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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Rwanda would like to add its voice to those of delegations which have spoken before it and congratulate you on the occasion of your brilliant election to the Presidency of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly. There could be no more judicious choice than the one which is made of a man whose brilliant intelligence, steeped in lengthy experience of international affairs, together with a remarkable sense of equity and moderation make him one of the best men of our time. Through you, Rwanda would also like to greet your noble country, with which it has most friendly relations.

2. Our delegation would also like to pay a vibrant tribute to the prestigious figure of New Africa, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, who presided over the twenty-fourth session with remarkable and smiling authority and an exquisite tact. The world and Africa owe her a debt of gratitude.

3. Twenty-five years have just elapsed since under the sign of the Golden Gate forty-three Powers, mindful of the horrors of a devastating war which in record time had just led to the massacre of 72 million human beings, without speaking of material destruction, and desirous of concretizing the collective reaction of the whole world—and not only of the nations which had fought in the war—against such barbarity, undertook to open up a peaceful era for mankind. On the other hand ten years ago the United Nations unanimously declared in resolution 1514 (XV)—and this was unprecedented in history—that the colonial countries and peoples had a natural and legitimate right to their independence.

4. These two extraordinary events will be celebrated by the whole world during this twenty-fifth session.

5. If it may be due to coincidence that these two anniversaries should come at the same time, what is not fortuitous are the deep-rooted causes which inspired the drafting of the United Nations Charter and resolution 1514 (XV). Both of them are steeped in the same firm will to undertake a crusade for the defence of human rights.

6. On the occasion of such anniversaries, one must draw up a frank balance-sheet of this quarter of a century and this decade which are coming to a close, in order better to determine a programme for the future, taking great care to see that ceremonial appearances do not make it impossible to find an equilibrium between the definition of noble objectives, which often remain only pious wishes, and the dire realities of the world in which we live today.

7. In truth the United Nations has greatly contributed—better than did the League of Nations—to lead States, if they want this world to be peaceful and prosperous, to go beyond the narrow circle of their immediate interests to show a common interest in all the problems of all countries. On the other hand, throughout its existence, this Organization, thanks to its moral and political influence, thanks especially to the tireless devotion and the dauntless dynamism of its Secretaries-General, became a powerful rampart against any sliding towards new catastrophes.

8. But unfortunately, every coin has two faces. After a difficult birth following the Second World War, the United Nations, which is twenty-five years old, is still very much marked by the personality of its main authors. We remember the many compromises which were adopted at Yalta in February 1945 relating to the great-Power veto in the Security Council. It is probably understandable that after the war the idea should have been born that the main responsibility for the installation and protection of a new political world order should be vested in the victorious great Powers and that they should have taken this opportunity of taking the best seats in this temple that they were building. And it is thus that the Security Council, in which the Charter vests primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, became an arena where they become aware of their tremendous power, when the veto imposed by one of them renders the Council impotent.

9. Obviously, the authors of the Charter did not predict the future which saw the great Powers gathered together in San Francisco with collective enthusiasm to sign the Charter and, a short time later, slide into an implacable war of influence to divide the world into two ideological blocs under their respective obedience.

They did not foresee either the massive entry of other nations into this Organization, nor the birth of other great Powers in the economic, political and military fields, nor the transformation of individual mentalities in the world and the appearance of other vital imperatives for mankind. Therefore this quarter of a century has seen such stages in the life of this Organization that it becomes urgent and indispensable to revise its structures so that it will be better able to respond to the hopes which the peoples of the world have placed in it.

10. In the eyes of my delegation, the responsibility for peace in the world is a matter for all States. There is no more specious argument than the one which states that countries which are better armed should have pride of place in an institution which seeks not war, but peace, as if the happiness of peoples could be founded upon the sword rather than on a common will and conscience and desire to live together in a climate free from any fear or threat. In the present world, everyday facts unfortunately show that even if the highly armed nations did not take the initiative of a general war, the countries that are less powerfully armed could drag them into regional wars which also lead uselessly to large numbers of victims.

11. Our universe is traumatized in several areas. The conflagration in Asia is far from being put out and its victims are numbered in the thousands. Everybody knows the cruel suffering engendered by the war in Viet-Nam; we pray that its extension to Cambodia will not spread further to neighbouring countries. We had hoped that the Paris negotiations would lead rapidly to a just and honourable peace for all parties concerned, but these negotiations are today in an impasse and the hopes of a negotiated settlement still seem very remote.

12. And the Middle East? There again is a problem which is of great concern—and for good reasons. It would have been a subject of great and legitimate pride for our Organization if, at the moment when we are celebrating our twenty-fifth anniversary, the delegation of Israel and the Arab delegations, thanks to the tireless efforts of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, would have been able to show us the picture of a newly found fraternity. The acceptance of the Rogers Plan by Egypt, Jordan and Israel had given rise to some glimmer of hope. But unfortunately here again we are marking time and there is even the risk of a backward slide. In this question of the Middle East the role of the great Powers is particularly deplorable; similar to those who organized the circus games in ancient times, after having forged and sharpened the swords, they distributed them to the gladiators and became arbiters of this tragedy, taking great care not to break the balance of power of the belligerents. How could the latter then abandon their duel when those who arm them take the ultimate decisions?

13. Rwanda would like to reaffirm the position it has always held that the solution to this serious question lies in the hands of the parties concerned and that there should be no foreign interference. This solution

must take into account, it is true, the right of the State of Israel to a fully guaranteed existence and to secure and recognized boundaries, but at the same time it must recognize the right of the Arab States to the integrity of their territories. My country would again like to address an urgent appeal to the parties concerned that they abandon the language of weapons and violence and move without further delay towards peace.

14. But there is also the problem of China and Korea. Rwanda sincerely wishes to see these two nations find true peace, which is the *sine qua non* ambition of true progress for the peoples of the world. For many years the question of the representation of China has played its part in the debates of this Assembly and everybody knows the controversies it is engendering. In this matter Rwanda has never ceased to recall that the Government which lawfully represents the Chinese nation in the United Nations has never in any circumstance failed to discharge the duties which the Charter imposes upon Member States. My country expresses the wish that the problem of China, whose importance is obvious to all, will soon find a final solution.

15. In the problem of Korea, we are also far from a solution. Everybody can gauge the anguish of a divided country and the advantages of unity and can therefore affirm that the Korean nation has no better way to progress peacefully and harmoniously than by reunification. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea in which my Government has full confidence, keeps us informed of the unfortunately very difficult stages that still have to be travelled before reunification is achieved. Everybody knows that North Korea does nothing to reply favourably to the relevant resolutions of this Organization. Thus it is still necessary to keep the United Nations forces in Korea, to encourage the United Nations Commission to persevere in its efforts and to continue the periodic consideration of this question in the United Nations. My country expresses the hope that one day the parties concerned will all show good will and facilitate the reunification of their country.

16. But Rwanda, which was under foreign domination in the past and which today is the master of its destiny and a loyal Member of this Organization, must further pay a deserved tribute to our Organization which, at a capital turning point in the history of mankind, was able once again to assume its responsibilities by proclaiming 10 years ago the immortal resolution 1514 (XV) which recognizes to all peoples and all countries the right to self-determination.

17. If, on the one hand, several countries have acquired their independence thanks to the implementation of this resolution, on the other, we see that this international sovereignty and this freedom which all of us are proud to enjoy and to which we are so deeply attached, are denied to thousands of human beings in the southern part of Africa.

18. In Southern Rhodesia Ian Smith and his clique, defying the moral and political authority of this

Organization, have built a racist society where a white minority possesses all the rights of suzerainty over a majority of Africans who have nothing but the sufferings of slaves.

