

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



COMMEMORATIVE SESSION
 14 to 24 October 1970*

**1882nd
 PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 23 October 1970,
 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will hear a statement by the Emperor of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I.
2. His Imperial Majesty HAILE SELASSIE I:¹ Mr. President, your election as President of the General Assembly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is a recognition of your own person and of your dedication to the cause of the United Nations. It is our fervent hope that you will be successful in all your endeavours.
3. I should like to express my thanks to His Excellency U Thant for being so good as to organize the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the United Nations and I wish him every success in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities.

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

¹ His Imperial Majesty spoke in Amharic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

4. I should also like to recall to mind his predecessors, Mr. Trygve Lie and Mr. Hammarskjöld, and to pay a tribute to the services they rendered the United Nations and their dedication to the cause of our Organization.

5. Throughout the history of man, there often appear to be periods when the worst and the best products of man's resourceful genius have been precariously poised, vying with each other or in mere juxtaposition. There have also been occasions when the better part of human nature has turned the scale in favour of man's constructive wisdom, to the benefit of mankind at large. The emergence of the United Nations out of the havoc of the Second World War impresses me personally as being one such phenomenon.

6. As we are assembled here today for the purpose of observing the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, I believe it is proper that we should focus our thoughts on the constants of human nature and on the historical circumstances surrounding the birth and growth of this Organization. And I say this for a variety of reasons.

7. In recent times it has been broadly suggested that the United Nations is undergoing a crisis of confidence: that, judged by its performance so far, its ability to cope with the manifold problems of the world we live in is progressively on the wane; that some of the provisions of the Charter have become anachronistic; that, as a result of the combination of a variety of factors and the exacting challenges of our time, the United Nations has failed pathetically to achieve the purposes of the Charter and, thus, has almost forfeited its right to exist.

8. Pessimistic though they may seem, those allegations are prompted in the main not only by a deeply felt concern for the imperfection of what is basically a human institution, but even more by anxiety for the very survival of mankind, its accumulated civilization and its uncertain destiny. And I believe that this twenty-fifth anniversary is a unique opportunity for us to pause and ponder on basic issues such as those I have just mentioned.

9. The very fact that we are assembled here today for the twenty-fifth anniversary, a unique event—without precedent—is a credit to the United Nations. Consider, for instance, the fate of the League of Nations whose death knell was sounded while it was still in its formative years. The League of Nations fell ingloriously after its first real test at a time when it could have succeeded by the scrupulous application of the provisions of its Covenant.

10. In contrast, the United Nations, whose silver jubilee we are assembled here to celebrate, has reached maturity through a life span of one generation. And since longevity in itself, unredeemed by genuine achievement, is a barren and sterile thing, it is gratifying to note that this is not so, as far as the United Nations is concerned.

11. True, the attainment of the noble purposes of the Charter remains elusive in practice. The successes so far recorded by the United Nations, when set against its existence in time, fall far short of the vision of its founding fathers; its successes fall far short also of the hopes the vast majority of peace-loving peoples everywhere continue to place in it as the supreme instrument of peace, justice and progress for all mankind.

12. Yet, during the past 25 years, the achievements of the United Nations, particularly in the socio-economic field, and its salutary effect on the process of decolonization are, on balance, to its credit. And although the same cannot be said of the Organization's efforts in handling the major political problems which still grip the world community, the role it has played as a peace-keeping force is surely constructive and worth while.

13. In this connexion it should be noted that the armed conflicts of the past 25 years have not led to the carnage of 1935 to 1945. I am not suggesting that the armed conflicts of these later years are inconsiderable or that the lives lost and resources wasted should be ignored. What I am implying is that, given the technology of modern warfare, we must be prayerfully thankful that we have had more than one opportunity to redirect our energies to more useful service for mankind. By giving us this opportunity and making us realize the choice between extinction and survival, I believe the United Nations has played a vital role. If on no other count, this alone justifies its existence and our devotion to it.

14. In those instances where the Organization has failed, the situation obviously reflects the reluctance on the part of the international community to promote the effective realization of the aims and purposes of the Charter. Those of us who have a sad recollection of the crippled inaction of the League of Nations at the moment of its most acid test are compelled to view the predicaments of the United Nations with the gravest concern and apprehension, and surely the need to reduce and eventually eliminate such predicaments should steel our hearts and minds and spur us on to greater effort as responsible members of the international community.

15. I have already alluded to the fact that the emergence and development of any human institution, whether national or international, cannot be seriously considered, nor properly appreciated, if the interplay of forces and circumstances which brought it about is left out of the reckoning. Concisely stated, the United Nations, like any other institution, is essentially a product of its time. Its Charter was conceived and drafted

by people who were not at liberty to indulge in futile exercises divorced from reality. Their task was to prepare a document of aims and purposes at once acceptable in theory and applicable in practice. That task was completed when, after intricate negotiations and inevitable compromises, the Charter was duly signed at San Francisco in 1945. Its provisions are in themselves a living testimony to the foresight and wisdom of its authors.

16. It took two world wars and enormous sacrifice of human life and property before man, once again, returned to sanity, when the founding fathers of the United Nations entered into a solemn written pledge to live in peace amongst themselves and actively cooperate one with another.

17. Like the Covenant of the League of Nations which preceded it, the Charter of the United Nations was based on certain fundamental assumptions, the first of which was that the signatory States would discharge their obligations under the Charter in all good faith. Unfortunately, the stumbling block in both documents was precisely this assumption. While the motives of the Covenant and the Charter are not in doubt, it is clear that the conduct of the members of the respective organizations is directly responsible for the premature liquidation of the League and for the continuing predicaments of the United Nations.

18. Nor should this sound curious or incomprehensible, for it is a fact that people often prove to be the undoing of their own most constructive actions. Abundant proof is furnished by the ambivalent traits in human nature and the lack of consistency in the conduct of international relations.

19. Of one thing we can be sure: that the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter are basically sound and relevant—as sound and relevant today as they were 25 years ago; that the problems faced in translating those principles into reality are not, therefore, inherent in the Charter; that, as has already been proved by experience, the Charter itself is amenable to adaptation as the need arises; that, above all, it is in the interest of the strong no less than of the weak nations that this Organization should survive. Otherwise this pilgrimage to New York City of so many leaders of the international community, at this juncture of human history, would indeed be meaningless and void.

20. If, as I believe, we are assembled here today because we consider the United Nations a vital organization both for our own time and for the future, the question arises whether we have the will, the courage and the determination to make it more effective, more worthy of the ideals and principles of its Charter.

21. Are we willing to inject fresh vigour into its role as the custodian of world peace and security and the catalyst of differences which arise among nations? Are we prepared to strengthen and consolidate its machinery for the protection of human rights and the promotion of the economic and social well being of peoples

throughout the world? In sum, have we the courage and determination to back this Organization with unselfish and unstinted support in all its efforts towards the full realization of the aims and purposes of the Charter?

22. The greater effectiveness of the United Nations and the enhancement of its image must ultimately depend on the answers we give to these questions. And to my mind the quality and size of the attendance at this ceremonial session are partial answers to the questions I have posed. On this unique session and the positive action we take through frank consultation and concerted measures depend the future of this Organization, the well-being of mankind and perhaps the very survival of the human race and of its civilization accumulated through the ages.

23. Never before in history have so many leaders of diverse nations assembled in one place at the same time for a purpose so simple yet so vital, for a need so common yet so distinctive. The common need is our collective survival in peace, justice, equality, mutual respect and material abundance for all, including the world's underprivileged. Our purpose in converging upon this hall from distant places therefore could scarcely have been merely to attend the ceremonial function. We must, in fact, have come here to endeavour also to seek in concert ways and means best to strengthen this Organization for the realization of our collective need. This is indeed a moment of supreme challenge and also an immense opportunity. Having by bitter experience learnt the lesson taught by the collapse of the League of Nations, we can neither afford to shirk the challenge nor fail to seize the opportunity to act and, if need be, to sacrifice.

24. I consider my presence here today as a link between the past and the present. When in 1936 my ancient country, after a gallant resistance against the unprovoked aggressor, fell prey to its remorseless enemy, it became my painful duty, as Emperor of Ethiopia, to appear before the League of Nations to appeal for help for my suffering people. Over and above the fate of a nation brutally invaded I also pleaded at that time the cause of the more fundamental issues of international morality and collective security. Though the ideas I enunciated then were by no means novel, it happened that both my appearance before the League as a leader of a nation and my pronouncements were without precedent.

25. Twenty-seven years later I also had the opportunity of addressing the twentieth session of this august organ of the United Nations [*1229th meeting*] and sharing my preoccupations concerning this Organization and the world situation in general.

26. Today, as I stand once more in this hall, I must admit that I find myself unhappy about the world situation and the state of this Organization. Even as I speak here now, in Asia and the Middle East men are either locked in mortal combat or are dug-in in trenches ready to unleash the full fury of modern weaponry on the adversary, upon the slightest move or pretext. Racial-

ism and bigotry continue to oppress and degrade millions of my fellow Africans in their own fatherland. The ever widening economic gap between the affluent and the developing societies on our planet continues unimpaired.

27. I am anxious and apprehensive about each one of these situations, because each carries the germs of a wider conflict and conflagration; and if left uncorrected and unremedied, each is capable of driving the world to the very dangers which all of us believe instinctively must be avoided. With a little more courage, a little more determination and the will to act before it is too late, we should be capable of finding solutions to these and other pressing problems.

28. In this regard I am deeply concerned that the untimely death of President Nasser may have an adverse effect on the search for peace in the Middle East. I trust that the efforts made in the search for peace in the Middle East will continue until a lasting peace is established in accordance with the decision of the Security Council of 22 November 1967 [*resolution 242 (1967)*].

29. An example of the type of situation I refer to is the danger to air transportation, one of the really great achievements of the human mind, enabling us to surmount the barrier of distance which for centuries had hindered contact between peoples. Today, we observe with anguish the many acts of unlawful interference to which air travel has been subjected in recent times. Sabotage and hijacking of civil aircraft, unless halted immediately, will not only jeopardize the lives of passengers and crews, but will also affect the very fabric of international society. In view of this grave peril, the world community should, as a matter of urgency, take concerted measures to guarantee the safety and freedom of international civil air travel.

30. Of no less concern is the state of this Organization: its chronic financial problems; the paralysis of its peace-keeping machinery; its progressive relegation to the unenviable role of a peripheral spectator on a number of crucial matters, namely, disarmament and the grave conflicts in the Middle East and South-East Asia.

31. If the United Nations is to be restored to the central position which it was designed to occupy in the maintenance of world peace and security and in the promotion of the general well-being of mankind, the situation I have just mentioned should receive urgent attention. It was to this end that member States of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned nations closed their ranks in their unequivocal support of the United Nations at their recent summit conferences held, respectively, in Addis Ababa² and Lusaka.³

² Seventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held from 1 to 3 September 1970.

³ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

32. I believe we are all convinced that the United Nations can discharge its responsibility for peace-keeping if measures are adopted to avoid a conflict of authority among its various organs and also to make it mandatory for all Member States to share in the expenses of its peace-keeping efforts, without resorting to devious ways. I believe it to be in the interest of all States to exert themselves to the full in this area, for only when these twin problems are solved can we truly say that we have anything even remotely approaching a collective security system.

33. In the area of general and complete disarmament, although some progress has been made which we all have acclaimed as showing signs of a break-through, it still remains true that we not only live with the danger of a nuclear conflict hanging over us, but are also helpless witnesses of the wanton waste of world resources which could otherwise be used to improve the lot of men everywhere. It is therefore the bounden duty of all leaders and all peoples to concern themselves with this problem until an appropriate solution is found.

34. The Conference of the Non-Aligned States and the seventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity were a success, because they were both dedicated to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, and particularly to the cause of Africans in southern Africa who find themselves, through no fault of their own, serfs in their own land. It is my deep conviction that if the United Nations is to survive as an institution worthy of the respect of peoples throughout the world, it must redouble its efforts to free the colonial peoples from subjugation. I strongly believe that this commemorative session cannot do less than rekindle the flame of liberty in these oppressed peoples by adopting a declaration of war against their oppressors. I believe the United Nations should do even more. I believe it should extend material assistance to them just as the Organization of African Unity does, until the colonial and racial systems in southern Africa are brought to an end. We must not fear that such action would break the United Nations, for the *entente* in southern Africa is an alliance of minorities. On the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the family of nations represented here are against this unholy alliance, the States concerned cannot in any way affect our Organization.

35. To help solve all these problems, the United Nations must encourage, as does the Charter, the growth of regional institutions, for only when it is supported by the peoples of the world in this manner will it be able to discharge its obligations as envisaged in the Charter. Witness the struggle and success of the Organization of African Unity in finding solutions to many problems facing Africa which otherwise would come to these halls. I believe that strong regional institutions devoted to the furtherance of the cause of peace are indispensable to the United Nations: they help contain local conflicts and thereby lessen international tension. A case in point is the Nigerian civil war, the impact of which on Africa was successfully contained by the Organization of African Unity.

