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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MERCADO JARRIN (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I start my statement by congratulating your Excellency on your election to preside over this Assembly. This is a just tribute paid your great country, Norway, which has contributed so greatly to the undertakings of peace of our Organization and of understanding among peoples, and also, at the same time, an acknowledgement of your own merits as a jurist and diplomat very well versed in the problems of the United Nations and highly qualified successfully to direct the work and the discussions of the present session of the General Assembly.

2. It is a great honour for me, for the second time, to stand at this great rostrum as a representative of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru and to participate in the present general debate of the Assembly, which coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. This has been a period during which the Organization has been able to make obvious its position as a primary instrument for international peace and co-operation and for the encouragement of economic and social progress of all peoples. It is thus, following the lines drawn in the Charter of the United Nations and meet the fundamental interests of its component Members.

3. As the Minister for External Affairs of a country which has just suffered the greatest earthquake of its history, on behalf of my people and my Government, I express from this rostrum our deep and sincere gratitude to all those peoples and governments which, in an admirable demonstration of solidarity, rushed to our support and are still helping us to overcome the results of that ghastly catastrophe. Such generous and effective co-operation must stand as an encouraging example of human solidarity.

4. My expressions of appreciation must especially be addressed to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, his personal representative, Mr. Raúl Prebisch, and also Mr. Paul Hoffman, the administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, for their wide and comprehensive co-operation, which led to the very valuable international contributions and technical and financial assistance we are still receiving.

5. At this moment, too, Peru wishes to reiterate its thanks for the generous initiatives taken by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme, which the Economic and Social Council at its forty-ninth session has taken up and recommended to this General Assembly in its resolutions 1533 (XLIX) and 1546 (XLIX).

6. The cruel tribulations suffered by Peru prove once again the need to create within the United Nations standing machinery which will be dynamic and effective and, provided with the necessary resources, can be immediately mobilized to assist those countries afflicted by grave natural disasters, thus avoiding the slowing-down of the process of development of the afflicted country.

7. The catastrophe of last May hampered the immense efforts being made by Peru to find the road to welfare and progress. My Government feels that reconstruction and development must be considered inseparable parts of an over-all revolutionary process of transformation which cannot be limited merely to restoring previous conditions to the affected population. That would be to restore their backwardness and need. Rather, we should offer them a standard of living higher than they had before.

8. Our people are determined to continue along the road of development that has been drawn for us and to make every sacrifice to achieve the goals we have set ourselves, for we understand fully that in the struggle against under-development and dependency there can be no truces and that from this struggle must emerge a new, just and united society.

9. I believe that the present session of the Assembly is a propitious time for us at this centre of world concerns to mention the progress that has been achieved in Peru through the revolutionary process.

10. The Government's conduct in this period has been dictated by the urgent need to deepen the

revolutionary process. In the clear-cut language of facts, based upon firm conviction and a careful and responsible analysis of our own realities, we have, in the course of the last twelve months, taken decisive steps which irreversibly show the radical transformation of the Peruvian society. In so doing we have only responded to the just aspirations of the great national majorities and the true interests of the country, because our obligation and commitment is and must be exclusively and whole-heartedly to the entire people of Peru. We want to put a radical end to the suffering and concern of our people by adopting effective solutions in keeping with the historic vocation that has been thwarted so many times.

11. Taking up the doctrine of the Peruvian revolution expressed in the messages of the President of the Republic of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, I must say here that our insistence on independence has a very wide conceptual, cultural and ideological basis. We do not want to be, nor can we be, of those who repeat principles and outlines; we must be creators of our own way of considering our own reality, and our revolution must be a truly indigenous and independent movement with Peruvian solutions to Peruvian problems. And as we defend the inalienable right of Peru to decide upon its own future without ever allowing interference by foreign forces in our decisions as a sovereign State, so too we know, and will always know, how to respect the right of other peoples to assume the governments and systems they feel most appropriate or desirable for themselves.

12. We have decided to find a road to development which will make the future Peruvian society a just and free environment in which the exploited and the forgotten of yesterday will at the same time enjoy a better standard of living and the benefits of culture, and in which economic welfare will allow men to achieve the highest moral values through spiritual development.

13. This road is not blazed by the traditional formulas of capitalist or communist systems, for our ideal is a nationalistic and humanistic society that without alienating man will make him the conscious and free master-builder of his future.

14. The construction of this just and free environment can only be achieved if the Peruvian revolution makes determined headway in the process it has drawn for itself of transforming the economic and social structures.

15. It is for this reason that to the agrarian reform which is being carried out in an accelerated and orderly fashion we have now added the General Law of Industries, one of the most important measures adopted in the last twelve months. This law seeks and ensures a self-sustained and permanent development of a true Peruvian industry in order to guarantee the economic independence of the country through powerful tax, credit and technological incentives. At the same time it legislates for the participation of foreign capital and investments, assuring them adequate and just returns on the basis of the contribution made to the

development of the country. This law, and another promulgated later, establishes the industrial community which is an original creation of the way of thinking of the Peruvian Revolution and will allow the progressive participation of workers not only in the utilities of industry itself, but also in their administration and ownership, thus fulfilling an effective means of social justice.

16. Specific aspects of our own country call for State participation in certain activities and sectors that are basic and keys to the economy and development of Peru, and it is for this reason that the Revolutionary Government has reserved the foreign trade in fish-flour and oil and minerals, and also the refining of mineral products, in which, of course, private enterprise can also participate.

17. However, social and economic transformations, which are sought through the reforms already undertaken and those to be undertaken, would be meaningless if their beneficiary, man, were not in turn the subject of a change that would meet our own needs also, that would meet the true situation of our society and the physical environment in which he moves, in order to make him fully aware of our specific situation as a developing country that will train him to defend and ensure continuation of the conquests achieved and that will prepare him morally and technically to confront the challenge that the construction of a new and different social order must also offer.

18. This is the profound motivation which imbues the reform of our education. The achievement of its immediate objectives—elimination of illiteracy, democratization at all levels, effective access for all to the scholastic, technical or university centres—will gradually allow us to train our citizens into effectively responsible free men imbued with the conviction of their common destiny with that of other men.

19. Thus the reform of education in Peru fully coincides with the objectives recommended by UNESCO for the International Education Year and also promotes ethical principles and the understanding of international peace.

20. Concerning the battle that my country is waging in order to achieve development, I must refer once again to the question of the defence of the resources of the sea.

21. Due utilization of the resources of the sea is a matter which touches us all, but most vitally the developing countries. This matter has been dealt with in a number of regional and world forums, where it has been reaffirmed without any doubt that States have a perfect right freely to dispose of their natural resources. This year, at the Montevideo and Lima Conferences on the Law of the Sea, the responsibilities and obligations which must govern relations among States were clearly defined; thus the signatories to their conclusions have laid a sound basis for the creation of just international co-operation, which must rest upon scientific, economic and social principles, and meet the imperative needs of peoples for subsistence.

