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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: I give the floor to the Prime Minister of Mauritius, His Excellency Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

2. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM: Mr. President, I should like first of all to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly's choice is a well-deserved tribute to you as a statesman and an eminent diplomat and scholar who has contributed to a better knowledge of the United Nations. I am confident that you will guide the work of the session to a successful conclusion.

3. I am also pleased to associate myself with the tributes paid to your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia.

4. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to our esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, for his dedicated service to the Organization and to wish him all success in his efforts in the cause of world peace.

5. It has been said that this historic gathering of the leaders of the nations of the world should be an occasion for stock-taking, reflection, an assessment of the achievements of our Organization and a reappraisal of the prospects for the future. The presence of so

many leaders of the world during this commemorative week in New York is in itself indicative of the importance they attach to this Organization.

6. According to the Charter, the purpose of the Organization was primarily the maintenance of international peace and security. Related purposes were: the development of friendly relations, the achievement of international co-operation in dealing with economic and social matters, and the harmonizing of national actions in the attainment of common ends. Not all these concepts have come true but they remain worthwhile signposts for the vast majority of the peoples of a world which continues to be torn with strife and is still unable, I am afraid, to redeem the vast possibilities with which it is endowed.

7. The United Nations has not fulfilled all the hopes and promises which the poor, the weak and the disinherited of the earth have placed in it. The world, however, can be saved from itself only by the Organization, whatever may be its weaknesses and difficulties. It is therefore my earnest wish and prayer that we will all endeavour to strengthen its role in world affairs. As we all know, we cannot imagine a world without this world Organization which has come to occupy in the hearts of men a permanent place for the regulation of disputes among nations.

8. Initially beginning with 51 Members, today the United Nations has 127. Among these are many nations which have emerged, impoverished and denuded but free, after long years of painful darkness. It is natural perhaps that they find it difficult to sustain the independence they earned after years of bitter suffering and of struggle. In this quest for a better society the big Powers, equipped with all the resources of the world, have a decisive part to play in the raising of the standard of life of those peoples.

9. You will pardon me if I stop a while and refer to my own small country. By virtue of its location in the South-West of the Indian Ocean, Mauritius is geographically part of Africa. We are a young nation. Ours is a multi-racial society, the components of which are continuing to round off their corners in an endeavour to live side by side in peace, freedom and harmony. But peace, freedom and harmony will be hollow words to the majority without the economic development and advancement which alone will permit that majority to reach a tolerable level of life. Peace, freedom and harmony are no less needed to permit our democratic institutions to send forth deeper roots into the mass of our people and to flourish. This is the path we have selected for ourselves and wish to keep to.

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

10. These are some of the basic reasons why we should like to see the Indian Ocean, which bathes our shores, remain an ocean free from the tension which pacts and blocs always engender. It is obvious to me that a tension-free Indian Ocean will be in the best interest not only of Mauritius but also of the big Powers which may be tempted to form any bloc there. Mauritius wishes to live in peace with all countries.

11. In Mauritius we attach the greatest importance to matters of the sea-bed. Therefore, we welcome the agreement reached at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on a draft treaty banning the emplacement of nuclear and other strategic weapons on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. We strongly feel that the Indian Ocean should be kept a nuclear-free zone, an area of peace. We also support the view that the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be used exclusively for the benefit of mankind as a whole and that appropriate steps should be taken to that end.

12. It is a sad reflection that generations of mankind born in this century have not known peace; that somewhere some parts of the world have been engaged in war. The birth of the United Nations, 25 years ago, has not stopped this tragedy. With the *détente* between East and West in Europe and the cease-fire in Indochina, the prospects of peace in the world appear, at last and not too soon, a little brighter than before. This opportunity should be grasped. We should reinforce the Organization in its task of maintaining peace and security throughout the world. It is in that spirit that Mauritius views the proposals of the United States President concerning a cease-fire in Indochina.

13. I would suggest that, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, we should resolve to tackle with renewed imagination and determination the perennial questions which appear on the agenda of every session, particularly questions which have a bearing on world peace.

14. Peace, of necessity, requires general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. We are gratified to note the entry into force this year of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons concluded in 1968 [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. However, in order to secure the success of this Treaty, all nuclear Powers and potential nuclear Powers should be urged to accede to it.

15. With your indulgence, I should like now to dwell briefly on the question of arms sales to South Africa, a question which is very near to our hearts. First I should like to say that my country is against *apartheid* and any form of racial discrimination, but, as regards arms sales, we are in principle against arms sales to South Africa and we should wish the United Kingdom Government not to enter into any kind of agreement with that country. However, this policy is weakened by the inability of the United Nations General Assembly to undertake similar sanctions against other countries which are supplying various types of weapons to the Republic of South Africa. I believe

we should adopt a common attitude towards all countries which are engaged in these arms sales and not single out Great Britain in particular. My Government, therefore, is of the view that Great Britain may be allowed to supply certain types of restricted naval defence equipment to that country after prior consultation with the Commonwealth countries, provided such equipment is not utilized to oppress or suppress African efforts to build a democratic Africa or to contravene the United Nations resolutions on Namibia.

16. I have spoken about war and peace, liberty and freedom. We do not live by concepts alone. On the other hand, the richer countries are growing richer, and the poor relatively poorer. It is essential that rapid economic development be promoted in the emerging countries so as to deal, as in the case of Mauritius, with the population explosion and the consequent unemployment problem. To do so in the minimum of time, greater efforts are needed for assistance to flow where needs exist. Besides channelling assistance, the United Nations, through its appropriate organ, should ensure that the primary produce of the poorer countries is paid for adequately.

*Mr. Polyanichko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

17. From its birth as an independent country, Mauritius has supported all practical co-operation between States, irrespective broadly of their ideological outlook or their geographical location. This is the policy of my Government. We belong to the Organization of African Unity, the Joint Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Organization, the Commonwealth of Nations and the group of non-aligned nations. Within all these organizations, as within the United Nations, Mauritius will try to contribute, in however feeble a measure, to the furtherance of peace and unity on the basis of freedom and equality.

18. Peace, justice and progress represent the basic purposes which we have pledged ourselves to pursue in adhering to the United Nations Charter. In this regard, we do not have great successes to extol on this occasion. However, ours is a young Organization. The establishment of a world-wide order of peace, justice and prosperity requires more than 25 years. However, the younger generation will not be as patient as we are and it will expect to see some positive results during the coming decade. Let us make a great joint effort to bring about better and peaceful conditions in the world and to that end rededicate ourselves to the principles of the Charter and resolve to open a new chapter of international co-operation in the history of the United Nations.

19. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Shearer, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica.

20. Mr. SHEARER: I welcome this opportunity to extend to Ambassador Hambro my very sincere congratulations on his election to the Presidency of this anniversary session of the General Assembly. It is a pleasure to acknowledge his signal contribution to the

understanding of the United Nations through his research and published works, for which scholars, statesmen and diplomats around the world are indebted to him. We all know of the constructive role which his great country, Norway, has played in advancing the aims and objectives of the United Nations since it came into being.

21. I should like also to express my delegation's gratitude to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph for her able presidency, over the deliberations of the last session of this Assembly.

22. Twenty-five years ago the peoples of the United Nations, exhausted by a second war of world dimensions in a single generation, decided to embark upon a noble enterprise. They decided to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to establish conditions in which justice and respect for international legal obligations would prevail, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations great and small, and to promote social progress and better standards of life for everyone. To this end they agreed they would practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another, and would unite their strength to maintain international peace and security. Resolved to combine their efforts to accomplish these ends, they established an international organization which they named the United Nations. Their starting point was a firm commitment by each Member State to act in concert with the rest, and the organization they created was designed to be an instrument for harmonizing action.