36. In terms of the well-being of mankind, it is my conviction that the United Nations should play a more vigorous role than ever before. It is trite to observe that unless the riches of the world are somehow made to reach the peoples of the developing countries, the consequences to mankind will be quite as catastrophic as the results of a nuclear conflict. Surely, it is not beyond human ingenuity to correct this appalling situation by instituting measures which would enable the developing countries to attain a more tolerable standard of life for their peoples.

37. In the maintenance of international peace and security, in obtaining an agreement on general and complete disarmament and in reaching a peaceful settlement of the grave conflicts in the Middle East and South-East Asia, I am convinced that the presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in these halls is indispensable. The absence of the representatives of such a great country and such an industrious people impresses me as one of those mistakes which men are wont to commit, hardly suspecting their possible consequences. We therefore address an urgent appeal to this Assembly to abandon this course and to do justice to the great people of China.

38. The choice of this age and the very future of humanity is simple: collective survival or collective extinction. When the stark choice is thus revealed in all its naked horror, dare we hesitate? The choice we know; the means we can rediscover in a reinvigorated and mature United Nations. The will to act and the courage and determination to implement the decisions we must take are of great importance. May this session be the rebirth of the United Nations and the reaffirmation of our faith in the ever-continuing validity of the purposes and principles for which it was established. A grave responsibility rests upon us: to ensure our own collective survival and the future of unborn generations.

39. May the Almighty grant us the wisdom, courage and determination to rise to this supreme challenge and reap a rich reward.

40. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the United States of America, His Excellency Mr. Richard M. Nixon.

41. President NIXON: I am honoured to greet the Members of the United Nations on behalf of the United States as we celebrate this Organization's twenty-fifth anniversary. On this historic occasion I wish to pay a special tribute to the founders of the United Nations, to Secretary-General U Thant and to all others who have played indispensable roles in its success.

42. In considering an anniversary and in celebrating one, there is a temptation to recount the accomplishments of the past, to gloss over the difficulties of the present and to speak in optimistic or even extravagant terms about our hopes for the future.

43. This is too important a time and too important an occasion for such an approach. The fate of more

than three and a half billion people today rests on the realism and candour with which we approach the great issues of war and peace, of security and progress, in this world that together we call home.

44. So I would like to speak with you today not ritualistically but realistically; not of impossible dreams, but of possible deeds.

45. The United Nations was born amid a great upwelling of hope that at last the better nature of man would triumph. There was hope that Woodrow Wilson's dream of half a century ago—that the world's Governments would join "in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice"—would at last be realized.

46. Some of those early hopes have been realized. Some have not. The United Nations has achieved many successes in settling or averting conflicts.

47. The United Nations has achieved many successes in promoting economic development and in fostering other areas of international co-operation, thanks to the work of dedicated men and women all over the world.

48. These are matters that all the Members of the United Nations can point to with very great pride.

49. But we also know that the world today is not what the founders of the United Nations hoped it would be 25 years ago. Co-operation among nations leaves much to be desired. The goal of the peaceful settlement of disputes is too often breached. The great central issue of our time—the question of whether the world as a whole is to live at peace—has not been resolved.

50. This central issue turns in large part on the relations among the great nuclear Powers. Their strength imposes on them special responsibilities of restraint and wisdom. The issue of war and peace cannot be solved unless we in the United States and the Soviet Union demonstrate both the will and the capacity to put our relationship on a basis consistent with the aspirations of mankind.

51. Commenting here today on United States-Soviet relationships, I see no point in responding in kind to traditional cold-war rhetoric. The facts of the recent past speak for themselves. An effort to score debating points is not the way to advance the cause of peace.

52. In fact one of the paramount problems of our time is that we must transcend the old patterns of power politics in which nations sought to exploit every volatile situation for their own advantage, or to squeeze the maximum advantage for themselves out of every negotiation.

53. In today's world, and especially where the nuclear Powers are involved, such policies invite the risk of confrontations and could spell disaster for all. The changes in the world since the Second World War have made more compelling than ever the central idea behind

the United Nations: that individual nations must be ready at last to take a far-sighted and a generous view. The profoundest national interest of our time—for every nation—is not immediate gain, but the preservation of peace.

54. One of the reasons the world had such high hopes for the United Nations at the time of its founding was that the United States and the Soviet Union had fought together as allies in the Second World War; we co-operated in bringing the United Nations into being. There were hopes that this co-operation would continue. It did not continue, and much of the world's—and the United Nations'—most grievous troubles since have stemmed from that fact of history. It is not my intention to point fingers of blame, but simply to discuss the facts of international life as they are.

55. We all must recognize that the United States and the Soviet Union have very profound and fundamental differences. It would not be realistic, therefore, to suggest that our differences can be eliminated merely by better personal relationships between the Heads of our Governments. Such a view would slight the seriousness of our disagreements. Genuine progress in our relations calls for specifics, not merely atmospherics. A true *détente* is built by a series of actions, not by a superficial shift in the apparent mood.

56. It would not be realistic to suggest that all we need to improve our relations is better mutual understanding. Understanding is necessary. But we do understand one another well enough to know that our differences are real, and that in many respects we will continue to be competitors. Our task is to keep that competition peaceful and to make it creative. Neither would it be realistic to deny that power has a role in our relations. Power is a fact of international life. Our mutual obligation is to discipline that power and to seek, together with other nations, to ensure that it is used to maintain the peace, not to threaten the peace.

57. I state these obstacles to peace because they are the challenge that must be overcome. Despite the deep differences between ourselves and the Soviet Union, there are four great factors that provide a basis for a common interest in working together to contain and to reduce those differences. The first of these factors is at once the most obvious. Neither of us wants a nuclear exchange that would cost the lives of tens of millions of people. Thus, we have a powerful common interest in avoiding a nuclear confrontation. The second of these factors is the enormous cost of arms. Certainly we both should welcome the opportunity to reduce that burden; to use our resources for building rather than destroying. The third factor is that we both are major industrial Powers, which at present have very little trade or commercial contact with one another. It would clearly be in the economic self-interest of each of us if world conditions would permit us to increase trade and contact between us. The fourth factor is the global challenge of economic and social development. The pressing economic and social needs around the world can give our competition a creative

direction. Thus, in these four matters we have substantial mutual incentives to find ways of working together despite our continuing differences of views on other matters.

58. It was in this spirit that I announced, on taking office, that the policy of the United States would be to move from an era of confrontation to one of negotiation. This is the spirit that we hope will dominate the talks between our two countries on the limitations of strategic arms. There is no greater contribution which the United States and the Soviet Union together could make than to limit the world's capacity for self-destruction.

59. This would reduce the danger of war and it would enable us to devote more of our resources—abroad as well as at home—to assisting in the constructive works of economic development and peaceful progress: in Africa, for example, where so many nations have gained independence and dignity during the life of the United Nations; in Asia, with its rich diversity of cultures and peoples; and in Latin America, where the United States has special bonds of friendship and co-operation. Despite our many differences, the United States and the Soviet Union have managed ever since the Second World War to avoid direct conflicts. But history shows—as the tragic experience of the First World War indicates—that great Powers can be drawn into conflict without their intending it by wars between smaller nations. The Middle East is a place today where local rivalries are intense, and where the vital interests of the United States and the Soviet Union are both involved. Quite obviously, the primary responsibility for achieving a peaceful settlement in the Middle East rests on the nations there themselves. But in this region in particular, it is imperative that the two major Powers conduct themselves so as to strengthen the forces of peace rather than to strengthen the forces of war.

60. It is essential that we and the Soviet Union join in the efforts towards avoiding war in the Middle East and also towards developing a climate in which the nations of the Middle East will learn to live and let live. It is essential, not only in the interest of the people in the Middle East themselves, but also because the alternative could be a confrontation with disastrous consequences for the Middle East, for our nations, and for the whole world. Therefore, we urge the continuation of the cease-fire and the creation of confidence in which peace efforts can go forward.

61. In the world today we are at a crossroads. We can follow the old way, playing the traditional game of international relations, but at ever-increasing risk. Everyone will lose and no one will gain. Or we can take a new road. I invite the leaders of the Soviet Union to join us in taking that new road—to join in a peaceful competition, not in the accumulation of arms, but in the dissemination of progress; not in the building of missiles, but in waging a winning war against hunger and disease and human misery in our own countries and around the globe. Let us compete in elevating the human spirit, in fostering respect for law among nations and in promoting the works of peace.

In this kind of competition, no one loses and everyone gains.

62. Here at the United Nations, there are many matters of major and immediate and global concern on which nations, even when they are competitors, have a mutual interest in working together as part of the community of nations. In approaching these matters each of us represented here, in our national interests as leaders, and in our self-interest as human beings, must take into consideration a broader element: the world interest.

63. It is in the world interest to avoid drifting into a widening division between have and have-not nations. Last month I proposed a major transformation of the American foreign aid programme. A major thrust of my proposals is to place larger shares of American assistance under international agencies, in particular the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, and the regional development banks. We seek to promote greater multilateral co-operation and the pooling of contributions through impartial international bodies. We are also encouraging developing countries to participate more fully in the determination of their needs. Within the inter-American system, for example, new mechanisms have been established for a continuing and frank dialogue. In the spirit of the United Nations Second Development Decade, we shall strive to do our full and fair share in helping others to help themselves—through Government assistance, through encouraging efforts by private industry and through fostering a spirit of international volunteer service.

64. It is in the world interest for the United States and the United Nations—all nations—not to be paralysed in its most important function, that of keeping the peace. Disagreements between the major Powers in the past have contributed to this paralysis. The United States will do everything it can to help to develop and strengthen the practical means that will enable the United Nations to move decisively to keep the peace. This means strengthening both its capacity for peace-making, settling disputes before they lead to armed conflict, and its capacity for peace-keeping, containing and ending conflicts that have broken out.

65. It is in the world interest that we co-operate—all of us—in preserving and restoring our natural environment. Pollution knows no national or ideological boundaries. For example, it has made Lake Erie barely able to support life; it is despoiling Lake Baikal; and it puts Lake Tanganyika in future jeopardy. The United Nations is uniquely equipped to play a central role in an international effort to curtail its ravages.

66. It is in the world interest for the resources of the sea to be used for the benefit of all, and not to become a source of international conflict, pollution and unbridled commercial rivalry. Technology is ready to tap the vast, largely virgin resources of the oceans. At this moment, we have the opportunity to set up rules and institutions to ensure that these resources are developed for the benefit of all mankind and that

the profits derived from them are shared equitably. But this moment is fleeting. If we fail to seize it, storm and strife could become the future of the oceans. This summer, the United States submitted a draft convention [A/8021, annex V] to the United Nations on this matter, which, I hope, will receive early and favourable attention.

67. It is in the world interest to ensure that the quantity of life does not impair the quality of life. As the United Nations enters its Second Development Decade, it has both the responsibility and the means to help nations control the population explosion, which so impedes meaningful economic growth. The United States will continue to support the rapid development of United Nations services to assist the population and family planning programmes of Member nations.

68. It is in the world interest that the narcotics traffic be curbed. Drugs pollute the minds and bodies of our young people, bringing misery, violence and human and economic waste. This scourge of drugs can be eliminated through international co-operation. I urge all Governments to support the recent recommendations of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, to take the first step toward giving them substance by establishing a United Nations fund for drug control [see A/8003, para. 502], and I urge all Governments to support a strengthened narcotics treaty that would govern all production by restricting it solely to medical and scientific purposes. The United States has already circulated such a proposal for consideration at the next session of the United Nations Narcotics Commission.

69. It is in the world interest to put a decisive end to sky piracy and the kidnapping and murder of diplomats. In this Assembly last year [1755th meeting] I called for international action to put an end to air piracy. This problem has grown even more acute. Recent events have dramatically underscored its gravity and also underscored the fact that no nation is immune from it. The United States has taken a number of steps on its own initiative. But this issue requires effective international actions, including measures to permit the suspension of airline services to countries where such piracy is condoned. The increase of kidnappings of accredited diplomats is a closely related matter that should urgently concern every Member of this Assembly.

70. Finally, it is in the world interest to ensure that the human rights of prisoners of war are not violated. In an address earlier this month proposing a cease-fire in Indo-China, I called for the immediate and unconditional release by both sides of prisoners of war and innocent victims of the conflict. This is not a political or a military issue. It is a humanitarian issue. The United Nations should register its concern about the treatment of prisoners of war and press all adversaries in this conflict—indeed, in every conflict—to honour the Geneva Convention of 1949.

71. I have mentioned some of the problems on which the United Nations can—if its Members have the

will—make substantial progress. There are many others. I urge this body and the United Nations system to move ahead rapidly with effective action. And as we move ahead, the United States will do its full share.

72. The United States came to its present position of world power without either seeking the power or wanting the responsibility. We shall meet that responsibility as well as we can. We shall not be so pious or so hypocritical as to pretend that we have not made mistakes or that we have no national interests of our own which we intend to protect. But we can with complete honesty say that we maintain our strength to keep the peace, not to threaten the peace. The power of the United States will be used to defend freedom, never to destroy freedom.

