access to instruction, education and knowledge, respect for the estimable convictions of humanistic idealism, as well as the right to democratic participation in national affairs. Although the twentieth century has given the world many splendid achievements in the struggle for the realization of human rights, and although the spirit of progress has gone from strength to strength, too many of the human race still continue to live their lives in the belief that their rights are trampled on by those more powerful than themselves, that their rights are illusory or unattainable. It is our business to throw open the road to universal social progress, and we must not, on any account, lose sight of that duty.

48. One important task of our Organization should be to help enable all peoples to share in the benefits of science and technology.

49. In this field also, mankind cannot be divided into haves and have-nots. We are living in the age of scientific and technological revolution. Scientific research on a vast scale makes it possible to wrest from nature her secrets, to a degree never before achieved. It is therefore incumbent on us to devise such principles and such forms of scientific and technical international co-operation as would truly place science and technology at the service of all mankind and of

its peaceful purposes. For it is only then, when all nations—regardless of geographical regions and political systems—have full access to the accomplishments of the human intellect, that we shall be able to achieve a more rapid and more harmonious development of mankind.

50. Every human being also has the right to live and develop within the culture in which he was born and which grew from the creative values that took shape simultaneously with the history of his own people.

51. In an age of unprecedented development in the information media, of a tremendous flow of ideas and of artistic achievements, concern for preserving the characteristics inherent in the different cultures becomes a serious problem for mankind. It is essential that modern man should not lose his individual values. We do not want to see in him an amorphous particle of the mass of humanity. Still less do we want societies and nations to become masses devoid of personality, or all the great values inherent in their distinctive cultures to be lost. We should take care to ensure that the development of new forms of coexistence protects the natural cultural milieu, which is quite as essential to man as the biological environment.

52. The world of today is more than ever a world of youth—a world of young people and their young nations. This in itself is a hopeful sign. Yet on every hand we hear the voice of uneasiness. There is anxious talk of the problems of youth, of the symptoms of moral and ideological crisis, of a collapse of traditional standards and authority. Does not this oblige us to give these problems the serious consideration they merit? Will not the crisis of confidence between the generations disappear when we build a better world in which sentiments of social justice and of fidelity to the highest ideals become a virtue; a world which abides by the rules of noble, peaceful competition, where experience and wisdom do not clash with warm hearts and youthful enthusiasm?

53. Enriching international life in all of its many aspects, carrying out the commitments which will ensure an equitable development of human relations and the solution of existing problems—all this can be attained only through an organized collective effort by all peoples and all States. To this, all must make their constructive contribution, the smallest peoples and States in concert with the largest Powers in the world.

54. I have the honour to represent a country which does not occupy a large place on the map of the world and whose material resources are not of the greatest. The most precious heritage of a people whose history has been as tempestuous as that of the Polish people could only be the qualities of mind, knowledge and talent of its finest individuals. We are proud, therefore, that the name of Nicolaus Copernicus—who “made the sun stand still and the earth move” and whose five hundredth birthday we shall celebrate next year—and the names of Frédéric Chopin and Marie Skłodowska-Curie appear among those of the most eminent creators of the civilization, science and culture of all mankind. In the history of every continent the Poles have left lasting monuments to their work, and the labouring hands of millions of Polish emigrants have increased and multiplied the wealth of many nations.

55. My country owes its existence, its freedom, its independence and its present dynamic development to great effort on the part of its people, but also to tremendous sacrifices. This unites us with the many peoples of the different continents for whom the struggle for freedom was a struggle for national existence. In good or bad times throughout their history, in fighting for their rights, the Polish people were also serving the cause of other nations, and on our banners there always appeared the motto: "For your freedom and ours". It was under such banners that the Polish national heroes Kościuszko and Pulaski fought here on American soil, just as many other Polish patriots and soldiers whose tombs are scattered throughout the world have fought over the centuries.

56. During the last war, my people and their capital were destined, by the will of the barbarians, to be wiped from the face of the earth, like ancient Carthage. Yet, by tremendous effort, we rose from the ashes and are successfully resolving, within the framework of socialism and in a manner unprecedented in our history, the problems posed by the life and future of our people.

57. Today, your President, representing the Polish People's Republic, wishes to assure you of his country's respect for and attachment to the ideals and principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations.

58. The United Nations has created a vast and fertile field for fruitful international co-operation, and every country, in accordance with the principles of full equality, is called on to make its contribution, to enrich the substance and the spirit of our Organization's activities with whatever is most constructive in its national personality. An enormous amount remains to be done and there is an infinite need for international solidarity and co-operation.

59. I am confident that the desire for progress in international relations and for the development of our Organization as well as the desire to make it fully universal will guide the work of our Assembly, of every delegation and of each one of us. Let us not forget that the strength which emanates from this collective and individual desire for the universal good—in other words, for international order, peace and détente based on respect for international law, including compliance with the United Nations Charter—also constitutes an instrument for effective action. The atmosphere which will prevail among us all during this session should therefore be conducive to the attainment of great international goals, should expedite a positive solution of the many urgent problems of concern to mankind, so that peace, co-operation and social and economic progress may overcome prejudice, violence and injustice throughout the world.

60. I should like to express the conviction that the deliberations of the twenty-seventh session will lead to the constructive results so ardently desired by all mankind. May this session truly be a session of achievements.

61. I am sure that these ambitious objectives will also be fully served by the wisdom of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to whom our Assembly wishes full success in the exalted task he has undertaken.

62. Allow me, in conclusion, to wish for all of you who will be participating in the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly that the outcome of your efforts may be fruitful.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.