22. By the Declaration of Santiago of 1952,¹ Ecuador, Chile and Peru were the first countries to give a legal framework to their policy of defence of the resources of the sea by setting their maritime sovereignty or their exclusive jurisdictional rights up to a distance of 200 miles. After these three countries, the nine signatories of the Declaration of Montevideo of May of this year adopted a similar position.

23. On the basis of the same reasons and for the same ends, a number of countries of the continent, meeting in Lima last August, declared the existence of common principles governing the law of the sea. At that historic meeting the Latin American States reaffirmed as common principles of the law of the sea, *inter alia*, the inherent right of the coastal States to explore, preserve and exploit the natural resources of the sea adjacent to their coasts and of the sea-bed and subsoil thereof, as well as those of their continental shelf and the subsoil thereof, and to establish the limits of their sovereignty or maritime jurisdiction in accordance with their geographical, geological and biological characteristics and the need for the sound utilization of the resources of the region.

24. To those declarations of law and the proclamations of Latin American principles must now be added the resolutions adopted at the third summit conference of non-aligned nations which recently met in Lusaka.² At that time sixty countries pledged themselves fully to exercise their right and fulfil their duties in order to achieve the welfare and development of their countries in ensuring the widest utilization of the existing natural resources in their territory and adjacent seas, and decided to co-ordinate their policies and measures for the utilization of their mineral and marine resources in the national interest and for the protection of the marine environment. This is patent proof of the progressive and reasoned stocktaking by the developing countries, which were kept by colonialism with their backs to the sea and deprived of the wealth which it holds, and which now understand that it is one of the main regions to which they must again turn their attention in order to extract the resources necessary to satisfy the pressing needs of their peoples. There is no doubt that the right to utilize those immense resources is strengthened by these adherences to the principles we defend whose general postulates are adaptable to the conditions and peculiarities of other latitudes and to ensure the legitimate protection and utilization of the economic heritage of other developing countries. It is for this reason that we understand and respect the positions of those countries whose jurisdictional limits over the sea are still different from our own. We consider that in questions of limits the sole satisfactory solution is the recognition of the multiplicity of régimes, if possible at the regional level, taking into account the characteristics of the respective nations or zones whose situations are similar.

¹ Declaration on the Maritime Zone adopted at the Conference on the Exploitation and Conservation of the Marine Resources of the South Pacific.

² Held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

25. On this occasion I must state that my Government deplores and rejects the attitude designed to confound and divide States that are determined to defend these resources. I refer specifically to certain initiatives that have emerged to convene a new international conference on the law of the sea with an agenda that is one-sidedly partial and limited, intended to impinge on the inalienable rights of peoples that require the wealth of their adjacent seas in order to satisfy their vital needs.

26. This session of the General Assembly has on its agenda a number of subjects dealing with the sea, and of these we should stress that concerning the possibility of holding a conference on the law of the sea, and that which refers to the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction, without thereby overlooking the question of the pollution of the marine environment and related matters that have been examined by the Economic and Social Council. Those subjects could be considered either as fields fruitful for solidarity and co-operation, as we see it, or, as the opposite view would have it, as spheres of influence over which the great Powers might exercise policies of persuasion and dissuasion. This latter possibility is an evident danger that has become obvious in the last few months through the initiatives taken, which are being used in order to anticipate procedures set forth by the General Assembly and which seriously disturb and might even hinder the achievement of just solutions that would adequately meet the fundamental concern for welfare as the basis for peace, which is doubtless what is at stake.

27. It is well known that the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction is also a fountain-head of resources whose utilization is of interest to mankind in general.

28. The international machinery to be created on the basis of a declaration of principles—which is the primary task of the Sea-bed Committee³—if it is effectively to satisfy the general interest of mankind and not limit itself to a mere system of concessions to feed public or private enterprises of the highly industrialized countries must rest upon the basic concept that the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction constitutes the common heritage of mankind.

29. Naturally, when such machinery is established for the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction, the juridical status of the superjacent waters must be respected, leaving no room whatsoever for the application of norms that are alien to either part of the law of the sea. As far as the precise limitation of the area is concerned, we must point out that this is a matter that can be defined only by taking into full account the geographical realities of the different countries once the scope of the international machinery has been agreed to.

30. The United Nations, which was born after the last war, has for the last twenty-five years been contemplating the great Powers opposing one another, par-

³ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

ticularly on ideological questions. On the one hand, the development of nuclear weapons has dragged the world into a peace of terror which threatens the two super-Powers with annihilation; on the other hand, the age-old cultural preponderance in the west of the European continent, is moving the latter towards an effort to acquire the deterrent potential and advance the process of its own integration. It is no longer an illusion to believe that Europe, ideologically divided and, until a few years ago, almost unable to conciliate its views because of the deep differences between the systems established there, might today overcome obstacles and difficulties to the point where a conference on European security is today feasible. However, there is no State which considers that such a possibility could become real without the agreement of the two super-Powers. Both have allowed this new orientation to take root because of the mutual concession of substantial interests on the international level. It would thus appear that the shaping of world power might change from a bipolar system to a multipolar system.

31. Such a development in international affairs might appear equitable to those States that believe they are entitled to create the new international structure; however, one must analyse the ramifications of this policy which affects developing nations, not involved in its devising, and which, as far as the great Powers are concerned, are only important in their effect upon their own spheres of interest. The multipolar world balance, which is gradually being created, basically rests upon armed peace and the respect for spheres of influence which are nothing but those regions in which the developing countries are located. It is thus that world power is distributed among the great Powers and that there is applied to the developing countries a policy of economic domination which is the most reprehensible form of pressure on countries that are economically weak. And yet this entire picture is defined as so-called "political realism" which is unceasingly proclaimed by the great Powers in their endeavours to persuade us all that that is the world political reality.

32. At the same time, the United Nations is watching the growing emergence of the developing world. This new force has a different view of what international society should be, and quite justifiably condemns the entire contents of "political realism", since the latter illegitimately tries to create a world power in which decision-making in the great international problems would still be left solely in the hands of the great Powers.

33. It is not difficult to conclude that world international policy today is the subject of and rests upon the rivalry between the great Powers and the developing world. While the great Powers try to impose peace based upon power politics, the developing world is endeavouring to create peace based upon the political, social, economic and juridical aspects of that solidarity dictated by international relations that exclude the dictates of power. Only in the latter case will we be able to speak of true equality among States, because the elements constituting this concept of, united peace reject practices of dissuasion and persuasion which

are inherent in power politics. Yet, despite the radical and profound differences between these conceptions, and in the interests of both, it is imperative to keep this dialogue permanently open. But this can only be done by the adoption of positions that will create a new international network based on understanding, co-operation and mutual respect among States that will, in turn, contribute to the achievement of a true peace. Only within this framework advocated by the developing world can international security have a permanent meaning.

34. This conception of what international security should be implies the participation of all States in the creation of an international order of a truly universal character. Therefore, the action of the United Nations must be to set its sights on that goal, which is the very reason for the existence of this Organization.