19. In Angola and Mozambique Portugal constantly refines its methods of subjugation of the African populations, in flagrant contempt of the imperatives of universal morality.

20. In South Africa the dogma of *apartheid* has become a State religion; it is obviously a true crime against mankind. The aspirations of the people of Namibia to self-determination are being stifled by the Pretoria authorities, who trample under foot with contempt the pertinent resolutions of our Organization. It is clear that if the sinister alliance between Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury is a very serious threat to peace in that part of the world, the United Nations, is in duty bound to assume its responsibilities in the face of such a situation.

21. Our Organization, inspired by the provisions of the Charter, has often taken decisions calling for economic sanctions against South Africa and a total embargo against Rhodesia. But, unfortunately, the deplorable fact is that the great Powers have been the first not to put those measures into effect, thus supporting the racist policy of Salisbury and Pretoria.

22. The General Assembly knows full well that the Africans who live in those countries do not want war for war's sake; they merely claim their lawful rights in place of the concept that might makes right. All peace-loving countries which take pride in defending them against colonialist and racist oppression, in a document which will mark an important date in history, entitled "Manifesto on Southern Africa", or "Lusaka Manifesto,"<sup>1</sup> solemnly proclaimed their will to seek a solution through dialogue. At its previous session the Assembly endorsed the ideas expressed in this Manifesto and, by an overwhelming majority, adopted resolution 2505 (XXIV). It is therefore essential for the United Nations to redouble its efforts, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to ensure the triumph of the cause of justice and peace in southern Africa.

23. The commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) must offer us an opportunity of stigmatizing, once again, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations and must impel us to mobilize all the live forces of the world with renewed energy for the defence of human rights wherever they are violated.

24. But the abolition of colonialism and racism, suppression of hot-beds of tension in the world and revision of the structures of the United Nations would not be sufficient to give to mankind a firm hope for lasting peace and security, since one quarter of the population of the globe accounts for 85 per cent of world revenue

and leaves only 15 per cent to 2,300 million people out of 3,000 million inhabitants of our planet.

25. Rwanda believes that misery and hunger in the world threaten the security of nations just as much as the clangour of weapons and we agree with the Pearson report that:

"If the developed nations wish to preserve their position in that world, they must play their full part in creating a world order within which all nations, and all men, can live in freedom, dignity and decency.

"International development is a great challenge of our age. Our response to it will show whether we understand the implication of interdependence or whether we prefer to delude ourselves that the poverty and deprivation of the great majority of mankind can be ignored without tragic consequences for all."<sup>2</sup>

26. After the end of the last world war, assistance of wealthy peoples to developing countries increased at a relatively satisfactory pace until about 1960, enabling those countries to reach an average rate of growth of their gross national product of 5 per cent per year; but since that date this assistance has remained stationary, despite repeated appeals of the international Organization to the wealthy countries to devote at least 1 per cent of their national income each year to assistance.

27. And yet the volume of expenditure for armaments in many of these rich countries is such that, if those Powers possess the material strength to destroy the world, they also possess the necessary means to free 2,300 million men from the chains of hunger, disease and ignorance. Why cannot the extraordinary progress of science and technology be used to make possible the utilization of the natural resources existing in most developing countries to improve living conditions for the populations of those countries?

28. We are still very far from reaching the noble ideal which inspired the authors of the Charter of this Organization when they stated that improving the economic and social conditions of man was one of the major objectives which all Member States should strive to attain.

29. In fact it is the whole concept of man which must be considered. Quite often, political, linguistic, racial and other barriers shrink our horizons and prevent us from seeing that beyond them there is one mankind which, if it wishes to progress and attain happiness, must remain united and interdependent. Rwanda is convinced that every Government has a sacred duty to co-operate with all others in guaranteeing that all peoples have a reasonable chance of living in dignity.

30. There is good reason for the revolt of youth in the world, for its cries of anguish against the obsolete

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

<sup>2</sup> Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 11.

structures of present-day societies, and in a universal surge, for its proposals for a new humanism. We must draw the lesson from this general revolt and accept, while purifying it, the message of this youth which desires a new universal society. This youth, which is the society of tomorrow, is a fount of idealism and energy where all our present societies must find a way to regenerate themselves.

31. Thus, the United Nations commemorates twenty-five years of existence. Its shortcomings, inherent in any human endeavour, must not blind us, must not prevent us from seeing its usefulness and especially the inestimable services which it has rendered and continues to render to mankind. It is up to all the Members of this Organization to see to it that it be further improved.

32. But, more than that, we must have an ardent faith in this indispensable instrument of peace, which presages the genuine international society of tomorrow. That is what Rwanda fervently hopes to see: a world where all men, free from fear and anguish, will be better brothers and will be more united.

33. Mr. CARRILLO FLORES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I take great pleasure in following the fine tradition of congratulating Your Excellency upon your election. Your election is a recognition of your personal merits and of your long connection with the United Nations.

34. I should also like to repeat in this hall the tribute which the President of Mexico made publicly a few days ago with regard to our Secretary-General, U Thant, when in the capital of my country there was inaugurated the extraordinary assembly of those organizations which have as their objectives the promotion of tourism. He said: "He is a man full of wisdom, strength, patience and faith in humanity, who on occasions we feel is surrounded by the incomprehension of many people as he carries out his difficult and noble task."

35. Now that the United Nations is concluding its first twenty-five years, we believe that perhaps its most outstanding achievement is to have survived. And this is not negligible if you think that, as was the case with the League of Nations, the end of the United Nations would have also meant the end of universal peace.

36. Now, this quarter of a century has not been calm and peaceful. Even more, I might say, several of the conflicts which occurred during this quarter of a century have shown that the United Nations was not able fully to complete its mission to maintain and restore peace. Frequently, there has been no community of aims and purposes among the Members, aims and purposes upon which the Charter made collective security rest. But it would be unfair not to recognize also that the Organization has not ceased its efforts towards transforming itself and adapting itself to changing circumstances and requirements. Partial achievements, though incomplete and modest, and the hope of surviving in a dangerous epoch, are the most outstanding

features of the picture which might be drawn of the United Nations during its first twenty-five years.

37. We should not give to this celebration any sense of false optimism. It would be sterile, however, to go to the opposite extreme. The constructive thing would be to think about ways which would allow us in the future to overcome the obstacles lying in its path.

38. In San Francisco we thought that with the United Nations there was beginning an era in which the promotion of national interests was going to be subject to more and more effective machinery for international regulation. The balance which could be drawn up of this period which is past reveals that this hope was premature. Nevertheless, we do not overlook the progress which in certain areas of the planet, particularly in Europe, although in a less spectacular form in other regions, has been achieved in creating economic zones which are greater than those delimited by the frontiers of States. However—and this is one of the most interesting paradoxes of our time—those countries which in abstract would be most called upon to find a solution for their problems by supranational or at least multinational means are those States in which nationalism in its diverse manifestations is an ever stronger and more vigorous force.

39. The reason for this paradox is not, in my opinion, of a logical nature, but historical. In many instances it is a case of the noble aspirations of peoples who for many years lived in oppression or colonialism and who now seek to affirm their identity and dignity.

40. We must not forget that the countries which have accepted economic integration in various forms, accepting limitations upon their sovereignty in order to accelerate their progress, have done so in the assurance that they were associating themselves with others in a similar state of development, and that in undertaking these integrations they did not compromise their vital interests.

41. This confidence is lacking, quite rightly, among many members of the third world, and not only in connexion with the strict sphere of their economy, but also in the broader and more important sphere of knowing how far they can or should subordinate their own interests to inter-State organisms.