73. What we seek is not a *pax Americana*, not an American century, but rather a structure of stability and progress that will enable each nation, large and small, to chart its own course and to make its own way without outside interference, without intimidation, without domination by ourselves or by any other nation. The United States fully understands and respects the policy of non-alignment, and we welcome joint efforts, such as the recent meeting in Lusaka, to further international co-operation.

74. We seek good relations with all the people of the world. We respect the right of each people to choose its own way.

75. We do hold certain principles to be universal: that each nation has a sovereign right to its own independence and to recognition of its own dignity; that each individual has a human right to that same recognition of his dignity; that we all share a common obligation to demonstrate the mutual respect for the rights and feelings of one another that is the mark of a civil society and also of a true community of nations.

76. As the United Nations begins its next quarter century, it does so richer in experience, sobered in its understanding of what it can do and what it cannot; what should be expected and what should not. In the spirit of this twenty-fifth anniversary, the United States will go the extra mile in doing its part toward making the United Nations succeed. We look forward to working together with all nations represented here in going beyond the mere containment of crises, to building a structure of peace that promotes justice as well as assuring a stability that will last because all have a stake in its lasting.

77. I remember very vividly today my visit to India in 1953, when I met for the first time one of the world's greatest statesmen, Prime Minister Nehru. I asked him, as we considered that great country with its enormous problems, what was its greatest need. He replied: "The greatest need for India, and for any newly independent country, is for 25 years of peace—a generation of peace."

78. In Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe—in all the 74 nations I have now visited—one thing I have found is that, what-

ever their differences of race or religion or political systems, whatever their customs, whatever their condition, the people of the world want peace.

79. So let the guns fall silent and stay silent. In South-East Asia, let us agree to a cease-fire and negotiate a peace. In the Middle East, let us hold to a cease-fire and build a peace. Through arms control agreements, let us invest our resources in the development that nourishes peace. Across this planet, let us attack the ills that threaten peace. In the untapped oceans of water and space, let us harvest in peace. In our personal relations and in our international relations, let us display the mutual respect that fosters peace.

80. Above all, let us, as leaders of the world, reflect in our actions what our own people feel. Let us do what our own people need. Let us consider the world interest—the people's interest—in all that we do.

81. Since the birth of the United Nations—for the first time in this century—the world's people have lived through 25 years without a world war. Let us resolve together that the second quarter century of the United Nations shall offer the world what its people yearn for and what they deserve: a world without any war, a full generation of peace.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. François Tombalbaye, President of the Republic of Chad.

83. President TOMBALBAYE (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour and pleasure to be invited, on behalf of the Republic of Chad, to address this distinguished Assembly which embodies the noblest ideals of mankind.

84. I should like first, with your permission, to extend to Mr. Edvard Hambro our warm congratulations on the confidence the Assembly has shown him in electing him President of this session. He certainly deserves it after his brilliant career in the service of international co-operation and the contribution his country makes to our Organization. I am sure that with the co-operation of all delegations of peace-loving countries, he will guide the Assembly's proceedings towards the happy outcome we expect. Everything predestines him for it. Have not the newspapers, always sparing of compliments, said of him that he has succeeded in being both a servant of the United Nations and a European? I hope the wealth of experience that President Hambro will draw from this session will make him henceforth an apostle of peace and universal justice and an example to our troubled world.

85. I am happy to see Secretary-General U Thant again at his side and to pay tribute once more to his political courage, exemplary dedication and far-sightedness in the exercise of his delicate functions. The impressive statement he made on 1 September last in Addis Ababa before the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity showed more clearly than ever his faith in the

United Nations as an instrument in the service of international peace and co-operation.

86. It was at a time when the world was deeply troubled—that is to say, immediately following the last great world war—that the United Nations was born. At that time human suffering had reached its peak. The tons of bombs accumulated in laboratories had produced their effect. In place of tall buildings which had borne witness to the splendour of Western civilization and to the marvellous power of the "satisfied god", there were tremendous piles of rubble.

87. The skies of humanity were dark and the whole world was given up to black despair. Plaintive voices were heard in the mountains and valleys; women were inconsolable because their sons or husbands were no more.

88. These unhappy events were bound to give man pause for reflection. The leaders of nations realized the need to institute a new social order based not on the interests of the strongest, but on justice and mutual respect, and the need to substitute for private or collective hatreds the impartiality of an international body. A new step was taken in the social evolution of the world. The horrors of war were nothing but a background; in the foreground stood the destiny and progress of mankind. The United Nations was born. The quest for peace, the elimination of all risks that could lead to a new conflagration—in brief, the rehabilitation of mankind, were the deep-seated reasons for the inception of this generous institution.

89. Never had the law of solidarity been more keenly felt. It seems to have been understood that the well-being of mankind depends on each and every people, just as the general health of the body is dependent on the good state of its component parts. In fact, human life is so powerful a principle of unity that the failure of a single organ gives rise to a general malaise which is felt throughout the body. Everywhere in the world we see this interdependence among the various parts of a whole, so that no one of them can be modified without repercussions on the others and on the whole which they constitute. The same is true of nations. They are bound by a network of reciprocal action and reaction so that each of them always experiences to some extent the influence of those that surround it and of the times through which it passes.

90. The Second World War taught the belligerent nations the tremendous importance of this law of human solidarity and the futility of any selfish claim to work for one's own security without concern for that of others. The United Nations was born precisely of this need for close rapprochement among the nations. Hence the tribute we owe it: it is through tireless activity that the United Nations pursues its objectives of peace. To attain these objectives, it directs all its work towards the ideal man that each bears within himself.

91. Our Organization calls on each of us to go beyond the limits of our own individuality in seeking this ideal

man; for each of us is by nature a social being and must strive to become more and more so in order to attain our personal perfection. Man is all the more a social being because he can develop fully only through the love he bears his neighbour. Thus, although the destiny of the individual is not ineluctably involved in the destiny of the All, it is by working with love for the destiny of the All that the individual realizes his own destiny.

92. The United Nations is therefore humanistic because it wishes to listen and to understand, to be heard and to make itself understood. It is humanistic because it wishes all men to enjoy the benefits of the common weal and is patiently trying to civilize the world so that it may become an instrument of thought and of human love. It is humanistic because instead of isolating and separating, it brings people together. It is indeed a school and like any school it is a teacher. One of the most noble effects of this school is the training of the heart through joy and activities undertaken in common. And for all this, what thanks do we not owe it on this twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding!

93. The United Nations has done much remarkable work. It has eased disputes; it does humanitarian work in various parts of the world and has found a happy solution to many a conflict. Its mission is to make the earth ever more human and humanity ever more united. It is to join humanity in fraternal aid and make it more worthy of being offered by the will of man to his Creator.

94. But, unfortunately, the equilibrium to which the United Nations aspires has not yet been established. The protection of human rights is not always guaranteed. Man wishes to know, to love, to possess, to enjoy—in a word to live and to live to the utmost. But often he finds only darkness, disappointment, poverty and discouragement.

95. The great Powers squander vast sums on the manufacture and maintenance of weapons of mass destruction, while most of the world languishes in poverty, ignorance and sickness. The world therefore needs to restructure itself according to a more perfect vision in order to ensure the unfailing and intelligent presence of a demanding and effective brotherhood.

96. All these problems confront the international conscience and the United Nations as a matter of urgency. If no happy solution to them has yet been found, that is not the fault of the United Nations. It is the selfishness of certain of its Members that is to blame, and that alone.

97. With modern progress, the tremendous advance of technology and the development of ways to make life comfortable, the nations of the world should have reason to hope for an easy life. Why then do they suffer such disarray at a time when the earth, thanks to the conquests of science, has shown itself capable of feeding a population twice the size of ours? To put such a question is to answer it. If mankind is an ocean

of poverty, it is because it suffers from a lack of brotherhood; it is because, to repeat, everything is not geared to man. The day when man is brother to man, the attitude of one group towards another, the attitude of one nation towards another will be fundamentally different. It will no longer be a matter of understanding a people in order to exploit it, but of satisfying global needs, of seeking to harness technology and to institute modes of relations and trade which will bring into being the brotherhood of man.

98. The United Nations is fighting for peace, but that fight, to be complete, must also be a fight against poverty on the world scale and above all a fight to give man new values. This fight requires unconditional commitment. For it to be crowned with success, every people must have its particular field of battle, consonant with its innate talents, scope and resources.

99. Today Viet-Nam is foundering in a vast barbarism. Blood is flowing and great buildings are aflame. The murderous war, far from being confined to Viet-Nam, has now put the torch to Cambodia. This increases the concern of peace-loving men.

100. In the Middle East the Israeli-Arab conflict continues to be a sword suspended over the head of the world. That region is now a vast powder keg. It needs only a match to be thrown there for a terrible explosion to shatter the finest hopes of man.

101. During the week when this distinguished Assembly began its session, the world was disturbed by the events in Jordan. Thousands of human beings have already perished in this terrible business. It was thanks to the spirit of conciliation and the strong personality of the late illustrious President Nasser that a cease-fire agreement was concluded between the two belligerent parties. This appalling tragedy is far from resolved. Is it too much to say that the solution of the Middle East problem remains and will remain in the hands of the great Powers?

102. Add to these melancholy facts the tragedy of millions of blacks in Rhodesia, Mozambique, southern Africa, Portuguese Guinea, imprisoned in an outmoded life-style and condemned to no other future but suffering and despair.

103. All these agonizing questions cut man to the quick and paralyse his spirit. The most indifferent are concerned and mankind itself is beginning to realize the scope of the danger.

104. The West is proud of its civilization. To save it, thousands of men have died and tens of thousands more have suffered. To preserve it, the great nations arm themselves each day and accumulate tremendous energies capable of ravaging whole continents. Civilization, it has been said, is in danger, not at its geographical frontiers but at the very frontiers of the human heart.

105. Another black spot on the human scene which is of concern to the people of Chad is the absence

of People's China from this world parliament. Its 700 million human beings constitute an important community. They have their civilization which each day grows stronger. They are progressing in technology and endeavouring to harness nuclear power. That vast country is therefore an interlocutor that no one has the right to spurn or to exclude from the world system of co-operation and peaceful coexistence, because so long as it is shut out, no equilibrium can be anything but precarious and transient. But we cannot make good one injustice by perpetrating another which is what the exclusion of Formosa, itself a founder Member of our Organization, would be.

106. Over and above these issues which are agitating all mankind, Africa also has its special problems which constitute the greatest tragedy of the century. In all objectivity and without empty passion, we must indeed note before this distinguished Assembly that after the initial progress achieved up to 1965, decolonization, particularly in southern Africa, seems to have slowed down because of the brazen resistance of a racist minority. Despite all your efforts, and particularly the moral support you gave last year to the Organization of African Unity Manifesto on Southern Africa,⁴ no improvement has been recorded. Secretary-General U Thant had the courage, at our meeting in Addis Ababa last September, to give us the facts of this sad situation. And the fact is that in the territories still under colonial domination the situation has continued to deteriorate. The racist and illegal minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury are doing everything possible to intensify their oppression of the majority populations of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies.

107. The United Nations, seeking to put an end to this situation, has adopted a number of resolutions condemning such acts, requiring their withdrawal and the return to legality. Mandatory economic sanctions have even been adopted whose application it was hoped would stifle the régimes in question. No one can deny that not only have the desired results not been attained, but with the moral, economic and material support of certain powers, South Africa and Portugal have succeeded in creating the most formidable military machine, not only to destroy the freedom-fighters, but to threaten and intimidate the independent States of Africa and in particular their neighbours.

108. All this is a flagrant challenge to the ideals, the authority and even the existence of the United Nations, since the resolutions and the sanctions it advocates will remain a dead letter so long as certain Member States fail to respect them. That is why we believe the first necessity is not so much to adopt texts as to ensure that they are strictly applied. There is talk about the necessity to democratize the United Nations; so be it. For our own part we would like to affirm that what is more important than any administrative reform, is the humanization and decolonization of people's minds.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

109. To become human means to keep one's word, to follow the spirit of the United Nations Charter; it means to grasp the fact that improvement in the lot of the disinherited peoples is an essential condition for peace.

110. Why talk about decolonization if the very existence of the States of the third world continues to be menaced by problems of economic development? What good would political independence do them without economic independence, or at least the hope of harmonious economic growth? It has become a commonplace to say that the already frightening gap is growing day by day between the wealthy countries and the under-developed countries. Statistics prove it. Yet the highest moral and spiritual authorities, as well as this Assembly, have recognized that there has to be a display of human solidarity if men are to enjoy equal dignity. It is true that the countries of the third world should mainly rely on themselves, but no one can deny that their slender resources are far from commensurate with the enormity of their needs. Only aid from abroad to supplement national efforts can make progress possible and close the gap between them and the advanced countries. If, as His Holiness Pope Paul VI has said, development is the new name for peace, the obstacles to development constitute a serious threat to peace. When we placed our hopes in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, convened in Geneva in 1964⁵ and New Delhi in 1968,⁶ we believed that we could count on international solidarity in the immediate future for our development, particularly as economic interdependence between nations is steadily growing and the goods produced by one country are moving more and more to others. But the paradox is that while trade is developing the producers of primary commodities, above all the tropical countries, find that the terms of trade are deteriorating, while the cost of the capital goods and imports they require is steadily rising. At New Delhi the flood-lights went dark, as indeed did our hopes.