35. On the other hand, the increasingly clear-cut analysis made by the Latin American countries of their own particular problems and of the general problems of the world gives us the conviction that we are called upon to play an ever increasingly significant role in the international community and to maintain the dialogue to which I have referred, but along different lines from those of the past.

36. The Latin-American consensus of Viña del Mar,⁴ which adjusted to its true dimension the dialogue between Latin America and the United States, the Declaration of Buenos Aires, which formulated our relations with the European Economic Community, and the very intense analysis of our relations with groups of countries, without ideological distinctions, are a proof of the Latin American conviction and determination to strengthen our internal cohesive elements and of our capacity to assume united positions and our interest in creating or strengthening ties with other political entities in the world.

37. At the recent summit conference of non-aligned nations held in Lusaka, in which I had the honour to participate as an observer, there was brought home to me the spirit of co-operation that animates the leaders of the countries which share that position and which, apart from giving dynamic assistance in the concert of nations, and which might well constitute the element of balance between the two great Powers that are at present confronting each other, is also potentially a force that must effectively contribute to transforming the "balance of terror", which is basically unstable, into a fruitful, humanistic balance where the necessary participation of the developing countries will prevent decisions that might jeopardize the common destiny of mankind from depending exclusively and as a privilege on the great Powers. In that case, these decisions will rest, as far as possible, upon universal formulation and acceptance.

38. These observations on inter-state ties lead us to consider the case of Cuba, that sister republic whose presence in inter-American relations must be a matter

⁴ Adopted by the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination on 17 May 1969.

of urgent consideration within the American regional framework.

39. On the other hand, Peru shares the justifiable concern created on a universal level by the problem of the absence from this Organization of the People's Republic of China, a world Power consisting of hundreds of millions of inhabitants.

40. My country notes sadly what little progress has been made by certain people along the road from colonialism to freedom, and the very insignificant achievements made in the struggle against different forms of discrimination.

41. The end of the International Year for Human Rights has not, unfortunately, brought an end to racial, political, economic or religious discrimination. Nor do we see human communities subject to a colonial régime rising as free and independent peoples.

42. Our ideological position, which is made manifest in our free and independent foreign policy, gives us the moral authority openly to reject that which our conscience reproves. This, once again, leads Peru to condemn the outrages against human rights and once more to reiterate the fact that the condemnations uttered against these aberrant practices will be meaningless unless accompanied by a manifest political will to concert forms of co-operation in order, once and for all, to liquidate the forces of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

43. Peru feels that among steps towards the establishment of universal peace, our Organization owes praise for the acceptance by an increasing number of States of treaties on the prohibition of nuclear tests, on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the denuclearization of Latin America. However, despite the fact that the United Nations has repeatedly condemned the carrying out of nuclear explosions and that Peru and other countries have repeatedly protested against them, French nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean continue, and might create grave hazards for the populations and the marine resources of the coastal States. Peru wishes once again to protest and to insist that an end be put to these practices, which constitute an undeniable danger to mankind.

44. Peru is following with grave concern the evolution of the crisis in the Middle East. It is for this reason that we welcomed with satisfaction the opening of the talks started in this building pursuant to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of November 1967. My country shares the hopes of the international community that the day will quickly arrive when the peoples of that region will live together in harmony.

45. Mine, which is a peace-loving country, is also deeply concerned at the continuation of hostilities in Viet-Nam, and trusts that the negotiations under way can, in the near future, put an end to that bloody conflict.

46. Among the protests against the political, social or economic realities, we must include as one of particular gravity the terrorism and the hijacking of airplanes that threaten innocent persons with physical danger. In condemning those reprehensible acts, we must insist upon a search for specific means to avoid their repetition.

47. All these grave problems which confront mankind today carry with them suspense and permanent risks in the critical situation through which the developing world of today is passing. The developing countries link their hopes to a true global strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. But in the present stage of negotiations, while specific commitments on the part of the developing countries are clearly and definitively included in the document submitted to this Assembly by the Economic and Social Council, which places all possible emphasis upon the responsibility incumbent upon them, the same is not the case for the developed countries, whose commitments are drafted in an ambiguous or elusive way when dealing with precise targets and dates.

48. And thus, in the light of the magnitude of the task to be undertaken and the negative results of the First Development Decade, the absolute need emerges for the strategy of the Second Development Decade to pass beyond the stage of watered down and half-way commitments and to concentrate on a firm and clear political commitment which will result from an effective and proven general will to co-operate and which will make it possible for the decade of the seventies to be, finally, the decade of achievements.

49. The last session of the General Assembly decided that the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our international Organization should concentrate on three fundamental concepts of deep significance: peace, justice and progress. These three ideas, which in themselves constitute the traditional theme of the United Nations, are by their very essence an imperative trilogy for the world to achieve the balance necessary to survive. These elements cannot be considered nor gauged separately, since they sum up human aspirations to inhabit a free world where peace will reign among nations and justice and progress among men.

50. It is imperative that at this new stage that is now opening up in the life of the United Nations, our Organization reach its full maturity after twenty-five years of vicissitudes.

51. With the experience gained, we trust that the United Nations will finally be able to find itself and turn into glorious reality the postulates and tenets of the Charter which are summed up in those great themes of peace, justice and progress.

52. This is the solemn moment to strengthen the action of the United Nations and renew our pledge to strive so that our people will achieve freedom and well-being, if we truly want these concepts to be more than mere meaningless words.

53. Mr. AICHI (Japan): Mr. President, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that, with your outstanding knowledge and abundant experience in the United Nations, you will lead this session to many fruitful accomplishments.

54. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation to the former President of the General Assembly, Her Excellency Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph. She displayed exceptional skill as an international statesman in guiding the work of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion. It is my great pleasure to note that under her leadership the United Nations was able to enhance further its authority and prestige.

55. At the same time, I wish to pay my deepest respects to His Excellency U Thant, our esteemed Secretary-General, and express my appreciation for his zeal and devotion to the maintenance of world peace. It is my profound hope that, from an impartial standpoint, he will persevere in his efforts towards the establishment of peace based on freedom and justice.

56. Later this fall, at the commemorative session of the General Assembly which will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, Prime Minister Sato of Japan will speak on the basic policies of our country. Today, therefore, I should like to confine my remarks to stating how the Government of Japan views the question of re-examination of the activities of the United Nations in the context of the "struggle for peace", to which I referred during the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly.

57. A quarter of a century has passed since the United Nations was created with a view to the achievement of lasting world peace and security. However, when we look at the international situation during this period, we note that catastrophe has been avoided by the balance of power and reciprocal restraint among the major Powers. Under such circumstances it can hardly be said that the foundations of lasting peace have been established.