42. In the international field there does not exist, and perhaps there will not exist for a long time, any organ which can define what international law provides, except in a very few cases which may reach the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Now, the norms that are specified in international law were drawn up in the past, which was not a happy past for many people.

43. On the other hand, and in spite of the progress achieved, and thanks to the pressure of world public opinion, which is more and more informed as to what is happening in any corner of the world, there is no real means of obliging all States to respect the norms of international law, because there is no possibility,

as we know, of using coercion through any other procedures than those mentioned in the Charter, which come under the responsibility of the Security Council, and the respective texts are very categorical regarding use of force. This is logical, because otherwise war would be unleashed on a catastrophic scale and force could never be used against a great Power, or, to use the technical formula, against a permanent member of the Security Council.

44. A legal organ that consecrates this inequality is of course imperfect, because when the reality of power intervenes, then law must yield before some other form of regulation or accommodation of the conflicts of interests, namely political means.

45. The weakness or imperfection of international law and of the United Nations, which at the present time are both the highest source and the crowning result, comes about because, in the face of this reality of power, or rather the different kinds of power—political, military or economic—of States, the reconciliation of interests which is the objective of all international organizations can better be achieved through norms of a specific nature rather than general rules, and not by coercive orders coming from a higher authority placed above the contending parties; rather it must be achieved by agreements among them, although at times they are not considered as just as the weaker party might desire. With all its restrictions, with all its risks, nothing can substitute for negotiation as a formula *par excellence* to resolve conflicts between States.

46. Furthermore, the antecedents of certain fundamental precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and the exegesis of them which eminent jurists have given us show that the organ of greatest effective authority in the international community, namely the Security Council, is not subject to what is called in the jurisprudence of one of the great legal systems of the world the doctrine of *stare decisis*. The Council can settle in a different manner similar or even identical cases when it considers that it thus furthers the maintenance of peace throughout the world, which is its primary responsibility. This is an enormous power which can, indeed, fly against our idea of justice. And if the majority of States have accepted this in the interests of peace, we have the right to expect that the great Powers will exercise it not in an egotistical spirit but rather with nobility and a sense of responsibility.

47. Fortunately, the international legal order is not restricted to this imperfect positive law in the process of formation. It includes also another element whose existence becomes more and more evident every day if we raise our eyes to the higher level on which the conscience of man, not force, prevails. It is on that level that the General Assembly acts with greater authority than any other organ when those who are its Members are capable of stating their opinions and casting their votes, not in a spirit of narrow egotism, but rather as spokesmen for humanity, to whose laws their agreements and resolutions refer.

48. The United Nations cannot be stronger or make more rapid progress than human solidarity allows. It would be unrealistic to pretend that any one of the Members of this Organization would come here to neglect its fundamental interests, but we must not overlook the fact that there is an intermediate zone between the national and the universal, that is, the regional zone, especially when, in addition to geographical considerations, there is also, as is the case in Latin America, a community based on language and origin.

49. Therefore, I believe that the past twenty-five years show that the founders were right when they recognized the outstanding function that the regional organizations could play with regard to both the maintenance of peace and security and the promotion of social progress or the very important and delicate task of defending human rights. Naturally, we must be very careful that the actions of the regional organizations are carried out strictly within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations.

50. After these reflections of a general nature upon the occasion of the anniversary we are celebrating, I shall take up certain aspects of the present international situation, which I believe shows some encouraging signs despite the dark shadows cast by events in the Middle East. With regard to them, I shall restrict myself to saying on behalf of my Government that we most sincerely hope that the States directly concerned, as also the great Powers, will find some means of resolving this conflict soon and establishing peace. It would be absurd were it otherwise.

51. Among the encouraging signs is the fact that for the first time there are real possibilities that the two great nuclear Powers may agree to limit, and perhaps reduce, their launching systems for offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. If this hope becomes a reality, there will have occurred one of the most transcendental events since the Second World War. The confidence it would generate as a basis for new disarmament agreements, and the vast resources it might free for the benefit of humanity, would doubtless change the whole picture of international relations.

52. The Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, established under the Treaty of Tlatelolco,<sup>3</sup> has continued to make progress gradually but without interruption. In the course of the present year two new States have become members of that Agency: Guatemala and Venezuela. This has increased the area of the Latin American zone subject to a régime of complete absence of nuclear weapons. It now extends to more than 6,600,000 square kilometres, and the population of the zone now amounts to 117 million.

53. Shortly after I had the privilege of addressing this Assembly last year, the Government of the United Kingdom, on 11 December 1969, deposited its instruments of ratification to the two Additional Protocols of the Treaty, thus becoming the first State Party to them. Later, on 13 August 1970, the President of the

<sup>3</sup> Signed on 14 February 1967.

United States announced that on that date he had sent Additional Protocol II to the Senate recommending that it be given early and favourable consideration.

54. The General Conference, the supreme organ of OPANAL, has just concluded its first session, the opening meeting of which was honoured, on 7 September 1969, by the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

55. In addition to electing as Secretary-General of the organization an outstanding Latin American personality well known here at the United Nations, Ambassador Leopoldo Benites, the Conference adopted a series of important resolutions, among which I would point out those having the object of expediting the conclusion of safeguard agreements between member States and the Vienna Agency, which we hope will serve to promote the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the region so that we can accelerate economic and social progress among our peoples.

56. The Latin American States, as U Thant said very well last year, have worked long and hard in constructing the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Hence it seems that we have a right to receive from the nuclear Powers that co-operation which the General Assembly of the United Nations exhorted them to extend to us.

57. The delegation of Mexico, which participates in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, has made a constant effort to co-operate so as to improve as far as possible the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor.<sup>4</sup>

58. We attribute the greatest importance to the formal commitment undertaken by, among other States, the Soviet Union and the United States—which for a long time the two Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament considered it very difficult to accept—to continue in good faith negotiations concerning further measures for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and ocean floor.

59. In the First Committee we shall attempt, in consultation with the co-Chairmen of the Committee on Disarmament, to achieve what we could not achieve in Geneva. Nevertheless, if our efforts fail once again I announce here and now that Mexico will not be an obstacle to the approval, which we hope will be unanimous, of a resolution on the draft treaty of which I have been speaking similar to those which have been adopted in the past with regard to the Treaties on Outer Space [*resolution 2222 (XXI)*] and the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. Naturally, in that case the eventual signature of the treaty by the Government of my country would have to be accompanied by an interpretative declara-

tion which would cover certain aspects of particular interest to us, among which I would note the question of the emplacement of conventional weapons on the continental shelf, which would be impossible for Mexico to accept because according to our Constitution the continental shelf is part of our national territory.

60. Another matter concerning the question of disarmament which was given special attention was the problem of chemical and bacteriological weapons. This year various declarations have been made which have strengthened the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 and accelerated the process of converting this Protocol into an instrument that can be adhered to universally, as was requested by the Secretary-General of our Organization.

61. However, we recognize the enormous difficulties involved in achieving an agreement on a matter as delicate as this. That caused us to propose a provisional measure that in essence consists of requesting that States issue declarations in which they unilaterally renounce the manufacture and use in wartime of bacteriological weapons and undertake the firm commitment to eliminate present stocks as soon as their renunciation takes the form of a convention.

62. For several years, and especially during the negotiations which culminated in the approval of the non-proliferation Treaty, Mexico has insisted on the necessity of not forgetting the goal set in 1959, namely, general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which the General Assembly then called "the most important question now before the world".