111. Certain international organizations have had the enormous merit of understanding this problem of development and have tried, by getting the agencies like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide a preliminary solution. In their turn, the six States members of the European Economic Community, at the time the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957, decided to provide joint assistance to the development of the overseas countries and territories that were then linked to them. Three Conventions of Association were successively to govern the co-operative relations between the Community and the African and Malagasy States, which in the interval had become independent. These eighteen States, which have the same geographic, demographic and economic characteristics, are among the poorest of the developing countries. Their limited markets hamper progress and discourage investment. The costs of production and distribution are particularly burdensome, and in

⁵ First session of the Conference, held from 23 March to 16 June 1964.

⁶ Second Session of the Conference, held from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

the final analysis they, more than others, need aid which should be both massive and unselfish. This explains why, after the contacts we had with the European Governments, we decided on 29 July 1969 to renew our Convention of Association with the Common Market.

112. An analysis of the substance of this new Convention certainly shows that all of our preoccupations were not taken into consideration, particularly with respect to trade. However, with respect to financial and technical co-operation we think that we have obtained numerous adjustments as compared with the former Convention. But we should appraise the sum total of these achievements particularly taking into account the especially unfavourable international and political context. In all the large donor countries, for a number of years now we have been witnessing a considerable decline in the amount of aid set aside for development. Foreign aid, particularly to the developing countries, is tending to become increasingly unpopular. Let us add to this the extremely strong political pressure exercised on the "Six" by other developing countries and by some major developed countries, all of them advancing globalist theories to hasten the advent of a new world order of trade.

113. What our association with the Common Market proves is that a global policy of development requires that a series of concentric efforts be made, firstly by the developing countries within their own borders, then by the same countries working together, and finally by the international community. This is the framework in which we place our association with the European Common Market, which for us marks only a stage towards a more sustained international effort.

114. That is why we are convinced that the launching of the Second Development Decade by the United Nations at the very time when we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization will be an event of capital importance and a turning point in the development of international co-operation. In this connexion I said last January, when I had just been called upon to preside over the joint Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Organization (OCAMM), that we should devote our attention to the preparation of this Second Decade because development today appears as a global objective, a universal phenomenon in which the entire international community should participate. We should remind ourselves that one of the consequences of the unceasing and growing enrichment of some and the continual impoverishment of others is that the gross national product per inhabitant in 1969 was about \$2,500 in the developed market-economy countries, \$1,200 in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and only \$190 in the developing countries, which include almost two thirds of mankind.

115. Such facts should prompt us to act to ensure that the Second Development Decade does not become a propaganda slogan for some and a false alibi for others. We hope that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will be able to determine a global strategy for development, including the factors

involved in national policies and also, above all, the considerable share of responsibility that should be borne by international co-operation for development. May I be permitted to express here our serious concern at the fact that it was not possible to reach complete agreement on a certain number of substantive problems concerning UNCTAD's contribution to international development strategy and to state that we attach great importance to questions that still are awaiting a solution, because they are vital to us? One of these questions concerns negotiations that should lead to the setting up, within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade, of a generalized system of preferences. It is not that our countries are opposed to that system; on the contrary, since the adoption of the Algiers Charter on 24 October 1967,⁷ we have spoken out clearly on that point. However the offers made by certain developed countries compel us to repeat very clearly that the new system should be neither discriminatory nor should it give rise in any way whatever to the expression of divergencies between the various members of UNCTAD, and particularly among the developing countries themselves.

116. Need I recall that resolution 21 (II) of the second session of UNCTAD made it plain that the general system of preferences was designed primarily to promote the economic development of those countries?

117. According to a study made under the aegis of the Economic Commission for Africa,⁸ however, it developed that the total estimated profits of the developing countries of Africa for 1967 and 1968 would be in the nature of \$14,406,000 if we applied the system of preferences; they would amount to \$6,199,000 for the African countries members of the Commonwealth; \$7,151,000 for the others; and only \$1,056,000 for the 18 countries associated with the Common Market—and even among those 18 countries there would be at least four which would gain nothing from the introduction of the system.

118. At present the financial aid—leaving aside the trade advantages that the European Economic Community provides to our Association of African and Malagasy States at the multilateral level through the European Development Fund—amounts to \$200 million. Representatives will therefore understand why our countries hesitate to give up the bird in the hand for two in the bush, particularly at a time when the volume of aid from the richer countries continues to decline year by year while our needs are increasing beyond measure and especially when the conditions of that aid, even if offered through the World Bank, become more and more restrictive for our fragile economies.

119. In the second place, it is necessary to establish a programme of precise action that can be readjusted every year. Apart from the broad statements that we are ready to applaud, we believe that the purposes and objectives of the Second Development Decade can

⁷ Adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven developing countries.

⁸ Document E/CN.14/WP.1/28.

be attained only if time-limits are fixed for the application of the measures that should enable us to attain those goals. It is urgent that the developed countries should enter into genuine commitments within the framework of this international development strategy and should consider that an assistance figure of 1 per cent is not a ceiling, but only a floor. Moreover, food aid which heretofore has been able to alleviate only the short-term difficulties should, in the course of this decade, assume a more elaborate form because the problem of hunger will remain. Despite the further progress that is foreseen, many developing countries will still have shortages of calories and proteins; local output and commercial imports will not be sufficient to meet their needs. However, the forecasts of the FAO and of the OECD indicate that, in view of their production capacities, the developed countries will be able to continue to produce over the period more grain and dairy products than their commercial markets can absorb. These few examples suffice to show the portion of responsibility which will fall upon the shoulders of the wealthier countries in the next ten years to ensure that we witness the dawn of a really fruitful era of international economic co-operation.

120. For our part, we are aware of what we still have to do, and no one can ignore the efforts that certain under-developed countries are continuing increasingly to make to join together in order to pool their resources, to exchange their experience and to create wider markets. What the 15 States of the joint Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Organization are achieving in this direction—and I have had the honour to guide the destinies of that Organization for the past 10 months—certainly deserves the attention of the international community. Ten years ago when every trend seemed to combine to condemn our young independent States to division and fragmentation, we were able to unite and to set up close co-operation in all possible fields to ensure the security which is indispensable to the development of our States, to maintain peace in Africa, Madagascar and throughout the world. We launched the African, Malagasy and Mauritius Common Organization, as a challenge to ourselves and as a rejection of a Balkanized Africa in the image of a mirror shattered into a thousand pieces.

121. I shall not conceal from you the difficulties we encountered, but what I will tell you is that they sometimes led us to make a serious examination of conscience, to a more and more active adaptation of our organization to the realities of our States by compelling us to show our union by specific realistic actions, and by creating specialized bodies in our various areas of co-operation. I would cite our Multinational Aircraft Company, our Postal and Telecommunications Union, our Bureau for Industrial Property, our Organization for the Development of Tourism; and in turn we have succeeded in setting up several regional institutions for training our cadres.

122. The organization of a sugar market, despite the difficulties inherent in that task, and studies for the creation of a common meat market show that we wish to derive the greatest possible advantage from the com-

plementary nature of our resources. But above all, in a world which is in a state of perpetual growth and change, OCAMM has the merit of promoting among its members and in the spirit of the Organization of African Unity, the necessary exchange of experience in fields as varied as economics, education, culture, social affairs and scientific and technical research.

123. In ancient times people used to say: "Unhappy the man who stands alone". By creating OCAMM and giving it a structure, we have correctly understood that today countries which stand alone will never succeed.

124. The message which OCAMM is conveying today through me to the United Nations is a message of admiration for its unselfish struggle, purely for love of an ideal, for the restoration of the fundamental values of human life which are the dignity and freedom of the human person, the unity and interdependence of the human race and the rule of law and not of force in the human community.

125. We are happy to assure the United Nations that the whole specific content of our policy is drawn from the ideals of justice, peace and progress enshrined in the United Nations Charter. As Pope Paul VI in his encyclical on the development of peoples tells us:

"To wage war on misery and to struggle against injustice is to promote, along with improved conditions, the human and spiritual progress of all men, and therefore the common good of humanity. Peace cannot be limited to a mere absence of war, the result of an ever precarious balance of forces. No, peace is something that is built up day after day, in the pursuit of an order intended by God, which implies a more perfect form of justice among men."⁹

126. By making the development of the less endowed countries the path that leads to peace, or the new name of peace, the Pope has at the same time invited the wealthier nations to revise their concept of universal solidarity or human understanding. We cherish the hope that the appeal he issued in that encyclical, the cry of the hungry world, and his message to the United Nations [1347th meeting] which is still relevant today, will be heeded, so that peoples can live in greater brotherhood and endow themselves with institutions that will lead to progress for the entire human family. This hope is not a utopian dream, despite the mistakes of the past and the acts of barbarism committed now and then. Like it or not, mankind as a whole is marching inevitably towards progress, that is, towards perfection and happiness.

127. We also regard the arrangements made recently by the Soviet Union and West Germany for avoiding any recourse to force in the solution of the problem of the two Germanies as a promising stage in the development of the struggle for world peace. We hope that these discussions will open the way to a more brotherly life in a truly universal human community.

⁹ *On the Development of Peoples*, Vatican Polyglot Press, 26 March 1967, p. 51.

128. It is on these optimistic notes that I wish to conclude this statement. The heavy and dark clouds that have overshadowed the human scene will finally be dispelled. The murky forces of the remote past which each one feels pulsing through his veins will also give way to the forces of good. Then the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, for no other reason than that they all belong to the human race, will come together and intermingle in a truly brotherly human community.

129. Before leaving this rostrum, permit me finally to thank all those States that voted in favour of electing Chad to one of the posts of Vice-President of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Progressive Party of Chad, the Government and the people of Chad are most touched by this gesture of friendship. It is a new ornament added to the crown of this country, which is popularly known as the heart or the crossroads of Africa, the other ornaments being the vice-presidency of the Organization of African Unity and the presidency of the Joint Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Organization. I wish with these words to express the gratitude of all the people of Chad to those States.

130. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios.

131. Archbishop MAKARIOS: Convened here to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations, we pause in order to grasp fully the true significance of this historic event. For the United Nations is the most important undertaking of mankind; it embodies the age-old aspirations of humanity in its quest for peace.

132. The United Nations, born 25 years ago, out of the ashes of the Second World War, has all along been the centre of uplifting hope for the future of mankind. It has served as a beacon guiding nations into reasoned dialogues within its walls in place of enmities and war outside. The dialogues may at times have appeared an aggregate of monologues without effect, yet there has always been some easing of tensions.

133. At this significant landmark in the life of the Organization we look back to assess its achievements and ahead to evaluate its potentialities. The successes of the United Nations cannot be denied. The United Nations has set standards of international behaviour that are influencing the development of an international society. It has presided, and is still presiding, over the decolonization of dependent peoples. More than 60 newly independent countries have joined the Organization. The United Nations has established the principle of responsibility and equity between the rich and the poor nations and has constructed a remarkable aggregation of specialized and other agencies to implement this high resolve.

134. Important steps have been taken in establishing global norms for human rights, and the basis has been laid for developing contemporary international law in

many fields. The United Nations has succeeded in containing small conflicts and preventing them from expanding into major conflagrations. In fulfilment of this task the important notion of the United Nations peace-keeping operations has been conceived and applied. Situations of crisis in different parts of the world have been in this way alleviated.

135. One cannot ignore, however, that in its primary purpose, that of establishing a pattern of world order and international security, the United Nations has achieved much less than was expected from it, or indeed urgently required by the growing needs of the international community. This shortcoming is due to the failure of its Members to meet their obligations under the Charter.

136. While the cold war, with its deep ideological cleavages, played its part in preventing the effectiveness of the United Nations, a more fundamental problem was, and remains, the pursuance of narrowly conceived short-term interests often at the expense of the Organization. The United Nations could become truly effective only if its Members were to recognize and accept the reality that their true and long-term interest is inseparable from that of the world community and decide to act on the basis of that acceptance. The full implementation of the Charter is the answer. On the international scene today, while outdated patterns of human and national behaviour still remain unchanged, with their accompaniments of division and strife, technological progress has unified the world physically. The tremendous rapidity of transportation and communication has brought out more emphatically the growing interdependence of the human family and the need for unity. It has also created new perils and unprecedented challenges that were not even thought of by the drafters of the Charter.

137. In the short span of 25 years we have broken out of the limits of our planet and have realized man's utopian dream of landing on the moon. Through this monumental achievement new vistas and perspectives have unfolded before the eyes of man. They have revealed the singleness and uniqueness of our small earth and unveiled the delusion of our thinking that nations can live in isolation.

138. We have explored the ocean floor, finding a majesty of physical beauty and riches comparable to those of the surface of the earth and showing the unending continuity of life and the harmony of nature on this planet. However, a discordant note from man's misuse of technology is now disrupting that harmony and threatening to destroy life itself.