58. The balance-of-power situation to which I have just referred has also been reflected in the United Nations. For example, this Organization was unable to make any contribution worthy of special mention with regard to the events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. As regards the warfare raging in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the United Nations is still far from finding methods to restore peace in that area, or a way in which it might make a contribution to that end. In the Middle East, the foundation of lasting peace is yet to be established, though the first ray of hope for peace has been seen recently as a result of the efforts made by the United Nations for many years. Moreover, colonial rule and racial discrimination have not completely disappeared from the international scene. When we look squarely at these realities of the

international situation, I am obliged to conclude that the United Nations has not so far fully responded to the high expectation of mankind as the paramount Organization in the "struggle for peace".

59. The foregoing does not mean, however, that I agree with the extreme argument which judges the United Nations to be powerless or even useless, as some would say. On the contrary, nothing could be further from my intention. The United Nations has made considerable achievements in the fields of international co-operation for economic and social problems, independence of colonial territories and respect for human rights, among others. It should not be forgotten also that the Organization has achieved certain results in preventing the aggravation of disputes or situations in various parts of the world and in promoting the peaceful settlement of these conflicts. Further, the United Nations has been playing an important role in the formulation of a constructive world opinion by providing a forum in which to discuss diverse problems of world-wide concern and by presenting to the world the facts involved as objectively as possible.

60. It can be seen from what I have said that the United Nations has achieved a certain measure of success in various fields, and it is incumbent upon this world body to play more vigorously than ever a central role for the maintenance of peace and security in the world to come. The world places great hope in this Organization. In order to respond to that hope it is essential, I believe, to strengthen further the Organization and functions of the United Nations.

61. On this occasion, I should like to affirm that, notwithstanding the passage of twenty-five years, the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are still worthy of our full support as a norm of conduct for the Member States of this Organization. The Government of Japan wishes to reaffirm the importance of the purposes and principles of the Charter. Above all, we wish to stress once again that the basic obligations of non-use of force and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations, as provided for in Article 2 of the Charter, together with the closely related principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes, as set forth in the same article, constitute the most important elements for the maintenance of international peace and security. These are, indeed, the essential minimum obligations of all Member States.

62. On the other hand, the United Nations has failed to realize what might be considered an ideal peace-keeping mechanism, foreseen in the Charter as a means to fulfil its purposes and principles. In seeking the best ways and means to realize the ideals of the United Nations at its inception and to achieve its purposes, we must base ourselves on the recognition of this reality. The problem is how to make this Organization function as a truly effective organization for peace in the rapidly evolving international situation. The answer to this problem must be sought in exploring possibilities for adapting the United Nations constantly to this ever-changing world. It is indispensable for us all to be

open-minded towards introducing improvements, as need arises, in the provisions of the Charter or its application. Clearly, Chapter XVIII of the Charter reflects this way of thinking. I am convinced that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is the appropriate occasion to renew our efforts to breathe new life into the Organization.

63. It would seem most appropriate to recall in this connexion that the Secretary-General opened the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization by affirming that the "need for an effective world organization which can serve as a harmonizing agent for peace has never been so urgently required by mankind" [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1, para.1]. The basic questions he has raised at the outset of his introduction are all very pertinent to this theme:

"What are the means by which the United Nations can play an increasingly vital role in the world of tomorrow? How can the United Nations make more effective use of its possibilities for reconciling differences between its sovereign Member States? What changes can be evolved in its methods of operation so that its capacity for improving the human condition will be utilized to the full?" [Ibid.]

I share completely the fervent hope he has expressed:

"that we shall find the answers to questions such as these and continue to make progress—no matter how slow and painstaking it may at times appear—towards realizing the noble goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations" [ibid.].

64. I do not believe that review of the organization and functions of the United Nations, including the question of reviewing the Charter, could be completed in a short time. It will require sustained effort for a lengthy period. At the initiative of the delegations of Colombia and certain other countries at the last session of the General Assembly, the problem concerning the review of the Charter of the United Nations was included in the provisional agenda of the present session. The Government of Japan finds it particularly significant that the General Assembly embarks upon the discussion of this important question at this session. I am sure that this item will appear on the agenda as duly proposed.

65. In the light of the basic considerations which I have just expounded, I should now like to make a few suggestions on certain matters regarding which renewed examination would be desirable and even necessary in the view of my Government.

66. First of all, I should like to discuss strengthening the functions of the United Nations for keeping peace. In so doing, I intend to take up three different subjects, namely, strengthening of United Nations peace-keeping operations, strengthening also of the fact-finding functions of the United Nations and re-examination of the composition of Security Council membership.

67. With regard to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, the Government of Japan estimates at a high value the role which the United Nations has performed and is performing in various parts of the world, such as in Kashmir, in the Middle East, in the Congo and in Cyprus. It is my ardent hope that the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations performed in the future, with the support of world public opinion and also with the consent of all parties concerned, will render great benefit to world peace. I believe, therefore, that we should make further efforts to explore methods to strengthen peace-keeping operations on an even more effective, smooth and secured basis. It is true that we have been working over the past several years in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. To our great regret, however, the Special Committee has hardly achieved anything substantial, mainly due to differences of opinion among the major Powers.

68. I should think that it would be appropriate to provide for peace-keeping operations in specific terms within the framework of the pacific settlement of disputes as set forth in the Charter. This would help to ensure the more effective performance of such operations. To this end I have felt the need for careful study of this matter.

69. My Government is fully aware of the wide difference of views among the major Powers, above all between the two blocs of East and West on this issue. I should like to emphasize, however, that peace-keeping operations constitute the most effective and practically workable function of the United Nations today in carrying out its task of maintaining international peace. The strengthening of peace-keeping operations is essential for the future of this world Organization, and we strongly hope, therefore, that the super-Powers, conscious of their special responsibilities in this regard, will take concrete action to this end. Japan, for its part, will co-operate actively towards strengthening the function of the United Nations to maintain international peace in a manner consonant with its position as a nation dedicated to the cause of peace.

70. At this juncture I should like to say a few words about the Conference of Foreign Ministers of interested Asian and Pacific countries on the question of Cambodia. That Conference, the purpose of which was to discuss the critical situation in Cambodia, was held in Djakarta on 16 and 17 May 1970, at the invitation of the Government of Indonesia, and I was one of the participants. As a result of the Conference, a consensus was reached to the effect that restoration of peace in Cambodia should be based on respect for neutrality, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and withdrawal of all foreign forces. Based upon this consensus, the special representatives of the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia and Japan held a number of consultations, in particular with the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and others concerned, on ways and means to reactivate the international Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia and to con-

vene an international conference of all parties concerned. The special representatives also talked with the Secretary-General of the United Nations as well as the President and other members of the Security Council to explore what actions might be taken by the United Nations.

71. I am convinced that the appeals made at the Djakarta Conference by the Asian and Pacific countries with regard to the restoration of peace in Cambodia are endorsed by the principles and purposes of the Charter, and I see no ground for any legitimate objection being raised to those appeals. It is hoped that in future the United Nations will come to assume a useful role in ensuring peace in Cambodia and consequently in the whole area of the Indo-China peninsula. In such a case, a most effective way would be to make full use of its peace-keeping functions, including truce supervision.

