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**President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Jimenez (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 21

### Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Attorney General and Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of Guyana and Special Envoy of the Prime Minister, His Excellency the Honourable S.S. Ramphal, S. C.

2. Mr. RAMPHAL: The twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations would, under any circumstances, be a notable moment in man's collective efforts to improve the quality of life on earth.

3. But the anniversary is invested with a special significance when it occurs, as it does, at a frontier stage in our civilization—when science and technology have so enlarged man's environment that his domain now extends from the secret depths of the ocean floor to the ultimate reaches of outer space, when the conscience of the world has been awakened to the realization that human dignity is nowhere secure unless it is everywhere respected, and when even the most powerful have been forced to acknowledge the limitations of power and the need for new ways of securing the peace of the world.

\*The 1865th to 1870th, 1872nd to 1879th and 1881st to 1883rd meetings contain the speeches made during the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative session.

4. It is with such an awareness, at this moment of remembrance and of yearning and in the hope that each of us may contribute in some measure to the practical realization of the ideals of peace, justice and progress which are the themes of our commemoration, that I present my Government's views.

5. As I do so, let me say that Guyana regards Ambassador Hambro's election to preside over this Assembly in the twenty-fifth anniversary year as a fitting tribute to the many contributions which the Government of Norway and he have made to the cause of an ordered international society.

6. It is fitting, too, that one of the smaller countries of the world which has succeeded in advancing its development at home and in exercising an influence for good in the world community should provide the President of this Assembly during a session which must be essentially concerned with securing for small States everywhere those goals that, in relation to all States, we have made the central themes of our commemoration.

7. The first of the matters which I wish to raise, concerns the commemorative session specifically and, more generally, the continuing work of this commemorative twenty-fifth Assembly.

8. A year ago, from this podium [*1780th meeting*], the Guyana delegation made a plea concerning the special activities of the United Nations for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. We urged then that our activities in 1970 must go beyond ceremonial and self-appreciation. We called for a commitment, not merely to the principles of the Charter, but to their effective application through the machinery of the United Nations. We pleaded for action proceeding from such a commitment so that we might begin to reclaim the faith of the world in this Organization.

9. As we stand today on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary, it is a matter of deep regret to Guyana that that commitment has not been forthcoming from several States—more particularly from the developed countries, most especially from the super Powers—and that the vital work of reclamation of the belief of the peoples of the world in the Organization still remains to be undertaken. It was in the name of the peoples of the world that the Charter of the United Nations was promulgated 25 years ago.

10. There are times, in the work of this Organization, when we would all do well to remember this, to recognize that the world is a world of people, not merely

of States, and to acknowledge that among the peoples of the world there is sometimes a unity which defies national frontiers and rejects national postures—a unity which makes of the vast majority of mankind one nation of good people, that of which Yevtushenko wrote. The present is clearly such a time. In their great, mainly silent, majorities the peoples of the world stand on the side of peace, of justice and of progress.

11. If we have failed to organize international society in accordance with the precepts of the Charter, if we have failed to create a world founded on the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is not because the peoples of the world have rejected the mandates of these organic instruments of international society. States, not peoples, have failed. Governments, not individuals, must bear the continuing responsibility for a return to both the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

12. In the discharge of these responsibilities, let us recognize that many of the people of the world have grown mistrustful of the efforts made in their name, here on the bank of the East River, and have become cynical of this Organization and of collective international action generally—and this despite the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General and of the officers who serve this Organization in the face of such interminable frustrations.

13. And let us recognize also that the situation worsens with each passing year, as this Organization fails to rekindle the imagination of the world through a new dynamic internationalism. The generation of yesterday may be expected to set against our failures and deficiencies the still remembered hope for a better world which was the gift of San Francisco. To the generation of the young whose inheritance is tomorrow, the achievement of yesterday is the commonplace of the present, and it earns no concession from them as we pass on to them a world whose troubles mark our failures.

14. The occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations has offered us a timely opportunity to recapture the world's belief in the usefulness—indeed, in the essentiality—of this Organization. But the opportunity is slipping away. If we can do no more at the commemorative session than make declarations of good intentions; if we can do no more than reaffirm in words a commitment to the Charter, while avoiding any commitment to action in its implementation; if we can do no more than proclaim the arrival of peace, justice and progress on earth, while all the evidence around us is a living testimony to war and conflict, to injustice and inhumanity, to poverty and destitution, we must not be surprised if the peoples of the world show no disposition to take us seriously.

15. And yet there is a real danger that at this commemorative session and in the work of this commemorative Assembly, hereafter, we may indeed do no more. Thus, I must express, in all frankness, to this Assembly the deep disappointment of my Govern-

ment with the contents of some of the declarations which we shall approve at the conclusion of the special commemorative session. In particular, both the general declaration now being prepared by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and the declaration on the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade fall far short of that commitment from the major Powers which Guyana regards as essential to the achievement of our agreed international objectives. By the processes of consensus that have now become familiar in our working procedures the language of those declarations has been so meticulously pruned of all vestige of commitment that what we shall approve by acclamation is no longer worthy of applause.

16. But, fortunately, our efforts do not end this week. They will go on during the rest of this Assembly beyond the moment of ceremonial, and they must continue into the Assemblies of the next 25 years and beyond. They must continue, and with resolution, for the alternative to success may be no less than the end of our civilization. And they must continue with hope, for surely even the mightiest among us is committed to the survival of this Organization as an essential to the preservation of international order.

17. It is against that background of disappointment but yet in this spirit of continuing endeavour that I offer the following observations from a small country, new to its independence and therefore to this Organization, but deep in its commitment to the preservation of both.

18. In their analyses of the problems of contemporary international relations, statesmen and scholars have used a variety of phrases to describe the state of crisis that is everywhere acknowledged to exist. "Crisis of confidence", "crisis of commitment" and "crisis of relevance" are some of these. Each is valid but what we need, at least as much as analysis, is action, and it is with the identification of these areas of action that this Assembly should be chiefly concerned.

19. The themes of our commemorative session are themselves signposts to action. They proclaim the work still to be done to establish international security, to achieve universal human dignity, to secure economic justice. And they are unconditional imperatives; for no part of this work can be deferred if we are to fulfil the promise of the Charter in our time.

20. The demand for economic justice must occupy the attention of this Organization with increasing concern in the years immediately ahead, for it involves no less than the release from economic servitude of the developing countries of the world, many of which this Organization helped to bring to political independence within the last 25 years.

21. Today, at a time of unparalleled scientific and technological achievement, as we reach out to new worlds in space and go down to new continents on the ocean floor, as we make the deserts bloom and overcome the scourge of ravaging disease, it is a humiliating reality that more than two thirds of the

world's population are under-fed, under-housed and under-educated.

22. What is more, as modern communication brings us visibly nearer each other, with poverty on the edge of affluence, the world's underprivileged are caught in a whirlwind of rising but unfulfilled expectations. It must be obvious that there can be no peace in the world while their inevitable and increasingly strident demand for economic justice goes unheeded. The effective economic development of the underdeveloped areas of the world must be the concern of all mankind and a special priority for action by this Organization.

23. National sacrifice and national effort by the developing countries are, of course, prerequisites for progress. The commitments we seek are not substitutes for such effort and such sacrifice. We accept fully the need to help ourselves not merely as the price of international assistance but for our own benefit and for our own dignity, recognizing as we do that external assistance alone will never advance us to real economic independence.

24. It was in that spirit of resolve that just over a month ago at Lusaka<sup>1</sup> fifty-three countries of the world pledged themselves in their Declaration: "to cultivate the spirit of self-reliance and to this end to adopt a firm policy of organizing their own socio-economic progress and to raise it to the level of a priority action programme."

25. In many of the developing countries such a programme is already under way. Some, like my own country, have from the beginning made self-help and co-operative effort the corner-stone of national development. But self-reliance will not suffice within an international economic system that is weighted against the weak and in favour of the strong, that is designed to advance the already developed and to retard those still developing. It is futile to require a boot-strap operation of a man who is without boots. It is a deception to demand it while entrenching a system that prevents him from ever acquiring them. The truth is that the securing of economic justice involves much more than self-reliance or aid.

26. It was this realization that led the Lusaka Conference to resolve that this Organization should be urged—as I now so urge:

"to employ international machinery to bring about a rapid transformation of the world economic system, particularly in the field of trade, finance and technology so that economic domination yields to economic co-operation and economic strength is used for the benefit of the world community;

"to view the development process in a global context and to adopt a programme of international action for utilisation of world resources in men and materials, science and technology, benefiting developed and developing countries alike."

<sup>1</sup> Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

27. Therein lies the path to economic justice. It is a path which must be taken if the Second Development Decade is not to lead us to the disaster of disappointment that marked the end of the First.

28. But there is an even more immediate and specific respect in which the developing countries must be helped towards the goal of economic justice through economic independence—whatever else may be contained in the strategy for the Second Development Decade. I refer to the exercise by the developing countries of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

29. This Assembly has affirmed and reaffirmed that it is the inalienable right of all countries to exercise such sovereignty in the interest of their national development.

30. This Assembly has called for a concerted United Nations effort to help in achieving the maximum possible development of the natural resources of the developing countries and in strengthening their ability to undertake this development themselves.

31. This Assembly has recognized the right of all countries, and in particular of the developing countries, to secure and increase their share in the administration of enterprises which are fully or partly operated by foreign capital and to have a greater share in the advantages and profits derived from such enterprises, and has called upon the countries from which such capital originates to refrain from any action which would hinder the exercise of that right.

32. If the developing countries are to make the doctrine of self-reliance an instrument of national development, their primary effort must be directed to control and ownership of their own resources and to do this in conformity with the spirit and principles of the Charter and with the resolutions of this Assembly.

33. Under item 45 of the agenda of this session, the Assembly will be considering the report of the Secretary-General on permanent sovereignty over natural resources. Guyana hopes that on that occasion the developed countries and, more especially, the capital exporting countries will give to the developing world the assurance called for by this Assembly that they will refrain from imposing an economic imperialism to take the place of the passing political dominion, and that they will go further and pledge, as part of their commitment to international development, positive assistance to those developing countries which seek to help themselves by exercising effective sovereignty over their natural resource development.

34. A commitment of this kind from the developed countries will go a long way toward easing that crisis of confidence which the discussions on the strategy for the Second Development Decade have inevitably produced.

35. The second area of action concerns the universal-ity of human dignity.

36. Let me acknowledge that much has already been achieved for which this Organization must take great credit. The process of decolonization has brought freedom and dignity to millions, but the process is not complete and the reason for its frustration lies deep in the primeval instinct of man to maintain dominion over his fellow.

37. When, as is the case in southern Africa, this instinct is activated by racial bigotry and compounded with the perversion of *apartheid*, the inhumanities which result are an affront to the dignity of man and a challenge to the international community.

38. For forms of Government, men always will contend yet need not war. With inhumanity, man never can live in peace.

39. The struggle for human dignity in these remaining enclaves of colonialism is therefore a struggle in which all mankind must be involved and it is, therefore, rightly the concern of this Organization.