63. Consistent with this position of Mexico, we participated in the elaboration and negotiation of a draft comprehensive programme of disarmament, which the representative of Mexico had the privilege of submitting on behalf of the three co-sponsoring delegations—Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia—on 27 August last.<sup>5</sup>

64. We are convinced that the approval of this comprehensive programme by the Assembly at the present session would deserve to occupy an outstanding place among the various acts by which the United Nations intends to commemorate its twenty-fifth anniversary.

65. My Government has been concerned about the apparent stalemate in which the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations finds itself. We see there a problem which has been of concern to the Organization from the time of its creation; that is to say, the need to take collective measures exclusively under the Charter when Member States prove powerless to prevent violence.

66. I must repeat that it is urgent for the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to conclude its task of elaborating a draft on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space. We believe that we have a right to expect that the space Powers

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, annex C, section 42.

will give us co-operation as enthusiastic as that which we showed in the elaboration of the Agreement on the return of astronauts [*resolution 2345 (XXII)*].

67. A year ago, in this Assembly [*1833rd meeting*], we asked the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction to accelerate the preparation of a complete and well-balanced declaration of principles capable of promoting international co-operation in the field of the exploration and utilization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. We believe that we should not delay that declaration any longer because that zone and its resources constitute the common patrimony of all mankind. We think also that we must establish an international régime which would include machinery to ensure the just distribution of the benefits, and that the establishment of such a régime need not wait until States agree on the precise delimitation of the zone, since there are vast under-sea areas which are obviously outside the jurisdiction of any country.

68. Our Charter mentions the International Court of Justice as one of its six principal organs. It is obvious, however, that the Court has not played the role assigned to it when our Organization was established. My Government has co-sponsored an item which calls upon the Assembly to examine the reform of the Statute of the Court. Mexico would like to see, as a result of the study by the Assembly, a renovated Court in which the Judges could keep their independence but which would not, because of that, keep them isolated from the great currents which govern international law in our day and the international realities which influence it.

69. The Special Committee established by the Assembly,<sup>6</sup> which began its work in the capital of Mexico in 1964, has already drafted a declaration on the principles of international law referring to friendly relations and co-operation among States. I note with particular satisfaction that among them there figures the principle of non-intervention, which is defined in the draft in terms essentially similar to those approved by this Assembly at its twentieth session, when it made the most complete and precise formulation which had been achieved so far of this principle—in which we Mexicans have seen, in the more than a century and a half of our existence, the corner-stone of international co-existence.

70. Some speakers have referred in this debate to the problem—to which Mexico attributes special importance—of the hijacking of aircraft, which endangers the lives of many innocent persons. Recently, the President of Mexico expressed his deep concern over this situation and made various suggestions with regard to the motives and consequences of such criminal acts, stating his confidence that by means of international co-operation it would be possible to achieve some means of preventing these hijackings, and especially of denying hijackers impunity.

<sup>6</sup> Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

71. The principal economic item on our agenda is the adoption of an international strategy for development for the decade 1970-1979. After six long sessions the Preparatory Commission succeeded in preparing a draft which has been submitted to this Assembly [*A/7982, para. 16*].

72. We attribute fundamental importance to this document, which reflects the economic and social aspirations of developing countries. These aspirations in the last few years have at many international forums been identified with ever greater precision with a view to establishing the necessary policies if these goals are to be attained. Goals and policies are set forth in the project not only in the field of international trade and finance, but also in the very important field of human development, because, as long as we maintain an economic imbalance throughout the world—the origin of many conflicts and tensions—we cannot think that there will be any stable political order.

73. Of great importance in reducing these economic imbalances is international co-operation which will make it possible for the technology of industrialized countries to be transferred to developing countries without the latter having to accept the excessive exigencies of private entities. As has occurred already in other fields, the transfer of technology should become a true international public service.

74. Now the adequate transfer of technology to developing areas depends not only on the ability of the population to absorb the new techniques, but also on their ability to import machinery and modern equipment, which in turn depends upon an increase in their exports. Therefore, among the objectives to be achieved during the decade, we find an increment of 7 per cent annually in exports and imports. To this end we shall have to eliminate many obstacles which restrict the access of the production of these countries to international markets.

75. I should like now to repeat the profound concern of my Government with regard to the possibility that a wave of protectionism might arise in the industrialized countries. This would be in absolute contradiction to the objectives of the decade and would invalidate to a great extent the system of universal preferences which is being discussed in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

76. A war of trade restrictions among the developed nations would reduce the access of all countries to markets. This would principally be to the detriment of the poor countries, although the restrictions were not immediately addressed to specific products. We would thus have taken a step backward in world policy for the liberalization of international trade which was put into practice at the end of the Second World War and has been an important factor in the increase in production and consumption in the participant countries. Why return to the policy of the 1930s, of sad memory? It is true that 1970 does not find the United Nations as many of the founders would have liked it to be.

77. However, let us recognize that the second post-war period, which culminated and terminated in the dreadful days of November 1962, when the two super-nuclear Powers, with common sense and great realism avoided the hecatomb which for a decade had been threatening the world, was in many ways fruitful since the other period, after some ten years of pressure from the Versailles Treaty, resulted in the worst economic depression of all times and ten years later in the most terrible war the world has ever suffered in addition to the fact that in that first post-war period the empires strove to continue their status as if the nineteenth century had not yet come to an end.

78. We face at present new difficulties; but some either reflect new problems—a natural result in the case of a densely populated planet with better communications on which technological progress has widened in a surprising manner the distance between well-being and poverty—or else old forgotten problems, such as the perennial longing for equality and dignity among all men.

79. Many of these problems have a solution, others perhaps do not. Some fall within the sphere of every country whereas others, such as that of peace, can be attacked by international action. Many times the frontier between them is not very precise. Those relating to economic and social progress are fundamentally of an internal nature, but they require co-operation from the United Nations, its specialized agencies and its regional organs if they are to be eventually overcome.

80. What we have no right to do is to become disenchanted. The United Nations is an imperfect instrument but it is the only one available to us and for that reason—even if not for the many others—it is important that we renew our resolve to make it ever more effective and respected. It is at least our duty to keep our Organization alive and strive to have it some day gather together all peoples as coming generations succeed more appropriately and energetically in bringing it into line with new times and with the anguish and the hopes of both the present and the future.

81. Mr. TEPAVAC (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to address my first words to you in your capacity of representative of Norway, a country with which Yugoslavia maintains extremely friendly relations dating back to the difficult hours of the Second World War, and I wish to congratulate you most warmly, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, on your election as President of this anniversary session of the General Assembly. We see in this a tribute not only to your country but also to your undeniable personal qualities.

82. Yugoslavia, as one of the founders of the United Nations, signed the Charter two and a half decades ago with a firm belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter and a resolve to strive consistently towards their realization.

*Mr. Araujo Castro (Brazil), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

83. The image of the world has been significantly altered during the past twenty-five years. The world has changed much although it has not changed for the better. The peace that we now have is neither a lasting peace nor a peace for all. There are countries and peoples that not only are dying in war this very day, but also have never even known peace. The growth of science and the upsurge of technology have failed to improve the lot of the majority of mankind; they have even failed to upgrade the standards of living of the broader sections of the population even in countries where their impact has been the greatest. The lofty principles of the Charter—freedom, independence, sovereignty of peoples and States—are frequently and wantonly subjected to the interests of the bigger and the stronger. The rights and dignity of man are being mercilessly violated by social injustice, racial discrimination and religious and national prejudices.

84. For all these reasons, we are faced with the following question: shall the inadequacies of the present-day world be a source of apathy and despair or a motive force for more radical undertakings and more resolute action by our Organization? We firmly believe that the unacceptable realities of our times should not be preserved for the sake of so-called political realism which advocates helplessness and immobility.