72. Out of the same concern for strengthening the function of the Organization for the maintenance of international peace, I should now like to touch upon the importance of the fact-finding function of the United Nations. One of the major roles expected of the United Nations in the existing international situation is, in my view, to offer to the world public, with maximum objectivity, accounts of disputes, unfortunate situations and other similar events which do not cease to take place in the world. For this purpose it is indispensable for the Organization to have its fact-finding capacity strengthened and reinforced. Specifically, we should study how to strengthen the functions of the Security Council, of the General Assembly and of the Secretary-General in the field of fact-finding. Furthermore, in order to assist these organs of the United Nations in carrying out their fact-finding functions, expert groups or fact-finding panels should be better utilized and their competence extended.

73. I should now like to turn to the third subject, that is, re-examination of the composition of Security Council membership. In the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security, it is essential to ensure that the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility in this field, be a body truly capable of taking effective action commensurate with its high authority and responsibility accorded by the Charter.

74. Great changes have taken place in the international situation over the twenty-five years since the Second World War. In the meantime, the balance between the super-Powers, based upon mutual nuclear deterrence, has decreased the possibility of another major war. However, to achieve true world peace, we must remove all causes of international conflict at their source and promote the welfare and the security of all mankind. It is thus essential to solve the problems of poverty and under-development which lie at the root of international tensions. It is also indispensable to overcome all forms of racial discrimination and to promote mutual understanding among peoples. In such efforts for the construction of peace, our performance in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural,

rather than in the military, fields will become a preponderant factor.

75. It is on the basis of the foregoing considerations that I wish to emphasize the need to review the composition of the permanent membership of the Security Council. Thus, nuclear military capability should not become a decisive factor in any consideration of qualification for permanent membership, although most of the present permanent members are nuclear weapon States. Attention should rather be paid to such a pertinent factor as a positive attitude towards the universal prohibition of nuclear weapons. I wish to stress this point, in particular, since the Japanese Government maintains its policy of abandoning nuclear weapons in spite of its potential nuclear capability. The acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice could be another important factor as evidence of the peaceful intention of the States concerned. In order that the Security Council be enabled to achieve its responsibilities effectively, I am convinced that a review should be instituted taking the foregoing points into due consideration. Pending such a review, it would be of paramount importance, in strengthening the Security Council, that in the election of non-permanent members of the Council due regard should be "specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization" as provided in Article 23 of the Charter.

76. Allow me now to touch briefly upon the economic and social aspects of United Nations activities. As I have said, I am confident that the United Nations has fulfilled, and is capable of fulfilling, the responsibility for playing a great role in the construction of peace through its activities in the economic, social, cultural, human, environmental and other fields.

77. The United Nations has established a number of organizations in the field of construction of peace, and each of them has been engaged in useful activities. At the same time, it has been recognized that there is duplication or conflict of work in some fields of the activities of the United Nations family of organizations, including the specialized agencies, and that these organizations are faced with a number of problems which require careful examination from the viewpoint of the effective deployment and use of human and material resources and the rationalization of organization.

78. I believe that the United Nations should further strengthen its organization and functions in the economic and social fields in order that it may launch more organized and more effective activities for the construction of peace during the Second United Nations Development Decade, which will have a great bearing on the future of mankind. For that purpose, the Economic and Social Council should act as the pivotal organ for realizing better co-ordination and greater efficiency in the work of the United Nations family of organizations.

79. In this connexion, I note with appreciation that the United Nations has been making serious efforts towards strengthening and improving its organization for furthering economic and social development, and I sincerely hope that these efforts will have a positive outcome.

80. Lastly, I should like to point out that there are some provisions in the Charter which no longer fit the present situation. For example, the United Nations in our times should be freed from remnants of the Second World War of twenty-five years ago, and I should like to urge strongly that the "enemy State" provisions in Articles 53 and 107 be deleted from the Charter, since there is clearly no necessity to maintain them.

81. In pursuing the "struggle for peace" in which the United Nations should play the leading role, we should constantly bear in mind the importance of the establishment of justice and the rule of law. In this sense, we should in no way underestimate the contribution that could be made for the cause of peace by the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. I believe that in the re-examination of the organization and functions of the United Nations, we should give serious consideration to what we should do for the strengthening of the International Court of Justice.

82. Although we have been spared the catastrophe of world-wide war for a quarter of a century, we are still far away from attaining everlasting peace. Hatred and jealousy among peoples must be eliminated. Boundaries must cease to cause the flowing of blood. Differences of race, culture, ideology and religion must not be the sources of mutual distrust or enmity. Thus, infinitely great is the task of the United Nations, the task of uniting the wisdom and endeavours of all humanity aimed at "progress and harmony for mankind", the theme of the World Exposition held in Japan this year.

83. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, I should like to urge strongly that all Member States and all the peoples of the world who uphold the ideals and activities of the United Nations should combine their strength under this Organization in the "struggle for peace".

84. Mr. SCHUMANN (France) (*interpretation from French*): Within one month, when we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization, we will emphasize its merits, too often ill-appreciated, recall the services that it has always rendered in spite of all its setbacks and redefine the hopes which we still place in it as a founding Member. "Patience," said a famous French moralist, "is the art of hoping".

85. But today, as this anniversary draws near, is it not our duty to proceed to a certain examination of our consciences without hiding any truth, without masking any reality, carefully avoiding giving lessons that we are less ready to receive and especially taking

for our criteria not the interest of any given country—no matter how legitimate—but the future, the duties and the opportunities of the international community that we claim, that we want to be?

86. If I had hesitated to choose this path, the character of the statesmen whom we have happily chosen to preside over our work after Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph—whose competence and authority all of us greatly appreciated—would have been enough to suggest it to me. This statesman not only represents the moral strength of a legal tradition; the name he bears, and I say this with emotion, is associated with the history of the founding of an international community. His father, whom I knew in my youth, was twice President of the Assembly of the League of Nations and represented Norway at the San Francisco Conference, in which you yourself, Mr. President, did take part. Finally, you remind us of the indomitable courage which earned the victory over nazism without which the very name of the United Nations would never have found expression.

87. What qualities do we need today, if not boldness in the face of challenge, and faithfulness to the principles of the law, so that we may justify our existence, that is, in the long run and in spite of everything, successfully to counter violence with equilibrium? I shall try neither to cover every topic nor to mention every continent, nor to define once again the attitude of my country with regard to crises which are threatening or shaking the world, but merely to reply to the question which, as we all know, as we all feel in our hearts, and as was said by all the speakers this morning, the people, all the peoples of the world, are asking themselves and asking us as the spectacular ceremonies approach next month: Why so much disappointment in the face of so much hope? Why—let us speak plainly—this gnawing sensation of impotence to which none of us is resigned?

88. I will give my three answers before I justify them. None of them—grant me this at least—is dictated by concern, fear or resentments special to my country or to a group of countries. In mentioning them I am referring only to the principles which, a quarter of a century ago, gave birth to the Charter.