40. What is needed now, and needed urgently, is the positive and unqualified support of all members of this Organization, indeed of all States, for the practical measures that must be taken to bring freedom and dignity to the overwhelming majorities of southern Africa. And let it be recognized that these measures must be much concerned with the economic underpinnings of *apartheid*.

41. It is a sad reality that, while we pass resolutions of censure and condemnation, colonialism and discrimination in southern Africa continue to draw sustenance from an international economic system which provides incentives for the economic exploitation that colonialism and discrimination permit.

42. Thus it is no accident that, as more and more developing countries assert their right to economic independence through control of their natural resource development, international capital shows a tendency to move to those areas of the world where the process of decolonization has either been arrested or reversed.

43. Today, foreign capital and the patterns of trade that inevitably follow it are contributing to the building in southern Africa of a veritable fortress of racial intolerance and repression. In fact, an investment in *apartheid* is being made in the name of national economic self-interest and non-discriminatory trading policies. Nor are the underpinnings of *apartheid* merely economic.

44. Thus, while the liberation movements carry on their legitimate struggle with the meagre resources at their disposal they find themselves pitted against sophisticated weapons provided by the developed countries in one form or another.

45. A majority of the Members of this Organization have already pledged themselves at Lusaka to full support for and solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa, of Namibia, of Zimbabwe and of the

Portuguese Territories in Africa in their struggle for freedom and self-determination, and to the provision of moral and material assistance to them.

46. The implications of the resulting confrontation for international peace must surely be unmistakable, and it is a matter of urgency that this Organization should bend its efforts towards the removal of the root causes, that is, to the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa and the advancement of the universality of human dignity.

47. An effective start in this direction would be the acceptance by other Members of this Organization of the commitments already undertaken by the non-aligned countries to impose an embargo on trade with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, to sever diplomatic relations with Portugal and South Africa, to decline landing rights and facilities for aircraft and vessels arriving from or bound for South Africa, Portugal or Rhodesia and to give effective support and material aid to the liberation movements through the Organization of African Unity.

48. But the essential first step is the abandonment of the practical assistance given, or contemplated, by certain States to the minority régimes in southern Africa contrary to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

49. A mission headed by the distinguished President of Zambia is even now pursuing all appropriate action and initiatives with a view to securing the termination of such assistance.

50. We call on the Governments concerned to head the voice of the world's majorities in whose name that mission is being undertaken and to join with us in positive programmes of action for putting an end to human degradation in Africa.

51. In the meantime, as the current President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Guyana anxiously awaits the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice requested in Security Council resolution 284 (1970), conscious as we are that there is much in the jurisprudence of the Court to justify optimism about the result. There is little doubt that this opinion can do much to advance a régime of legality in international affairs and, more specifically, to secure the effective implementation of the decisions of this Organization for the termination of the rule of the Government of South Africa over Namibia and the establishment of the authority of the United Nations in that unhappy land.

52. Meanwhile, Guyana joins the non-aligned countries in the specific proposals embodied in the resolutions of the Lusaka Conference on Namibia and, in particular, in the call made on this Organization to mount a world publicity campaign on Namibia and against the illegal and cruel rule of the Government of South Africa.

53. All these steps are necessary if universal human dignity is to be achieved. Unless it is achieved in south-

ern Africa, and indeed wherever else in the world the human spirit is held in chains by policies of repression and discrimination, we shall not reach our goal of international stability nor shall we see peace, justice or progress in our lifetime.

54. The third area of action relates to international security. It clearly is not possible in this brief statement to elaborate on the many requirements in this field of international endeavour. A few signposts to action must suffice. We must advance, first of all, a régime of legality in international relations.

55. The International Law Commission, and this Organization in its promotion of international conventions on the basis of the Commission's work, have already rendered great service to the international community in the development of the basic rules of law. What is needed now is a new formulation of the responsibilities of States as members of the international community.

56. For our part, we greatly welcome the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as an authoritative interpretation of the relevant provisions of the Charter. We believe that this Declaration prepares the way for what is perhaps the most essential development of all, namely, the emergence of an ethos of international legality which acknowledges the compatibility of national sovereignty with international responsibility and which permits the creation of appropriate machinery for enforcing a régime of international law.

57. Meanwhile, we must strengthen the institutions that we have. We must develop new concepts of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice which will permit it to play an effective role in the enforcement of the fundamental provisions of the Charter, and we must improve its constitution so as to ensure the universality of its authority on all appropriate juridical issues.

58. But a régime of international legality merely provides a juridical framework for preserving the peace of the world. More is needed by way of machinery if aggression is to be deterred and international legal obligations are not to be forever subordinated to the dictates of national power and national self-interest.

59. Thus, Guyana will support the creation of international peace observation machinery capable of establishing a United Nations presence wherever in the world there is danger to international peace. We believe that a system under which United Nations observers may be sent, on the authority of the Secretary-General, to any area under the jurisdiction of a State at the request of that State and to any area whatever at the direction of the Security Council or of the General Assembly would contribute immeasurably to the prevention of breaches of international peace.

60. Guyana has raised its voice before in this Assembly in support of a system of preventive peace-keeping. We believe that permanent peace observation machin-

ery will go a long way to providing an effective deterrent against aggression. And we would support proposals for permanent peace-making arrangements designed to provide the enforcement machinery which is, at the moment, the Achilles heel of the international legal system.

*Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.*

61. But, above all, the imperative of international security would be most effectively met if all Members of this Organization were to be guided in their conduct by the principles of the Charter, were to respect the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, were to fulfil their basic obligations as Members of this Organization. A primary responsibility rests on the major Powers of the world to refrain from creating or, where they already exist, from exacerbating situations of conflict beyond their boundaries. All States have a right to work out their own solutions and to adopt their own systems of government and the major Powers have a special duty under the Charter to desist from interfering with these choices. Observance of the provisions of the Charter is still, in my Government's view, the best guarantee of international peace.

62. These then are the international imperatives of our time as my country sees them.

63. But there is an overriding need that must be met if we are to secure effective action in any of these fields. We must, first of all, ensure the effectiveness of the United Nations. We must improve the capacity of this Organization to realize the goals of peace, justice and progress as they are set forth in the Charter. This means, among other things, that we must ensure the universality of this Organization. There must be a place within it for all States.

64. Without providing incentives for the fragmentation of existing States, we must not diminish the potential effectiveness of this Organization by pursuing, through policies of exclusion, quarrels that do not bear on the right of States to membership of the United Nations. Correspondingly, it is the responsibility of all States that seek to play their part as members of the international community to do so within the framework of this Organization and genuinely to seek that membership to which the Charter gives a right.

65. For the same reasons, we must promote democracy within the United Nations. This means, on the one hand, a categorical rejection of proposals designed further to entrench the oligarchy of power—such as weighted voting—and, on the other, a movement towards reform of the Security Council so that a veto of the permanent members no longer frustrates the effectiveness of the Council and of the Organization, particularly in relation to the maintenance of international peace. We must equally ensure that the formal veto exercisable within the Security Council is not carried over by working procedures into the deliberations of the General Assembly and its Committees through an appeal to super-Power political realities.

66. To our endorsement of these arrangements for enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations we add our support for all reasonable proposals for the improvement of the Organization's working procedures, and for the Secretary-General's plea that this Organization's solvency be secured. If we can at this twenty-fifth session, in these and other ways, improve the capacity of this Organization to realize the objectives of the Charter, and if we can make like progress in satisfying the imperatives of economic justice, of human dignity and of international security, then, despite the inadequacies of some of our commemorative declarations, we shall have taken positive steps towards ensuring that there will be something to celebrate at the end of the next 25 years.

67. Finally, at this first opportunity of Guyana's intervention in the twenty-fifth Assembly, may I allude, however briefly, to one further matter which I hope represents a practical contribution to the attainment of the Organization's goals.

68. At each of the last three sessions, Guyana has had cause to bring to the notice of the Assembly an issue which went to the very heart of my young country's existence and which arose out of a controversy with the Republic of Venezuela—our neighbour to the west. It is, therefore, at once a duty and a source of satisfaction for me to report to this twenty-fifth Assembly that since the conclusion of the twenty-fourth session it has been possible, through bilateral efforts utilizing the machinery of diplomacy, for us to reach with Venezuela a measure of understanding which offers new opportunities of conflict resolution through peaceful procedures and which opens up fresh possibilities of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of our countries.

69. That understanding has found embodiment in the Protocol of Port of Spain, which was concluded between our Governments on 18 June 1970 and which has been in operation ever since. If the opportunities it provides are grasped, if the possibilities it offers are pursued, that Protocol will represent an achievement for the methods of the conference table in an anniversary year that, alas, has recorded all too few successes of this kind.

70. I can think of no more practical way of marking our commitment to the principles of the Charter and to the cause of international and hemispheric peace and understanding.

71. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of Israel, Her Excellency Mrs. Golda Meir.

72. Mrs. MEIR: Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and to express my warmest wishes for success in your high office.

73. Rising now to look upon a quarter of a century in the life of the United Nations, I cannot help but recall that this Organization will always be linked in

the mind of our people with the signal role it played in the emergence of modern sovereign Israel. The Organization put the seal of international recognition upon our historic process of return, ingathering, liberation and development—and this we cannot forget. Neither can we forget that the United Nations came into being after the overwhelming tragedy of the Nazi holocaust, which the predecessor of the United Nations, the League of Nations, proved unable to prevent.

74. The First World War was the war to have ended all wars. Those of us who were in our teens then believed this. The entire world wanted it to be true; the League of Nations was to be the guarantee that this would be so. And we were all witnesses to, and victims of, its failure.

75. The reason for the failure, I am convinced, was not lack of a sincere desire for peace but lack of determination to act for its preservation. We need only recall the moving words of the Emperor of Ethiopia, when he appeared before this Organization in 1962 [*1229th meeting*], warning against a recurrence of the international inaction which had opened the way to aggression against his country and thus endangered the peace of the world. It is in the light of the League's tragic failure that we must judge the achievements and the shortcomings of our Organization, which came into being after the shattering experience of the Second World War had made it absolutely clear that the need for a world body, capable of international action to prevent a third world war, was necessary.

76. Even before the adoption of our Charter, in the midst of the Second World War, in 1941, President Roosevelt had, in four famous phrases, outlined a programme which, if implemented, would have saved the world from the agonies of these decades. But almost 30 years later and after 25 years of the United Nations, what is the state of the four freedoms?

77. Freedom of speech: millions of people in the world are denied this elementary freedom. Sadly, we seem to have become accustomed to this situation, as though it were normal for human beings to be denied the right to express their ideas, and in some places to be denied even the freedom to think.

78. Freedom of worship: to a lesser degree, this freedom too is drastically restricted in many a human community.

79. Freedom from want: to see how we have failed in achieving this freedom, we need only compare the immense increase in wealth since this principle was enunciated with the horror of want and the consequent degradation among hundreds of millions of people in various parts of the world.