139. We have computerized human thinking and have permitted machinery to dominate our life and our environment at the growing peril of both. We have split the atom, placing fantastic energy and power to destroy in the hands of a mankind still unprepared to exercise such power in wisdom. In a world steeped in antagonism and conflict, channelling such power into weapons of global destruction has thrown a shadow of fear over the life of people everywhere—the fear of an overhanging nuclear cataclysm.

140. Thus, the recent gigantic advance in science and technology has been so mixed with dire effects and threats that its value to man is now being re-examined. That value depends, of course, upon the purposes to which science is applied by man's motivations. We seem to attach less importance to our potentialities for the betterment of life than to those leading to destruction. A deep soul-searching into those motivations and their redirection is necessary if humanity is to survive its own accomplishments in science.

141. The most urgent concern of the commemorative Assembly is to bring about a more emphatic awareness of the need to redefine and reassess our policies. Because we are in a basically transformed world and in a new dimension of life we must try to adapt our traditional policies to the new conditions around us.

142. In that sense, if our particular short-term interest conflicts with the wider interest of the world community for peace and survival the interest of the world community should come first.

143. We have to develop a new concept of allegiance to the United Nations as the authority representing the world community, for our common problems and common dangers have to be met in a positive spirit and in concerted action. On examination, nations would find that loyal compliance with the Charter principles serves the national interest no less than that of humanity as a whole. The United Nations is not intended merely as a static forum for debate and the airing of grievances but more importantly as a dynamic instrument of Governments for collective security and peace in the world. It would not be difficult to realize that unless freedom and self-determination, justice and equality are universally applied the prerequisites for lasting peace will not have been fulfilled; nor would it be difficult to see that unless technological progress is channelled to peaceful purposes the threats to humanity will continue to grow.

144. A main factor in the grave situations confronting our world is the attitude of virtually ignoring the United Nations and its Charter whenever it does not suit our egocentric and transient convenience. As a result of such policies by Member States, basic principles of the Charter are violated; important resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly are left unimplemented; the United Nations is bypassed on international issues and vital world problems.

145. The war in Indo-China, which is causing so much suffering and loss of life, would probably have been contained a long time ago had the United Nations not been bypassed.

146. The Middle East situation, despite its complexities, could be resolved if the Security Council resolution of November 1967 [242 (1967)] were implemented. The attitude of Cyprus on this problem is one of support for the full implementation of that resolution, which provides the essential terms for a just and honourable settlement. We also consider the mediation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Amba-

sador Jarring, who enjoys the confidence of all concerned, to be an important factor towards the implementation of that resolution.

147. Another challenge to the authority of the United Nations is the continuance of the unjust policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, which constitutes a grave threat to peace. We condemn that inhuman policy, which violates the most fundamental values enshrined in the Charter, including the worth and dignity of the human person, the right to self-determination and the equality of all persons irrespective of race, creed, colour or ethnic origin. Effective international action for the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions aimed at bringing about an end to *apartheid* is urgently needed for a peaceful solution.

148. The remnants of colonialist domination in southern Africa are another example of defiance of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations and call for the urgent concern of the international community for their speedy elimination.

149. On the question of Cyprus, with which I do not intend to deal in detail, our policy is in keeping with our overriding commitment to the United Nations and its Charter. What we seek is a just and democratic solution based on the free will of the people of Cyprus in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. This problem is simple in nature and easy of solution when freed from artificial complexities introduced from outside. Our concern is to have a settlement within the positive framework of unity. This we hold as a basic requirement for the construction of a sound society within any State. Divisive arrangements, in both their psychological and material effect, invariably lead to self-defeating antagonism and friction. The implementation of the principles of the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations offer the answer to the Cyprus problem.

150. The United Nations has proved its merit in protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus at critical moments, and in contributing substantially to the pacification and towards the normalization of conditions in the island through a United Nations peace-keeping force. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his unremitting interest and concern over the question of Cyprus. We greatly appreciate his unexcelled integrity on all problems which, together with his wisdom and calm determination, has enabled him to steer the United Nations through serious world crises. Our warm thanks go also to his collaborators both here and in Cyprus. We also express our appreciation and thanks to those countries whose valuable contributions in military contingents and funds make possible the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus.

151. Apart from the specific problems in different parts of the world, our attention is also drawn to a most important question of general and increasing concern, that of the continuing arms race, which the

nuclear Powers seem unable to arrest or contain. The declaration by the General Assembly of a Disarmament Decade concurrent with a Development Decade for the 1970s emphasizes the importance of both of these problems. It also indicates their close interdependence and the urgency for substantial progress towards their solution. A halt in the production of nuclear weapons, aside from its intrinsic merits, would also release resources for needed economic development.

152. In the world scene of our days grave problems multiply and remain unresolved. This is mainly because of a lingering tendency to rely on the outworn concept of force and ignore the United Nations, thus bypassing solutions based on the principles of the Charter. Whatever differences, however, of interest or ideology may conflict in the policies of Governments, it is generally recognized that there are overriding common interests and common concerns: interests in international security, in justice, and peace; concerns for survival, now threatened by a nuclear catastrophe or by industrial pollution. We naturally plan for uniform action through the United Nations. Yet, however necessary and logical such plans may be, they are of little avail without the common will of nations for realistic action, even at the expense of their traditional policies of short-term interests. That is the crux of our problem and in the last analysis, that problem is essentially moral in its nature.

153. The Preamble to the Charter derives its force and value from the ethical principles it embodies. Such principles were for the first time spelled out as norms in the domain of international politics. Old-fashioned diplomacy, based on duplicity, was to be swept away and replaced by open diplomacy and good faith. The Preamble was thus an initiation to the moral imperatives of an emerging new world in the United Nations era. For the Charter introduced epochal and far-reaching changes. The concept of force that accompanied man through history was to be abolished. Its use or even threat of use was no longer to be an instrument of policy in the relations among nations. That change has not fully materialized, but the strong restraint exercised by the United Nations on any arbitrary conduct by States is beyond question. Nations do feel the compelling need to explain and justify their policies in terms of the Charter. The centrality of the United Nations in our turbulent times is also beyond dispute. But the needed development and strengthening of the Organization is lacking. We all realize the growing dangers that threaten humanity with self-extinction; we all show concern over a rapidly increasing anarchy and insecurity; we all recognize that the United Nations is our hope, and we speak with fervour of the need for strengthening the Organization so that it can bring us security and peace. Yet our actions contradict our utterances. As though enslaved by the machinery of our own creation, we seem carried by its momentum in other directions.

154. Our world is now in a period of equivocation between old concepts and new outlooks; between the concepts of a world that has already passed away and the realities of a new cosmos that has not yet taken

root in our consciousness. We are in a period of transition from dominance of force to reliance on reason. This is a trying period. One that creates sharp contrast between official utterances in the United Nations and policies in the world of action. This dichotomy between reason and action brings an element of split personality in nations. It seriously affects the image of the United Nations and shakes confidence in the relevance of the Organization to existing realities. This crisis of confidence in international society is also a crisis of individual man. It seems as though man cannot find through intellect and reason alone the way to cope with the enormity of change in our times. For it has, within one generation, created a difference in human experience greater than the accumulated differences of all previous ages. For the first time in history man has to plan for the survival of the species. He appears unable to extricate himself from this crucial dilemma. A change in values and shift in his orientation towards the inexhaustible resources of the spirit and guidance within him, and towards the good of the human community around him is his only way out. A re-emphasis in the dynamism of the human spirit can, we believe, provide the key to the adjustments needed for human survival.

155. The United Nations is essentially a political institution. But there are times when human institutions in confronting critical problems have to turn to decisions of an ethical quality. It is my conviction that at the present juncture in history we have to determine our decisions and carry them out upon the firm premise of a moral responsibility and commitment. In this sense our theme, "Peace, justice and progress", can assume the force of a meaningful commitment in this commemorative Assembly.

156. These are critical moments for all nations and peoples. Cyprus is a small country without material power or wealth. We take pride, however, in believing that within our modest means we have consistently on all occasions supported the strengthening of the Organization in which we placed our hopes for the future of mankind. Our offerings to the United Nations can only be those of mind and heart. On this solemn occasion I wish to reaffirm, with all the power of conviction and faith, our immutable commitment to the principles of the Charter and our dedication to the strengthening and development of the United Nations as an effective world authority for justice, freedom and peace in the world.

157. This is the message that, in a spirit of humility, I bring from the people of Cyprus to this commemorative Assembly.

158. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Hubert Maga, President of the Presidential Council, Head of State and Head of Government of the Republic of Dahomey.

159. President MAGA (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I begin by congratulating you on being appointed by your peers to preside over the pro-

ceedings of this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, a session which is not like others since we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. What was needed on this occasion was a representative possessing acknowledged and admired human qualities and demonstrated ability. I am happy to be able to say, Sir, that in our eyes your qualities as an experienced diplomat, distinguished jurist, veteran internationalist and finally your qualities as a statesman, quite naturally marked you out for the Presidency. But first of all the General Assembly in electing you its President wished to pay a deserved tribute to your country and the Scandinavian nations, which from the outset have been among the most reliable and dedicated mainstays of the United Nations. Your countries have always upheld the cause of justice and law and hence the cause of those of us that are the developing countries.

160. They have done so without ulterior motives and with the reasoned passion that is characteristic of them. I should like, therefore, to salute them on behalf of the people of Dahomey, who have nothing but friendship and admiration for them.

161. I should like to take the same opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General of the Organization, U Thant, for his patient and tireless work on behalf of the United Nations and for his constant and unflinching interest in the problems of the African continent. Mr. Secretary-General, we thank you for it.

162. This session of the General Assembly of the United Nations—as each one of us is aware—is marked both by simplicity and by a certain solemnity; simplicity, since every year at the same time the representatives of States Members of the Organization meet on the banks of the East River to get together, to express their main concerns and also their hopes and their confidence in the future; solemnity, because the United Nations, born among the still smoking ruins of the Second World War, this year celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding, and the participation of distinguished figures in this commemorative session gives it particular brilliance.

163. It was 25 years ago, therefore, that, “determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . 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 . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”, the peoples of the United Nations adopted the Charter creating the United Nations.

164. Before these aspirations solemnly proclaimed a quarter of a century ago, there is a great temptation to stop, to cast, a critical and objective eye over the work done and the road travelled by the Organization since its foundation—in a word, to take stock. Some will place the accent on the inadequacies or imperfections of the Organization, on the need to adapt its structures and working methods to the realities of our world,

which is in full and constant change. Others will emphasize the fact that, despite its limitations and the crises through which it has passed, the United Nations has to some extent satisfied the expectation of the peoples and that it constitutes a privileged and invaluable place of meeting and dialogue among men of goodwill.

165. For our part, we think that, over and above expressions of satisfaction and recognitions of failure, we must all together, in the light of past experience and also of the present situation, seek ways and means of attaining the purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter.

166. First of all, there is reason to ask ourselves whether the Charter has been effectively implemented and, in particular, whether the many possibilities it holds out in the most diverse fields have all been exploited, be it within the framework of the Security Council, the organ charged with the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security”; of the General Assembly, which has real powers of recommendation but which too often has unfortunately been the scene of sterile debates and bitter polemics; of the Economic and Social Council, which organizes the efforts of nations for the welfare and the prosperity of man; or of the International Court of Justice, of which we expect more.

167. If the United Nations is to do its work properly it is essential that all States Members of our Organization and, in particular, those of the Security Council that are vested with certain responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, should faithfully meet their obligations under the Charter. The United Nations can be an instrument for peace and progress only to the extent that each Member State gives it its co-operation and its active support and respects the noble principles of the Charter, namely, the sovereignty and equality of rights of States, non-interference in their domestic affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes, renunciation of the threat or use of force, and the right to self-determination of peoples.

168. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is of particular importance for Africa because it coincides with the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 of resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration has had more profound repercussions in Africa than in any other part of the world. Since the adoption of that resolution, in which the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed “the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations . . .” 14 African countries have become full-fledged members of the international community. While this happy development has been noted with satisfaction, we nevertheless cannot fail to deplore the situation which for some years has prevailed in southern Africa where millions of men, women and children continue to languish under the hateful yoke of colonial domination and racialism, contrary to all morality.

169. In that part of Africa, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is every day deliberately flouted. Furthermore, the rejection of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa by South Africa and Portugal has surely rung the death knell for any positive dialogue between those countries and independent Africa. And the reprehensible refusal of certain Members of the United Nations to apply its resolutions is indeed far from contributing to peace and justice in the region.

170. Over the past 25 years, man has achieved unprecedented scientific and technological progress, as is testified by the recent spectacular conquest of the moon, whereas on our own planet the bulk of humanity continues to suffer from sickness, ignorance, hunger and under-development. Let us therefore remain on earth, for the moon is beautiful indeed but empty and, on reflection, the earth is well worth the moon.

171. In spite of some encouraging results obtained here and there, the tragedy and anguish of the destitute compared with the situation of the privileged are great indeed. To be sure, the total volume of resources devoted to the developing countries may appear impressive, and yet it is still far below the essential minimum. What is this assistance in fact when compared with the vast poverty of the third world, and what is it in truth when compared with the enormous capacities of the industrialized countries?