89. In three sentences here they are: our weakness, first of all, is the void caused by the absence from among us of a large part of mankind. Our weakness, secondly, is the inadequate effort made by the most fortunate peoples in aiding the struggle of the least favoured peoples against hunger, disease, stagnation; and, lastly, our weakness is the resignation to a certain division of power which, unless we take care, will perpetuate the split in the world and, under cover of opposing blocs, condemn the majority of nations which paid so dearly to win the pride of their independence to choose one hegemony or submit to it.

90. Must we then, in the first place, take the universality of the United Nations for an illusion? What is actually an illusion is to believe that the Organization can perform its task while remaining incomplete. Our

Secretary-General, to whom I wish to pay a just tribute here, has never been more worthy of his lofty function than recently when he asked us in effect: Shall we, under the pretext that the debate on the question of China has been going on for twenty years, behave as if it could go on for another twenty years?

91. Let us consider this carefully. On the one hand, the whole world recognizes—as has just been done in Oslo in particularly felicitous terms by the democracies of northern Europe, whose heartening vitality I noted once again last week in Finland—that only a political solution, a negotiated solution, can bring an end to the unjust, interminable drama which has bathed South-East Asia in blood. On the other hand, everybody recognizes that this political, negotiated solution requires the participation of China. Everybody deplores the fact that the United Nations cannot bring an end to a tragedy which scandalizes the conscience and common sense of the world because the majority of those whom it concerns above all are unable to bear witness here to their suffering, their ruin and their dead.

92. However, the debate on which, in the long run, the end of this artificial state of affairs depends is postponed from one year to the next as if it were a scholastic disputation or an oratorical joust. Avoiding the issue prevents the United Nations from assuming its responsibilities and the People's Republic of China from exercising its own.

93. The Soviet Union—and we congratulate it on this—has renewed its dialogue with Peking. The United States, in turn, can only feel a little more, with every passing day and year, the desire to resume the dialogue. If the General Assembly encouraged them either to persist or to commit themselves more resolutely to this task, it might well be that the dynamism of peace would be released in Asia. Then the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization could almost do without our speeches. It would be celebrated by the gratitude of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos, beloved by France, and for whom the President of the French Republic would at last no longer have to ask for justice.

94. But it is not in Asia alone that the service of the truth presupposes the recognition of realities.

95. The conclusion of a non-aggression treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union⁵ is in itself an element of *détente*, understanding and co-operation—one of the basic steps that General de Gaulle had wanted, announced and prepared. But, at this point, we have one more reason to welcome it. It brings us closer to the day when “the whole of Europe” that Mr. Georges Pompidou spoke about at The Hague Conference⁶ will be present here in this Assembly. Let us not say that we are still far from this, but let us rather say that we are less far.

⁵ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁶ Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the six member countries of the European Economic Community, held on 1 and 2 December 1969

96. However, when we think of the United Nations as it should be, we must not divert our attention from what it is. Now, this shows up another weakness. Of course, it is not responsible for the growing disparity between the standards of living and the conditions of existence of countries which make up this Organization. On the contrary, to its credit, it has emphasized, analysed, sometimes revealed, this increase in iniquity. One would have to mention twenty names to pay a just tribute to the intelligence, depth and generosity of the reports and studies that have made it possible to map out the problems without hiding the difficulties. This is all to the good. And now? Well, now the time has come to harness the goodwill of States. The time has come to obtain from each one of them commitments equal to its capacities. What the preliminary work shows is that it is no longer possible to mention any real reason, any acceptable excuse, to further delay this moment.

97. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development forecast last month at Geneva, the “year 2000, without new collective efforts, will see the share of the developing countries in world exports drop to 10 per cent”. It is easy to understand that those countries cannot, without a certain bitterness, compare this prophecy with the sentence I noted in the last annual report of the World Bank: “The work of the commission headed by Mr. Lester Pearson on joint action for the development of the third world has given rise to wide-ranging discussions in official circles.”

98. Is there anyone here who could possibly believe that the stage of discussion—even wide-ranging discussions—should not be over? France recently defined the objectives of her new Plan. Figures and percentages will hardly be found in it. It is a rule of conduct which will not surprise economists. But we did make one exception: whatever the circumstances, credits devoted to aid to development will remain above 1 per cent of our gross national product. More than half of these credits will be absorbed by public aid which itself comprises more than 80 per cent in grants.

99. Those who have been associated with the work of General de Gaulle, and, primarily, the present President of the Republic, believe that decolonization itself creates obligations. That is why—and I say so weighing every word—they are and expect to remain attentive to all requests which reach them from Africa. That is also why they feel authorized to say to you: may common action for the development of the third world become our mutual obsession at last.

100. But serious as they may be, the weaknesses resulting from certain absences and a certain deficiency are at least known and, most often, admitted. No one considers that the collective effort in favour of the peoples who have the right to claim it is sufficient or satisfactory. No one can regard it as normal that a quarter of mankind is outside the United Nations. On the other hand there is a third danger of which less is said but which should be squarely faced—the danger that threatens the balance of responsibilities

on which the Charter, and therefore the United Nations itself, is founded. I repeat: the balance of responsibilities. It would disappear if the strongest Powers shirked their own responsibilities; it would equally be upset if they pretended to assume the responsibilities of others, or if others relinquished the responsibilities which their status as Members of the United Nations gives them. Hegemony, exclusive or shared, is the surest way of preventing the United Nations from breathing and therefore from acting.

101. Three consequences flow from this double statement. First the dialogue and rapprochement of the major Powers are desirable and beneficial. Secondly, the international community cannot have guardians. Thirdly, due to the very fact that they are immune to the temptation of guardianship, a special duty falls to the countries which, though not among the highest ranking Powers, are permanent members of the Security Council.

102. Those three principles are fully applicable to the crisis in the Middle East. All of us welcome with relief the determination seen in the leaders of the two Powers which possess the most fearful strategic weapons to replace controversy by negotiation. As for France, we find involved, on the one hand, our oldest ally and, on the other, a great friendly country with which France has developed closer and closer bonds of co-operation. The President of the French Republic, who has surely not forgotten his reception by President Nixon, was a few months ago the guest of Washington. In a few days, he will be the guest of Moscow. When, in one of the most troubled areas of the world, the movement towards peace receives a new impetus from the dialogue happily re-established between Moscow and Washington, it is only natural that we should rejoice about it. That is our first point.

103. And here is the second. The more we consider it to be indispensable, in view of reappearing and growing threats, to do everything possible to ensure respect for the cease-fire and to do away with obstacles to negotiations, the more we see that the sharing of power or influence cannot form a basis for peace. "If the situation is disturbing for the bordering countries", a high-level Arab official, the Foreign Minister of Tunisia, recently said, "it is because it makes the Mediterranean one of the centres of encounter or of confrontation of the two greatest world Powers—as was Europe during the fifties—which means that its destiny is not completely its own". Now is not our basic maxim precisely this: that no one, except that country itself, may decide the fate of a nation?

