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

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Radhakrishna Ramani,  
member of the delegation of Malaysia*

1. The PRESIDENT: We have learned with great sorrow of the passing away of our colleague, Dr. Radhakrishna Ramani, a member of the delegation of Malaysia to this session. He was also former Permanent Representative to the United Nations from November 1964 to December 1967. On behalf of all his friends and colleagues in the United Nations I should like to express to his family and to the Government and people of Malaysia our profound condolences.

*On the proposal of the President, the Members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.*

2. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): Mr. President, on behalf of the Malaysian delegation I wish to express our sincere appreciation to you for the expression of your sympathy and condolences and to the Assembly for having observed a minute's silence a moment ago on the death of Ambassador Ramani.

3. Ambassador Ramani was truly a prominent figure in Malaysia and has made a memorable contribution to the development of our country. Even at the height of his success in the legal profession, in which he was an acknowledged dean for many years, he chose to give his service to the country at great personal sacrifice. His untimely death is a great loss to Malaysia. I shall convey the expressions of your sympathy and condolence, Mr. President, and those of the Assembly to the Government and people of Malaysia and to the bereaved family of the late Ambassador Ramani.

**AGENDA ITEM 9**  
**General debate (*continued*)**

4. Mr. KOUN WICK (Cambodia) (*interpretation from French*): Before I begin this speech I should like first of all on behalf of my delegation to express our sorrow and condolences on the occasion of the death of Ambassador Ramani of Malaysia.

5. On behalf of the Cambodian delegation, Mr. President, I am particularly pleased to join with those other speakers who have spoken before me in offering to you our warmest congratulations on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. This election is specially significant because, through your distinguished person, it is a tribute to the work done traditionally by the Norwegian people for peace and international co-operation. I am sure that, thanks to your long experience, your spirit of fairness and impartiality, the work of this session will be conducted in a harmonious spirit and an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation.

6. It is also a pleasant duty for me to pay special tribute to the President of the twenty-fourth session, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, whose competence and political wisdom were very much appreciated.

7. It is also a pleasure for me to address, on behalf of the people and Government of Cambodia, my most sincere congratulations to U Thant who, for more than a decade now, has spared neither time nor effort to preserve international peace and security and to promote justice and prosperity in the world. The Cambodian people also sees in the personality of the Secretary-General a man of peace and great Buddhist wisdom and we believe firmly that the blessing of Buddha will always accompany U Thant in his work of goodwill.

8. At this commemorative session of the General Assembly we must recognize that the appeal contained in the United Nations Charter for peace and international co-operation is quite as necessary and urgent now as it was twenty-five years ago. Therefore, it is the duty of all of us meeting here today to try to find all possible ways and means capable of leading to a sincere and equitable achievement of the aspirations which were expressed so solemnly and with such faith at San Francisco.

9. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the United Nations continues to enjoy a definite measure of influence in international events. Men of goodwill see in

it a guardian of peace and international security and a tireless promoter of an era of peace and progress in justice for mankind as a whole.

10. In countless fields this Organization has scored real successes. It can also be seen that a glimmer of hope is beginning to emerge in the disarmament talks. In this connexion, I am happy to announce that my Government is now going to join the vast majority of States which have accepted the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)].

11. My Government is also happy to welcome the initiatives taken at this session to strengthen international peace and security. As a peace-loving people, victim of a foreign invasion, it is, of course, our keenest desire to see brought about as soon as possible the withdrawal of the forces of aggression and the restoration of peace in Cambodia.

12. I shall not go into the details of the events that have occurred recently in my country. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, were duly informed of these developments. However, let me present a broad picture of the actual situation and the international position of Cambodia, a picture which was in fact drawn by the Prime Minister, General Lon Nol, in an open letter addressed to all heads of State on 3 September 1970, from which I shall now quote:

“The aggression against neutral, peace-loving Cambodia was unleashed according to a well established plan by the North Viet-Nameese, Viet-Cong and Pathet-Lao invaders.

“A veritable silent invasion of our territory, since 1967 and during 1969 in particular, preceded this aggression. Aware of the implicit danger to our true neutrality, and justly outraged by this growing infiltration of Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese forces on Khmer territory and the offences committed by their troops, who acted like masters on our soil and against our population, our people and youth on 8, 11 and 16 March 1970 reacted in popular anti-Viet-Cong and anti-North-Vietnam demonstrations.