23. As we approach the end of the first 25 years in the life of the United Nations it is appropriate, therefore, that we should ask ourselves certain questions about that Organization and about the manner in which its purposes have been served, and that we should proceed in honest self-examination to provide collective answers to these questions. We ought, of course, to dwell upon the past only to discover what lessons it may have to offer for the future, for this commemorative session should be a new beginning, should be a time at which we look towards the future.

24. The first of the questions we should ask ourselves is this: were the aims which the United Nations was designed to serve suited only to the circumstances in which the exhausted nations found themselves in 1945, or were they valid for the time since then, and are they valid now? Were the goals of the people too high?

25. To all these questions our collective answer surely is that the aims were neither too ambitious nor untimely, and the objectives are as relevant to our needs today as they were in 1945. I doubt whether there exists one Member State which does not feel the need for the United Nations to survive and to be strengthened. There is no State which has not sought to join its membership, and 25 years after San Francisco it is clear that the high hopes cherished by the founders of the United Nations still burn in the hearts of all men everywhere, both young and old.

26. We should then go on to inquire how the machinery of the United Nations has been used during these

25 years, and how well it has served the purposes for which it was established. The judgement here will differ according to which of the main purposes of the Organization is being examined.

27. In leading colonial peoples to self-government and independence, the United Nations has had remarkable success. Many States now represented here in this Assembly achieved their independence through direct involvement of the United Nations in their cause.

28. In the promotion of social and economic advance we have made progress. We give credit to the specialized agencies for the considerable assistance they have provided and the improvements generated, but it must be admitted that the progress has been slowest in the nations which are poorest, and the current international effort to raise the living standards of the peoples of the world is unanimously deemed inadequate.

29. In the promotion of the universal observance of human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 is now reinforced by international covenants which, when they take effect, will impose binding obligations on participating States. But serious infringements of human rights still continue in many areas, and much still remains to be achieved both within each Member State and in the international field.

30. As for the maintenance of world peace, we must admit that the United Nations cannot claim success in saving this past generation from the scourge of war. It is true that with the weapons now at hand mankind could have destroyed itself, and we have managed up to now to avoid that self-destruction. Man is still dying, however, for this or that ideology, in response to this or that call of national pride, in the effort to impose one form of Government or another upon his fellow men, or in self-defence against what he calls aggression but what to his opponent is an unavoidable resort to force since the avenues of peaceful change have all been closed.

31. We must then go on to ask ourselves: how has so little been achieved? Why has there been this comparative impotence of the United Nations in so many fields?

32. I submit three reasons, above others, for these failures on the part of the United Nations. By far the most important is a single fault of which we are all guilty. Each Member State or group of States persists in trying to use the Organization to serve its narrow national aims, rather than the general good of all the Member States. In its more subtle forms this fault becomes an arrogant confusion of the Member's national interest with the interests of the whole community of States, and the results of this confusion have been very grave indeed.

33. In economic matters, developed countries have continued to extract unjustified advantage from their trade with poorer States, and the transfer of technology from advanced to backward countries is consistently delayed and circumscribed.

34. In colonial affairs, this pursuit of narrow national interest has allowed some United Nations Members to connive at the illegal annexation of Namibia and the deliberate subjection of her people to conditions of near enslavement.

35. In addition to this, we find that through excessive respect for those who wield great military power, the smaller States have often failed to assert their legal rights, and so powerful Member States have been given a right of veto, which they have not even sought, over United Nations actions, and have been allowed to influence proposals and to strangle at its birth any measure which happened not to suit their interest or the interest of their protégés.

36. On the subject of procedure, we have gradually grown accustomed to replacing deeds by words, and we regard the well-phrased resolution as a substitute for action. Thus a resolution of the United Nations has come to be an end in itself, and no one any longer stops to note that often action does not follow a decision of our Council or Assembly.

37. So I ask, what can now be done about this sorry situation? In one sense, our programme for the next decade must be the logical development of our programme of the 1960s; in another sense, it has to be a clean break with the past. We are no longer now a mere collection of national States, we are an international community. We must begin to see ourselves as the astronauts have seen us: passengers together riding on a little sphere through the emptiness of space, the destiny of every human being on that sphere intimately linked with that of every other.

38. We must make a new beginning. We must seek through the United Nations to serve the general interest of mankind. The paramount interest at this moment is survival, and to serve that interest we must disarm, we must abandon the use of force as the ultimate arbiter of issues between nations, and we must close the widening gap in living standards between developed and developing countries.

39. We must abandon our preoccupation, for example, with peace-keeping as it has developed these past years, and return to the Charter concept of maintaining international peace. Need I quote the warning of the Secretary-General that we have only 10 years in which to curb the arms race, improve the human environment, deal with population and give new impetus to world development?

40. I wish I could impress upon my colleagues the sense of urgency I feel about our present predicament. We are not free now to decide at leisure that at some future time we will get around to outlawing war and to settling all our disputes in a peaceful fashion. The nuclear holocaust is not the only threat which hangs over our heads. The technology is already here to introduce into conventional war-making a degree of frightfulness which staggers the imagination—the horrors of chemical and biological warfare, weapons of destruction launched against the earth from space, the surface of the sea made unusable to ships, nation

struggling against nation in the ocean depths where it will be impossible to distinguish friend from foe. These are not wild imaginings or science fiction stories, they are the simple description of methods of destruction which man already knows how to make and use. And let us not deceive ourselves; if the international climate does not change, these weapons will be put to use one day.

41. A crisis of those dimensions and such urgency demands a complete rededication of our energies to making the United Nations the instrument of security and change we know it was intended to become. Obviously there are enterprises in which we are now engaged which should be pressed forward with new vigour, but new initiatives are also now required as evidence of our rededication.

42. Every thoughtful person, every national leader, will have particular ideas as to what those initiatives should be. I claim no right of precedence for mine but I commend for consideration of this commemorative session the following special measures which the United Nations should embark upon immediately so as to mark the new beginning and the second period in its life of service to mankind.

43. The time has come to examine the Charter with a view to making it more responsive to the problems facing the international community. Many of the shortcomings of the Organization arise more out of the negative attitude of some Member States than from any basic weakness in the Charter itself. But there are special areas in which the Charter stands in need of amendment to enable the United Nations more effectively to discharge its functions. In this connexion, the Assembly has on its agenda an item dealing with suggestions regarding the review of the Charter. Opinion is no doubt divided on this matter. For my part, I feel that, in the first place, we should decide at this session to convene a conference on the review of the Charter and to arrange for that conference to be held in 1972. In that regard we should now establish a preparatory committee to carry out the basic work required for such a conference.

44. It is not the structure of the Organization or the relationship between its organs which are at fault, it is rather the absence of the political will to apply the Charter principles and to use the machinery which was fashioned in the Charter. It cannot be denied that in the vital function of maintaining international peace the primary instrument of United Nations action is often rendered impotent by the lack of unanimity.

45. As a means of avoiding war between the major military Powers the right of veto was both practical and sound. But I submit that the veto power is too broadly drawn, and it operates to paralyse United Nations action in matters which do not involve the use of force when the Security Council could and should have acted. The time has come to amend the Charter so as to restrict the scope of the veto power.

46. Review is also called for to remove those Articles—such as Articles 53 and 107—which impose

special restrictions on the enemy States of the Second World War and which are no longer relevant to our attitudes today.

47. My Government has always considered it appropriate that the status of the Commission on Human Rights should be raised and that it should be made a Council with responsibility in its sphere equivalent to the Economic and Social Council. Such a change will not be possible unless the Charter is amended.