104. How, then, to move away from trusteeships and guardianships, even involuntary ones, without losing the advantage of beneficial rapprochements? The third and last point gives the reply. It is necessary that recommendations be drawn up not for the advantage of one State or one ethnic group, one religion or one culture, but in order to re-establish, in a region which has already given so much to mankind, a zone of co-operation between all ethnic groups, all religions, all cultures which exist there side by side, in the respect

for boundaries and the rights of all the States. It is also necessary that these recommendations be mutual. That is, far from becoming a means for one State to put pressure upon another, they should propose procedures of implementation which would be both substantial and well-balanced for all the rules laid down by the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)], whether it be a question of withdrawal from conquered lands or guarantees of peace, freedom of navigation or the rights of the Palestinian refugees.

105. Now who can permanently defend the spirit and letter of this resolution? Who can somehow be the permanent representative of the international community, if not precisely the whole formed by the permanent members of the Security Council? "The area of agreement between the Four is much wider than the area of disagreement", our Secretary-General rightly said at a recent press conference. At the same time he thus reminded us that the agreement of the Four is the true way to arrive at our goal without divesting the United Nations as a whole of the irreplaceable responsibilities it assumes and should continue to assume in that part of the world.

106. Without naming them I have just mentioned two European countries, my own and the United Kingdom. It is not by chance that I link them. The Conference of The Hague, as you know, opened up a new chapter. In making public its decision to make its work irreversible, the European Economic Community showed not once but twice that it wanted to be neither exclusive nor inward-looking. It showed this first by opening itself to all European States which accept its rules and goals—Britain as well as Ireland, Norway as well as Denmark, to mention only the present candidates. It showed this also by affirming that its mission prevented it from transforming itself into a bloc confronting other blocs. It is not only for itself that it wishes to be an independent centre of progress and prosperity. Today, everyone can see that the building of Europe is in fact inseparable from European *détente* and thus from world peace.

107. Moreover, the bonds of solidarity which, thanks to the Yaoundé Conventions,⁷ join it to Africa are only one example of the mission which a reconciled Europe can assume in the world. It is right that, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the whole of Latin America, people should turn towards that Europe and place their hopes in it. For it is known that, fortified by its own originality, it will certainly not threaten but rather encourage the independence of others.

108. The celebration of the awe-inspiring anniversary of which I spoke at the beginning may have started last week when a wholesome and significant unanimity was reached in the Security Council [see resolution 286 (1970)] in denouncing, in the face of a new form of premeditated violence, the hijacking of aircraft as well as any other interference with international civil

⁷ Convention of association with the European Economic Community, adopted by the Conference of the twelve Heads of African and Malagasy States on 28 March 1961, and renewed on 6 July 1969.

air travel, and reprisals against innocent people. Respect for human rights is not an obligation only for States but also for peoples, groups, individuals—and especially those who may have cause to invoke it.

109. The same moral strength of the collective conscience should be brought to bear to find a remedy through specific steps to the inadequacy of the international protection of basic rights. One example, among so many others, comes to mind. I am thinking of those journalists on dangerous missions who have often, by their very objectivity, contributed to the freeing and liberation of unfortunate peoples and whose fearless, professional conscience has led them to an unfair death. As long ago as 1968, the International Congress of Montecatini turned to the United Nations to ensure that these indispensable witnesses should receive legal protection suitable to their mission. Our forthcoming discussions regarding respect for human rights in times of armed conflict should make it possible for us to respond to this appeal.

110. But the protection of human rights is indivisible. It obliges every Member of the United Nations to condemn discrimination, first and foremost racial discrimination, *apartheid*, whatever the pretext or method. We have not forgotten the words which the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon used in speaking about this in the General Assembly last year [1756th meeting]. He would have proved to us, had it been necessary, that respect for the Charter and concern for its effectiveness are in the long run the true means to fight for the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

111. In truth, these principles on which our Organization is founded have lost none of their vitality and power of attraction in twenty-five years. These principles are invoked by peoples everywhere in the world to defend their independence or to obtain, at long last, the right freely to choose their destiny. These are the principles in which today's youth, restless, boisterous and demanding, is trying to find an ideal again, as quite recently the World Youth Assembly⁸ showed us here.

112. May so much assembled hope give us the strength to overcome our weaknesses. The enjoyment of the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights requires, first of all, that arms be silent. This is why, on the eve of a re-examination of our consciences, we are resolved—are we not?—to be worthy of the trust which people put in us, by placing more clarity, wisdom and boldness in the service of peace.

113. Mr. STRAY (Norway): Mr. President, I am happy to congratulate you upon your election to your high office at this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Norwegian people and its Government share in a feeling of pride at the honour which has been bestowed upon you and we warmly wish you good luck.

114. We are observing the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. The occasion calls for a few remarks on the unique position occupied by the United Nations, as well on the relations between the Organization and its Members.

115. The aims and purposes of the United Nations, as set out in the Charter, cover virtually the whole range of man's aspirations. The United Nations is different from other international organizations. It has been given tasks within almost every field of human endeavour, and we have placed upon the Organization the heavy responsibility of safeguarding world-wide peace and security, the fundamental condition for the existence and the survival of the international community.

116. The United Nations is the most comprehensive vehicle for international collaboration. It is a forum where nations meet regularly without anyone's particular initiative being necessary—a forum where any international problem can be discussed. It is essential to realize this unique nature of the United Nations, for here lies the key to understanding the potentialities of the Organization as well as its limitations.

117. The Secretary-General touched on the position of the Organization in a recent speech when he said:

“If there is a crisis today in connexion with the United Nations, it is a crisis of commitment by nation States to the Organization and its purposes. Too many nations still regard the United Nations as peripheral rather than essential to their foreign policy. They tend to evaluate it according to its possible use in advancing their goals rather than as the central instrument for forging solutions to world problems in concert with the rest of the world community.”

118. The Secretary-General's point of departure is the basic constitutional fact that the United Nations is an organization of sovereign States, and that the authority of the United Nations, and the prospects for the further development of the Organization's capacity for action, are dependent on the willingness of Member States to let the Organization act on their behalf. This is today a realistic view, however much at variance it may be with the popular misconception that the United Nations stands above nations and can act independently of Governments.

119. It is in that context that the Secretary-General speaks of “a crisis of commitment”. I am certain that most Governments today feel themselves committed to the United Nations and that in theory they accept the necessity of conferring on the world Organization the authority which is required to carry out the functions with which it is charged. But abstract convictions alone are not sufficient. Governments act on their interpretation of their national interest. We usually are well aware of our immediate and narrowly defined goals. It is not always so easy to discern our long-range interests.

⁸ Held at Headquarters from 9 to 17 July 1970.