85. All of the foregoing facts in no way overshadow the truth that the United Nations, acting in such contradictory circumstances, has none the less remained an irreplaceable factor of unification and rapprochement of peoples and countries differing in size and economic power and having diverse social and political systems. Neither we nor this Organization can deny the fact that in the realization of the basic objectives enshrined in the Charter as priority aims—the prevention of war and safeguarding of peace and security and the promotion of the free and independent development of all peoples—the United Nations has encountered almost insurmountable obstacles and that its role has remained limited.

86. The United Nations is but a mirror of the situation prevailing in international relations. It reflects all that is negative and all that is positive in the over-all development of the international situation. I presume that we all wish the United Nations to become something more than this.

87. The world with which we are dissatisfied cannot be improved overnight, but it can be destroyed overnight. For this reason the United Nations should be the tireless initiator and champion of a sweeping undertaking aimed at developing new relations which will ensure genuine security and full equality among all States and peoples in the world. The United Nations must become an Organization which will serve all and which will not be arbitrarily dominated by anyone.

88. Of symbolic significance is the fact that under the auspices of this high Organization the first youth assembly<sup>7</sup> was held, at which representatives of the youth of all continents were able to present their views

<sup>7</sup> Held at Headquarters from 9 to 17 July 1970.



on the world and to express their hopes and expectations with regard to the United Nations. Young people throughout the world are not slaves to prejudices inherited by us from earlier times and events. Their refusal to reconcile themselves with the state of the world as it is and with the existing situation in society is becoming an ever more significant factor whose political and moral significance should not be underestimated. The world of youth is the world of tomorrow. The greater togetherness and understanding among youth is becoming a decisive factor of rapprochement and understanding among men and peoples. The United Nations could see to it that such a role of the young people becomes an integral part of its own objectives and efforts.

89. Finally, I wish to stress that the effective role of the United Nations is inconceivable without the Organization's total universality. It has become utterly absurd to attempt further to deny the right of the People's Republic of China, a right to which it is entitled under the Charter, to take its place among the Member States of the United Nations and thus facilitate its active participation in the work of this international Organization. It is good to see an increasing number of countries supporting this request. How can we ensure progress in the solution of the most pressing international issues in the United Nations if the People's Republic of China and other States which are still outside our Organization do not take part in their settlement? If the United Nations wishes to represent the whole world in pursuance of its Charter, then the whole world should be in the United Nations.

90. Yugoslavia had the honour to be one of the 63 participants at the recently held Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka.<sup>8</sup> This, the largest gathering of Heads of State or Government ever held outside the United Nations, clearly reflected a high degree of awareness of the common interests of the non-aligned countries as well as of aspirations that are identical with those of a much larger number of States. This imposing gathering of the leaders of countries representing more than half of the Member States of the United Nations not only shed light upon the pressing issues confronting mankind, but adopted very specific conclusions as to what should be done to secure a better tomorrow, to strengthen world peace and security and to establish democratic relations among peoples. This, we hope, will have a direct impact upon the further activity of the United Nations. In this connexion, the Head of the Yugoslav delegation, President Tito, said, *inter alia*:

“The twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly and our gathering in Lusaka have their logical link both in terms of time and substance. These two events constitute for us, the non-aligned countries, a whole; they reflect—it can be said—the same historical concept. The reassertion of the principles of the Charter and the strengthening of the United Nations constitute, at the same time, a

demand for further and speedier democratization of international relations.”

91. The organic link between the aims of the non-aligned countries and the efforts of the United Nations has become closer and more obvious than ever before.

92. In the present day world, divided into military, economic and political blocs, the policy of force, imperialism and foreign domination definitely obstructs free international co-operation and greatly limits the place and role of a considerable number of countries. Should such a state of affairs remain unchanged and should the *status quo* based on bloc positions be legalized, then it would be illusory to speak of a lasting peace, of security for all, of independence, sovereignty and equitable co-operation among States.

93. The process of examining some problems of general interest for the world community has been initiated, but participation in their solution is restricted to a very small number of countries. Attempts to preserve such a state of affairs and to reserve for the super-Powers and the blocs headed by them the right to take decisions about the fate of peace and security and on other vital problems which affect the whole world are a matter of concern.

94. For this reason the era of negotiation—as we term the times in which we live—will fulfil our expectations only if, at the same time, it turns out to be an era of consolidation of universal peace, security, independence, sovereignty and wider possibilities for unimpeded internal development.

95. A genuine and durable peace and general security can only be built in conditions of the strict and universal application of the principles of the United Nations Charter. No country can be absolved, under any circumstances or for any reasons or motives, from respect for and implementation of these principles in international relations. This is precisely what the founders of this world Organization had in mind when they adopted the Charter of the United Nations twenty-five years ago.

96. The favourable evolution, which of late has been evidenced in Europe, has yielded some concrete results, as can be seen from the recently concluded treaty on the renunciation of force between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>9</sup> We attach, of course, the greatest importance to these positive trends, not only because we ourselves are a European country, but also because of the undeniable influence of such agreements upon broader developments in the international community.

97. We are convinced that conditions are continually being created for intensified efforts by all European countries in the sense of a further easing of tensions, promotion of all-round co-operation, overcoming of the existing division and establishment of equitable and secure conditions in Europe, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The proposed European conference, as a broad and democratic

<sup>8</sup> Held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

<sup>9</sup> Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

gathering of all European and other interested States, could then play a useful role. Such contacts, reasserting the independence of all countries and their full equality, could also stimulate the development of new and lasting forms of multilateral co-operation in Europe, even of new institutional forms of European security founded upon the Charter and organically linked, in a specific manner, to the United Nations.

98. The present *détente* in Europe will prove to be deceptive unless it becomes part of a general relaxation in the world. Regrettably, in many other areas of the world, dangerous crises, military conflicts and aggressions continue to persist.

99. In spite of the decision of the Security Council and ever wider dissatisfaction of the international community, Israel continues to occupy vast territories of Arab countries. The most recent developments in the Middle East serve as sufficient evidence that Israel has actually not changed its policy. It would be very dangerous to ignore this fact and to fail to realize that the eleventh hour has struck for taking steps while there is still time for a peaceful solution on the basis of the Security Council resolution. We must admit that, regardless of the immediate causes, the recent bloodshed in Jordan also falls within the context of broader consequences of the expansionist policy of Israel in this area, a component part of which is also the failure to recognize, over a number of years, the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Our concern at the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East is even greater as the growing crisis is extending the area of tension to the entire Mediterranean, and even to a large part of Europe and is adversely affecting over-all international relations.

100. The situation in Viet-Nam and in South-East Asia as a whole is now considerably graver than it was last year. Cambodia has become a theatre of war devastation as a consequence of military intervention by primarily non-Asian Powers in that formerly independent and non-aligned country. It has been proved that the so-called Viet-Namization is leading to an expansion, and not a reduction, of the war. The events have confirmed the viewpoint which we, like many others, have expressed on a number of occasions, namely, that peace in South-East Asia can be secured only if the right of the peoples of Viet-Nam and Laos, and now also of Cambodia, to independence and sovereign determination of their own future, without external interference or meddling, is finally recognized and respected.

101. Colonial and racist oppression in the southern part of Africa is assuming more and more alarming proportions. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation the world Organization is faced with a pressing need to take energetic and resolute measures for the eradication of colonialism. The entire world, and above all Africa, knows that this is a question not of a lack of power but of a lack of will to act. The world community should muster courage and resources to erase this blot from our century.