48. It is of course not my intention that other initiatives arising from this anniversary session should be delayed until the Charter has been reformed, for it is obvious that the process of reform will take us far into the 1970s.

49. My second proposition is that we must relieve the United Nations now of the burden of responsibility for exclusion of the People's Republic of China from this Organization. Those Member States which over the years have presented Assembly resolutions on the basis that we expel the representatives of "the régime in Taipei" are advised to omit that demand from their proposal. This demand is alien to the aims of a world institution which is intended to encompass all of mankind. The principle of universal membership and simple realism both combine to call for another kind of resolution, one which will recognize that the 13 million people of Taiwan stand outside the political authority of Peking.

50. To say that a solution on these lines is unacceptable to both Chinese régimes is not a valid objection to such action by the Assembly. The immediate purpose of the measure would be to relieve the United Nations of the moral blame for the absence of full Chinese representation from the Councils. Then the refusal to occupy one seat or the other would be refusal by the representatives of China, not an exclusion by other Members of the Organization and this refusal could be changed at any time at the will of the Chinese Governments.

51. I move to my third proposal. I propose that we should now create the effective United Nations military force which Article 43 of the Charter provides for and that the United Nations should use that force for the maintenance of international peace and security.

52. The Security Council is the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security—indeed the most vital function of the United Nations. The Security Council should be called upon to carry out this function more diligently than it has done in the past. This appeal should be addressed particularly to the permanent members of the Council. The Charter does not distinguish between one permanent member and another. The Government of France and the Government of the United Kingdom have as much responsibility for international peace as the Governments of the United States or of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and they have each as much capacity to bear the kind of military burden which is likely to be involved.

53. The Security Council, to be enabled to enforce United Nations decisions, must have military forces permanently under its command. Article 43 of the Charter, to which all Member States have subscribed, requires this. Nothing has been done to comply with the provisions of that Article since an abortive attempt was made in 1948. It is time, I submit, to give effect to this provision. And it is entirely reasonable that the forces should be contributed by Member States according to their individual resources.

54. In this connexion, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, established by General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX) has a grave responsibility for ensuring that the United Nations commence the new decade on a more promising note in the area of peace-keeping.

55. I believe that the members of the Special Committee will be sufficiently inspired, by the occasion of this commemorative session, to make a new endeavour to reach agreement on this most important area of the Organization's functions.

56. I have a fourth proposal. I propose that the United Nations should reactivate and proceed to employ the machinery established in Chapter VI of the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes amongst nations.

57. We must make a new beginning and determine that henceforth disputes between nations will, in fact, be settled by peaceful means. Since many confrontations between minor Powers are either patronized or stimulated by some major Power, we recognize that this will, from time to time, involve the sorting out of the rival interests of great Powers. But this task should not deter us.

58. Then I submit that we should immediately begin to prepare a programme for resettlement and compensation of the Palestinian refugees.

59. This anniversary session ought to tackle even a problem as complex and of long standing as that in the Middle East. In the immediate concern to deal with actual outbreaks of hostilities the underlying problem, which is the condition of the Palestinian refugees, has suffered grave neglect; yet there can be no solution which is ethically acceptable until the Palestinians have been settled. I propose that this Assembly should establish a new commission to prepare proposals for the resettlement and compensation of the Palestinian refugees.

60. I go on to suggest that we should determine to make use of the International Court of Justice, and we should encourage and support the fact-finding and peace-making powers of the Secretary-General.

61. The machinery which was established by the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international disputes is sufficient for its purpose, but it is seldom used.

62. From now on the Assembly should decide that it will encourage and support the Secretary-General

in the exercise of the special powers which are his under the provisions of Article 99 of the Charter.

63. From now on, bearing in mind that by provision of the Charter, the United Nations or any Member State may entrust the resolution of a difference to the International Court of Justice, in spite of past disappointment with opinions of the Court, Members can now make a new beginning and determine that in future they will use this essential organ of the United Nations system.

64. I turn now to my fifth proposal. In the sphere of decolonization, I propose that the United Nations should take steps now to recover Namibia from the clutches of the Government of South Africa. The United Nations has one particular task of decolonization which is yet unfinished and that task is Namibia, to which I have just referred. This Territory was no ordinary colony. Its people stood in a special relationship to the United Nations because at the end of the war with Germany, the United Nations accepted a particular responsibility for its political future. It has not discharged that responsibility. We must not now stand by and pretend to be impotent while the shackles of *apartheid* are riveted on the necks of these unhappy people. *Apartheid* in a territory for which the United Nations has responsibility becomes an international disgrace, and so it is today in the case of Namibia.

65. The Security Council has once more taken up the case, and the great Powers are insisting that only peaceful measures should be used to deal with this injustice. But the people in Pretoria make sport of our peaceful measures. So this wrong must be righted by the use of force if necessary.

66. I now propose that the United Nations undertake a renewed initiative to complete the process of decolonization, and that the first step in that process should be a concerted plan by the General Assembly and the Security Council to liberate the people of Namibia.

67. Let me add that all States Members of the United Nations will have to show more effective concern about the rights and aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Rhodesia and the other remaining colonies in Africa. Jamaica's stand on Rhodesia and on *apartheid* in South Africa is well known and remains unchanged.

68. There still remain those colonial Territories which are thought too small in population and resources to assume the obligations of United Nations membership. The time has come to make a study of the means by which they can be associated with the United Nations, and I propose that this Assembly should establish a committee for that study.

69. I come to my sixth point. The paramount issue before this commemorative session is the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. I note that this Assembly has accepted the strategy which is largely based on the report of the Preparatory

Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade, but that this acceptance has been hedged about with so many reservations that the strategy has been considerably weakened. For most of us developing countries, a performance in the 1970s which is less than is envisaged in the strategy is totally unacceptable.

70. In order to enhance the effectiveness of the Second United Nations Development Decade, I propose that this Assembly should recommend that the Government of each developed country which has expressed reservations on the targets for economic aid and the measures dealing with international trade, take these issues to their people. It is vitally important for these Governments to mobilize public opinion in their own countries in support of the Second Development Decade. Let them tell their own people that the gap cannot be narrowed between developed and developing countries while current levels of world aid and current patterns of world trade remain unchanged. Let them tell their people frankly that to help the developing countries they must pay better prices for the commodities we produce.

71. So I propose that we request the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to intensify its efforts on methods of achieving higher stable prices for the primary products of developing countries early in the Decade.

72. The liberalization of trade in semi-manufactured and manufactured goods is of great importance to developing countries. Moreover, these countries should be given the fullest opportunity to reap the maximum benefits from their natural resources. I therefore propose that this Assembly urge developed countries to take action, within the time-limits called for in the strategy, substantially to reduce or eliminate duties and other barriers to imports of semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, and to assist the developing countries to obtain maximum benefits from the exploitation of their natural resources.

73. Finally, I wish to suggest to other developing countries that it is time to take a new step in international economic co-operation. Up to now attention has been centred on the aid which the developed countries give to us. It is time for us, the developing countries, to institute programmes of economic aid and technical assistance amongst ourselves, particularly on a regional and sub-regional basis. This would be in harmony with the declaration of the Conference of Heads of State and Government which was recently held at Lusaka.<sup>1</sup> I propose that this Assembly request the various regional economic commissions to undertake studies of this matter and to report to the Assembly at its next session.

74. New dimensions to the development process which are now being given great attention by the United Nations, such as the problems of the human environment, the question of the sea-bed and ocean floor and

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



the role of youth, are also exercising the minds of the many Departments of my Government responsible for dealing with these complex issues. We recognize their relevance to the success of the Second Development Decade and look forward to the early adoption of viable guidelines leading to a solution of these problems.