80. Freedom from fear: during the last 25 years there have been almost constant so-called local wars; there have been very few in which major Powers have not been indirectly involved. And today no country in the world, no matter how large and powerful, enjoys

absolute freedom from fear of war. One might almost say that the only factor which has prevented a new world conflagration is the fact that the major Powers have reached a state of mutual fear. Not freedom from fear, but a balance of fear has made it possible for civilization to survive at all.

81. Is it an exaggeration to say that at best our Organization has been able to stop some wars—sometimes temporarily—while actually it has hardly prevented any? The most serious aspect of this situation, it seems to me, is the fact that those who commit aggression and those who are its victims have equal status in the United Nations—and even on the Security Council.

82. Bleak as this picture is, there is also a record of which we in this hall can be proud. There can be little doubt that the supreme historic achievement of the Organization has been its role in ending the era of colonialism and inaugurating in its stead the age of national liberation. Almost 70 nations have gained freedom and independence. This phenomenal transition has changed the face of the globe, rectifying the historical injustice which for centuries had acknowledged national freedom for the few and denied it to the many. It has set in motion vast forces which lay dormant and suppressed over centuries. The concept of the "family of nations" now has authentic meaning, and with this the dignity of the individual is enhanced. And though there are still millions of human beings on the globe who, because of colour, race, religion, are denied national or individual self-expression, this condition has become the exception to the rule, rather than the rule as it had been only two decades ago. If the United Nations had achieved nothing more, its existence would be justified by the fact that so many millions, once subjugated, are today the masters of their own destiny. This liberation is primarily the result of effort and struggle by the emerging peoples themselves. But the United Nations has encouraged it at every stage, and it is through membership in the United Nations that liberated countries express and celebrate their new dignity and equality.

83. A notable result of the great movement of national liberation characteristic of our century, a movement in which the United Nations played so creative a role, was the rebirth of the State of Israel in its historic homeland. This rectified an ancient wrong within the framework of international law and in accordance with the principles of international justice.

84. The emergence of new, independent countries has been followed by economic and social co-operation between the advanced, developed, and developing countries. Programmes of international aid which only decades ago would have been considered Utopian, have been undertaken in large measure under the aegis of this Organization. Great strides have been made in deepening communication among peoples, lending validity to the essential truth that freedom and welfare are indivisible, and that no nation can find ultimate fulfilment within its frontiers so long as others, no matter how remote, are denied liberty and progress. We know too well that the world is still divided by the

tragic gap between the haves and the have-nots. It is by now a truism that only a very small percentage of the world's expenditure for armaments could have liberated the African and Asian continents from fear of want and brought them into an era of greater development. The fact is that part of the world is growing richer, while much of the rest is as poor as before. And, in relative terms the gap has widened.

85. National independence is not the mere assertion of a new political reality. It is a framework within which the improvement of society and the betterment of the individual must take place. It is the creation of the instrument through which the society must strive for new heights of social justice and economic well-being.

86. The whole Middle East is a dramatic demonstration of the emergence of peoples into national independence. Once the domain of colonial Powers, it is today an area inhabited entirely by independent and sovereign countries. The Middle East, however, is an area in which national independence has unfortunately not been accompanied by peace, stability and resultant prosperity. Rather it is an area of strife and struggle, within the shadows of which lurks an even greater danger to the peoples of the area—the danger of the loss of their long-fought-for right to determine their own fate and their own future course of action.

87. The question we all face—Israelis and Arabs alike—is whether we forfeit our right to decide our own destiny. That question will be resolved only in the measure that the people of the Middle East succeed or fail in making peace among themselves and by themselves, without hindrance or intervention of any outside Power. Recent events in the Middle East have proved, yet again, that resort to substitutes and alternatives for direct peaceful solution of the conflict creates fertile ground for breaches of promise and mutual suspicion.

88. This brings me to another basic question which vitally affects the prospects for peace in the Middle East. Unfortunately, the Middle East has for twenty-two years been the scene of cynical flouting of solemn agreements. International order, the integrity of the United Nations itself, depend upon the scrupulous observance of international obligations. Unless the Members of this august body respect the sanctity of agreements, no treaties can be binding and no pacts can be maintained.

89. The authority of the United Nations rests primarily on moral, not physical, force. Any Member State that disregards the Charter and agreed covenants imperils peace as well as the United Nations. For this reason, though I have no wish to engage in the polemics of the general debate, let me recall the sad record of broken covenants in the Middle East. From the initial violation of the Charter of the United Nations by the concerted Arab invasion of the new State of Israel to the present day, the sequence of events follows the same disastrous line of agreements made and instantly broken.



90. The Arab States violated the Armistice Agreements of 1949; they nullified the arrangements concluded in 1957; they unilaterally destroyed the Security Council cease-fire resolution of 1967 by embarking on a war of attrition against Israel; and now Egypt is undermining the American peace initiative by violating the cease-fire stand-still agreement.

91. It is these violations which have halted all progress towards peace, despite Israel's earnest commitment towards its quest. As long as the present breaches continue, there can be no hope for the resumption of meaningful negotiations. Agreements can be reached only if those making them enter upon them in mutual trust and in the assurance that they will be honourably executed. Until the situation obtaining at the time when the cease-fire went into effect is restored, Israel cannot be expected to take part in the Jarring talks. Israel seeks to resume these negotiations; it wants the Jarring talks to be fruitful, but it cannot renew its participation in them, until it is demonstrated that agreements that have been concluded are faithfully observed.

92. The 1967 Security Council cease-fire resolution, unanimously adopted and accepted by all parties, is not limited in time and is unconditional. I hereby announce on behalf of the Government of Israel that we are prepared to continue the present cease-fire without a time-limit.

93. In an atmosphere in which a callous breach of faith between nations is touted as a virtue and aggression against a peaceful neighbour is acclaimed as a sacred cause, no hope for peace can prosper. Yet, despite what has happened, we in Israel still trust that for the sake of all our peoples the Arab leadership will join with us one day in guiding our area from the present turmoil to the horizons of peace. I therefore call from this rostrum once again, in the presence of the representatives of the entire community of nations, upon the leaders of the Arab nations of the Middle East, and especially now upon the new leadership of Egypt, to recognize once and for all that the future of the Middle East lies in peace, and this must be achieved by Israelis and Arabs themselves.

94. It will only be achieved by the building of faith and not the breach of faith; by honouring commitments solemnly undertaken and not by undermining them; by negotiation and not by evasion; by talking to each other and not at each other; in short, by the confrontation of peace and not of war.

95. It has been the fate of my country that peace has been denied us by our neighbours since the very emergence of Israel. But has Israel alone been the sufferer? No. All those around us, as well as Israel, have paid the terrible price of endless warfare.

96. Thousands of millions of dollars have been spent on armaments instead of on war against poverty, disease and ignorance. There are now deserts of death where there could be blooming fields.

97. I say this today not in rancour but in sorrow. I am convinced that all of us in the Middle East will

continue to exist as sovereign States. None of us will leave. But we may choose whether we will continue in the sterile course of mutual destruction, whether we will go on hurting each other to no one's benefit or whether we will venture on a constructive course and build our lands separately and together.

98. For each of us to attain the best for his people, co-operation with his neighbours in the solution of regional problems is essential. Our borders not only separate us but they are bridges between us. No people is an island. We are bound to each other by the problems of our region, our world. We can make of these ties a curse or a blessing. Each nation, each land must decide.

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on His Excellency Mr. Nesti Nase, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania.

100. Mr. NASE (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly some days ago began its celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter, and has embarked on a more or less thorough review of the road which the Organization has travelled during this period of a quarter of a century, and sketched the broad outlines of the policies which it must apply in the future in order to live up the role devolving upon it under the Charter. Nevertheless, it is fitting to recognize that the value and the usefulness of our work will in large measure depend on the extent to which an objective analysis is made, making it possible to bring out, without ambiguity, the shortcomings of the Organization and the misdeeds committed through its intermediary or in its name, as well as their causes and those mainly responsible for them, so as to decide then what measures are to be taken to remedy the present state of affairs and to take the necessary steps capable of leading the United Nations to its proper course and enable it to make an effective contribution to the settlement of the important problems which are within its sphere of activity.

101. As far as the delegation of Albania is concerned, we shall do our best to state our views to the extent that the context of this commemorative session allows, and we shall adhere strictly to this line of review because we believe that this is the only way to do really useful work for this Organization and to serve its cause.

102. The United Nations was created on the morrow of the Second World War in response to the firm demand of peoples, primarily those who, having lived through the horrors of the barbarous war of the fascist hordes which they defeated thanks to their heroic exploits and at the cost of enormous sacrifices, and who insistently asked for better conditions of international life and for the establishment of guarantees which would ensure that men from all continents could live in peace, freely and with dignity, protected from aggression and the threat of aggression in relations of equality, good neighbourliness, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and of genuine co-operation for their mutual interest. These were the historical cir-



cumstances of that time. It was this international atmosphere of remarkable awakening of the conscience of mankind to its sacred rights which explains both the spirit of the Charter and its contents in the form of purposes and principles corresponding to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples and which rightly instilled in them the hope of a better future.

103. If the United Nations had kept to the spirit and the letter of the Charter, if its fundamental principles had been respected and implemented, there is no doubt that this Organization would have responded to the wishes of the peoples on whose behalf the Charter was signed, and would have played an important role as a factor for peace and co-operation among nations. In particular it would have made an effective contribution to the cause of progressive mankind, to the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of peoples to a free, independent and prosperous life.

104. Unfortunately, quite a different course has been followed by the Organization so far. The reality of the facts that are well known to all of us compel us to recognize that the United Nations Organization, because of the nefarious influence exercised on it by certain imperialist Powers—and the United States in the first place—has departed in its action from the role incumbent on it by virtue of the Charter. It has failed in its duty to act in accordance with the generally recognized standards of justice and international law which are enshrined in the Charter, and it has placed itself at the service of a policy having nothing in common with the purposes and principles on which it is based.

105. The sombre designs of the United States and its allies for this international Organization were revealed from the time of its creation at the San Francisco Conference. In this connexion, we cannot fail to recall, *inter alia*, that because of the obstinacy of the United States and England, Albania was not invited to that Conference and that it took 10 years, until 1955, for Albania to be admitted to the United Nations even though, because of its heroic struggles and the enormous sacrifices of the Albanian people together with the anti-fascist coalition, it occupied a place of honour among the allied countries of that coalition. And this can be explained only by the hostile attitude and the aggressive aims of imperialism towards the new independent Albania and its régime of a people's democracy, which the Albanian people had chosen.

106. It is the same imperialist policy and that deep hostility toward any democratic régime and toward socialism that are the source of the aggressive actions of the United States in many parts of the world, particularly against the People's Republic of China, the impregnable stronghold of all the forces of progress in the world. In particular, that explains the abnormal, unprecedented situation created in the United Nations because of the usurpation of the seat of great socialist China by the scum of a clique that represents nothing. This constitutes a brutal violation of the Charter as well as one of the severest blows to the prestige of this Organization and its capacity to fulfil its mission in the various spheres of international life.