“Prince Sihanouk, who was in France at the time, came out openly in favour of his “friends” the Viet-Nameese communists who he himself had allowed to set themselves up illegally in all the frontier regions bordering on South Viet-Nam, he and his entourage even having sold them parcels of our land. Enraged at the events which had taken place, he described as “traitors” the thousands of demonstrators who had called for the withdrawal of Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese troops. It was Khmer public opinion, and particularly the youth and intellectual elite of the country, that called for the overthrow of the dictator whose policy, which was absolutely contrary to the national interest, had allowed the installation of foreign troops on our territory.

“While on this point it might be recalled that Prince Sihanouk was actually acting as a dictator, having

taken over all power since 1955, and would not brook any opposition in whatever form. Any Khmer citizen not in agreement with his dictatorial policies he described as either a ‘Red’ or a ‘Blue’, and they were compelled to silence if not actually thrown into prison or executed on his orders. His overthrow on 18 March 1970 was therefore in strict accordance with the will of the people. Virtually all the Khmers refused to endure any longer the dictatorship of Prince Sihanouk and his treachery against the national interests of our country to the advantage of the Viet-Cong and the North Viet-Nameese, and the abuses committed by him, his family and his entourage. His overthrow was, furthermore, perfectly legal, having been proclaimed by a unanimous vote of the National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom meeting in Congress. The Khmer Parliament had in 1960 entrusted Prince Sihanouk with the functions of Chief of State of Cambodia, and those functions were withdrawn from him by the same procedure that had been used ten years earlier to give them to him.

“Three weeks later, on 11 April 1970, the people and youth, at a great mass demonstration, expressed their desire to see the Republic proclaimed and called for the abolition of the monarchy. Fully approving this truly justified expression of the people’s will, my Government responded by lawfully preparing the change in régime desired by the Khmer people.

“Meanwhile the armed aggression by Viet-Nameese communists against neutral, peace-loving Cambodia had already started. Our defence forces were not at all prepared to resist that aggression because of the state of weakness in which Prince Sihanouk had systematically kept them for years by deliberately refraining from providing them with the means necessary to defend our independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

“But the inflow of large numbers of volunteers from all parts of the population made it possible to increase our manpower gradually. At the beginning, they amounted to only 30,000 men—that is when, on 29 March, the aggression of the Asian communists—North Viet-Nameese, Viet-Cong and Pathet-Lao—started against our country. Our defence forces now amount to 135,000 men, thanks to the ever-increasing number of volunteers, while the enemy forces, in spite of new reinforcements, have diminished considerably because of the heavy losses they suffered during their vain offences against our capital and our principal towns. These facts about the present situation are extremely encouraging to us, and they make us certain of our final victory over the invasion forces of Asian communism.

“Those successes have taught us a valuable lesson. They have made us organize ourselves better in our struggle to repel the invaders. We have learned a lesson which has been useful to us in building a modern nation that will be truly independent and neutral. The enthusiasm and determination demonstrated by our people, our youth, our elite, our

Buddhist clergy and our army in the struggle against the enemy, and at the same time in the preparations for the advent of the republican régime, are the best evidence of our faith in victory and in the future of our nation.

“It is true that we are no longer alone, as we were in the early days of our national resistance against the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong aggressors. Friendly countries have heeded our appeal and are providing us with generous and unconditional aid. However, the fact that we are receiving this aid, which is designed to strengthen our defences, cannot in any way be said to commit us to this or that bloc. Out of respect for the will of the Khmer people my Government is firmly determined to keep Cambodia on the path of authentic neutrality. That is why we have not joined the South-East Asia Treaty Organization or any other military pact. We intend always to follow a policy of strict non-alignment.

“But that was not true of Prince Sihanouk, who deliberately went over to the side of our aggressors. That is why his phantom Government, the GRUNK, which was illegal because it was never empowered to act by the Khmer Parliament, is only a screen used by the North Viet-Nameese, the Viet-Cong and the Pathet-Lao to camouflage and continue their deliberate aggression against my country. Created on 5 May 1970—that is, more than a month after the commencement of the communist aggression against Cambodia—the phantom Government of Prince Sihanouk can under no circumstances claim to be neutral.

“That ‘Government’ is installed in the capital of a communist Power, sustained by that Power, and entirely dependent on it. It joined a military pact concluded with the support of communist China, consisting of itself, North Viet-Nam, the Viet-Cong and the Pathet-Lao, at the Indo-Chinese communist summit which took place on Chinese territory. The former Chief of State of Cambodia clearly made it known in his statements in Peking that he intended to transform Cambodia into a communist country closely aligned with the communist countries of Asia, should those countries win the war in Indo-China.