120. Ours is a rapidly changing world. Political disruptions carry with them ever more frightening threats of total destruction. Scientific and technical discoveries impose new discipline on our every activity, and intellectual and ideological development has led us to a deeply felt concern that all peoples are entitled to share in material progress. In this world, a solution to many of our problems can be found only in joint action by the various nations States through appropriate international organizations. It is our own experience that our true national interests have always depended on the development and improvement of instruments of international co-operation, and in particular of the United Nations. Such development and improvement can, in our view, most effectively be furthered by conferring greater authority on international organs. That, however, would mean that Member States must be willing to relinquish a greater part of their national sovereignty than has been the case in the past.

121. I am convinced that international society will inevitably have to develop in this direction. We have no means of guessing how rapidly such changes will take place. But we may be fairly certain that they will come about gradually and by small, careful steps. Post-war history has shown us that such developments are likely to progress more quickly in international organizations that are limited functionally and regionally. This poses no contradiction to our ideals of a general and universal organization. Indeed, my country has applied for membership in the European communities in the belief that closer relations between the nations of Europe will also make important contributions to the United Nations in political terms, as well as with regard to the ability of the world Organization to deal effectively with the problems of international economic development.

122. But in our long-range view on future international organization, we must never lose sight of the urgent realities of the present. It is the overriding purpose of the United Nations to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security. Yet we meet today in bitter realization of the fact that violent conflicts still prevail in many parts of the world. A few weeks ago we were encouraged by the restoration of the cease-fire in the Middle East and by the prospect that fruitful discussions might come about concerning the enduring problems of that area. Despite recent disappointing developments, it is still my hope that all parties will enter into the discussions for which the stage was set during careful preparations by interested Powers.

123. In this situation, it is imperative to avoid acts which might jeopardize developments towards a peaceful settlement. We are therefore disturbed by the recent manifestations of new forms of organized violence emanating from that area. Groups, acting independently of States, have perpetrated politically motivated attacks against civilian aircraft of many nations. These attacks on civil aviation threaten the lives of innocent civilian passengers in a manner which would be illegal among soldiers in open warfare. We are threatened with serious disruptions of international air transport which may mean grave economic setbacks for many

countries and also a setback to civilized society. Continued attacks against civilian airlines are intolerable wherever they occur and whatever their motivation, and they must be brought to an end. We have already started to deal with the problem in the United Nations and in other relevant organizations too, and we must pursue our efforts with still greater energy.

124. We find the most dramatic threats to international security in the areas of acute conflict. But let us not for a moment believe that latent disputes pose less serious threats to the international community. It is therefore encouraging to note that the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany have recently agreed on the mutual renunciation of the use of force. The signing of the treaty between the two countries represents an important contribution to future *détente* in Europe. Other important diplomatic developments either have already been launched or are in active preparation. In time, and with luck, these developments may create conditions for improved relations between all European States.

125. The risk of nuclear warfare remains a matter of serious concern to the world community. Nevertheless, we have noted with satisfaction that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has presented a draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof.⁹ In another forum the two-Power talks on the limitation of strategic armaments are being continued.

126. But the question of international security has a wider range than purely political considerations. When we talk of peace we must never forget the basic conditions that breed conflict and lead men and nations to war. The world must offer everyone a decent standard of living in the widest sense of the word: material, social, medical, cultural. The world must ensure respect for fundamental human rights and man must protect his own environment. In every one of these fields, the United Nations is faced by demands and challenges. The organization must respond and Member States must shoulder the burdens which will be placed on them in this respect.

127. During the Second United Nations Development Decade we must make a serious effort to work out a comprehensive time-table for action and commitment for development based on the idea of concerted worldwide activities. However, the development problems of the third world cannot be solved merely by drafting a strategy for development. All nations—developing as well as developed—must be prepared to undertake the political and financial commitments inherent in the development strategy. Norway, for its part, is prepared to do so. The Norwegian Parliament has recently approved a plan whereby the total flow of Norwegian financial resources to international development will be accelerated and reach 1 per cent of our gross national

⁹ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

product in 1974. Furthermore, my Government intends to propose gradually increased appropriations for official development assistance so as to reach a level of at least 0.75 per cent of our gross national product in 1974.

128. The work of the United Nations in advancing the ideals of human rights over the past twenty-five years represents yet another way of dealing with the shortcomings of human society. We have undoubtedly made notable progress but much remains to be done. We have translated our ideals into texts and given adequate definition to our legal concepts. We have reached the stage where implementation of almost universally accepted human rights and fundamental freedoms has become the crucial issue. Under the two Covenants on Human Rights, we have established for the first time under the United Nations a conventional machinery resting on legally binding international treaties. The Economic and Social Council has accepted a proposal for improved procedures for dealing with complaints of gross violations of human rights within the Commission on Human Rights. There is a proposal before the Assembly to establish a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. We fully support that proposal and we feel that the Commissioner should be given a mandate which would enable him to deal with all sorts of violations of human rights in every part of the world. At the stage where we are concentrating our efforts on the implementation of human rights, we should be aware of the dangers of inconsistency in the application of the international standards we have agreed upon. All the provisions of the international instruments must be applied justly, without discrimination and without attempts at politically motivated exploitation. We cannot expect any Government to accept the advice or the criticism of an international body if that body is not scrupulously fair and consistent.

129. The protection of human rights may require an adjustment of traditional concepts of the relationship between the United Nations and its member States, and an expansion of the competence of organizations in fields hitherto exclusively reserved to national authority.

130. The need for new thinking in this field has already been demonstrated in situations where the international community has been unable to bring relief in sufficient quantities and with the required dispatch

to civilian victims of natural and other disasters. As will be known, my Government has repeatedly urged an examination of the ways and means by which the United Nations could play a greater and more effective part in future disaster situations of that kind.

131. Similarly, the problems connected with the protection of the human environment do not appear to lend themselves to a rational solution exclusively by national means. The problems are universal. Cause and effect are not confined within a single nation, or even larger geographical regions. Nor do those problems concern the industrialized countries alone. The United Nations has already made a start in coordinating the views of Member Nations, and we look to the Stockholm conference in 1972¹⁰ with hopes that the gravity of the problems, and the pressing needs to do something about them, will be brought forcibly home to world public opinion and to Governments.

132. The exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor is another field where new realities require us to abandon traditional concepts. The sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction forms a part of the common heritage of mankind. Basic rules are urgently needed for the exploration, conservation and peaceful exploitation of the potential riches of this area for the benefit of all peoples. It is a source of disappointment to my Government that the Committee has not reached agreement on a declaration of principles governing the activities of States in this field. My Government regards the adoption of a set of principles as an important first step towards effective international regulation of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and would sincerely hope that the General Assembly will be able to make progress towards agreement on such principles during the present session.

133. Any exposition of a country's total policies with regard to the United Nations within the framework of this general debate must, of necessity, be fragmentary. But I need not assure you, Mr. President, that the Norwegian people are sincere in their devotion to the ideals of the United Nations and that we are earnest in our desire to seek a constant development and strengthening of the Organization. If we can achieve some progress at this anniversary session of the Assembly, if we succeed in strengthening confidence in our Organization, then this measure of success will reflect honour on the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

¹⁰ United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.