75. In closing I should like to pay a special tribute to the work and person of our Secretary-General, who has remained at the helm of this storm-tossed vessel through difficult times at great personal sacrifice. We are happy to acknowledge the patient and skilful guidance he has given to the United Nations over these many years and his untiring efforts in the cause of peace. I wish to thank him particularly for the concise and lucid report he has prepared for this commemorative session, in which he so clearly states the true condition of the world Organization at the end of its first quarter of a century.

76. I wish also to say a word about the staff of the United Nations. Member States and their people owe a debt of gratitude which we cannot pay to the staff of the Secretariat and the agencies in the United Nations family for their single-minded dedication to the cause they serve, which is the welfare of our people. We wish them to know how much we value their efficiency and their impartial interest, without which there could have been no United Nations today.

77. Before going home, I should like, on behalf of the Government of Jamaica and of Jamaicans everywhere, to take this opportunity to reaffirm our pledge of support to the United Nations—a pledge on which the Organization can continue to rely at all times as it pursues its role and objectives for the benefit of all mankind.

78. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Mitja Ribičić, President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

79. Mr. RIBIČIĆ<sup>2</sup> (*interpretation from French*): The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, has asked me to convey his wishes for the success of this commemorative session and the hope that it will be an incentive to United Nations activities as well as reaffirm the great goals of the Charter. I should like to stress the readiness of Yugoslavia to continue supporting the consolidation of the World Organization's authority and role.

80. The anniversary session of the United Nations coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Yugoslavia's liberation. The new Yugoslavia emerged from the struggle against the forces of aggression, domination and racism, as an inseparable part of the profoundly progressive changes which took place in the world in the wake of fascism's defeat. Thanks to the successful outcome of the fight for national and social liberation, relations in our multi-national community rest upon the firm foundations of equality, solidarity and self-

management. That makes for economic and cultural progress and the development of social relationships based on the working man's active contribution to all facets of social activity. On this premise rests Yugoslavia's stability, as does its extensive ties and co-operation with other countries.

81. Notwithstanding significant achievements in the economic sphere, Yugoslavia is still a developing country; furthermore, we are faced with the problems of our own underdeveloped areas as well. Consequently, we can fully appreciate the problems of developing countries. We deem the more rapid solution of these problems to be an essential component for strengthening the independence and equality of every country and for consolidating international relations.

82. In the past, Yugoslavia has not been spared a single great world conflict. We have constantly fought to preserve national sovereignty, autonomous social development and freedom of international action. We are closely associated with the quest of other peoples for freedom and independence.

83. We consider equitable co-operation with all countries to be a precondition for our further development. We are endeavouring to become an active and independent factor in international affairs and to contribute—to the best of our ability—to understanding and close relations among nations. Our experience of successful co-operation with most of the countries of the world convinces us that differences among States need not constitute an obstacle to the promotion of good relations, if they are based upon equality, non-interference and mutual respect.

84. The policy of non-alignment is the most tangible evidence of such a conception of international relations and of our general approach. Held on the eve of this anniversary session, the Lusaka Conference—of which President Kaunda spoke convincingly and at length yesterday [*1872nd meeting*—has confirmed once again the resolve of the non-aligned countries to remain staunch in their dedication to the task of strengthening the role of the United Nations and promoting respect for the principles of the Charter—principles that are identical with the objectives of a non-aligned policy, an all-embracing movement for emancipation, independence, coexistence, peace, security and development.

85. The people of Yugoslavia see the consistent application of Charter principles by all States—irrespective of size, level of development or socio-political and economic system—as an irreplaceable instrument in the struggle for independence and equality of States and peoples, for the realization of human rights and man's freedom for ridding the world of the scourge of war, aggression and every other form of oppression in relations among States, for eradicating economic and social backwardness throughout the world, and for liquidating colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, and other forms of human servitude. So that it might cope successfully with these universal issues, our Organization must become universal itself. For this reason, we support the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China under the Charter.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ribičić spoke in Slovene. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

86. The most recent developments in Europe have generated a new process of co-operation and transcendence of the legacy of the Second World War and the protracted cold war confrontation, confirming the view we have always held that there is no problem, no matter how complex, which cannot be solved peaceably, given the will to reply upon negotiation and to show respect for the legitimate interests of all peoples and countries.

87. Such positive developments in Europe cannot, however, lead even to relative stability as long as contradictions, fraught with the danger of wider military implications, accumulate in the Middle East and the Mediterranean—the gateway to Europe.

88. Persistent recourse to the policy of force and tolerance of territorial acquisitions in the Middle East, in our opinion, not only constitute a danger that the war may spread in this area but seriously threaten the prospects for negotiation and relaxation of tension achieved in other areas. It is inadmissible that Arab territories acquired by force should be retained for over three years while Security Council decisions on the elimination of the results of Israeli aggression are ignored.

89. Various proposals have been advanced for the settlement of the Middle East crisis. It seems to us, however, that even their authors lack sufficient determination to persevere in realistic and comprehensive solutions. It is abundantly clear to all that the Palestinian liberation movement has become a factor which cannot be moved in the search for solutions. Regrettably, all those concerned do not admit the need to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Yugoslav Government is of the opinion that this anniversary session offers an opportunity to pay special attention to the Middle East crisis and to contribute to the search for a definitive solution. In this respect the big Powers bear a particular responsibility.

90. In South-East Asia, we are no closer to a solution based on respect for the right of the Viet-Nameese and other peoples of Indo-China to freedom and self-determination; instead, military intervention has spread to other countries. The effect of this is to prolong the suffering of the people and increase material destruction while, we are convinced, making even more remote a solution resting on self-determination for the people of that area.

91. In southern Africa, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* are being maintained by the cruellest possible repression of millions of people and violation of elementary human rights, thus threatening the independence of African peoples who have already attained freedom and jeopardizing world peace.

92. At the root of all these conflicts and crises is the policy of force and the imposition of various forms of subjugation which, unless removed, make it difficult to imagine that such problems may be solved or lasting peace established.

93. Such a state of affairs in the world is justifiably a source of anxiety. On the other hand, however, we have reason to look to the future with confidence. We may do so, above all, because of the determination of a growing number of States and peoples to refuse to be used as pawns but rather to play an active role in changing relations in the world.

94. The statements made by the representatives of Member States reflect the explicit desire to surmount the shortcomings of the United Nations and to develop a positive action programme for the future. The peoples we represent rightly expect this of us. It is incumbent on us to do our utmost to achieve this.

95. The course of this anniversary session so far engenders the hope that our concerted efforts will bear fruit and at least to some extent meet the expectation that it will adopt documents having the nature of action programmes. The documents that we have adopted and those that we are going to adopt represent a comprehensive and long-term action programme in some vital areas of international relations, deepening perception of the need to democratize international relations as a whole. These documents reflect the existing state of affairs as well as the desire to advance international understanding and co-operation.

96. The declaration of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which we adopted unanimously in the Sixth Committee [A/8082, para. 8], mirrors widespread recognition not only that it is possible but also necessary to develop comprehensive co-operation and friendship among peoples and States. True, the mere act of adopting documents does not ensure the successful and unobstructed development of these relations everywhere. But we have agreed specifically on the substance of the only kind of principles on the basis of which it is possible to promote equitable international co-operation, beneficial to all countries.