172. What sums have been swallowed up these last few years by costly armaments and useless wars! Thus, instead of a helping hand in life, we have been given an opportunity to die, so far has the military arsenal been perfected.

173. While we salute past efforts to conclude a partial nuclear test-ban treaty,¹⁰ the efforts to put an end to the arms race must go on. General and complete disarmament will release tremendous resources which can help the development process in many countries that, for their part, also wish to share in economic and social development. By helping in the attainment of this objective, the United Nations will contribute to the economic and social progress of all peoples, in conformity with its purposes and principles.

174. The responsibility of the industrialized nations in the accomplishment of this task is enormous. It is their duty—and it is also in their interest—to associate themselves in the transformation effort of the under-privileged countries by giving them the benefits of science and technology. It is becoming clear that we shall have no real peace if the gulf between rich and poor nations continues to widen.

175. The present session of the United Nations is, we believe, an opportunity for deep thought and heart-searching on the part of Member States. It should be marked by resolutions the scrupulous observance and unreserved application of which should leave the effectiveness of our Organization no longer in doubt.

176. In undertaking to give practical application to the principles of the Charter, we, the Member States, can help to make our Organization what it should be: "... a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations", to ensure peace, justice, freedom and economic and social progress. It is then and then only that the United Nations will satisfy the aspirations of mankind and become a place of hope for millions of men.

177. On this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, that is the commitment, that is the undertaking which today, through my voice, Dahomey once again reaffirms to you.

178. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Member of the National Revolutionary Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic.

179. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (*interpretation from French*): The twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations provides us once again with the opportunity to express our devotion to the United Nations and to turn our thoughts to the situation which now obtains in the world. Naturally, we cannot but fully support the initiatives designed to endow this anniversary with a particularly solemn character and applaud the arrangements that have been made to ensure that this session is a particularly brilliant occasion, permitting international opinion to concentrate its attention on our Organization and on the serious problems that it has to cope with.

180. In hailing the presence of many Heads of State who wished to honour this ceremony with their presence, I should like to say how deeply President Boumediene regrets that he could not be present in person at this commemorative ceremony to which he attaches the utmost importance and for which he wishes the greatest success. He has instructed me to be his spokesman in this august Assembly, to convey all his best wishes to the Organization and to assure it of the constant, albeit modest, support of the Algerian Republic.

181. We consider it particularly fortunate and exceedingly noteworthy that 25 years after its creation, and despite the many crises that have threatened its existence, the United Nations should have been able to continue in being and should still be the repository of so much hope in offsetting the dangers that afflict mankind. A quarter of a century during which mankind has painfully followed a road bordering the abyss, during which war and violence have never ceased to wreak their havoc, during which hunger and misery have always hung as hideous spectres over the human multitudes. Year by year we have followed with a growing feeling of impotence the disturbing evolution of the international situation. The permanent unleashing of brute force, the persistence of the most flagrant injustices, the flouting of the most elementary principles of our Charter, have led many nations to become sceptical and explain their behaviour based on legitimate concern.

¹⁰ Signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

182. And yet, it was certainly with a view to setting aside such scourges, certainly with a view to preserving mankind from fresh suffering, that the United Nations Charter was drafted. The world at that time had just emerged from the long nightmare of the Second World War, and it was on the still-smoking ruins that all peoples of the earth were proclaimed free and equal.

183. True, the situation has evolved and the horrors of the Second World War are no longer anything but a memory which is gradually being erased as the years pass. People who had trembled for their freedom and security subsequently recovered; they rebuilt their prosperity and developed their power. But the Charter which they drafted still bears the imprint of their fears and sufferings, and it is precisely because they almost lost their independence that they reaffirmed so fervently and forcefully the generous principles of the freedom and equality of peoples.

184. Since 1945 many colonized peoples have acceded to independence and become Members of our Organization. Still weak, and bearing the marks of long years of exploitation, they none the less brought to our Organization their faith and their youthful energy, aware as they were of the need to strengthen international solidarity, desirous of accelerating the movement of mankind towards its liberation from all bonds of slavery, poverty and ignorance. The principles of our Charter could not find more enthusiastic and more sincere supporters than these people who have recently made their *début* on the international stage, some of whom have had to pay dearly for their national independence.

185. But the world is still disturbed by the threats which continue to overshadow peace. While the danger of a direct confrontation between the two greatest Powers has been averted owing to the terrifying balance of their forces and as a result of the peaceful coexistence to which they committed themselves after having attained a dizzying level of achievement in the manufacture and perfecting of armaments, war has never ceased to rage in various parts of the globe. No one doubts that each one of these seed-beds of conflict bears within itself the danger of a general conflagration and involves the responsibility of the great Powers which, very often, because they are directly or indirectly involved in these localized disputes, seek only to maintain and expand their zones of influence and use force with contempt for the law.

186. True, the apportionment of international responsibilities was made in practice on the basis of material power, and the maintenance of order in the international community was undertaken by the great Powers. The very functioning of our Organization rests on that fundamental concept which provides the great Powers with an exceptional opportunity to intervene in the decisions of the Security Council. Should such a position of preponderance not more properly induce the countries which benefit from that position to make better use of their vast resources in the service of peace throughout the world and the well-being of mankind?

187. Together with the other countries of the third world, we have never ceased to denounce this situation which converts our peoples into pawns in a struggle for which they are not directly responsible. We should like once again to repeat that the intervention of the great Powers in our countries, their attempts to maintain a domination that our peoples have rejected and that they do not want and cannot accept, constitute the most immediate threats to peace. More than other States, our young countries need the understanding and the friendship of all the countries of the world. But real friendship can exist only between sovereign and equal peoples. It is only through the elimination of injustice and force in the relations between the Members of the world community, it is only at the price of mutual respect of all peoples that we will be able to establish a lasting international balance which is the gauge of a true universal peace.

188. If it were necessary to justify by examples the fears that we have expressed, it would suffice to glance quickly at the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America which include the core of what we have come to call the third world.

189. Those vast regions, which were for a long time colonies and which have been partially liberated politically, have experienced in differing degrees a state of economic under-development against which they are fighting desperately. We are aware of all the efforts that they are making, without much success for that matter, to alter an international economic order which keeps them and is designed to keep them indefinitely—which is more serious—in a disadvantageous position and which makes it possible to foster—at their expense—increased prosperity for the wealthier countries. But what we should also denounce is the continuing exploitation of their resources by the largest powers and countries infected with the disease of colonialism, which, by the presence of their companies, their enterprises, their commercial monopolies and sometimes even by the presence of their troops, guarantee both their grip on the wealth of the countries and at the same time guarantee to themselves the possibility to exert political pressure throughout an entire region. Thus, the greed which in the last century led to the unleashing of colonialism in those Territories, remains as avid as ever, but its manifestations take on forms that are apparently less brutal, but just as harmful. Because of the vast wealth that they have in their soil, because of the weakness of the means available to them to undertake the exploitation of these riches themselves because of the strategic advantages that they offer, the countries of those continents therefore find themselves exposed to the efforts and schemes of the better-equipped and especially the more powerful countries. We see therein the origins of all these localized conflicts, of the struggles through which the subjugated peoples want to throw off foreign oppression, and of this tense situation fraught with threats to the peace.

190. In our continent, the supply of weapons to South Africa and Portugal, the maintenance of economic rela-

tions with the unlawful minority régime of Rhodesia are just so many elements that help to worsen the fate of the African countries and mortgage their future for many long years to come. The régime of *apartheid* and racial segregation practised by the authorities of Pretoria, denounced by world opinion, in its entirety, has been formally condemned by our institutions. Security Council resolutions have imposed a total embargo on weapons destined for South Africa. Yet, it is now public knowledge that the European countries, which figure among the largest Powers and apparently the most constant defenders of international morality, are supplying war matériel and arms factories to the Vorster régime. For example, the United Kingdom Government has even announced officially its desire in some way to intensify this type of trade with Pretoria.

191. Should one become indignant at the ease with which these Western Powers, some of which have a permanent seat on the Security Council, countervene decisions with which they have freely associated themselves? When we know how the weapons that have been supplied will be used, when we measure the suffering and the humiliation that they will spread, when we are convinced that the goal sought by the South African authorities is first of all to consolidate and extend this system of *apartheid* throughout southern Africa, it is difficult to accept the fact that great countries should have given way to considerations of material and sordid interests. The Organization of African Unity has unequivocally condemned all Governments that deliver weapons to South Africa, asking them urgently to revise their attitudes and to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council. But it is clear that if this situation were to continue, if the appeal of Africa were to remain unheeded, the African countries as a whole would know, I hope, how to take the necessary measures to ensure their security by their own means.

192. What we have just said about South Africa applies equally to Portugal which, relying on the aid of the NATO countries, is perpetuating its colonial domination in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). The continuing development of the liberation struggle in those three Territories shows clearly the empty nature of the Portuguese policy, which runs counter to the course of history. The independence of those regions is an inevitable development, yet, how much suffering, how many more deaths must we continue to amass before we can break the chains of colonial oppression.

193. Our Assembly, like the Security Council has already been called upon repeatedly to examine and discuss the question of Rhodesia. There is hardly any need to recall here the factors involved in that problem which is the result, as a matter of fact, of the provocative attitude of a racist minority which has illegally seized power and which has imposed a régime of racial discrimination placing the African population of that British colony at its mercy. Despite every effort that has been made the African countries have not succeeded in convincing the Government of the United Kingdom to assume fully its responsibilities by using

all means, including force. Moreover, the ineffectiveness of the limited measures adopted by the Security Council is so obvious that it would not even be useful to dwell on it at length. Will the international community however remain impassive indefinitely at the challenge flung at it by the minority régime of Ian Smith, whose repeated, indescribably impudent acts apparently meet with the most unusual complacency on the part of the British Government.

194. In North West Africa, the countries of the Maghreb who, as you know, have centuries-old ties of friendship with Spain, are working shoulder to shoulder in a sincere attempt to aid the administering Power to speed up the process of decolonization in Rio de Oro. Last September, at Nouadibou, the heads of State of Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria reaffirmed their will to contribute to the efforts of the international community to achieve the emancipation of a region which today symbolizes the noble ideals of good neighbourliness, brotherhood and co-operation, which already exist, and which could develop further among the three countries of the Maghreb and Spain. Moreover, such a process fortunately, and of necessity, will lead to the advancement of friendly relations and co-operation between the countries of the western Mediterranean and the countries of the Organization of the States bordering on the Senegal River. In so doing, we are well aware of our contribution to understanding among peoples and to the strengthening of stability and peace in that region.

195. We fully realize that here we are enlarging on questions that inevitably crop up at every one of our meetings. This emphasis naturally is not for our own pleasure. In the first place, it emphasizes the continuing nature both of our difficulties and also of our apprehension. It also emphasizes the inability of international institutions to give effect to their own decisions. But above all it shows the interest that we attach, like all African countries, to the definitive solution of all these problems. Before all else, it is the security of our countries, it is the dignity of our peoples that are at stake. And what are we to think of other situations, where we must deal with intervention from outside involving the great Powers? The dangers that result then for Africa likewise concern the international community as a whole, for above and beyond our own security it is world peace that is compromised.

196. The persistence of this dangerous situation in Africa must not blind us to another source of tension which is at present in the forefront of our concerns, the worsening of the Middle East crisis. While specialists in international affairs have always understood the danger involved in this particularly serious crisis, public opinion in all countries has only gradually become aware of it and the general concern has reached its peak in the past few weeks.

197. The simplistic pattern of this situation imposed by skilful propaganda has undoubtedly failed to survive the rude shock of realities that are each day more evident. It is obvious to all today that the problem of the Middle East is not the survival of an artificial

State surrounded by the atavistic hostility of backward and primitive neighbours who cannot control their ancient fanaticism. Everyone knows now what Israel represents, its imperialistic and expansionist character, and the audacity that it derives the fact of its impunity above all from the material and military support guaranteed it by powerful circles in many countries.

198. But what the world has just discovered in the light of recent events is the existence of the Palestinian people, expelled from their country, humiliated and scattered; a people which it was believed had finally been crushed but which, having recovered its strength and having realized the injustice with which it has been treated, now comes to claim its due, crying out for the right to reconquer the land of its ancestors or die in dignity. This is what is calling in question convictions too hastily arrived at; this is something to disturb a good many consciences.

199. For that people, weakened in the extreme, is beginning to act as does everyone who must fight against an organized adversary more powerful than himself. First they begin guerrilla operations, making the enemy feel insecure, in a word, resistance. The action of the Palestinian patriots must be understood as an attempt to impose the existence of their people on an international opinion that has too long ignored them, and as a protest against deals which could result in their final extermination. The reactions of the Israeli authorities are of course borrowed from the best colonial schools. But nothing can prevent the developing action of the Palestinians who will learn from experience to improve their methods, to close their ranks. The Palestinian cause, long misunderstood if not ignored by international opinion, has been partially eclipsed by the more recent problem posed by the Israeli aggression of June 1967, and by the occupation of territories of sovereign countries, Members of this Organization.