“Those are the facts which emerge from current events concerning Cambodia and its people, a people that aspires only to peace and justice. That is why we regret very much to note that our struggle for a just cause is still wilfully disregarded or misunderstood by some countries, members of the great international organizations, which are constantly invoking the ideals of peace, liberty, independence and justice—but for themselves only and not for others . . .”

13. Therefore, to those nations and their representatives who, out of selfish interest, prejudice or political opportunism, still insist on distorting the facts about my country when they speak in this Assembly, I should like on behalf of my Government to issue a solemn

invitation to come to Cambodia to see for themselves the reality of the aggression of which the Khmer people is now the victim. Notwithstanding our present difficulties, we would make it our duty to give them a welcome worthy of their prestige and good faith and to furnish them with abundant and irrefutable proof of this aggression, which we intend to resist with all our strength, with all our resources, in order to preserve our independence, our neutrality and our territorial integrity.

14. The representative of Albania spoke [1851st meeting] of resistance and the liberation war of the Cambodian people. I must point out to him that if there is resistance it is precisely that which we are putting up now against the foreign invasion by the Viet-Cong, the North Viet-Nameese and their allies.

15. The representative of Albania also talked of a coup d'état and described the legal Government of Cambodia as a clique. In so doing he echoed, on behalf of an absent party, the same distortions of the truth and specious arguments that had already been revealed as totally threadbare. As I said before, there was never a coup d'état and Prince Norodom Sihanouk was deposed legally within the legal constitutional procedures. The only change that took place had to do with the person of the Chief of State.

16. The government presided over by General Lon Nol was formed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk himself in October 1969, and it enjoys the unanimous support of the people.

17. As for the so-called popularity of the Prince, it was a fiction even before his deposition, but it was totally annihilated on the day when, in a spirit of petty vengeance and in the hope of regaining power, Norodom Sihanouk appealed to foreign troops to invade his own country.

18. Only a dictatorship can support another dictatorship. Authentic socialism could not support the retrograde feudalism of the few against the democratic aspirations of a whole people; despotism is a system of corruption and venality of those in authority—a system worthy of the Middle Ages—against a revolution waged in order to gain liberty, equality and social justice.

19. Cambodia, a Member of the United Nations, is now the victim of overt aggression perpetrated without justification by the Viet-Cong, the North Viet-Nameese and their allies. From the very beginning of that aggression the Government of Cambodia, in accordance with the terms of the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Agreements of 1954, appealed for a peaceful solution of this matter. Appeals were addressed to all the countries of the world without exception, as well as to the United Nations.

20. Those appeals proved useless and our people are very puzzled about the sincerity of the desire for peace that everybody seems to be proclaiming so loudly. Fortunately, eleven countries of South-East Asia and the

Pacific—Australia, Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and the Republic of Viet-Nam—decided not to abandon us to our sorry fate. In accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and at the brave and praiseworthy initiative of Indonesia, a conference of the Foreign Ministers of those eleven countries, on the subject of Cambodia, the victim of unjustified aggression, took place in Djakarta on 16 and 17 May 1970, with fairly encouraging results.

21. I shall simply quote a few points from the joint communiqué published in Djakarta on 17 May 1970:

“Point 5: Animated by a common desire to help restore peace and calm in Cambodia in particular and in South-East Asia in general, the Foreign Ministers reaffirmed the commitment of their countries to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter concerning the present problem, particularly the Article of the Charter which advocates a solution of all disputes among nations by peaceful means. They also recalled the Declaration of the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in April 1955, having particularly in mind the principles concerning respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity and the non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

“Point 6: The Foreign Ministers recognized the desire of the Cambodian people to maintain a position of neutrality and non-alignment in international affairs and to be free to manage their own affairs. Reviewing the situation in Cambodia, the Foreign Ministers noted, however, with deep anxiety the serious worsening of the situation in that country which, in the long run, would endanger peace and stability in the whole of South-East Asia. They unanimously expressed the view that the future of Cambodia should be determined by the Cambodian people itself without foreign interference and in conformity with the declared Cambodian policy of strict neutrality and non-alignment, as set forth by the Government in its Declaration of 1957 and reaffirmed several times since then. In this respect they recalled the promises of the parties to the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and of other countries concerned to respect the sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Cambodia and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of that country.