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

97. The document on an international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/8124 and Corr.1, para. 10] represents the first comprehensive endeavour by the United Nations to achieve the fundamental aims of the Charter relevant to social progress and the attainment of better conditions for all. In it a common view has been agreed upon regarding the need for structural changes in the world economy and in international economic relations, and actions essential to securing balanced development and stabilization in the world have been outlined. The consistent implementation of this document would ensure it a historic place in the efforts of the international community to solve one of the crucial problems of the contemporary world.

98. In the action programme for decolonization [A/8086, para. 40], we have pointed out the untenability of the prevailing situation in that area and assumed the obligation to assist the struggle of peoples still under colonial domination.



99. We rightly expect that it will also be possible to concur in other momentous decisions.

100. If the adoption of these documents is followed by resolute action, a new era will be launched both in international relations and in the strengthening of our Organization.

101. We are fully aware of the imperfections of the present-day world. While fresh avenues are being explored to free man from the fear of annihilation, we hear the thunder of new nuclear explosions, warning us of impending dangers and reminding us of the extent of our commitments. The strength of the United Nations lies not in camouflaging reality but in facing up to it, not in shifting responsibility to others but in working together to change the world for the better. Deeds, not words, are needed to justify the hope of people in the future and their confidence in the ability of the United Nations.

102. In conclusion, speaking on behalf of the Yugoslav Government I should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for his tireless efforts to strengthen the world Organization.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Central African Republic, His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

104. President BOKASSA (*interpretation from French*): On this solemn occasion I should like first to convey to you, Sir, my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of this commemorative session. That choice is a recognition of and unanimous tribute to your personal qualities and bears witness to the esteem which we all have for the people of Norway.

105. It is an equal pleasure for me to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, whose election last year honoured the entire African continent, through Liberia, and who directed the work of the twenty-fourth session of our Organization with such talent.

106. It is also a great pleasure for me to congratulate and thank the Secretary-General, U Thant, for his tireless action on behalf of peace and international security both within the United Nations and in interregional organizations such as the Organization for African Unity, where he has frequently had occasion to come and bring to the States members his support, encouragement and wise advice.

107. I hope that the assistants of the Secretary-General will interpret these remarks also as an expression of our congratulations to them for their effective contribution to the strengthening of the structure of our Organization.

108. May I also, on behalf of the people and Government of the Central African Republic, welcome the Fiji Islands on their accession to independence and

international sovereignty and on their reception into this, our great family.

109. Finally, on behalf of the Central African Republic, I should like to convey the fraternal greetings of the people of the Central African Republic as well as their warm wishes for happiness, prosperity and peace, to the peoples of the United Nations represented here by their eminent Heads of State, Heads of Government and delegations.

110. Nineteen hundred and seventy is a year of great commemorations. First, it marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations. Secondly, it marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Finally, it marks the culmination of the first United Nations Development Decade.

111. On 26 June 1945, at the end of a murderous war which imperilled the balance of the world, men of goodwill met together in San Francisco and founded our Organization on which the Charter of the United Nations was set as a seal. Thus, 25 years ago, a new international organization came to replace the League of Nations. Profoundly disturbed at the consequences of the war, those who framed the Charter assigned to the United Nations very precise purposes: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to achieve international co-operation by solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, by encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; to be a centre where the efforts of nations for the attainment of these common goals might be co-ordinated.

112. It must be emphasized that such noble ideals could not fail to win the adherence of those States which at the time enjoyed complete freedom.

113. It is proper to give thought to the role which has been played by our Organization over this quarter of a century and to map the path which Member States should follow in order to correct the errors of the past and to make this Organization more effective in the future. The United Nations represented the reaction of the world to a catastrophe, its solution to the quest which man pursues inexorably for peace as well as for a general improvement of the human condition and harmonious relations among peoples.

114. If it seems difficult to point to a triumphant record in all areas, it is nonetheless true that concrete results have been achieved. Some conflicts have been peacefully resolved, thanks to the United Nations. Our Organization is journeying step by step towards universality and will embrace, in what we hope will be the near future, all those nations that have espoused peace and justice. The specialized agencies—FAO, WHO, UNESCO, UNIDO and others—have also pursued valuable lines of action. These changes have been gladly

welcomed and represent progress which cannot be gainsaid. But, unfortunately, it must be noted that certain principles of the Charter are not yet observed. Peace remains constantly disturbed by the existence of numerous conflicts in various parts of the world, either in the form of overt war or war in a potential state.

115. The arms race is making more and more remote the day when disarmament will finally come; the international division of labour which is cleverly maintained by some is creating an ever widening gap between a super-industrialized world, well fed and satisfied, and a world where hunger, sickness, ignorance, deprivation and wretchedness are the daily lot of hundreds of millions of human beings.

116. Entire peoples are still held in the chains of colonialism and are despised by the racists, while neo-colonialism continues to bleed those peoples that have recently been liberated and attempts to maintain and consolidate its interests by organizing, helping and encouraging the subversive activities and plots designed to change by violence the régimes of those States in which neo-colonialism feels its interests are threatened.

117. Attempts either partially or completely to destroy the territorial integrity of States are still common among the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, for whom the independence of States must be only a screen to enable them to perpetuate their exploitation.

118. Despite the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States and the principle of respect for national sovereignty, certain States continue to organize campaigns of slander and disparagement in their national press against other States.

119. While the listing of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is entirely satisfactory, the complete absence of an international machinery to ensure the protection of those rights makes that list almost theoretical, academic and speculative.

120. In other words, we must note that social peace, economic peace and peace as such still have to be achieved.

121. The Middle East still gives us cause for anxiety. Tension and anguish still prevail there, despite the cease-fire which resulted from the Rogers plan. We welcome the understanding displayed by the parties concerned that have accepted it, and we would urge them to initiate negotiations without delay to bring about a just and lasting peace in that region, a peace which will make it possible to find a humane solution to the distressing problem of Palestine, by the strict application of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)].

122. In South Africa, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe, in Mozambique and in Guinea (Bissau), the dignity of the coloured man is constantly flouted. His fundamen-

tal and inalienable right to self-determination is constantly trampled under foot, despite all the resolutions which have been adopted by the United Nations. The unholy alliance which has been forged in southern Africa between the forces of Portuguese colonialism and those of the racists in Pretoria and Salisbury, in order to maintain the supremacy of the white minority, is intolerable.

123. We denounce and condemn outright, the hypocritical attitude of certain peoples that only give encouragement to the odious régimes established in southern Africa and the Portuguese policy in the so-called Portuguese colonies, but also continue to sell and deliver weapons to those racist and colonialist régimes in order to perpetuate white domination in southern Africa and to promote the reconquest of Africa from these diabolical strongholds.

124. That policy, which was denounced at the last Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa<sup>3</sup> and at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Lusaka, is the subject of a declaration [4/8121] which President Kenneth Kaunda was entrusted with presenting to the United Nations. In this connexion we would invite those countries which are directly or indirectly involved to take into account the proposals contained in that declaration.

125. The impotence of the United Nations is, we believe, further rooted in the failure by the most influential members of the main bodies to respect fundamental principles. We have in mind particularly the Security Council, the body which is responsible for the maintenance or restoration of peace. The Security Council should be able to ensure application of its decisions by the Member States. Unfortunately, that body has become a closed enclave, where antagonistic blocs confront each other and paralyse joint action by making lavish use of the right of the veto, which has become intolerable.

126. Even worse, certain great Powers, in defiance of the provisions of the Charter and by means of secret concessions and the tacit recognition that the world is divided into zones of influence, arrogate to themselves the right to settle *in camera* those international problems which affect the lives of millions of human beings. These problems should be discussed in the world's greatest assembly, that is, in the United Nations, where all Member States are equal, whatever be their economic, military or demographic strength, and where nations are jointly responsible to the peoples for world peace.