102. The point of departure and the foundation of international security is the development of such relations in the world as will ensure the full independence, the equal rights and sovereignty of all countries. The timely resistance of the international community to all possible threats and recourse to force in settling disputes constitutes another significant component of international security.

103. Inherent in every conflict in this world which has become so interdependent, is the danger that such conflict may be transformed into one of major proportions. Therefore we expect the current session of the General Assembly to chart the main course for long-term activities in strengthening international security and safeguarding peace, as these tasks deserve the highest priority. People seek a sound peace and not a deceptive truce. The first vital step in that direction is the curbing of the arms race and the initiation of the disarmament process. How often has it been pointed out in vain that the arms race not only is fraught with unforeseeable consequences for peace and security but is absorbing greater and greater material, financial and industrial potentials at a time when millions of people in the developing countries lack the most essential conditions for existence.

104. Without minimizing the complexity of the disarmament problem, we should like to express our conviction that it is precisely the great Powers, the ones possessing the greatest stocks of modern weapons, which bear the chief responsibility for past failures to halt the arms race and to resolve the disarmament problems. The last session of the General Assembly provided a vital impulse for action in this field. However, what has been done so far is far from sufficient. The Yugoslav delegation will be more than pleased to co-operate with other delegations in the adoption of a more substantive and comprehensive disarmament programme during the current session. We also deem it essential to adopt at this session a treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction on or under the sea-bed, as the first step towards the total demilitarization of the sea-bed. We also wish to stress the urgency of banning chemical and bacteriological weapons. Proceeding from such a conviction, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia recently adopted a decision to renounce unilaterally the manufacture and use of these dangerous weapons.

105. While in the developed parts of the world there is an enormous concentration of productive forces and technological progress, the development process is showing a more and more evident lag in other parts of the world. The fact that this truth is not new can certainly not console us. The efforts exerted by the developing countries to develop and utilize to the utmost their own potentials and constantly to foster mutual co-operation are limited by numerous external factors which they cannot influence without the support and co-operation of the developed countries, whose possibilities in this respect are boundless. True, a small number of developed countries appreciate this need and have committed themselves to set aside sub-

stantial resources for a more rapid development of less developed countries. However, there are still many, and the richest countries at that, that have not shown such readiness. The world cannot be stable if it is condemned to perpetual economic disparity. We are thus faced with the urgent need to bring about profound changes in order to implement a new international development policy and a more rapid integration of the developing countries into the mainstream of the world's material, scientific and cultural progress, from which in the long run the developed countries themselves will benefit. More specifically, that is the very essence of the international development strategy for the Second Development Decade which should be adopted during this session in the hope that it will, as distinct from the first Decade, yield more tangible results.

106. It is the desire of my Government that this anniversary session should provide a clearer image of a new vision of the world. We are gathered together in this Organization not merely to discuss the situation in the world or to describe it but also to contribute to its gradual change. We are deeply convinced that this session can open up broader vistas for changes in the world, which must be not only a different but also a better world. Every step forward along this path will, at the same time, be a genuine contribution to the anniversary of the United Nations. My Government is prepared to do its utmost towards that end.

107. Mr. GALIB (Somalia): It is with great pleasure that my delegation adds its voice to those of previous speakers in extending to Ambassador Hambro our sincere congratulations on his election to the high office of President of this particularly significant session of the General Assembly. His election is sufficient proof of those high qualifications which will enable him to guide our proceedings with wisdom and competence. We are confident that, under his guidance, the work of this session of the General Assembly will be brought to a successful conclusion.

108. I also wish to extend my delegation's appreciation to his distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, for the praiseworthy way in which she discharged her duties during her tenure of office. She has brought honour to her country, Liberia, and to Africa; indeed, Mrs. Brooks-Randolph's performance as President of the General Assembly was also an honour to women all over the world.

109. The opening of a new session of the General Assembly is always a time for taking stock of the achievements and failures of the United Nations. This traditional assessment is of course particularly appropriate as we begin the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and approach the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. The failures of this Organization in its attempts to fulfil mankind's hope for peace are obvious enough, and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic share the disappointment felt by so many at the apparent inability of the United Nations to come to grips with the vital international problems of our time.

110. The achievements of the Organization, while not as spectacular as its failures, are none the less important; they are the kind of day-to-day achievements that are not featured in headlines, but they lay the groundwork for economic progress and for international goodwill. I am thinking particularly of the work of the specialized agencies in developing countries like my own where problems that affect the daily lives of our people are being tackled successfully with the help of the United Nations specialized agencies.

111. However, progress in economic and social matters has little meaning unless there is peace in which to enjoy it. If the United Nations should become simply a development organization its failure in the political sphere would surely destroy its other achievements.

112. Where does the cause for the failures of the United Nations lie? My delegation believes that it lies not in the Charter, but in the unwillingness of some Members to abide by the Articles of the Charter, by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by United Nations resolutions when these seem to run counter to their interests. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Charter we have a code of international morality and a system of international law which must be accepted as the basis of world civilization as it exists today, if we are to survive.

113. Unfortunately, it has to be said that while we wait for general acceptance of the new international morality—based on the recognition of human rights, on the recognition of national aspirations towards independence and sovereignty, and on the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes—while we wait for a change of heart, transgressions against human rights continue on a large scale; people who desire self-determination and independence are denied them and nations resort to violence and war, even when the machinery for the peaceful settlement of their disputes exists. The frustration of the wish for self-determination and the denial of human rights lie at the heart of the dangerous situations which exist in Viet-Nam, Cambodia, the Middle East, Korea and southern Africa. There must be a new attempt by Members of the United Nations to respond with sensitivity and honesty to the needs of the times.

114. In our country we have also been faced with the need for a change of attitude. We also were in a situation where the insensitivity of the past Government to the needs of all the people was creating grave injustices, characterized by corruption, maladministration and lack of concern for the welfare of our people. The bloodless revolution which took place in Somalia last October represents a renewed effort at nation-building and a revival of our national ideals which, despite the colonialists' vain attempts to destroy them, have been sustained with vigour and determination throughout our history.

115. In keeping with our traditions and culture and in fulfilment of the aspirations of our people, we have chosen a system of democracy based primarily on African socialism. African socialism for us is not a political

theory of relatively recent coinage; it is the traditional way of life of the Somali people. It is our hope and belief that the principle of justice for all, on which our popular democracy is based, is reflected in the positions taken by my Government on international problems confronting the world and the United Nations.

116. In this regard I should like to say first of all that in its international relations the Somali Democratic Republic pursues a policy of positive non-alignment. This means that we have taken an independent stand on international issues according to their merits. It certainly does not mean a policy of non-involvement.

117. Fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon all Member States by the Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights demands collective action by the Members of the United Nations in certain situations to bring about international law and order and respect for human rights. The Somali people will co-operate to the fullest in such actions.

118. President Kaunda of Zambia will be coming soon to the United Nations to present a series of proposals on the fundamental issues of our times. He will do that on behalf of those countries which participated in the Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned States and on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. For that reason my delegation will not describe here the salient features of those proposals, which the Somali Democratic Republic whole-heartedly endorses. When the proposals are taken up individually in the various Committees of the General Assembly my delegation will take advantage of the opportunity to expound on and to speak in support of them. As the Conference of Non-Aligned States made clear, the non-aligned nations will exert moral pressure to the fullest extent in their attempt to bring about just solutions to the international situations that endanger peace.

119. I intimated earlier the belief of my delegation that the frustration of the wish for self-determination and denial of human rights are factors common to all the dangerous situations that threaten international peace.