107. By following a policy toward the United Nations of using it as a suitable instrument to serve its plans of aggression and the subjection of peoples, the United States of America has pushed the Organization so far along that road that, under cover of the United Nations flag, wars of aggression have even been perpetrated against peace-loving peoples and countries.

108. The situation in the United Nations became even worse when the Soviet Union, as a result of the usurpation of power in that country by the Krushchev clique, became an imperialist power that formed a holy alliance with the American imperialists aimed at stifling struggles for the revolutionary liberation of the peoples and at world domination by the two powers. Member States have witnessed the grave consequences for the United Nations that followed this counter-revolutionary and unprecedented treachery. Thus it was that the determined struggle previously pursued here by the genuine representatives of the Leninist Soviet Union against American imperialism and its supporters were replaced by American-Soviet collusion against peace-loving peoples and nations. The Organization has become a centre for bargaining, manoeuvring and insidious intrigues by the two "super-Powers" at the expense of the cause of peoples, as well as an instrument used to endorse their hidden machinations, dangerous plots and agreements previously concluded by them.

109. Thus manipulated and playing this sad role, the United Nations Organization has failed in its mission and at the same time its authority has been gravely impaired before the peoples of the world, who consider that nothing good can be expected from this international institution so long as it is not delivered from American-Soviet domination.

110. The activities of the United Nations in the course of this quarter-century have revealed a series of pernicious practices contrary to the Charter, carried out under pressure from the United States of America in the first place that have brought the Organization to its present decline. A mere recollection of some of the most obvious facts would suffice to convince us. Thus the aggressions perpetrated under the banner of the United Nations in Korea and in the Congo, as well as the attitude of this Organization toward armed American intervention in the Congo, armed aggression in Korea and the conversion of the southern part of that country into a colony and base for American aggression in the Far East constitute a very dangerous and intolerable situation, against which the people and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are fighting, and in so doing enjoy the solidarity and sympathy of the peoples of the world.

111. The inability of the United Nations to adopt the position incumbent upon it under the Charter when confronted by acts of aggression and armed aggression by the United States has been constantly manifest. That is shown *inter alia* by the acts of aggression against Cuba by American imperialism and its military interventions in other countries of Latin America. In the

question of Kashmir, the Security Council, which has discussed the problem for long years, has done nothing to support the just struggle of the martyred people of that country for freedom and self-determination, nor even to implement its own resolutions to that effect. The cases of Korea, the Congo, Cuba, Kashmir and still others illustrate the typical fact that whenever a great Power attacks a small country the Security Council, which, according to the Charter, is supposed to have primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, proves itself incapable of defending the victim and practically serves aggression.

112. One cannot fail to recall in this connexion the persistent efforts of the United States to make the United Nations intervene in Indo-China so as to use it to camouflage, however slightly, its acts of armed aggression its armed intervention and its barbarous war against the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia and other peoples of the area, and also to bring to a successful conclusion its fallacious intrigues and its hoax of a "peaceful settlement" of the Viet-Nameese question. But what, then, can one say of the manifest indifference of the Security Council to the recent armed intervention by the United States against Cambodia, or of the armed aggression and invasion perpetrated previously by Soviet socialist imperialism against Czechoslovakia? What can one expect of peoples in these circumstances and in the face of these facts—which irrefutably bear witness to the decline of the United Nations and its inability to acquit itself of its duties regarding the maintenance of international peace and security—other than disappointment and loss of faith in this Organization?

113. A typical current example, and an obvious proof of the deplorable state of affairs in this Organization resulting from the pernicious influence of the United States and American-Soviet collusion, is the grave and tragic situation created in the Near East since the imperialist-Israeli aggression of 5 June 1967 against the Arab countries. The United Nations attitude on the question so far not only testifies to its failure to condemn aggressors and to adopt measures really and effectively capable of defending the victims of aggression and their sovereign rights but also proves that it has been reduced to playing a role unworthy of it tending to legalize and reward aggression. An example of this was the adoption of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)], on which is based the Rogers-Gromyko plan of ill-repute, to be implemented with the assistance of the United Nations mediator recognizing in particular the right of Israel to annex the Arab territories it invaded by the force of arms. All this is obvious and reveals the plot hatched by the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union to stifle the liberation movement of the valiant Palestinian and other Arab peoples and to secure their rapacious imperialist interests in that region, which is rich in oil and of great strategic importance. To have an idea of the ferociousness of this plot, it is sufficient to recall the latest bloody events in Jordan, which are mainly the work of American and Soviet imperialists and are intended to annihilate the heroic Palestinian fighters by fire and by the sword.

114. The United Nations cannot absolve itself of its responsibility, given the tragic and intolerable situation now rampant in the Near East. Peaceful Member States in particular cannot fail to realize that if the United Nations had from the start acted in accordance with the fundamental provisions of the Charter and standards of international law, as the delegation of Albania proposed at the fifth emergency special session in a draft resolution,<sup>2</sup> matters would not have sunk to this law ebb and the two imperialist Powers mainly responsible for this situation would have been unable to carry out the Machiavellian game in which they are still engaged.

115. This brief list of the activities and attitudes of the United Nations in regard to some of the international conflicts and hotbeds of war, the source of which is the policy of aggression and war of the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union, bears witness to the grave consequences of imperialist dominance over this Organization, in particular its failure to accomplish its tasks in the field of maintaining international peace and security.

116. As regards important problems such as the liberation of peoples from colonial and racial subjugation, disarmament, and others, the United Nations, far from having done useful work, has become a centre for bargaining and for insidious intrigues by the two super Powers, which seek to make use of the work of the Organization in regard to those problems so as to defraud peoples and cover up their aggressive policy of world hegemony. It is true that peoples are no longer deceived by the innumerable United Nations resolutions—which are *pro forma* and have remained a dead letter—on colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, nor by the academic discussions on the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly. More than ever they are now aware that the only way to free themselves from the imperialist, colonialist and racist yoke is by their armed struggle, carried out with steadfastness and with full confidence in their own strength, encouraged as they are in this course by the solidarity and support of all freedom-loving peoples and countries.

117. Moreover, it has become obvious that all the proposals of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in regard to disarmament, and the agreements they have imposed in this field, such as the Treaty on the partial prohibition of tests and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, are intended simply to disarm freedom-loving peoples, to subject the latter to their control and domination and to ensure for themselves nuclear monopoly and the continuation of the arms race in weapons of all kinds, in accordance with their policy of aggression and war against sovereign peoples and nations.

118. On the same lines and within the framework of those circumstances, the two Powers seek to create permanent United Nations forces, so as to use them as an international police force to repress revolutionary

<sup>2</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/L.521.

liberation movements and the resistance of nations which are jealous of their sovereignty and independence. We believe that peaceful Member States cannot fail to take account, in this regard, of the sad experience of such forces in the past, and particularly of the infamous role they played in Korea and in the Congo.

119. The People's Republic of Albania, for its part, has constantly been opposed to and will firmly oppose the creation of United Nations forces, no matter by what name they are called and no matter what fallacious procedures and guises are used to try to camouflage them.

120. A large number of delegations, particularly those from Asian, African and Latin American countries, have clearly revealed the sorry results of the United Nations programmes for economic assistance to developing countries. We do not deem it necessary to revert to that, but it is appropriate to recall that the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade is the best proof of the state of affairs in that regard. Experience in this field has demonstrated once again that the United States of America, the revisionist Soviet Union and other imperialist Powers constantly strive to profit from the economic needs of the developing countries, seeking—directly through credits, so-called aid and investment, or indirectly through the intermediary of special bodies or international organizations, including the United Nations—to ensure for their monopolies the exploitation of the wealth of those countries and to interfere in their internal affairs so as to make them submit politically. In other words, it is quite simply neo-colonialism.

121. Nevertheless, all that has had the advantage of assisting freedom-loving peoples and nations better to realize the cupidity of the old and new imperialists and to resolve to adhere ever more firmly to the revolutionary principle of relying above all on one's own forces and to be wary of so-called aid from the imperialists.

122. We have succinctly exposed certain facts regarding various United Nations activities and given our views on the significance and value of those activities, which in our opinion are radically opposed to the mission which devolves upon the United Nations by virtue of the Charter. We have in particular stressed that the deviations and misdeeds committed have as their primary source the harmful dominance which the United States exercises over the Organization and which for many years now has been aggravated by American-Soviet collusion.

123. Were it really necessary to demonstrate further how dangerous and harmful to the United Nations that collusion is, we could recall one of the saddest moments in the history of the United Nations, namely the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, when its work was totally paralysed—an unprecedented occurrence—precisely because of that collusion. At that time the delegation of Albania completely unmasked the collusion, in particular by exposing the bluff regarding Article 19 of the Charter and the blackmail by the two Powers.

124. All those facts and many others are proof of how far the United Nations has departed from the role prescribed for it in the Charter, how far it is engaged on the road to decline; they prove that if it continues on the same course it will undoubtedly end up having the same fate as its predecessor, the League of Nations.

125. It is appropriate to point out that if the two great imperialist Powers, as well as certain countries which follow in their footsteps, devote themselves to showering praise on the United Nations and embellishing its activities, the reason is their concern to have the course taken so far by the Organization recognized as satisfactory, so that it can take the same direction in the future too and thus continue to serve the anti-popular and aggressive plans of those Powers. But it goes without saying that peaceful Member States know what to believe and, as many of their representatives here have emphasized, they cannot be reconciled to the present state of affairs in this Organization. They demand that the United Nations evolve out of the present situation, follow the course set out in its basic principles and serve the higher interests of peoples, freedom, independence and social progress.

126. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania believes that in order to create the indispensable conditions to obtain those noble objectives we, the freedom-loving and peace-loving Member States, who are the large majority here, must act firmly and without delay to chart the steps that must be taken to that end. Among the measures and actions that must be urgently taken, the most essential, in our view, are the following.

127. Firstly, we must firmly reject the domination and manipulation of the United Nations by the two great imperialist Powers, the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union. That is the *sine qua non* condition for any possible progress towards improving of the situation in this Organization, towards the adoption of measures which are indispensable to correct its defects and to bring it back to the course prescribed by the Charter, and to reinstate its authority and ability to fulfil its mission.

128. Secondly, we must immediately restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. All the world is aware of the unprecedented scandal which was created within our Organization, already 21 years ago, as a result of the usurpation of the seat of the greatest State on earth by the Chiang Kai-shek puppets, thus dealing a severe blow to the authority of the Organization and its ability to make an effective contribution to the settlement of the major problems of our times. For, without the great socialist China, it is obvious to all that none of these problems can be solved in a valid and just way. Adopting the draft resolution which Albania and other Member States will shortly submit to the General Assembly would constitute both reparation for one of the most flagrant breaches of the Charter and at the same time a most encouraging and far-reaching step in the struggle to be waged against the nefarious influence of the two Powers in this Organization.