127. In view of that situation, we wonder if the United Nations must remain impotent and paralysed, or whether, on the contrary, it must not take energetic action to create the better world which it has led humanity to hope for. Our reply is that it is definitely necessary for such action to be taken.

128. The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should make it possible for us

<sup>3</sup> Held from 1 to 3 September 1970.

to intensify our efforts to strengthen the Organization and to improve its effectiveness, to recreate faith in its goals and to breathe into it a new dynamism in its long and difficult journey towards peace among nations, co-operation among peoples, equilibrium and harmony among mankind, peace and prosperity for all.

129. Therefore it would be proper, taking as a basis the proposal of the Soviet Union, introduced last year, on the strengthening of international peace and security,<sup>4</sup> to lay particular stress on the urgent need for a universal treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and for the adoption of appropriate measures for the reduction of tensions and the strengthening of trust and co-operation among States.

130. If the conquest of the moon is a source of pride for man, if the act of setting foot and walking on that planet, so far away and at the same time so near, is a most impressive demonstration of the infinite possibilities of intelligence and knowledge, of determination and wealth, would it not be proper, above all, to devote the extraordinary power which all these combined elements give to humanity to resolving on earth the problems of squalor, ignorance, disease and hunger, which still remain the lot of the majority of its inhabitants?

131. The past decade has revealed the selfishness of the affluent countries and the failure of international organizations to improve the lot of the poor countries, although these have often been the source of the wealth of the former. The gaps are widening. Obstacles continue to crop up in economic relations; the plans that are worked out for tackling them are but fragmentary or else run the risk of creating new anomalies and the financial and technical resources allocated to them are of staggering inadequacy.

132. But if the first United Nations Development Decade was a failure in so far as it resulted only in a very limited number of concrete achievements, it is our hope that the numerous investigations and studies that have been carried out over the last ten years, and which in many cases were necessary, will have proved highly instructive, and that the Second Development Decade, on which so many hopes have justifiably been pinned, will be marked by a sincere desire for co-operation and justice on the part of the rich countries.

133. To be sure, the Development Decade is no magic formula. Still it should affirm the responsibilities of the industrial Powers in establishing a satisfactory international order, in the development of those habits of co-operation which alone will succeed in bringing about freedom of trade, the movement of long-term capital, and the growth of a dynamic development policy in the third world. The United Nations should use its influence along these lines.

134. In the financial field, we can see that the developing countries obtain financial assistance under the most unfavourable conditions, conditions which considerably reduce their reserves in foreign exchange, so necessary for the maintenance of an adequate import flow of capital goods. It is essential that an end be put to this morass of indebtedness which impedes economic growth and prevents any improvement in the standard of living.

135. However, if it is clear that the developing countries recognize the need for foreign capital, it is also absolutely necessary that such assistance be depoliticized. International financial organizations, and national organizations within the context of bilateral aid, should adopt a flexible attitude enabling the developing countries to increase their economic capacity.

136. We believe also that the United Nations specialized agencies should be freed from the abusive influence of certain States which do not hesitate to delay, even to thwart and to boycott, consideration of background material presented by certain other States whose political leanings are not to their liking.

137. The Central African Republic, for its part, has denounced and will continue to denounce these manoeuvres, whoever may be their perpetrators.

138. Those bodies should in particular lend a more sympathetic ear to certain projects of paramount importance to developing countries, and particularly to the less favoured among them such as the land-locked countries, when, for various reasons, such projects cannot be financed within the framework of bilateral assistance or by those who can offer private funds.

139. The Central African Republic is well aware of the fact that external assistance can produce results only if it is backed up by a national effort. In order to remedy the underdeveloped state of my country, I have since the time I reached the supreme office, carried on "Operation Bokassa", for the purpose of building a strong nation, independent and prosperous, thanks to the work of all Central Africans mobilized in a struggle against uncultivated lands and against all the obstacles, neo-colonialist and otherwise, blocking the road of our country toward economic, social and cultural development.

140. The social and economic objectives being sought by the Central African Republic are clearly laid down and embodied in the charter of the national party, the *Mouvement d'évolution sociale de l'Afrique noire*. This is the creed of our policy of independence, development and co-operation: "We must feed, house, care for, clothe and educate". In order to do this, great efforts have been exerted in the area of the social infrastructure. In the economic field, the production of our principal commodities—cotton, coffee, tobacco, timber, diamonds, uranium, etc.—has doubled, even tripled, thus exceeding all our hopes and the goals of our development plan.

<sup>4</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 103, document A/7903, para. 7.

141. Although we are resolved to base our development above all on our own national effort, we are nevertheless convinced of the virtues of co-operation in all fields and on all levels—bilateral, sub-regional, regional and international. But we want that co-operation to be unconditional, without ulterior designs for domination, intimidation or paternalism. We want the sort of co-operation that will be capable of guaranteeing that the aims and requirements of the United Nations are realized.

142. Day after day we are confronted with the great problems of production, processing, transportation and sale at remunerative prices. This question of remunerative prices, as we know, is a point included in the resolutions pertaining to the Second United Nations Development Decade. The establishment of such prices as will make it possible for hundreds of millions of people to live, at long last, a decent and worthy life, does not depend solely on generalized or special preferences; it depends also, and primarily, on a new concept governing economic relations and the laws of the market between the developed countries and the others.

143. It would seem just, moral and undeniable that these prices, particularly those on agricultural commodities which form the basic product of so many developing countries, should truly take into account the labour furnished by those who coax these products out of the soil.

144. My country had the honour of proposing, at New Delhi, that some means should be devised for establishing remunerative prices for primary-product exports. Taking as a basis Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, which stipulates that the United Nations should "promote higher standards of living", and the report of the first commission of the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven which appears in the Algiers Charter,<sup>5</sup> that proposal, which was adopted unanimously during the second meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, became resolution 20 (II), on minimum agricultural revenues. The secretary-general of the conference was instructed to work out:

"an outline of a first study on the possibility of defining the elements of a minimum agricultural income for wage-earning and other producers of primary commodities in developing countries and the links which could be established between such a minimum agricultural income and an organization of trade in primary commodities of interest to those countries."<sup>6</sup>

145. I proclaim that idea once again from this rostrum. This effort affects 90 per cent of the population of my country and also 90 per cent of the population of Africa as a whole and virtually the same percentage of the populations of many other countries where cer-

tain agricultural prices have not even increased by a cent and have sometimes even dropped. It is precisely this stagnation or regression which means that the gap between developed countries and poor countries is growing day by day instead of being bridged.

146. The Second United Nations Development Decade ought to be both the Second Development Decade and the disarmament decade. I think it would be pointless to refer to a disarmament decade if an ever-growing multiplicity of situations of wretchedness, hunger and frustration did not give hundreds of millions of men, who would have little to fear from an apocalyptic death from modern weapons, the ultimate recourse of a different sort of death, but one which in the end analysis is just as final. It would also be pointless to speak of a development decade if at the same time the accumulation and multiplication of means of violent destruction confronted the world with the frightening menace of thermonuclear conflict.

147. In the present context of our troubled world, we can only hope that the Second Decade will combine a development decade with a disarmament decade. These two are linked intimately in the final analysis and they must become merged, if not in letter, at least in spirit, in a decade of peaceful co-operation for the happiness of all peoples.

148. In commemorating this twenty-fifth anniversary the United Nations should plan not only to pay a tribute to its illustrious founders, not only to praise and encourage its inspirers who are at present here, the illustrious Heads of State and Government and heads of delegations, but also to perfect its universality by receiving all those States, large or small, that agree to abide by the principles of the Charter and whose absence from the United Nations is as unjust as it is dangerous.