120. There is a basic similarity between the problems of the Middle East, Viet-Nam, Korea and the problems of southern Africa where the denial of human rights of the indigenous people is a philosophy of government and where, in the last strongholds of colonialism and imperialism, armed forces suppress the desire of the people for self-determination and independence. As the Government of an independent African nation and one which tries to pay more than lip service to the principles of the Charter, we are deeply concerned over the oppression of the people of southern Africa and the indifference of many members of the international community to that oppression.

121. In South Africa we have the phenomenon of *apartheid* which is the system of slavery in modern dress. The question of *apartheid* has been before this Assembly almost since its inception, and the develop-

ment of the problem shows the typical syndrome of a United Nations failure, namely, a deterioration in the situation in direct proportion to the unwillingness of some Member States to act according to the consensus of the General Assembly or even according to the dictates of the Security Council. In the ten years since Sharpeville, and since the outburst of international indignation which followed that incident, the South African Government has increased the severity and the inhumanity of the application of its *apartheid* policy. It has been able to do so with impunity because of the material and moral support of South Africa's main trading partners.

122. Without the co-operation of these nations, the economic and political isolation of South Africa called for by the General Assembly, and the total arms embargo called for and recently reaffirmed by the Security Council, have no chance of succeeding. In the past decade, as we all know, South Africa's main trading partners have increased their trade with and investments in South Africa. Some of them have either openly supplied it with armaments or used a completely unreal distinction between arms for internal oppression and arms for external defence in order to carry on this iniquitous trade.

123. By their dealings with South Africa, its main trading partners have not only failed to give moral leadership but are helping to undermine the authority of the United Nations at a time when it is sorely needed to deal with the interrelated problems of southern Africa. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia and to extend *apartheid* to that Territory in defiance of the United Nations termination of its Mandate [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] and in spite of the fact that the United Nations has assumed responsibility for leading that Territory to independence. Its economic and military alliance with the rebel régime in Zimbabwe is in defiance of the economic sanctions imposed on that Territory by the Security Council [*resolution 253 (1968)*] and helps in the suppression of the liberation struggle of its oppressed people.

124. Finally, South Africa's military and economic alliance with the Portuguese authorities helps in the suppression of the nationalist aspirations and the legitimate armed struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau). These are all acts of defiance against the authority of the United Nations and they are clearly condoned and supported by those nations which have extensive economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa.

125. As an African nation deeply concerned over the sufferings of our brothers in southern Africa, deeply concerned over the moral implications of the continued imposition of the racist philosophy of *apartheid* on millions of Africans, and deeply concerned over the threat to peace in Africa and beyond presented by the whole question of southern Africa, Somalia would like to see the Security Council resume its consideration of this question as a matter of urgency, for it has not been discussed by that body since 1964. No one pretends that sacrifices of varying degrees would not have

to be made. But I suggest that such sacrifices would prove beneficial in the long run in terms of the goodwill and co-operation of the peoples of Africa and in terms of the possible prevention of a racial conflict with widespread implications.

126. The role so far played in South Africa by countries such as France and the United Kingdom is inexcusable. We would have thought that their centuries-old association with the peoples of Africa would have produced a greater sensitivity to African aspirations and prevented them from taking positions on the southern African questions which are contrary to the rights and interests of African peoples.

127. But in the dark picture of the southern African scene there are some rays of hope. My Government, along with other African Governments, was particularly encouraged by the stand taken by Canada in opposition to the United Kingdom's decision to reopen the arms flow to South Africa. We received with satisfaction, too, the decision of Italy and Sweden to withdraw from participation in the construction of the Cabora-Bassa dam.

128. We are grateful to the peoples and Governments of Scandinavia for the enlightened and forceful stand they have taken against the racist policies of South Africa and of their generous contributions in support of the common struggle against the evil policies of that Government.

129. That great progress has been made since the founding of the United Nations towards ending colonialism and fostering the aspirations of peoples for self-determination and independence is evidenced by the number of new nations which have taken their places as Members of the United Nations. This is certainly one of the major achievements of the Organization. However, this progress must not make us complacent about the millions who are still denied the right to self-determination.

130. I have already mentioned the oppressed people of the Portuguese-held Territories whose liberation struggle, together with that of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, has been declared legitimate by the United Nations. These liberation movements are quite rightly in the forefront of international concern, forming as they do a part of the complex problem of southern Africa. My Government hopes, however, that the United Nations will continue to show concern for other Territories which are still to attain independence, such as French Somaliland, the Comoro Islands and Spanish Sahara.

131. In this connexion we are pleased to note that an atmosphere of understanding exists between the French authorities and the people of French Somaliland. The welfare and future of French Somaliland is of special concern to the Somali Democratic Republic.

132. Apart from our desire as a Member of this Organization to support the principle of self-

determination, our concern for their welfare is a particular one arising from the strong ties of kinship and the common culture that bind the Somali people irrevocably to the people of French Somaliland. It is not the wish of my delegation to recount those unhappy circumstances which the people of French Somaliland experienced in the years 1966 and 1967, when they attempted to express their political aspirations. The lessons learnt from those experiences have demonstrated that when the hopes and aspirations of a people are frustrated, violence is inevitably the consequence.

133. The Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic are anxious that peace be maintained in the Horn of Africa and they believe that with goodwill and a scrupulous regard for the principles enshrined in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, French Somaliland will be able to determine its destiny in a peaceful manner free from duress. Now that a better understanding prevails between the people of French Somaliland and the French authorities, we trust that France will demonstrate the same regard for political emancipation that it has shown to those other African nations which it formerly administered, and which today play such an important role in this Organization and in Africa.

134. It is the duty not only of France but also of the United Nations to ensure that the people of French Somaliland are given the opportunity to take their rightful place among the community of nations. My delegation is convinced that by enabling the people of French Somaliland to become free and independent France would lay the basis and create conditions for an improved form of relationship which would make for better and stronger ties of friendship and which would be no less rewarding than that which France so happily enjoys with the former African members of the French community.

135. The Middle East situation, which is like a festering sore that has been allowed to go for too long without treatment, endangers the peace and security of the whole world. It is a tragic example of the result of the lack of a commitment on the part of Member States to take effective action to enforce United Nations decisions arrived at by majority vote. The imposition of an exclusive Zionist State on Arab lands was an historic wrong which laid the basis for the troubles of the Middle East. That injustice was compounded by the failure of the United Nations to set right, at least in part, the injustice done to the dispossessed people of Palestine.

136. Since 1948 the United Nations has had on its books General Assembly resolution 194 (III), calling for the repatriation or compensation of the Palestinian refugees. Although it has been clear for over 20 years that this issue, more than any other, has led to continuing conflict, one opportunity after another for resolving it has been allowed to go by. When the United Nations, by a narrow majority, gave its approval to the creation of Israel, even those States that supported an exclusive Zionist State in Palestine approved resolution 194 (III)

as an attempt to redress wrongs that were clearly recognized. But in seizing the opportunity to give Arab lands to the Jewish people who were being called in from all over the world the Zionist leadership deliberately sabotaged other opportunities to move towards a peaceful settlement. It then became clear that only strong pressure from the major Powers, and in particular from the United States of America, would persuade Israel to conform to the United Nations resolution. Each time a new crisis threatened the peace of the Middle East, and indeed of the world, it was recognized anew by the major Powers that they had been remiss in not acting strongly to bring about a just solution to the Palestine refugee problem. But as the crisis waned and other interests intervened old attitudes of indifference or open hostility towards the implementation of resolution 194 (III) would be resumed. This ambivalent attitude, and the consequent loss of opportunities, was vividly illustrated in the Suez crisis, in 1956, the war of June 1967 and in the intervening periods. The people of Palestine have now taken matters into their own hands and an already difficult situation has grown more complex.