129. Thirdly, we should take the necessary measures without delay to proceed to appropriate changes in the Charter in order to change the structure of the United Nations, so as to take genuinely into account the fundamental principle of the sovereign equality of Member States, to revise or delete certain obsolete provisions and concepts and certain institutions which have been overtaken by events and are incompatible with the freedom and sovereignty of peoples; I am referring among others to provisions in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter. Those changes are required because of the need to adapt the United Nations to the new conditions and the ideals prevailing in the world today. Doubtless the effect will be to consolidate the Organization and make it more capable of effectively serving the cause of freedom, of the sovereignty and the independence of peoples, of peace, of security and of international co-operation.

130. Finally, we must work and strive steadily so that the United Nations will support effectively and by all appropriate means the peoples and nations that are the victims of the aggression of the imperialists and their lackeys; so that it will really give its support to movements of liberation from the colonialist and imperialist yoke, as well as to the struggle of peace-loving States to safeguard and consolidate their sovereignty and independence; and so that it will actively defend the cause of peace and progress for mankind.

131. In putting forth the observations and suggestions we have just made on certain aspects of the past and the future of the United Nations, we have been guided by the Marxist-Leninist policy of principle of the People's Republic of Albania and its firm position of unreserved support for the peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism and all forms of enslavement of man, and for a free and happy life. In our frank and objective attitude we are prompted by the desire to make a real contribution to the rehabilitation of the United Nations and also by our conviction that all States, large and small, have the right and the duty openly to express and defend their points of view.

132. The strength of the peace-loving peoples and countries is infinitely greater than that of imperialism, both because of their number and because of the just cause they uphold. Let us therefore be aware, we the representatives of the majority of the countries in the world, of our substantial strength and draw ever closer our ties of sincere friendship and co-operation in the struggle against the policy of *diktat*, aggression, war and rape by imperialism and social-imperialism and for the triumph of a true peace in liberty, equality and justice, and for the rehabilitation of the United Nations on the basis of principles which meet the profound aspirations of peoples.

133. Those are the objectives and that the line of conduct that have constantly guided and will in the future guide the attitude of the People's Republic of Albania with regard to the United Nations.

134. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ghana, the Right Honourable K. A. Busia.

135. Mr. BUSIA: Mr. President, I wish first of all to express to you my sincere congratulations on your election to this high office. It is significant that it should occur at this time when we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of this Organization. Two of your fellow-Scandinavians have been distinguished Secretaries-General of the Organization, and they both, in their different ways, made outstanding contributions to the United Nations and, indeed, to the world. To them and to their present successor and their staffs I should like to express sincere thanks and appreciation for their contributions to the United Nations.

136. Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General, saw this organization through its early difficult years. It is instructive to recall that he wrote a book entitled *In the Cause of Peace*.<sup>3</sup> For, as the first Secretary-General of the Organization, he was always mindful of the objectives of the founders of the United Nations as set out in the preamble to the Charter. The first of them was: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". Trygve Lie knew that the most important task facing the United Nations was to strive for peace. I think on this occasion it will not be out of place to give thought to the question how far the United Nations has made progress towards the achievement of this primary objective. It is an inescapable fact that the progress made has not been one that will make anyone happy or satisfied.

137. When I was a schoolboy our teachers appeared to have a favourite topic on which they would ask us to write essays. It was the quotation: "If you wish for peace, prepare for war." What they expected boys of the ages of eleven and twelve to say about this I cannot imagine, but the policies of nations, big and small, appear to have been based through many generations on the conviction that the best way to secure peace is to prepare for war. The nations of this Organization, it seems, have also sought to secure peace along that traditional line. A reflection on the long history of man as well as on what is happening around us today will give ample evidence that this policy, far from ensuring peace, has invariably led to war.

138. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations I wish the distinguished leaders of the nations gathered here to consider whether the time has not come for us to give some concrete expression to our desire for peace and to our determination to build a world without war. Should not "If you wish for peace, prepare for war" be replaced by "If you wish for peace, renounce war"? Has the time not come for nations to renounce violence as an instrument of peace?

139. I know that long hours have been given by Committees of this Organization to the questions of

<sup>3</sup> *In the Cause of Peace—Seven Years with the United Nations* (New York, MacMillan, 1954).

disarmament, and yet the nations have gone on progressively increasing their expenditures on arms. This is not an expression of faith in the future. On the contrary, it is an expression of our distrust and lack of faith in future generations. It betrays our judgement that they too, like us, will be unable to rise to the spiritual challenges of peace-building, and so we strive to leave them a legacy of more devastating weapons of destruction as a guarantee of their security even though we have failed to achieve security for ourselves through piling up arms.

140. I would respectfully ask that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations we give a sincere expression of our determination to build a world without war by doing something that the ordinary man can understand. What about beginning a progressive reduction of arms instead of talking about disarmament? What about making sure that, by the fiftieth anniversary of this Organization, not only the fear of war but even the threat of war will have been wiped out?

141. We could achieve this in twenty-five years, if we took this year as the base for action in the cause of peace. All countries have already made their estimates of what proportions of their national incomes they are going to spend on arms this year. Suppose we decided to reduce this expenditure progressively by 4 per cent every year; we would thus give evidence that we are preparing for peace, by progressively renouncing the weapons of destruction. We have the men with the necessary technical knowledge to work out the details, and this Assembly could decide to set them to work. We would thus be giving evidence to the youth of the world that we are setting out to build a new world without war, and that we are determined to leave them a heritage of peace. At any rate, let us seriously and sincerely take up the challenge to try a new way. If we set out to reduce arms in this way, we would have to guarantee that aggression would be checked. This could be done if we faced the challenge of providing through this Organization a collective instrument to curb aggression and to guarantee the peace of the world. We have been made aware of the need for this for a long time, but leaders have not been willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

142. We must renounce violence as an instrument of peace, and I would like to throw a challenge, not only to the distinguished world leaders of today, but also to the youth around the world, to see that serious steps are taken to build a new world without war. We must do something concrete to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary—something concrete that would ensure the realization of the first objective of this Organization, namely, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”.

143. I also recall the late Dag Hammarskjöld. In July 1960, when the Security Council of the United Nations voted to send United Nations military aid to the Congo, he said:

“... we are at a turn of the road where our attitude will be of decisive significance, I believe, not only for the future of this Organization, but also

for the future of Africa. And Africa may well, in present circumstances, mean the world”.<sup>4</sup>

I refer to that statement because I believe that, from his position as Secretary-General, he was able to see that what was happening in Africa would constitute a test for the United Nations—a test which would indicate whether or not this Organization could fulfil the second objective of the founders, namely, “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”. It is by considering Mr. Hammarskjöld’s statement against the background of what is happening in Africa today, and particularly in southern Africa, that we can appreciate the significance of what he said. How this Organization solves the problem of Africa will indeed be of decisive significance for its future and for the future of the world.

144. I do not intend to speak at length about this, for President Nyerere has already dealt with it. I will say briefly that the nations of the world must talk by deeds as well as by words “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”, through the collective pressures they can exercise to end the principle and practice of *apartheid*. In relation to *apartheid*, it seems to me that talking by deed, by collectively acting to give expression to our avowed disapproval of the oppressive injustice, has hitherto only been half-hearted. That is why it has been ineffective. It demands sacrifices which nations, both great and small, have not been prepared to make. It is because we have not cared enough that it has been possible for the decisions of this Organization to be flouted. It seems to me, nevertheless, that we must have the faith to continue to talk both by word and by deed. To cease talking is to give up. It is to concede failure. This is why I think that we should, at this twenty-fifth commemorative session, find ways of acting together to deal with the problems of southern Africa.

145. Those problems also highlight the problems of human relations. We do well to remember yet again that the deadlocks and difficulties of this Organization, as indeed of world peace, are traceable to failures in human relations. The relations between nations are still marked by fear, distrust or contempt, and by expenditures on espionage and counter-espionage which are manifestations of mutual fear and distrust. In the final analysis, it is on human desires, prejudices and pride, as well as on human heroism and magnanimity, that we must depend for the state of the world.

146. Could we not, before we depart from this commemorative session, do something concrete towards the realization of the brotherliness which is one of the three objectives of the Charter of the United Nations? If we had the will, we could make available the skills, the knowledge and the means to establish educational

<sup>4</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, 877th meeting, para. 19.

processes, both for young people and adults through which we may break down prejudice and fear and distrust and unfriendliness between men and between nations. Not enough has been done in this direction though what has been done so far gives cause for hope. The United Nations was founded on the faith that all men are and should be brothers, and yet in the last few years, within States as well as between States, increasing acts of violence have given mounting evidence of failure in human relations. Whilst technologically the distances between nations are shrinking every day, we are also witnessing the increasing fragmentation of human groups into hostile camps. Instead of learning to live together in friendly relations, the peace of the world is constantly being threatened by violent activities which are being used as instruments to achieve sectional rights or correct what is deemed to be oppression or injustice.

147. We must not only seek to use education as a means of breaking down barriers and prejudices, we must also face the question of developing, through this Organization, institutions to maintain the rule of law as an instrument of international order. This problem has been looked at by various committees of this Organization, yet we do not seem to have made much progress because, again, it requires sacrifices which the nations do not seem to be prepared to make in the interest of mankind as a whole. Individual sovereignty and narrow interests are preferred to the general welfare of mankind. Unless the peoples of the world are prepared to move forward together for the common welfare and peace of the world and to make the necessary sacrifices, our successors will face the threats of violence and war 25 years hence, as we do today.

148. The fourth objective of the preamble is "to promote social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom". We have seen the beginnings of this in the extension of aid from the developed countries to the developing countries. The moral progress that the acceptance of this responsibility marks is a welcome one, but all are aware that in comparison with the need and the capability to meet it, what has been accomplished is small. An additional good that could come from the progressive reduction of arms which I have suggested would be to contribute the cuts thus made to a pool which would enable this Organization to do more "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", through making bigger contributions to relieve hunger, poverty and ignorance, and thus lay the true foundations of world peace. We hope the Second United Nations Development Decade, as expressed in the strategy to be adopted, will better enable us to achieve these objectives.

149. It can be seen from the remarks I have made that I have addressed myself to the problems of peace-keeping, peace-making, and peace-building. As I see it, when we look back over the first 25 years of the United Nations, and look forward to the next 25 years, we may learn that the failures of the past, as well as the challenges of the future, point to the same thing, namely, that if we are to achieve the objectives of

this Organization we must face the fact that the real challenge is posed to the spirit of man, to man's spirit of self-giving, to man's spirit of sincerity in dealing with one another, and to man's spirit of brotherliness in extending active sympathy and help to all, regardless of race or colour or religion. I believe that if, as we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of this Organization, we make an effort to grow in spirit, to be inspired by the spirit and vision of the founders of this Organization, we may carry the world a little further along the road of peace as we address ourselves to the many complex problems that face us. We must free politics and diplomacy from duplicity and insincerity, and tackle our problems in humility and sincerity, and in awe of the opportunities that have been given us to serve our generation, and future generations. We have the privilege of being instruments of peace and progress.

150. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, His Excellency Mr. Ivan Bachev.

151. Mr. BACHEV (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to extend to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Bulgaria on your election to the presidency of this twenty-fifth commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are very pleased to greet you, the representative of a country with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria maintains the most friendly relations, which have further been strengthened by the recent official visit to Norway of Todor Jivkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

152. The United Nations appeared on the stage of history under exceptional conditions. The democratic forces which created it after the defeat of fascism during the Second World War assigned to the United Nations the supreme objective to which mankind has always aspired, namely, to save future generations from the scourge of war and to promote the harmonious progress of mankind in conditions of enduring peace and international security.

153. At the present time, at the close of the first quarter of a century of its existence, the United Nations can observe that, in many respects, its development has been positive. Thanks to the activities of democratic and progressive forces and thanks to the accession of many new countries which have achieved national independence, the United Nations has been able to resist political shocks and to make its contribution to international co-operation.

154. The high rostrum of the United Nations has very largely contributed to the universal recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence enunciated by Lenin as the only rational basis for contemporary international relations. The United Nations has given considerable assistance to efforts aimed at slowing the armaments race and at opening the road towards general and complete disarmament, all of which has resulted in the conclusion of important international agreements. The United Nations has facilitated the



access of former colonies to political independence and it supports the struggle of the newly liberated countries to strengthen their national life and promote their economic and social development.

155. All these are considerable achievements. It would be unjust and unrealistic to disregard these achievements or to underestimate them if we are correctly to examine the opportunities for action and the future tasks facing the United Nations. Only in this way can we assess the capacity of the United Nations to assimilate new, useful elements supplied by the struggle of peoples for social transformation, for national independence and for peace in international relations.

156. The existence of the United Nations coincides with one of the most troubled and most decisive periods in the history of mankind. It is a time when new powerful forces are producing deep political, economic and social transformations and are revitalizing national and international life. On the other hand, the forces of social conservatism and political and economic reaction, which are again joining together and appearing in various forms, are persisting in their efforts to slow the process of progressive democratic development throughout the world. These efforts on the part of conservative and reactionary forces are well known, and the majority of speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have openly denounced such actions. They consist of colonial and racist oppression, the unbridled armaments race, intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, and brutal aggression against peoples who are defending their national independence and their right to settle their own internal affairs.

157. It is the policy of these forces which has transformed the United Nations into an arena for political struggles where all the contradictions of our times had inevitably to collide with each other. That is why an important part of the twenty-five years of the Organization's existence has been filled with tension and frequent crises which, on many occasions, have diverted the United Nations from its main objectives, have reduced it to ineffectiveness, and at times have even threatened to transform it into an impotent witness of passing events.

158. The Bulgarian delegation shares the general view that it would be better at this point to look towards the future rather than to the past. It was quite right that Secretary-General U Thant should raise the question: "what are the means by which the United Nations can play an increasingly vital role in the world of tomorrow?" [*A/8001/Add. 1 and Corr. 1, para 1.*] Regardless of the reply to be given to this question it would seem, in our view, that it would be best to begin by what has been and remains the primary objective of the United Nations and the very *raison d'être* of this Organization, namely, to maintain peace and to strengthen international security.

159. The absolute priority of this task cannot be challenged. This priority is based on the essence of the Charter as well as on the international situation prevail-

ing today. It is obvious that only under conditions of security and peace, free from the threat of war, or external pressure can the peoples solve their national and international problems and benefit from international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.

160. For this reason my delegation would like to stress once again the importance of the initiative taken by the Soviet Government to discuss measures dealing with the strengthening of international security. This initiative was received very warmly and has been largely supported within the United Nations, therefore these measures should be approved as soon as possible by the General Assembly. The first step in any effort to strengthening international security should be the application of urgent measures to halt open military aggression, to eliminate the threat of aggression and intervention, and to put a halt to unlawful occupation of foreign territories.

161. The speeches pronounced in this Assembly as well as during the discussion of measures designed to strengthen international security have shown very clearly that it is impossible to ensure peace and international security as long as the imperialist aggression in South-East Asia and in the Middle East has not been halted.

162. The Bulgarian people have the greatest admiration for the heroism of the Viet-Nameese patriots in their struggle against the foreign invaders and their allies. At the same time, our people highly value the important initiatives taken by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in order to achieve a political settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem.

163. What is the position of the United States on this problem? Washington also speaks of peace and of a political solution to the Viet-Nameese conflict. However, instead of taking measures towards a peaceful settlement of the war in South Viet-Nam, the United States is not only intensifying its aggressive actions against the Viet-Nameese people, but is extending the war to Laos and to Cambodia. It is inflicting death, destruction and suffering everywhere in Indo-China. Despite the growing scope of the military activities of the United States in Indo-China, United States aggression in South Viet-Nam is foundering. The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from this situation is to take the "bold initiatives" mentioned by the Secretary-General, courageous political initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nameese conflict.

164. One such bold initiative, which is also a very realistic one, is represented by the new proposals made by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam which were recently submitted to the Paris negotiations. This constructive initiative offers possibilities for a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nameese conflict, for ending the war and for forming a coalition government able to express the will and safeguard the interests of the South Viet-Nameese people, and for

ensuring peace, stability and security so sorely needed by the long-suffering South Viet-Nameese people. The settlement of the Viet-Nameese conflict is the key to the solution of all the problems of Indo-China.

165. We can only regret that up to now the Government of the United States has not appreciated the merits of this initiative. Washington is persisting in its policy of force and its belligerent intentions. It is obvious that the United States is not seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict, but rather is seeking to continue the war by means of the so-called "Viet-Namization" of the conflict.

166. The situation in the Middle East is another source of deep concern. The cease-fire agreement between the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Israel had given rise to hope for a political settlement of the conflict. The first contacts which were made on this basis through Ambassador Jarring between the countries concerned have not yielded any results. We regret to note that Israel, actively supported by official circles in the United States, still refuses a political solution in accordance with the Security Council's resolution [242 (1967)], and is seeking to strengthen its positions in the occupied Arab territories, while at the same time preparing new aggressive actions against the Arab countries.

167. Here also it is the policy and the actions of the United States which are the main factor in the prolongation of the conflict in this sensitive area of the world. Here also Washington speaks of peace and of political settlement, but in point of fact it gives total assistance to the Israeli aggressors. The American Government supplies them with ever-greater quantities of offensive weapons of the most modern type, and conducts threatening demonstrations of military power in the Mediterranean. It also ferments dissension and hostility amongst the Arab peoples, and at the same time it denies the victims of Israeli aggression the right to strengthen their defences. The purpose of this policy is to strengthen the position of Israel, to thwart the mission of Ambassador Jarring, and to create pretexts for a direct armed intervention by the imperialist countries in the Middle East.

168. Our country highly values the constructive policy followed by the Government of the United Arab Republic which has proved by facts its firm determination to achieve a political settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the Security Council resolution. Despite the recent actions and provocations of Israel, the United Arab Republic has stated that it is ready to continue the cease-fire provided that Israel agrees to abide by the Security Council resolution and to begin, through Ambassador Jarring, negotiations with a view to its total implementation. Only as seen against this background does the cease-fire become truly meaningful as a possibility for a peaceful settlement.

169. The main objective in the Middle East is the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression by peaceful means and the restoration of peace and

tranquillity on a permanent basis having regard to the vital interests of all the peoples of this region, including the Palestinian people. Our delegation considers the discussion on the Middle East problem which will begin next week in these halls can and should contribute to the implementation of the Security Council resolution by all the countries concerned, in order to create a sound basis for peaceful coexistence amongst the peoples of the Middle East.

170. Another question which deserves our full attention is that of Korea, where the United Nations has been directly involved, all of which has caused grave prejudice to its authority. This year again, this problem is on our agenda to remind this commemorative session of one of the darkest pages in the history of the United Nations. It was in Korea that the United States used the flag and the name of the United Nations to occupy the southern part of that country in order to set up a puppet régime there and, by its continuing intervention to prevent the Korean people from managing their own affairs. It is high time to liquidate this legacy of an inglorious past and to dissolve the so-called Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and to call on the United States to withdraw its occupation troops from South Korea. This is the only way to eliminate this hotbed of tension in the Far East and to enable the Korean people freely to express their desire for peaceful unification.

171. The halting of the armaments race and the acceleration of the process of disarmament constitute another problem of paramount importance for the maintenance of peace and security. In 1959, when the General Assembly adopted, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the resolution calling for general and complete disarmament [1378 (XIV)], that problem was then proclaimed as the most important one of our times. Since then, events have confirmed that observation. Post-war history, and more particularly the history of this last decade, has shown that we must examine all possible ways to achieve that objective. To our great regret, we are still far from reaching a turning point along the road to disarmament. The armaments race continues and fabulous resources and sums of money are absorbed in the production of weapons of all kind, to the detriment of the vital interest of the peoples.

172. However, efforts to achieve a solution to the problem of disarmament are continuing in Geneva and elsewhere. After the treaties on the cessation of nuclear tests in three environments and on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a new draft treaty has been submitted to the General Assembly to prohibit the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the ocean floor.<sup>5</sup> The approval of this draft treaty by the General Assembly would be an important step forward along the road to the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in an area which covers two thirds of the surface of the earth.

173. One problem which, in our view, is ripe for solution after the discussions which took place on it both

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970*, document DC/233, annex A.

here and in Geneva, is the problem concerning the elimination of chemical and biological means of warfare. To that end, the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, manufacture and stock-piling of chemical and bacteriological weapons is more urgent than ever. We do hope that the General Assembly will give clear and explicit directives in that regard in accordance with the general view expressed by the majority of countries and with the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General on this subject. World opinion demands the simultaneous prohibition of those two types of weapons of mass destruction, all of which is in the spirit of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and would serve the interests of disarmament and world peace.

174. The SALT conversations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic weapons highlight the fundamental responsibility of the nuclear Powers for the complete cessation of the atomic arms race as an important requisite for general disarmament. We hope that the continuation of those conversations will lead to concrete results, which in turn will have a very favourable influence on the international situation in general. Those discussions stress once again the paramount importance and the timeliness of the problem of general and complete disarmament for all mankind.

175. The application of a broad programme of international security has, in our view, its logical corollary in the elaboration of regional security measures and in the creation of regional systems of security.

176. We note with satisfaction that during the last two years the idea of European security has gained ground. A very fruitful dialogue has been undertaken at present on a continental level between the Eastern and the Western European States aimed at producing a *détente* and at convening a European conference on security and co-operation.

177. Thanks to the constructive approach shown by the countries of the Warsaw Pact further progress has been noted recently on the question of convening such a conference. The proposals made by the socialist countries concerning participation at that conference, its agenda and other important matters, constitute a very broad platform for general agreement on the convening of such a conference in the near future and these proposals, we are sure, will lead to the positive results that we all expect from that conference.