149. Let this twenty-fifth anniversary lead all nations to share and to respect the spirit and the letter of the Charter, which remains the foundation-stone of peace and brotherhood among men. Long live the United Nations, so that peace may live in the world.

150. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Prime Minister of the Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Yen Chia-kan.

151. Mr. YEN (*translated from Chinese*): Mr. President, let me first of all offer you the warmest felicitations of my Government and people on your assumption of the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office at this historic session is a fitting tribute to your distinguished services in international diplomacy. I wish also to pay a word of tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, whose masterly performance as President of the twenty-fourth session has brought credit to her sex, to her country and to the continent of Africa.

152. We are here to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. It is heartening that this world Organization has success-

<sup>5</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. 1 and Corr.1 and 3 and Add.1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), p. 431.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37 and 38.

fully survived the turmoil and conflicts of a quarter of a century.

153. The twenty-fifth anniversary is, and must necessarily be, an occasion both for rejoicing and for sober reflection. I wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm my Government's unshakable faith in the noble goals and ideals enshrined in the Charter. May we hope that the United Nations will become an ever more potent influence in the maintenance of international peace and security so as to translate the principles and purposes of the Charter into reality.

154. When the statesmen of the world met in San Francisco in 1945 to put the Charter into final shape, the war in Europe had just come to an end and the war in the Pacific had yet to be won. My country, since 1931 a victim of massive foreign military aggression, was still in the throes of a life-and-death struggle. We had learned by bitter experience that without the existence of a strong and effective international organization there could be no security for any nation. The League of Nations, to which we had taken our case at the very beginning of the foreign aggression under Article 10 of the Covenant, had failed us. It may be recalled that Article 10, providing for mutual guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity of all League Members, was, in the words of President Woodrow Wilson, "the backbone of the whole of the Covenant" and the *sine qua non* of any valid system of collective security. The Chinese delegation to the San Francisco Conference, with the failure of the League of Nations to live up to the promise of the Covenant still fresh in its mind, was ready to give wholehearted support to all proposals that would give the organization full authority to maintain international peace and security. In addition, the Chinese delegation proposed that the Charter should provide specifically that settlement of international disputes be in conformity with the principles of international justice if the new organization was to be effective and to endure.

155. The Charter as we know it today was the result of compromises over various views and positions, reflecting the existence in the world of rival ambitions and conflicting ideologies. The Charter does, however, lay down the basic rules of international conduct by which all Member States have committed themselves for guidance. The Charter expresses the ideals of freedom, peace and justice. This was the result of years of bloody struggle against aggression and totalitarianism. The world has paid a terrible price for it.

156. The United Nations is a voluntary association of sovereign States for the achievement of a variety of common objectives. First and foremost among these objectives is how "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The Charter categorically prohibits unilateral exercise of force except in legitimate self-defence. If aggression does occur, it is to be resisted by the collective strength of all Member States.

157. Unfortunately, a quarter of a century after the establishment of the United Nations, mankind has yet

to be saved from the scourge of war. There has been little progress towards the creation of an international order based on law and justice. On the contrary, there has been a growing tendency on the part of States to use force and violence as a means of resolving their international differences. Yet there are those who do not hesitate to violate the spirit and the letter of the Charter in order to appease the aggressors. This is to exalt force at the expense of principles. This is to undermine the very foundation of the United Nations.

158. In the present-day world the use of force sometimes assumes forms which are far more subtle and sophisticated than open armed invasion. The real aggressor hides himself behind a façade of high-sounding rhetoric, leaving the dirty work to those indigenous elements who are trained either by foreign agents or in foreign lands, who are thoroughly indoctrinated in subversive ideology, and who are past masters in the art of sabotage, and assassination, as well as armed insurrection. If this proves inadequate to achieve the purpose in view, foreign "volunteers", so-called, may be called in for re-enforcement. The objective is to create chaos and confusion in order to facilitate the eventual take-over.

159. The export of subversive violence in one form or another has become a thriving business. Hardly any country in the more vulnerable parts of the world is exempt from its baneful effect, and this surreptitious article of trade has been sent abroad under the label of "freedom", "independence" and "national liberation".

160. In this connexion let me make it perfectly clear that my Government, one of the very first to raise the banner of anti-colonialism in Asia, fully supports the implacable struggles for national liberation carried out by peoples under colonial rule. We rejoice in the fact that more than a half of the present membership of the United Nations is composed of nations which have emerged from colonial rule to independent statehood since 1945. But it must be pointed out that much of what passes for national revolution in some parts of the world is not aimed at the overthrow of colonial domination, it is in fact subversion against the countries which are already free and independent.

161. The United Nations has, over the years, moved steadily away from being the instrument of collective security intended by its founders, to what the late Dag Hammarskjöld, in the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the Organization in 1961,<sup>7</sup> called "a static conference machinery". In regard to the suppression of aggression and the maintenance of peace and justice, it has been timid and hesitant. The only exception to this was the decision in June 1950 by the Security Council [*resolution 83 (1950)*] to use force to counter communist aggression in Korea. The Chinese Communists were condemned as an aggressor in Korea by the Organization. The collective action in Korea represented the highest expression of United Nations effort to implement the ideals of the Charter.

<sup>7</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No.1A.

But the United Nations action fell short of the ultimate goal of unifying Korea. This made inevitable the war in Viet-Nam, which can truly be said to be the continuation of the Korean war.

162. There are, of course, other purposes of the United Nations in addition to those of dealing with threats to peace and acts of aggression. The common yearning of all men, expressed by the Charter, is to achieve freedom, not only from the fear of war, but also from poverty, disease, ignorance and oppression. My Government wishes to take this opportunity to commend the notable achievements that have been made by the United Nations and its affiliated agencies in the social, humanitarian and economic fields. Yet, important as those activities are, they are subordinate to the maintenance of peace and security. For, if the United Nations fails in its primary task, it faces an uncertain future—no matter what else it may achieve.

163. It is far from my intention to belittle the contributions that the United Nations has made and is still making to the cause of peace. Nor do I mean to suggest that the United Nations will not some day begin to operate in the manner contemplated by its founders. I fervently hope it will. But the fact remains that up to now the influence exerted by the United Nations has, for the most part, been a peripheral one.

164. In this connexion a tribute must be paid to the voluntary peace-keeping operations that have been developed since the Suez crisis in 1956. Those operations have proved effective in isolating or localizing armed conflicts, as well as in restoring order and stability to crisis areas. In the Middle East, the United Nations Emergency Force succeeded in keeping the peace for ten years. The Congo operations saved that newly independent country in the heart of Africa from dismemberment. A United Nations presence has helped to maintain order in Cyprus. Those are notable achievements, testifying to the remarkable deterrent capacity of the token, non-combatant forces deployed by the United Nations in the service of peace.

165. The peace-keeping operations are, however, a far cry from the kind of coercive military action called for by the Charter when the peace is breached or an act of aggression is committed. They are, primarily, holding operations and are useful to the extent that they provide a means of gaining time for political settlement. They can be put into effect only with the consent of the parties involved in the conflicts. The world has witnessed, in the 1967 war in the Middle East, what can happen when that consent is suddenly withdrawn at a critical moment. That is a concrete reminder of the fragile base on which peace-keeping rests. And the continued inability of Member States to agree on how peace-keeping should be authorized, directed or financed introduces an element of uncertainty into future operations.

166. In the anniversary year the prevailing mood seems to be one of serious concern about the future of the United Nations. There is a wide recognition of the necessity of strengthening the United Nations

in the cause of international peace and security. My Government fully shares that concern.