200. It is perhaps natural that these Arab countries, no matter what their dedication to the Palestinian cause, should be primarily concerned with recovering their national territory and protecting themselves against any further aggression. Although this is their legitimate right, and although it is unanimously agreed that an aggressor cannot be allowed to keep the fruits of his aggression, no solution, either political or military, is yet forthcoming after three years. The problem has in fact been clarified by a new element—the Palestinian factor—for we should call it by its name and acknowledge its full importance. When people talk about sure and recognized frontiers, it is above all that element they mean, and the security considerations on which the Israeli argument rests are nothing but self-protection against a nationalism with disquieting claims, disquieting because legitimate, and more widely recognized, better and better defended, claims calling in question the present form and structure of Israel.

201. What Israel wants at bottom is for the Arab countries themselves to crush the Palestinian people and to root them out. Would a similar situation have arisen in North Africa if colonial France, to perpetuate

its rule in Algeria, had occupied part of the territory of Morocco and Tunisia and demanded as the price of its withdrawal from that territory that the Government of those two countries should undertake the liquidation of the FLN in Algeria? Absurd as the analogy may be, it points up the monstrosity of the Israeli demands and will perhaps in part explain the difficulty of reaching agreement on evacuation of the occupied territories.

202. However, confronted with the continuation of an untenable and incalculably dangerous situation, the United States initiative based on the Rogers plan won the support of the parties at issue. That initiative broke down from the very first contact, and it will be readily understood why when one considers the many reservations which marked the Israeli attitude. But one of the most serious, and for some apparently most unexpected consequences of the United States initiative, was the reaction of the Palestinians, rightly afraid that they would be exposed to a mortal thrust. International opinion must understand the tragedy of the Palestinian people, must come to feel in itself what a combination of so many injustices, so much lack of understanding and so much hostility would be like.

203. No settlement—and we can never say this often enough—can be envisaged which does not take into account the fundamental element of the Palestinian people. And the problem is in fact that of the Palestinian people, the victim of an international conspiracy, which will no longer today content itself with parsimonious charity doled out to the refugees. The people of Palestine is now ready to seize its own destiny and it is with that people, first and last, that a solution to the crisis can and must be found.

204. Those that fight most bitterly when their rights are ignored and their cause despised can become lucid and realistic interlocutors once they are brought into the dialogue, once the legitimacy of their claims is recognized. The substance of the problem being thus settled, the other questions will appear as subsidiary and it will then be possible to eliminate what is called the aftermath of the aggression. Any other procedure would lead to a precarious situation, which could be maintained only by the intervention of Powers foreign to the region and which sooner or later would culminate in further bloody confrontations. We believe the choice is clear, and it should be clear to anyone who sincerely seeks a just peace, which for our part is our most earnest desire.

205. I trust you will not object if I have addressed myself at such length to a subject which for more than one reason is close to our heart, a subject whose burning urgency is evident to us all. But the Palestinian problem is unfortunately not the only urgent one in Asia. And my remarks would be incomplete indeed if I did not also refer to the situation which prevails throughout South Asia where, in the Indo-China peninsula, the problem of Viet-Nam has now been compounded by that of Cambodia.

206. When a situation continues indefinitely, international opinion seems to grow weary, its interest and

its vigilance become dulled. This could be the case in regard to the situation in South Viet-Nam, where a murderous war nevertheless continues and where the destiny of a people is at stake, a people whose heroism no longer needs to be lauded, but which continues to pay the heaviest price for freedom. The war has not stopped, although the Paris conference has been under way a long time and although the United States incessantly protests its desire for peace, while pursuing its policy of "Viet-Namization" of the war.

207. Two truths are however emerging from this tragic situation: the first, that it is impossible to annihilate the liberation movement of South Viet-Nam; the second, that the National Liberation Front is the most authentic representative of the vast majority of the South Viet-Nameese people. In proposing the Paris conference, the United States showed that it recognized those two facts and, accordingly, the solution of the problem might logically be expected to follow from that realistic attitude. The solution, determined with the duly authorized representatives of the National Liberation Front, should provide first for the evacuation of United States and allied troops, the installation in Saigon of a Provisional Government representative of the various tendencies of the population—therefore, in particular, of the National Liberation Front—which Government would organize free and democratic general elections, enabling the population itself to decide its future. The problem of the reunification of Viet-Nam would be settled subsequently between the Governments of North and South in a manner which it will be for them to decide.

208. There would seem to be no obstacle to rapid agreement on arrangements acceptable to the two principal antagonists. It is therefore difficult to understand the American equivocations, which appear to be based on ideological considerations or even on pressure brought to bear by the pseudo-Government of Saigon, whose complete lack of representativeness is no secret to anyone. The settlement of a situation which has deteriorated to this point cannot be achieved through half measures. The eight-point programme proposed in Paris on 17 September last by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam constitutes a serious, practical and realistic contribution to a peaceful solution of the South Viet-Nam problem.

209. Moreover, the prestige of a great Power like the United States of America does not reside in the pursuit of an unjust war against a small people which refuses to give up its freedom, but in establishing a real peace which would restore to that people its dignity and its right to a peaceful life so that it may bind up its wounds and build again upon its ruins. It is in the accomplishment of this mission that the true greatness of a great nation like the United States resides.

210. We cannot speak of the world situation and the effectiveness of our Organization without mentioning that grave anomaly from which our Organization continues to suffer, the absence of the People's Republic of China. Can we reasonably speak of universality and

effectiveness in this Organization when the great Chinese people, which alone represents a quarter of mankind, continues to be ignored here? The deliberate determination to keep China out of our debates is both unjust and dangerous. One serious and effective way to strengthen the authority of our Organization would be to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China before it is too late.

211. And since we are talking of anomalies, can there be any more scandalous anomaly than that of South Korea, which for more than 20 years has been occupied by foreign troops under cover of the United Nations flag? Thus, our Organization is illegally associated in an enterprise aimed at perpetuating the division of the Korean nation. It is high time the Korean people was allowed to decide its future, without external pressure and in conformity with its own genius.

212. We have expressed our concerns—the greatest among so many others—convinced that they are shared by all members of the international community, equally worried about the dangers that becloud our common future.

213. The United Nations has fully recognized the importance of these problems whose implications for world peace are all too obvious. Numerous resolutions have been adopted in regard to each of them, calling for measures to be applied by all countries aimed at replacing brutal confrontation with the peaceful settlement of disputes. Unfortunately, we must note that several States, and not the least powerful, have ignored these decisions or consciously contravened them. Perhaps this should be regarded as one of the main reasons for the inability of our Organization to carry out its peace-keeping mission properly and to the full.

214. However, it is right to emphasize that in other spheres our Organization has had some success, and we should be the last to minimize its importance. A serious and praiseworthy effort is being made by all the specialized agencies under the authority of the Secretary-General, which are giving our Governments considerable assistance in the areas of culture, education, agriculture, health and labour, or which are seeking valid solutions for other human problems, such as that of refugees or that of hunger. The strengthening of international co-operation, which is one of the fundamental objectives of our Organization, has been its constant concern, and we cannot but hope for the maintenance and development of these activities, which are unanimously appreciated in all our countries.

215. However, the struggle against economic underdevelopment requires the total and willing commitment of all members of the international community and in particular the wealthier countries. If the past decade has at least emphasized the danger inherent in the disparity in levels of development around the world, the decade now beginning should open the way to measures to establish a balance in international trade more favourable to the economically weak countries. Suggestions to that effect were put forward by the Group of Seventy-Seven in the Charter of Algiers; it

is time those suggestion met with the favourable response they deserve and there was at last a tangible expression of the solidarity of peoples in the quest for a more equitable distribution of wealth in the world.

216. The commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization has enabled us to look back over the road we have travelled, to consider the difficulties that have arisen and the progress that has been made during the past quarter-century. The recent past has been marked by much torment and disappointment; it has also seen extraordinary strides in the scientific field opening up unprecedented possibilities for man's power over nature. It is undoubtedly reasonable to think in terms of a better future in which that power will be placed at the service of mankind. Our presence here and the solemnity of this ceremony are a manifestation of that hope, in which we all share, and evidence of our confidence in the United Nations as an instrument for its attainment.

217. We know that our Organization bears within itself the ills afflicting international society. However, we are convinced that, strong in the dedication that all the Member States bring to it, and deriving new strength from the trials it endures, it will prove equal to its tremendous responsibilities.

218. More than ever, as long as the existence and the future of mankind are threatened from all sides, the United Nations remains the last refuge of human hope.

219. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Minister of State and Special Envoy of the Government of Belgium, Mr. A. de Schrijver.

220. Mr. DE SCHRIJVER (*interpretation from French*): Most of the members of the special Belgian delegation to this commemorative session participated 25 years ago in the San Francisco Conference. Accordingly our thoughts turn primarily to the events of that time.

221. The horrors and devastations of the Second World War were still rampant in Europe and Asia when the work of the Conference began on 25 April 1945. The Governments invited to participate had previously been apprised of the proposals worked out in the autumn of 1944 at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and completed at Yalta. Unlike what had occurred immediately after the end of the First World War, Governments had not waited until the end of hostilities to build a new international community whose principal objective was to ensure the safeguarding of peace in the world. At San Francisco delegations examined in depth the problems inherent in international co-operation.

222. At that Conference Belgium emphasized its traditional support of an order founded on the principles of international law, on recourse to peaceful means to settle disputes and on the organization of collective security. With regard to the other problems, Belgium was anxious to see the Conference reach solutions

inspired by justice and human solidarity with all peoples.

223. While the structures, the organs, the machinery and the procedures provided for by the Charter taken together were regarded as a compromise, on the other hand, the enunciation of the principal purposes to be pursued and the objectives to be achieved quickly gained the support of all. Going back to the original sources, we should say that those purposes found their most eloquent and powerful expression in the text of the preamble. That preamble, which is both idealistic and realistic, contains in one single sentence the feelings and hopes that inspired the delegations. In particular it proclaims faith in the dignity and fundamental rights of the human person and in the equal rights of nations large and small. Moreover, it affirms the will to unite the forces of the United Nations to safeguard peace and security and to promote the social and economic progress of all peoples.

224. The spirit of understanding that prevailed at San Francisco and the desire to arrive at a valid instrument, despite the reservations expressed, made it possible for the States represented there to give their unanimous support to the final draft of the Charter. Those who lived through those days can never forget either the deliberations or the solemn signing of the Charter on 26 June 1945.

225. The Belgian delegation is still deeply convinced that the actions of States Members of the United Nations should continuously be inspired by the principles of the Charter. This commemorative session gives Belgium an opportunity to confirm the commitment it undertook in 1945.

226. This commemorative session also induces us to think about the pursuit of the ideals enunciated 25 years ago. My delegation will confine this brief statement to considerations of this type, inasmuch as Mr. Harmel, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, set forth clearly in his statement to the Assembly on 1 October last [*1856th meeting*] the Belgian position on certain current international problems and my country's participation in initiatives and projects of the United Nations.

227. The deep changes in human societies that were foreshadowed in the course of the Second World War had opened up new horizons and new prospects. Accordingly, the representatives of Governments at San Francisco did not intend to draw a blueprint for a situation that the tragic events of 1939 had transformed. In laying the foundations of the United Nations, delegations tried to respond to the needs of civilizations in a continuing state of evolution. San Francisco heralded the advent of a new world where, one hoped, a greater degree of fraternity and solidarity would prevail.

228. The Charter paved the way for the accession of many countries to sovereignty and thus to their participation in the activities of our Organization. Today, with 127 Members as compared with the 51 signatory countries of 1945, and with the States that will be enter-

ing later, the United Nations better reflects its universal vocation.

229. Since the Organization is responsible in the eyes of young generations for the direction which the development of international relations will take, it is duty-bound now to adapt its style and methods to new changes. Youth looks upon the United Nations not only as a legal structure but as a living organ. Youth believes—and rightly so, for that matter—that each State should be aware of its international function and should act in the common interest.

230. International problems are unquestionably multiple and complex in nature. But the sense of world responsibilities which should inspire the General Assembly would facilitate the search for adequate solutions.

231. We cannot, however, forget that the founders of the United Nations entrusted the Security Council with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We shall therefore support any suggestion tending to strengthen the authority and effectiveness of the Council. Furthermore, we would express the hope that States will become more cognizant of the need to settle disputes by peaceful means. But the Security Council can fulfil its mission only to the extent that the great Powers agree. It is towards those Powers that our often anxious gaze is turned. Finally, confidence in the effectiveness of the Security Council can be restored only to the extent that all Member States undertake to accept and apply its decisions in accordance with the Charter.

232. I turn now to the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies. What a vast task it is to create favourable conditions for social, economic, cultural and scientific development throughout the world. The strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade provides valuable guidelines in that connexion.

233. Belgian public opinion is increasingly aware of the need to ensure to all mankind the "freedom from want" that President Roosevelt proclaimed as one of the fundamental freedoms.