178. We are convinced that the European conference on security and co-operation will contribute to a very great extent to the subsequent *détente* in Europe, and to the elimination of the division of our continent into opposing blocs, by creating favourable conditions for the achievement of an effective system of collective security.

179. Important progress achieved by the peaceful policies pursued by the European socialist countries is exemplified by the non-aggression treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal

Republic of Germany.<sup>6</sup> Its signature has already promoted a trend towards *détente*. In reaffirming the validity of the principles of peaceful coexistence, that treaty promotes more active international co-operation on the basis of existing realities in Europe. We hope that the Federal Republic of Germany will not delay in ratifying this treaty and that the West German Government will make all the necessary efforts towards a positive and realistic solution of the problems outstanding between West Germany, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Poland, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic on the other hand. This would be a considerable contribution to the efforts aimed at a general improvement of the political climate in Europe.

180. As a European country, located in the geographical centre of the Balkan Peninsula, Bulgaria and its Government, fully cognizant of the responsibility devolving on them from this fact, are giving particular attention to Balkan problems and are devoting their efforts to the strengthening of peace and security in south-eastern Europe. I should like to join at the outset in the opinion expressed here by representatives of other Balkan countries to the effect that the situation in that area is characterized at the present time by increasing confidence amongst the neighbouring countries of the peninsula and by their desire to strengthen their good-neighbourly relations in the common interest. The exchange of official visits of statesmen, of governmental and other delegations, as well as economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation amongst the Balkan countries, which is constantly increasing, is playing a primary role in promoting mutual understanding and in improving the political climate in the Balkans. The People's Republic of Bulgaria—true to its conception of the Balkans as a region of peace and stability, free of nuclear weapons—is resolutely determined to continue that policy.

181. However, I should like to mention the concern caused by the intensification of NATO activities and particularly those of the United States in the eastern Mediterranean. Quite recently the American Government proceeded again to strengthen considerably its Sixth Fleet and to carry out unprecedented shows of strength which were absolutely unjustified. It is quite obvious that such measures can only heighten tension in the Mediterranean, increase the danger of new conflicts in that area and exercise a negative influence over the general trend towards an improvement of the situation in Europe.

182. Within the context of the American position in South-East Asia and in the Far East, as well as in the Middle East, and in the Caribbean such demonstrations of force are further proof that Washington, which has never moved from the "era of confrontation to the era of negotiation", has started a new escalation which is fraught with grave dangers.

183. One of the most outstanding achievements of the United Nations during the period that has elapsed is its active contribution to the acceleration of the pro-

<sup>6</sup> Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

cess of decolonization. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose tenth anniversary was celebrated hardly a week ago, has placed on the agenda the final elimination of the colonial system and the achievement of the right of all peoples to self-determination.

184. It is all the more intolerable, therefore, to observe that even today in Southern Rhodesia, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea (Bissau), in Namibia and in the Republic of South Africa colonial domination, *apartheid* and racial discrimination continue to oppress more than 30 million Africans.

185. Our Organization has just declared that the continuation of the colonial system is a crime which violates the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the fundamental principles of international law.

186. The conferences of Addis Ababa and Lusaka have forcefully denounced that machinery which enables the colonial and racist régimes to maintain their power and privileges in southern Africa. Certain NATO countries supply political, financial and military assistance to those régimes in order to serve the interests of monopolies which exploit the human and natural resources of the colonial Territories. If this assistance were eliminated the national liberation movements, strengthened by the moral and political support of the entire world, would much more quickly win freedom and independence for the oppressed peoples.

187. There is no doubt that the freedom of those peoples will be obtained, since the final liquidation of the colonial system is a historic necessity. There is no doubt, however, that a realistic policy would place the interests of peace and justice above the interests of financial corporations and thus save many victims and avoid much suffering crises and violent conflicts. Why, then, do the Western countries not respond to the appeal of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and give up their policy of assistance to racist and colonial régimes?

188. The programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted a few days ago [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], supplies a sound basis for broader action aimed at the final elimination of the consequences of the colonial system. It is the duty of all Governments and countries to contribute to the prompt implementation of that programme.

189. Another important problem of our time is the need to eliminate the underdevelopment afflicting a large number of countries as a consequence of colonial domination and aggravated recently by the present international division of labour. The scope and acuity of this problem, which affects hundreds of millions and even thousands of millions of human beings, are accountable for the great difficulties which impede its solution. At the same time, the dialectics of international relations show that peace and security are pre-

requisites for the acceleration of the development process and the establishment of equitable economic relations. The practical value of the best programme for international economic development would be very limited if parallel measures aimed at normalizing the international political climate were not taken.

190. What, in our opinion, is the best way to provide a solution to the problem of development?

191. First of all, in our view, the best way is the mobilization of material, financial and human resources, all of which are of paramount importance for the solution of the problem of underdevelopment. The paramount prerequisite for this is to place at the service of development, so as to achieve more rapid economic and social progress, all the energies and resources of the entire nation.

192. Secondly, collective measures and international assistance programmes to supplement the efforts of the young States with a view to promoting more accelerated development should be oriented towards the creation of a healthy national economy in keeping with the needs and interests of those countries. The strengthening of the economies of the developing countries and the need to ensure them equitable participation in international economic relations depend, to a very great extent, on a radical change in the place they occupy in the international division of labour. The main problem here is the elimination of the unjust conditions of international trade and the draining of their national wealth by both visible and invisible methods of the price mechanism. It is here that we see the main reason for the limited possibilities to accumulate the necessary means to promote the development of the productive forces in the newly independent countries. Consequently, it is absolutely necessary to eliminate neo-colonial methods and practices from economic relations with the developing countries. International programmes for development should provide primarily effective measures to promote the defence of the economic interests of those countries and to eliminate all forms of exploitation, direct or indirect, of the developing countries.

193. The main contribution of the United Nations to the struggle against underdevelopment would be to provide those countries with such international conditions as would enable them to accumulate as quickly as possible the necessary means to promote their economies and to achieve the social and economic transformations required without running the risk of economic reprisals.

194. Throughout its quarter of a century history, the United Nations has made a considerable contribution to the maintenance of world peace. In celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary we are at the same time celebrating that very contribution. We could do this in the very best way by paying due respect to the principles which are at the very basis of the United Nations, thanks to which it has been able to resist various crises that have beset it.

195. Let us remember that the weaknesses and the failures of the United Nations are due not to defects in its structure nor to deficiencies in its institutions, but rather to violations of the Charter, to the non-application of its principles and the non-implementation by some Member States of the decisions of its organs. For this reason we are deeply convinced that what the United Nations needs at present is not a revision of its Charter in one form or another, but rather the reaffirmation of those principles and the strengthening of its main organs, primarily the Security Council, to which the Charter has entrusted responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

196. Throughout these years the United Nations has increased in membership and the addition of new forces has given rise to new hopes. At present there are 127 Member States, representing the great majority of the world's population. But there are still countries which do not yet occupy their legitimate place in this Organization. Those countries play a very important role in international life. The absence of such countries as the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic—whose chief of state, Walter Ulbricht, in a special message addressed to the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations, has expressed his country's dedication to the principles contained in the Charter—and of such countries as the Federal Republic of Germany and some others, is highly detrimental to our Organization. They should therefore, as soon as possible, take the place to which they are entitled. It would be a new step towards the strengthening of the Organization and towards the triumph of the principle of universality.

197. The United Nations is beginning its second quarter of a century of existence, which coincides with the end of the twentieth century, a century of great revolutionary transformations. It is the Member States which will decide how the United Nations will be regarded by future generations, and whether it will prepare for them the world that has been promised, a world free from war. The opportunity to achieve that mission is at hand. Let us not fail to seize it!

198. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of Fiji, the Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, K.B.E.

199. Sir Kamisese MARA: May I first express my sincere thanks for the opportunity given me to speak today? I am only sorry that it was not possible for me to attend in person last week, when you so generously and warmly welcomed my country into the United Nations. I am sure you will appreciate that my absence was not due to any discourtesy to your distinguished Assembly; it was due rather to the traditional and compelling customs of hospitality of our islands. For we had in our midst the direct descendant of Queen Victoria, to whom our forefathers freely ceded our country, and he was the appointed representative of the Queen whose Government was, at our request and similarly without reservation, giving us responsibility for our own destinies.

200. But I am indeed glad to be able to attend the General Assembly at the time of your twenty-fifth anniversary, and I bring you greetings and warm congratulations from all the people of Fiji. And I especially include greetings from the Leader of the Opposition, the Honourable Mr. S.M. Koya, and his party, who have associated themselves so closely and so constructively with our constitutional progress.

201. I would also like to offer my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to your high office. Though we are such a new Member, we are already aware of your courtesy and high reputation, and wish you well in the discharge of your important duties.

202. Conscious of your kindness in allowing me to speak so soon after our Ambassador has thanked you on behalf of my country for Fiji's admission into the United Nations, I hesitate to duplicate his remarks. But I would be ungracious did I not refer, even very briefly, to the most kind and warm words of welcome which have come, both from our sponsors and from such a large number of other Member countries. It has been a moving experience even to read the transcripts, and our Ambassador here has told me of the great warmth and sincerity of the occasion itself. I would like also to express sincere appreciation for the kind remarks which some members made about myself, and also about Mr. Koya.

*Mr. Khatri (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

203. Even the weather in this great metropolis did smile on the day of our entry.

204. We are all deeply conscious of the happy and peaceful way we have moved into independence with a united multiracial society. We hold this as a pearl of great price which can perhaps be shared with the world at large. We therefore look to the United Nations to help us to protect and cherish it as perhaps our greatest contribution to this distinguished body. The warmth of your welcome and the manifest goodwill shown to Fiji is evidence that we shall not look in vain.

205. Many speakers have commented on our peaceful transition to independence, and we ourselves are deeply grateful for our good fortune in this way. But this is nothing new in the Pacific. Similar calm and orderly moves to independence have taken place in Western Samoa, in the Cook Islands, in Nauru and in Tonga. We like to think that this is the Pacific way, and that it underlines the case for a Pacific voice in this Assembly, both geographically and ideologically. As far as we are authorized by our friends and neighbours—and we do not arrogate to ourselves any role of leadership—we would hope to act as representatives and interpreter of that voice.

206. It may be that for many of you the passage of time has dimmed the memory of the initial thrill of independence. Our experience is that the feeling of independence is rather like that of leaving the cramped

compartment of a jet airliner. First the exhilarating and heady gulps of fresh air, then the cautious steps down to earth, and suddenly and immediately the need for direction, the hands offered to help with the burden—and then, I presume, a place in the rat-race?