167. It is unfortunate, however, that there are those who seize upon the occasion to equate the strengthening of the United Nations with the admission of the Chinese communist régime. Nothing can be more ridiculous. Certainly the United Nations is not an Organization that does not distinguish between right and wrong. Surely, it cannot bless what it has condemned.

168. Those who champion the cause of Peiping have been in the habit of invoking the so-called principle of universality. It seems to me, however, that the ability of the United Nations to maintain peace and security, as well as to promote social progress and better standards of living, does not depend on its numerical strength. What is vastly more important is whether its Members are inspired by common ideals, whether they are prepared to abide by them, or whether they have the will to carry out the obligations they have solemnly assumed. To admit, in the name of universality, a régime that glorifies war and violence, that has made subversion of established Governments its principal goal in foreign policy, is to negate the basic purposes of the Charter, thus undercutting the very foundation of the United Nations. Far from strengthening the United Nations, this is a sure way of destroying it.

169. Let me say with all the emphasis at my command that the Chinese communist régime on the mainland is a régime which believes that "the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution".<sup>8</sup> It is convinced, in the words of Mao Tse-tung, that "only with guns can the world be transformed".<sup>9</sup> The Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party sets forth the policy of the régime as aimed at overthrowing "imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and reactionaries of all countries". Lin Biao in his political report at the Ninth Party Congress, in April last year, proclaimed in unmistakable terms:

"... the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward. The armed struggles of the people of Viet-Nam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are steadily growing in strength. The truth 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun' is being grasped by ever broader masses of the oppressed peoples and nations. A revolutionary mass movement of unprecedented size has broken out in Japan, Western Europe and North America, the 'heart' area of capitalism."

170. It is thus abundantly clear that the target of Chinese communist aggression embraces the majority of

<sup>8</sup> *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.



the countries of the world, and the areas of aggression cover five continents. It is evident that the Chinese communist régime is not only a source of unrest and instability for all Asia but also a threat to the peace and security of the whole world. To admit such a régime would be contrary to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and would destroy the noble principles of law and justice on the basis of which the Organization was founded.

171. Moreover, it has often been argued that to bar the communist régime from the United Nations is to deprive 700 million Chinese people of their representation in the world community and to ignore the reality of the régime's existence. The fact is that the Chinese communist régime cannot represent the 700 million people. It can represent only a tiny fraction of the Chinese population, roughly about 2 per cent. Even among this tiny fraction not all are dyed-in-the-wool communists. Most of them are what Mao Tse-tung described as those who "used the Red flag to oppose the Red flag". This tiny minority tramples roughshod over the masses of the Chinese people, even resorting to a policy of starvation in order to bring them to heel, and oppresses them with unconscionable cruelty and repression, the likes of which Chinese history has never known. And what is more, the régime's whole administrative and party structure has been shattered by the so-called Cultural Revolution. To this day chaos and anarchy prevail on the mainland. Liu Shao-chi, the so-called President of the Peiping régime, has been under house arrest for a number of years. As a result of the rising tide of mass discontent, the régime is tottering on the brink of ruin. How can it represent the Chinese people in the international community?

172. The Chinese people are determined to overthrow their oppressors. If the United Nations cannot, on the basis of justice and common humanity, give a helping hand to this struggle and lift them from the depth of misery and despair, it should at least refuse to stamp the international seal of approval upon the régime and thus deny the Chinese people the right to struggle for freedom. It would be an indelible blot on the escutcheon of the United Nations if, contrary to the principles of the Charter, this should happen.

173. The success or failure of the Chinese people in their struggle for freedom is inextricably bound up with the future of the United Nations. A free and democratic China will contribute greatly to the peace and security of Asia and the world. On the other hand, the admission of the communist régime to the United Nations would not advance the cause of world peace. This is the crux of the problem. This is the choice that lies before the United Nations.

174. In this connexion, I should like to say that under the leadership of the Government of the Republic of China the masses of the Chinese people everywhere, including those on the mainland, are determined to recover their freedom. The Government of the Republic of China is the only legitimate Government of China. The Republic of China is a founding Member of the United Nations. It is specified in the Charter as a permanent member of the Security Council. Its rightful

position in the United Nations is unchallengeable. Only after its return to the mainland can freedom be restored to the Chinese people and peace be re-established in Asia. Let me quote what President Chiang Kai-shek said on the National Day, 10 October 1970:

"Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of our Republic, led the national revolution to bring freedom to the nation and peace to the world. Internally, his basic aim was to build a society of equal rights and well-being for all the people. Externally, he sought to contribute to man's freedom and world peace."

175. The quest for international peace and security is, and will continue to be, the dominating purpose of our age. It is to the Governments represented here that the peoples of the world look for the peace and security that they so desperately long for. So let us wholeheartedly pledge ourselves to the noble and challenging task of translating the ideals and the goals of the Charter into reality. If we can make this turbulent world march toward what Confucius called the "Great Commonwealth", we shall have made one of the greatest contributions to the future of humanity.

176. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the provisional Junta of the Government of the Republic of Panama, His Excellency Mr. Demetrio B. Lakas.

*Mr. Benites (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

177. President LAKAS (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to congratulate the President, on his well-deserved election as President of this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

178. As President of the Government Junta of the Republic of Panama and on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, I should like to express the gratitude of the people and the Government of my country for the fruitful work which this Organization has done in the interests of world peace and for the benefit of mankind.

179. The United Nations came into being as an answer to the deep aspirations of mankind. It rose from the ruins of the tragic Second World War. Thinking at that time was dominated by the belief that people had finally understood that any struggle was senseless when its outcome was determined by force and not by justice or law.

180. Everyone realized in 1945 that the ideal which had then become a reality and had sprung to life would have imperfections, like any human undertaking, and everyone was aware that it would be tried and tested time and time again; for the search for peace requires unrelenting efforts to resolve conflicts and to put an end to the injustice which has characteristically been their cause.

181. The United Nations has become a world parliament. Here the tensions and conflicts among all the peoples of the earth are considered. Here expression is freely given to the aspirations of States, great and small.

182. This Organization has demonstrated great wisdom in its efforts to bring about international co-operation and to promote development, resolving vital issues which, if allowed to remain unresolved, would make meaningless all hopes for peace and views of the future not based on respect for the human person.

183. Peace is not simply the absence of war. International order, like national order, requires peaceful coexistence based on the dignity of man, without which neither countries nor people can realize their destiny. This is especially true of countries with limited resources which must combat resolutely all kinds of adverse factors in order to raise their moral and material standard of living.

184. In this task, the Revolutionary Government over which I preside is dedicated to ensuring a vigorous economic growth which serves as the framework for profound and orderly social changes. At the same time, we are seeking new ways to bring about the effective participation of all the people in this process of development, with particular reference to the use that can be made of our privileged geographical position.

185. That is why the Republic of Panama, like other countries which have benefited from United Nations programmes, greatly appreciates the assistance it has received.

186. The conditions which prevailed in 1945 have changed, but it is fair to say that in the interval a great deal has been done to avoid another world war. We hope that more will be done; we hope that everyone will achieve a degree of well-being which will make it possible for them to share without hatred in the blessings of the earth, which is our common heritage. We hope that the day will come when another celebration like this one will be held throughout the world, a day of true and unbounded joy in everyone's hearts. We trust that the forces still dedicated to hatred and enmity will soon turn to the building of a better world for all.

187. I have come to this rostrum with the sincerest best wishes of a friendly nation, one which, with dignity, trusts that it will be understood by all sister nations. On this memorable day we hope and pray that there will soon be peaceful coexistence in our world, free for ever of any inequality which might be detrimental to the family of man.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*