“Point 7: In the light of those considerations, the Foreign Ministers strongly urge:

“(a) That all acts of hostility should cease immediately and that all foreign forces should be withdrawn from the territory of Cambodia;

“(b) That all parties should respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of that country, in order to enable the Cambodian people to solve their own problems by peaceful means of their choice, without any interference or pressure from outside;

“(c) That the co-Chairmen and participants in the 1954 Geneva Conference and the members of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia created by the Conference should consult together and co-operate with a view to reactivating that Commission;

“(d) That the participants in the Geneva Conference of 1954 and all other interested parties should consult together in order to arrive at a consensus for the convening in the near future of an international conference for the purpose of finding a just, peaceful and effective solution to the present situation.

“Point 8: The Foreign Ministers decided to place on record their views and the above-mentioned recommendations with the United Nations. In doing so, they expressed the hope that all Members of the United Nations would thus be able to assess the gravity of these problems and offer their good offices to bring about a peaceful solution of the Cambodian problem by convening an international conference along lines suggested by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and others.

“Point 9: The Foreign Ministers asked three of their members, the Foreign Ministers of Japan, Malaysia and Indonesia, urgently to begin consultations among themselves and with others, as well as with the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, in order to begin discussions with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President and members of the Security Council, with a view to action being taken by the United Nations. They asked the Ministers to report on the results of their efforts to the Governments represented at this conference. They authorized the President of the Conference to consult those Governments and other interested countries about the possibility of making further *démarches* in order to bring about a peaceful solution.”

22. The people and the Government of Cambodia wish, through me, to pay a solemn tribute to all the friendly peoples and countries which have come to our aid, as well as those who agreed to come to Djakarta to try and find a solution to the grave difficulties with which Cambodia has been so unjustly confronted for some time now. By acting in this manner, those peoples and countries fully met their obligations under the United Nations Charter. The people of Cambodia ask nothing more than respect for its independence, neutrality and territorial integrity, and would like the United Nations, that is the General Assembly and the Security Council, to take initiatives and appropriate steps so as to restore peace promptly in Cambodia, a just peace to which a Member of the United Nations, a victim of a deliberate act of aggression, is fully entitled.

23. Without doubt, there are those who are of the opinion that in cases where one of the parties is not a Member of the United Nations the Organization cannot intervene directly and effectively. In actual fact,

however, what is happening in Cambodia is a genuine threat to international peace, a deliberate and clear act of aggression. And against States which remain outside the United Nations we find, in Chapter VII of the Charter, Articles 41 and 42, which can be applied effectively for the defence, maintenance and restoration of peace in Cambodia; these Articles allow pressure to be applied by Member States on the State non-Member of the United Nations which has committed the aggression, including the severance of various kinds of relations with that State—the breaking off of diplomatic relations, collective demonstrations or blockade by air, sea or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

24. I would make it clear, however, that there are other ways and means for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the important point being to find as rapidly as possible a solution to put an end to the present situation in Cambodia, which is a breach of the peace and an act of aggression by foreign forces against a peaceful country in disregard of the sacred principles of international law.

25. But even if one does not respect the principal objectives of the Charter and even if one scorns the principles of peaceful coexistence, at least one should not, as did the representative of Iraq this morning [1854th meeting], advocate interference in the internal affairs of a third country. We have never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries when they changed régime or government, even as the result of a coup d'état.

26. I must also emphasize that according to the evidence of diplomats and of foreign journalists living temporarily in Cambodia, there is no rebellion of the Khmer people or civil war. The proof that those who are now spreading war and destruction in Cambodia are in fact foreign invaders, that is to say, Viet-Cong, North Viet-Nameese and Pathet Lao, is clearly demonstrated by the fact that they did not openly begin their attacks until 29 March 1970, whereas the so-called National United Front of Kampuchea and the so-called Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea of Norodom Sihanouk were created only a month later, after the so-called "summit conference of the Indo-Chinese peoples", held on Chinese territory. Prince Norodom Sihanouk who is still in Peking, persists in having people believe that he is supported by partisans who are now supposed to have control of two thirds of Cambodia, according to him. If that is the case, why is it that the deposed Prince continues to take shelter in Peking instead of setting up his so-called Government in what he describes as "the liberated parts of Cambodia"?