207. Our independence celebrations had many high points: the dignified customary welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, where for the first time on such an occasion all communities joined together for an official ceremonial welcome; the handing-over by His Royal Highness of the constitutional instruments of independence; and the soaring aloft of our own Fiji flag in a moment which overcame even the reserve of our own quiet people. But the event which will live in our memories beyond them all was our ecumenical service on the Sunday morning following independence. In one great united service we had representatives of all the Christian churches, of the various branches of the Hindu faith, and of the Mohammedans. There were prayers and readings from holy books in Hindi, Urdu, Fijian and English. After each reading the books were presented to me as Prime Minister, so that at the close I had together before me the Bible, the Veda, the Gita, the Ramayana and the Koran. Then finally I had the responsibility, which I undertook with humble pride, of leading the vast assembly in an act of dedication to the service of God, to one nation of Fiji and to peace. It is in this spirit of harmony, tolerance, trust and dependence on God that we go into independence. We believe that this service was not just a thing of the hour, but an enduring symbol of our own unity and faith for the future. And we are determined, as far as it lies within our power, to translate our promises into lasting reality.

208. I should like now to venture a few comments on world affairs in this great forum, dedicated as it is to the peace and progress of all the peoples of the world. And I hope in this instance that you will waive the precept that small boys should be seen and not heard. My remarks are made with great humility from a small country far away in the Pacific, but it may be that our very distance gives us a perspective that differs from that of many closer at hand, and for that reason our views may be of interest.

209. First, I wonder whether we have not now, in our deep concern for personal liberty and freedom of expression, overweighted the balance in favour of the individual as against the mass of people composing a society. I wonder if the over-indulgence of the angry young men, the "way out" people and the small militant groups with their own ends have not reacted against the steady progress of society as a whole, and in particular against the large body of quiet, honest, hardworking folk throughout the world. It might be that if we devoted more of our time and energies to the progress and betterment of the whole, our over-all achievement would be the greater.

210. Second, much of the effort of the United Nations has been concentrated on improving the material well-being of the peoples of the world, and I have just been reading the far-reaching and imaginative report of the

Second Committee [*A/8124 and Corr.1 and Add.1*] setting out a blueprint for the second decade of economic development. It may then sound ungrateful for a small country like Fiji, which has so often been at the receiving end of the bounty, to question this priority. But so many of these schemes, welcome as they are, are confined within the boundaries of one country. Spiritual and moral values, on the other hand, know no frontiers, and by upholding and encouraging these, we are following a course which is truly international, and which is calculated more than anything else to give reality to the concept of one world. We do not live by bread alone, and it is only from the firm base of sound moral and spiritual standards that we can go on to meaningful economic progress.

211. And finally on standards, and with some diffidence as the representative of a small country, may I put forward the view that quality should not take second place to quantity especially when we are estimating a society, its life and accepted values. Quality is measured by standards, and these standards must be observed by larger nations as well as by smaller. The broad concepts we look for in our small land are effective government, education and social justice. But it is for the United Nations to set the standards and to disseminate them widely. Otherwise, false standards and wrong estimates of people and actions can so easily gain currency and become accepted generally.

212. But the setting of standards must not assume that there are universal solutions to problems in all parts of the world. There must be particular diagnoses of the problems and special treatment for special cases. In general terms tolerance, harmony and justice must surely be universal standards, and they are certainly our aim in our small land of Fiji with its multiracial society. But to achieve these ends, we have had to work out our own particular solution and political framework. We have done this between the parties with give and take and goodwill and with the encouragement, understanding and sympathetic assistance of the United Kingdom.

213. The British have not been wholly immune from the failings inherent in the colonial system itself. As with other colonial Powers, their policy has been based on their concepts, their values and their patterns of behaviour. They have not always shown due regard for the feelings, customs and way of life of the people. There has been superiority and there has been arrogance. There has been too much direction and too little opportunity for participation. But when all this has been said, there remains British justice, a sense of fair play, respect for the rule of law and a basic decency which have left their marks in Fiji and will be their finest memorial there. And it is for these qualities that we have retained the Union flag as a permanent part of our new independent Fiji flag.

214. But to return to my theme, it has been our success in achieving a large measure of those standards of tolerance, harmony and justice that has enabled us to proceed to independence without competition for power, and without rancour. And that is why, as I



said earlier, though we have clearly far more to gain than to give in this Assembly, we nevertheless believe that our small country of Fiji has a contribution to make at the United Nations and we look forward to playing our part in forwarding its high purposes.

215. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Chile, His Excellency Mr. Gabriel Valdés.

216. Mr. VALDES (*interpretation from Spanish*): Chile has the honour of joining in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. We have belonged to this world Organization since its foundation and we have unconditionally supported its ideals and objectives. We assign to the United Nations the task of creating a new international order, which will eradicate wars, will build a just and trusting coexistence among nations, together with a secure and free life for all mankind.

217. The United Nations has made great strides along this road. We need but look at the large number of States which are Members of the Organization today with full sovereignty, as a symbol of the end of political colonialism, the numberless potential conflicts which have been settled through open debate in the halls of this Organization, and the efforts and studies to create conditions of justice in the distribution of the wealth accumulated by a few.

218. But above all the United Nations has created an active conscience among all peoples, particularly among the most dispossessed, and this is giving shape to a framework within which the limitations on the actions of the great Powers are defined with increasing accuracy, as are the conditions of justice in relations among peoples, good faith and the right of everyone to the benefits of progress. It is in this framework, corresponding to an international morality which has been created, enlightened by millions of eyes which grow more and more attentive, that all Governments tend to explain their acts. In other words, the United Nations is destroying the possibility of the "reason of State" becoming the main inspiration of international life and determining how to act in it.

219. Perhaps this view may be considered to be optimistic, but it is in that direction that we see the evolution of United Nations action, which is irreplaceable, if the major tasks of the present are undertaken with determination, which means doing away with bloc politics, a senseless remnant of the cold war. It is this policy which maintains areas of war and brings to naught successive efforts to create the conditions for sound national economic and cultural development for the great majority of mankind, which is still subject to new forms of hard dependency.

220. That is why the war in Indo-China has become repugnant to the moral conscience of mankind and must be brought to an end soon, with full self-determination for the suffering peoples. The situation in the Middle East must be solved swiftly in line with the fortunate

diplomatic initiative which has recently been set in motion, which, although precarious in itself, has created rational conditions.

221. A consequence of that same policy is the attitude of predominance aimed at maintaining the distribution of countries as enclosed areas, thus violating basic principles of the Charter and the right to self-determination. Self-defence against possible aggression will always be invoked as an excuse, but in most cases it will be nothing but a cover-up for an appetite for political power or for economic interests. A general movement of all peoples and the live moral forces of mankind should bring to the surface the need for dialogue and a quest for co-operation based on trust. Although it is not unique, this situation affects a Latin American country that cannot continue to be isolated from the geographical, cultural and economic context in which it belongs in its own right.

222. The astronomical sums being allocated to armaments is another subject requiring immediate action so that those resources may be used to create real international co-operation with the developing world.

223. Not only are enormous amounts of financial capital committed to armaments, but also the best human resources in science and technology. Until now, such co-operation as has existed has in large measure been no more than excellent business for the wealthy countries; it has not changed conditions in the poor countries. For that reason, and because there was no political commitment on the part of the developed countries to change the rules of the game, we made a formal reservation to the International Development Strategy for the coming decade. As it is closely linked with this subject, it is necessary to stress the accelerated and progressive separation of a few countries from the rest of mankind in matters of scientific and technological advances. Nothing is more disturbing to the development of nations and to the very mental balance of man than the impact of this fact, which comes from the outside, revolutionizes traditional, social and political patterns and renders them obsolete. These effects, added to the cumulative concentration of science and technology in a few centres, create a cultural dislocation so grave as to threaten the moral foundations of social coexistence. It is urgently necessary to study these very serious ills and propose remedies for them at a supra-national level, just as it is indispensable that all participate in what has been called "the new frontiers of mankind," such as the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. This is the responsibility of every nation and every ideology. It should be an essential task of the United Nations in this decade.

224. The task of this Organization should not, nevertheless, be merely political, but economic and social also—as, in fact, it has been from the very beginning. Peace and security are indissolubly linked to development.

225. Finally, in this brief analysis of main ideas, I must mention the need to transform the United Nations into a genuinely universal Organization. To that end,

the incorporation with full rights of the People's Republic of China is required. That event will create a new dimension in international politics and in this Organization; it must be taken up with imagination and complete respect for the principles of the Charter.

226. We feel that the attainment of these major goals must result from dialogue and not power politics; from commitment respectful of the rights of others and not military or economic force; from participation and not dictatorship; and, above all, from the clear primacy of the human being over nation, race or wealth.

227. These objectives can be achieved given the will of the Governments so brilliantly represented here by so many Heads of State and Government. In their achievement they will have the support of men and women of all latitudes and the support also of an international staff in which there are persons of superior intellect and broad universal vision, whose finest expression is the Secretary-General himself. Let us try to see to it that this vast human potential always represents the general interest, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, and let us avoid its becoming a bureaucracy that mechanically implements the decisions adopted by countries.

228. If this Organization exists to serve humanity; if we rationally conceive of the need for a world authority; if power politics must disappear and the worn-out and antiquated concept of the game of suspicious balances among nations cannot be brought back to life, then the time may have come when we will advance in the development of the supra-nationality implicit in the Charter and which is the breath of life of the United Nations. Only thus can the equality proclaimed among States, which is often expressed in a useless vote, become a reality. International politics will then be at the service of man and not of certain nations, as has been the case so far. To this end we believe it necessary that United Nations officials should contribute and express their ideas freely, so as to give added meaning to the decisions. We require that an old and unjust order be replaced with another of peace and security, through new ideas and solutions.

229. I state these ideas with the modesty of a representative of a small country, but with the sincerity expressed by a people which has believed in them and fought tirelessly for them, and which has been present in all initiatives tending to consolidate peace, to apply justice and respect the right of every people to seek

its own destiny. Because we have at all times kept faith with the United Nations, its organs and regional agencies, several of which honour Chile with their headquarters. Because at the national level the Government of President Frei has honestly and completely achieved the programme it promised the people who elected him; social development, economic progress and with full participation, maintaining fullest freedom for all political and cultural ideas. Because this Government is ending its term of office with the respect of the entire national community after supervising exemplary free elections which will, through our constitutional mechanisms, lead to the establishment of a new Government with absolute respect for the democratic tradition of the country.

230. We are proud to be among the peoples who exercise true democracy, with the utmost loyalty understood as loyal respect to the sovereign decisions made by the people. We are second to none in our love for freedom and in our defence of the right of self-determination of peoples.

231. Some days ago [1860th meeting], this Assembly approved by acclamation a draft resolution co-sponsored by my country [A/8082, para.8] which constitutes a new reaffirmation of the principle of self-determination. It states, *inter alia*:

“By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter, all peoples have the right to freely determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and every State has the duty to respect this right in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.”

232. We trust that this resolution will be complied with loyally and in its full meaning, particularly in regard to those countries which, through a democratic decision of their people, aim to determine their own internal condition. As Chile guarantees its respect for other countries, we shall demand that this principle be observed in regard to our own internal affairs. We maintain the will to enlarge relations of mutual respect with all nations and particularly at this time to support the United Nations as a vital instrument to create the conditions of a constructive coexistence in a world where man will be ever really important.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*