234. In that connexion, our Government attaches particular importance to the work of the Sea-Bed Committee,¹¹ the success of which would have the advantage of removing the wealth of the sea-bed from the arena of possible international rivalries. Multilateral aid to the developing countries could benefit from the financial resources derived from this source of wealth, as it could also benefit from the resources made available by a decrease in military expenditure.

235. In conclusion, we should like also to repeat our hope for the success of the negotiations carried out at the bilateral level and within the multilateral framework of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva to put an end to the arms

race and achieve a programme of general disarmament under effective international control. Tangible results would lead to the relaxation of tension so indispensable to better co-operation among States.

236. I hope the Secretary-General will allow my delegation to pay him a respectful tribute on behalf of Belgium for the competence and independence with which he has, in the interests of all, carried out the lofty tasks entrusted to him by the United Nations.

237. Mr. President, your recognized authority and the esteem in which you are held by all delegations have carried you to the presidency of this general and commemorative session of the General Assembly. You have brought with you to this post your legal knowledge and your commentaries on the Charter. The Belgian delegation would however also like to recall your participation, 25 years ago, in the San Francisco Conference. We pay you a tribute and offer you our warmest thanks.

238. The PRESIDENT: Before calling upon those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply, I would propose that, in accordance with the practice of the last few days, we limit the time for each speaker to 10 minutes. But in order to be sure that representatives do not leave before I make some announcements I shall take the liberty of making them first. Then I shall call on representatives who have asked to exercise the right of reply, allowing them a maximum of ten minutes each.

239. As part of the final meeting in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary tomorrow morning, the Assembly will take formal action on three documents prepared for the commemorative session that have already been discussed by the plenary. Regarding those documents, I should like to make the following observations.

240. First, there is the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. This was recommended to the plenary by the Sixth Committee and was discussed by the General Assembly at its 1860th plenary meeting on 6 October 1970.

241. Second, there is the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which was recommended by the Second Committee and discussed by the General Assembly at its 1871st plenary meeting on 17 October 1970.

242. Finally, there is the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, which was submitted by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and taken up by the General Assembly at its 1862nd to 1864th plenary meetings on 12 and 13 October 1970 and at the 1880th meeting on 22 October.

243. Regarding all these documents, Member States have had the fullest opportunity, both in plenary and,

¹¹ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

where relevant, in committee, to state their position and to make interpretations, observations or reservations which form part of the records of the meetings of the plenary and the records and reports of the Committees concerned. Under the circumstances, the Assembly will tomorrow proceed to take formal action on the documents without discussion, as has been agreed.

244. I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to exercise the right of reply, and would again remind them of the time-limit of 10 minutes.

245. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): At the conclusion of yesterday afternoon's meeting of the General Assembly [1879th meeting], the representative currently occupying the seat reserved for the true representative of the people of South Africa took the floor to make a number of misleading statements on the conditions in which the non-white people of South Africa are living. I will attempt to reply to these statements briefly, as the reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa [A/8022 and Add.1] of which I have the honour to serve as Chairman, have already been documented and contain the true facts.

246. First and foremost, let me say that his claim that the racist minority régime of South Africa is promoting self-determination for the African people is a fraudulent assertion. What his régime is trying to do is to confine the African people, who constitute 70 per cent of the population, to 13 per cent of the land, the so-called Bantustans. What his régime is trying to do, against the principles of the Charter and of the resolutions of this Assembly, is to secure permanent white domination in 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa.

247. Self-determination has long been one of the most cherished principles of the United Nations. The debasement of the term by the South African racist régime would be ludicrous if it did not represent such tragic consequences for the non-white people of South Africa. Now that they have been deprived of every political, legal, social and economic right, now that they have been forcibly dispossessed from their own land and herded like cattle into reserves which cannot support them, we are told that they have either achieved self-determination or can have it if they so wish, provided it is exercised within the so-called homelands.

248. In his statement, the representative of the Pretoria régime spoke of a non-aggression pact with other African States. How naïve a proposal. What the Pretoria régime is attempting to do is to attain a *status quo* on its policy of *apartheid*.

249. The representative said that the internal policies of his régime had nothing to do with this issue. What nonsense. Of course they do. Those policies are a complete negation of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

250. African States in their collectivity are not apprehensive of the racist régimes. They are concerned, however, about the brutal conditions in which their African brothers are compelled to live, and of the effort being made to enslave them. Until the non-white peoples of South Africa, of Namibia and elsewhere in southern Africa are totally free from the policies of *apartheid*, African States in their totality will continue their struggle with the Pretoria régime.

251. The representative of Pretoria said his régime was concerned about the future of 15 million non-white people, and that they have achieved a standard of living higher than anywhere else on the continent. Surely, if the representative has to make comparisons to justify his régime's position, he should begin by comparing the conditions of the non-white peoples in South Africa to those of the white population.

252. He did not say in his statement that white workers are paid many times more than Africans who are doing similar jobs. For example, in the mining industry a white worker gets 297 rand, an African worker 18 rand. White workers have effective trade unions with bargaining powers, while black trade unions have been made ineffective by legislation which makes strikes illegal and bars African workers from bargaining of any kind. Education for whites is compulsory and free; for blacks it is neither. And while the *per capita* expenditure on the education of white children in South Africa was 114 rand in 1968, for African children it was 13.5 rand.

253. All these iniquities are part of the logic of *apartheid*, which is to create for the white South Africans a supply of cheap and conveniently directed migrant labour.

254. When we examine these facts—the poor educational facilities available to Africans and the restriction of their wages—it becomes clear that it has all been deliberately planned to keep the African mentally and physically undernourished. The statistics relating to the undernourishment of African families are well known: an infant mortality rate of 400 per thousand among black children—the highest in the world—as compared with a rate of 27 per thousand for white children in southern Africa. And finally, a life expectancy of 40 to 45 years for Africans, as compared with approximately 64 years for whites.

255. These are the statistics of *apartheid*. These are the statistics which the representative of Pretoria did not reveal yesterday. South Africa is by no means a happy, prosperous country for the non-white people. Four million blacks have already been uprooted, dispossessed, deported to areas of which they have had no previous knowledge; another four million are awaiting deportation. One can imagine the misery, the suffering, the hardship involved in such an iniquitous transaction. These are the facts about *apartheid*. These are the facts prevailing in South Africa.

256. During this commemorative session we have heard heads of State and Government, and their special

envoys, denounce the inhuman policy of *apartheid* with not a single Government defending it except that of the person currently occupying the seat of South Africa. The General Assembly has already adopted numerous resolutions recognizing that *apartheid* is inconsistent with the obligations of a Member State under the United Nations Charter. The majority of Member States in this Assembly consider *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity. Only last night, this Assembly, in approving a declaration, described the policy of *apartheid* as being a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. That declaration is to be subscribed to by Members which have close relations with South Africa.

257. This Assembly has in the past condemned the régime in Pretoria for illegally occupying Namibia, a Territory for which the United Nations has assumed responsibility.

258. The conduct of the Pretoria régime constitutes an aggression against the non-white peoples of South Africa and Namibia, an aggression against humanity. Yet, for a quarter of a century South Africa—or the racist régime purporting to represent South Africa—has been able to sit in this hall, participate in our debates, take part in solemn ceremonies, and exercise the right to vote. My delegation feels that the General Assembly cannot afford to go on ignoring the principles of the Charter and of its own resolutions and rules, with respect to the representation of South Africa.

259. At the beginning of this session the Assembly appointed a Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of representatives and report without delay, in accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. We have not yet received a report on the credentials of the South African delegation. My delegation does not recognize the credentials of the so-called South African delegation. We do not recognize the delegation as the representative of all the peoples of South Africa, black and white. And in accordance with rule 29 of the rules of procedure, my delegation challenges the credentials of the current representative sitting in the seat reserved for South Africa. Therefore, as this is a matter of urgent, of vital importance, I make the following motion:

“The General Assembly requests the Credentials Committee to consider as a matter of urgency the credentials of the delegation currently occupying the seat of South Africa and to make a special report on the matter.”

260. Mr. President, I would request you to put this motion to the vote and take the necessary steps to have the Credentials Committee report to us not later than Tuesday, 27 October 1970.

261. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): I take the floor on behalf of my delegation to support the proposals made by the Ambassador of Somalia that the Credentials Committee be requested under rule 28 of the rules of procedure of the Assembly to examine the credentials of

the representative who purports to represent South Africa but actually represents the régime in South Africa. The inhuman policies of *apartheid* of the racist régime in South Africa have been condemned by all the speakers who have the interests of humanity at heart and the representatives who have had the honour to address both this commemorative session of the United Nations and the plenary session of the General Assembly. In the various committees of the United Nations *apartheid* has also been condemned in no uncertain terms. It is a crime against humanity, and the United Nations, by keeping quiet or by continuing to allow this delegation—which unfortunately sits close to the delegation of Somalia, making it very uncomfortable for them—to continue to sit here is tantamount to condoning a crime which is being committed against our brothers in southern Africa.

262. As is well known, the Government of Pretoria represents less than 20 per cent of the population of South Africa. In particular the 15 million Africans have no rights whatever and are not represented in the Government or any of its organs. The exclusion from the political process of their country is all the more abominable because it is based wholly and solely on racial discrimination and considerations. I do not consider that this is the occasion to go into the details of the atrocities being committed against our people by the racist régime in South Africa, but we have the right to know who the representatives of the racist régime of South Africa are and how they have come to participate in the deliberations of our respected Organization. Who do they speak for? What about the 15 million Africans and the other non-white communities in South Africa? It is therefore appropriate, and my delegation whole-heartedly supports the proposals made by the Ambassador of Somalia, that we should thoroughly scrutinize the credentials of the representatives of the *apartheid* régime bearing in mind the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the United Nations Charter and as provided in the rules of procedure, that the Credentials Committee should report to the General Assembly at the earliest opportunity—or better still, as my colleague and friend has put it, by Tuesday, 27 October.

263. The PRESIDENT: According to rule 80 of the rules of procedure:

“Proposals and amendments shall normally be introduced in writing and handed to the Secretary-General, who shall circulate copies to the delegations. As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the General Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting.”

264. In order to prevent a procedural debate on this may I ask the two representatives who have spoken if it would be agreeable to them in this particular instance that we ask the Under-Secretary-General who is here present to draw the attention of the Credentials Committee to this wish and ask it to proceed as quickly as possible. Is that agreed upon?

It was so decided.

265. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): While I take the floor to make a *mise au point* in relation to the statement by His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios with regard to the Cyprus problem, I am conscious of the fact that these meetings which have been going on since 14 October are dedicated to the commemorative session of the United Nations, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we are celebrating. It is my delegation's sincere belief that this solemn occasion requires from every Member State a most sober approach to the evaluation of the past record of the Organization, as well as its future activities on which mankind as a whole places its fervent hopes. Animated by these sentiments, and believing also that the spirit of tolerance, conciliation and magnanimity should enlighten our attitudes on such an auspicious occasion, I shall dwell very briefly on certain points which require clarification.

266. My country's close connexion with Cyprus as one of the parties promoting and underwriting the Republic's independence is well known. It will be recalled that the independence of Cyprus was won by the struggles of the two national communities, Turkish and Greek Cypriots, in 1960. This independence rests on these two communal pillars. It was in exercise of their rights of self-determination that this independence was achieved. It was upon the joint application of the Greek Cypriot President and the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, representing their respective communities, that Cyprus was admitted to membership by the United Nations. The two communities formulated together their constitution. Under that constitution they agreed to share the responsibility of running the State administration at all levels in agreed proportions between the two communities.

267. In addition, the two communities retained full autonomy in communal matters on a basis of equality. Thus the two communities that had won this independence acquired in equal proportions inalienable right in the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. This political and juridical right, granted to the two communities on the basis of equality,

guaranteed that neither one nor the other could destroy the independence of the island. Intercommunal harmony was safeguarded by retaining a balanced set-up between the two communities, thus preventing the one from dominating the other. Without evoking the tragic events of 1963, which aimed at the forceful elimination of the normal traditional constitutional life on the island at the expense of one of the communities, I want to record with warm consent and approval the return to reason in 1968. With the encouragement of all parties directly concerned with the problem of Cyprus, the intercommunal talks were initiated with a view to returning the Turkish community to its normal rightful place in the life of the island. To this date the representatives of the two communities are trying to work out a solution which will enable the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots to live together in peace and security within an independent Cypriot State. It is our belief that no impediment will exist to the successful conclusion of the talks if the Greek Cypriot stand is adjusted on the following concepts.

268. The Turkish community is one of the partners in the State of Cyprus and in its independence and sovereignty. Cyprus is the homeland of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots and not an extension of any one country. Cyprus is a unity where the two communities can continue to live with each other within their traditional and constitutional personalities; Cyprus is disunited when one of the two communities brushes aside the integral personality and security of the other. It is only in that manner that the democratic principles as well as the precepts of our Charter can prevail.

269. On behalf of Turkey, and expressly at the request of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish community, I should like to reiterate appreciation for the excellent work done by the United Nations and its peace-keeping force in Cyprus. I should like also to convey our sincere thanks and those of Dr. Küçük to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, and his collaborators for their untiring efforts.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.