137. The tragedy that is now taking place in Jordan is a dangerous consequence of our failure to solve the problem. The recent hijackings are another consequence. But the world must at least understand the long-standing frustrations that have led to such desperate actions. The world must understand, too, that the Palestinian people will no longer rely on unenforced resolutions in order to regain their birthright. If that is not recognized, then there is no hope for peace in the Middle East. The Security Council resolution of November 1967 [242 (1967)] contains all the elements for a peaceful settlement, and every effort should be made towards its implementation.

138. We must not allow this situation to drift unresolved. In the three years that have followed the adoption of that resolution, the Zionist régime has conducted a vicious and continued series of aggressions against neighbouring Arab States and has treated the people of the occupied territories with a complete disregard for human rights. Thirty years ago the Nazi régime of Germany was condemned by world opinion for the brutal treatment of the Jewish population under its control and for its expansionist policy at the expense of neighbouring States. The Zionists have not yet reached the stage of adopting towards the Arab peoples they have conquered Hitler's "final solution" to what he considered to be the Jewish problem. But a pattern reminiscent of nazism is emerging, composed of mass arrests, the expulsion of the population, the brutal treatment of detainees and the expropriation of land and property for the enrichment of the ruling community. How ironic that today some of the victims of the Nazi era should themselves be architects of a campaign of terror and an expansionist policy against the Arab people.

139. The two prerequisites for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem are, first, the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories and, secondly, full compliance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 194 (III).

140. The aggression of the United States against the Viet-Nameese people, its invasion of Cambodia and its incursions into Laos are in flagrant violation of international law and constitute a major threat to peace in Asia and the world. The Somali Government is fully sympathetic to the struggle of the Viet-Cong and believes that the presence of United States and other foreign forces in Viet-Nam is the main cause of the terrible suffering the people of that country have had to endure for the last twenty years. The callous indifference of United States soldiers to the humanity of the Viet-Nameese people lends ugly racist overtones to an already ugly war.

141. As long as foreign interference continues, the ordeal of the Viet-Nameese people will be prolonged. The war in Viet-Nam is a civil war, and only the people of that territory have the right to determine their future. Foreign interference is also the cause of the recent upheavals in Cambodia and Laos. The invasion of Cambodia by United States armed forces is characteristic of the malaise that has seized Indo-China in the form of the belief that it is possible to bolster up indefinitely Governments which do not have the support of the majority of the people. My Government appeals to the Government of the United States to listen to the voice of the people of the United States, and to the people of the world, who so obviously wish to see an immediate end to this terrible war.

142. In Korea, as in Viet-Nam, the realities of the situation demand that all forces be withdrawn from the country. My Government believes that the question of the reunification of Korea is a domestic matter that must be solved through direct negotiations between the temporarily divided people of North and South Korea. My delegation reiterates the view it expressed last year, that the true role of the United Nations in Korea is solely to create the conditions and afford the parties concerned the facilities that would enable them to solve their problems in an atmosphere free from outside interference and separate from the political and military consideration of foreign Governments. As a preliminary step, my Government supports the proposal that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea should be invited, without conditions, to give the General Assembly its views on the question of the reunification of Korea.

143. I have concerned myself a great deal so far with the failures of the United Nations which relate directly to human problems, to people denied political and social justice. I should like for a moment to deal with the question of a nation denied justice. I refer to the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. My Government strongly opposes this exclusion on two grounds. First, we support the principle of the universality of the membership of the United Nations, and, secondly, it is perfectly obvious to us, as it is to all who have scrupulous regard for the Charter, that the representatives of the *de jure* and *de facto* Government of the People's Republic of China should be able, as by right, to take their place in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

144. It is incredibly unrealistic and illogical that a State and nuclear Power with nearly 800 million inhabitants is denied its legitimate seat in the United Nations when we allow in our midst the representatives of Fascist South Africa, who flout all that we stand for in our Charter in their daily atrocities against the indigenous African people. This fact is all the more painful for the Somali delegation because South Africa is our neighbour in the seating arrangements of the United Nations, and we cannot possibly apply the notion "love thy neighbour", revealed in the Koran and the Bible, and also mentioned by Buddha, as long as the present leaders of that country believe in the hateful and felonious policy of *apartheid*.

145. As in previous years, the Secretary-General has pointed out in his introduction to his annual report on the work of the United Nations that:

"... in order to achieve agreement on far-reaching measures of disarmament, it is indispensable that all militarily significant Powers, and in particular all nuclear Powers, including France and the People's Republic of China, should participate in the negotiations" [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1, para. 27].

It would be a fitting achievement of this anniversary session if agreement could be reached on inviting the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in the United Nations.

146. It has been said many times in the past that the United Nations was "at the crossroads", and this is no doubt being said at the present time when we celebrate the completion of a quarter of a century of existence and embark hopefully on a disarmament decade. It would certainly seem that the signpost which points towards the goal of "peace, justice and progress" should be labelled "disarmament". Progress towards disarmament has been steady, but we have a long way to go along this road. There is a great deal of irony in the fact that while we have been able to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons in outer space and are well on the way towards prohibiting their use on the sea-bed, we have not been able to prohibit their use on *terra firma* where such a prohibition is essential for the survival of mankind.

147. The arms race in conventional but increasingly deadly weapons affects, in the words of the Secretary-General, "all nations, nuclear and non-nuclear, developed and developing" [*ibid.*, para. 20]. While the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)], to which my Government is a party, prohibits the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear Powers, the nuclear Powers continue to carry on underground nuclear tests and to develop new offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons systems. The recent dumping of nerve gas into the sea off the United States serves to illustrate the reason why many States have not signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and illustrates also the need for a ban on the

production of the obscene weapons of bacteriological and chemical warfare.

148. It is always a matter of satisfaction when we are told that relations between two previously unfriendly countries have been put on a harmonious keel. In this regard, my Government was particularly pleased to learn that the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany had concluded an agreement which marks an important milestone in their relations.

149. My Government has also noted with interest the improved relations that have developed between the two German States. The existence of these two States, in our view, is part of the political realities of the world today that cannot be ignored.

150. And now permit me to say a few words about a problem which is of direct concern to my country. It might be recalled that until recently Somalia's dispute with its neighbours was often the subject of heated exchanges between our respective delegations in this Assembly hall and at other international conferences. Although these disputes remain unsolved I am glad to say that the tension and acrimony that characterized the situation then has lessened and that there has been a marked improvement in relations as a result of direct talks.

151. The significance in this shift of approach is to demonstrate our belief that resort to the United Nations should be had only after all other procedures for peaceful settlement have failed. Talks are continuing at a bilateral level and the good offices of the Organization of African Unity are available to us should they become necessary. Our desire for peace and harmony in our region was underlined by the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, General Mohamed Syed Barre, when he said recently:

"We do not intend to kindle the fire of destruction in the Horn of Africa. We have heard and some of us have seen the effects and repercussions of war which has twice struck this world and left behind untold sorrow and suffering to mankind. What we intend to do, however, is to press for a peaceful and amicable settlement of all disputes with our neighbours which, if left unresolved, will sow the seeds of suspicion and hatred between the peoples and Governments of our part of the world."

152. The motto we have adopted to mark this twenty-fifth anniversary is "Peace, justice and progress". The United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contain the formulas for achieving these ends. But they will never be achieved if Member States continue to regard the Organization as a debating club whose conclusions they are not obliged to support or to translate into effective action. The extent to which we are prepared to act according to the moral and legal codes which we ourselves have fashioned and accepted will determine whether the United Nations will survive and whether its goals will be attained.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*