27. Another proof that the present war is clearly an Act of aggression by Viet-Cong, North Viet-Nameese and their allies against Cambodia and not a civil war was provided recently, also by foreign journalists who were captured and subsequently released and some of whose colleagues were murdered in cold blood in Cambodia by the Viet-Cong and the North Viet-Nameese, since these latter considered them to be embarrassing witnesses.

28. Journalists the world over were deeply shocked by this and some even called for United Nations intervention to ensure that such barbarous acts will not be renewed against members of the press.

29. Let me recall here that Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese troops occupied the temples of Angkor Vat, gems of Khmer architecture representing an ancient civilization, which are the cultural properties not only of Cambodia but of mankind as a whole. In disregard of the provisions of the 1954 Hague Convention for the protection of cultural properties in cases of armed conflict—of which Cambodia is one of the signatories—the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese troops, without any qualms, simply converted our monuments into sanctuaries so as to escape our defence forces. The whole world was incensed at the danger posed to these invaluable cultural properties by such an occupation. At this point, I wish to pay a special tribute to His Excellency Secretary-General U Thant and to UNESCO for not sparing any effort to protect the Angkor Vat temples from destruction.

30. Other countries and peoples are also the victims of similar acts of barbarity. It is not without good reason that some States Members of the United Nations have brought the matter before the Security Council. It is with great sadness that one follows the news of repeated kidnappings, assassinations of diplomats and journalists, hijacking and destruction of aircraft and menacing pressures on peaceful travellers. These acts are wholly unjustifiable and should be severely condemned by world public opinion, whatever the political and ideological reasons invoked. We must note that these ignoble methods are employed and encouraged by the same groups of individuals, the same organizations or the same countries which now more or less openly aid or encourage the Viet-Cong and the North Viet-Nameese to spread death and destruction throughout Cambodia.

31. The Cambodian people, which cherish justice and peace, and respect the Charter of the United Nations, feel that the United Nations cannot remain indifferent and allow the perpetuation of such barbarous practices without nullifying the aims of its Charter. We hope sincerely that this twenty-fifth session of the Assembly will seek with determination and all due speed all possible ways and means to put an end to the kidnapping of diplomats, the murdering of journalists, the hijacking and destruction of aircraft, unjustifiable acts of aggressions, including the current aggression by the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese against Cambodia, so as to save the honour, the dignity and other human values which are seriously jeopardized by this outbreak of barbarity, which is without precedent in the history of the world. The Cambodian Government is ready to co-operate with any efforts undertaken in this respect by the United Nations.

32. We remain opposed to the policy of racial discrimination and we continue to support the genuine liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule. But we firmly oppose the pseudo-liberation movements which engage in subversion and exploit the cre-

dulity of certain peoples in order to carry out annexionist aims to the detriment of neighbouring countries.

33. So far as the principle of the universality of the United Nations is concerned, we believe it is desirable that this should be achieved to the extent that the candidates which wish to become Members of the United Nations show by their behaviour that they genuinely respect the principles of the Charter; otherwise, it would be harmful to international peace to admit States which have not respected and do not respect the requirements of the Charter, requirements that are essential for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the promotion of justice and prosperity in the world.

34. More than ever we are devoted to the principle of the self-determination of peoples; yet it is essential that the implementation of this principle should be accompanied by appropriate guarantees. That is why we are sure that if the Members of the United Nations accord the General Assembly and the Security Council more authority and effectiveness the solution of all the major world problems can easily be found, and an age of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation could at last be opened.

35. The delegation of Cambodia continues to place its hope in the United Nations and its trust in the wisdom of the leaders of this Organization. We trust that a just and equitable peace will be re-established as rapidly as possible everywhere in the world, because on this solemn occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Charter the peoples that are oppressed and victims of injustice are entitled to expect at least a minimum of effectiveness from an organization whose ultimate goal is after all, the promotion of peace, justice and prosperity for mankind.

36. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): May I say to the delegation of Malaysia that the Philippine delegation shares in its grief at the passing of one of its members, Ambassador Ramani, an able and distinguished diplomat. On behalf of my delegation I extend to Malaysia our heartfelt condolences.

37. Permit me first of all to conform with tradition. I congratulate the Assembly for having wisely elected as President of this historic session a distinguished representative of the country which gave the United Nations its first Secretary-General. To you, Mr. President, I offer my cordial felicitations and the assurance of the same unstinting co-operation which my delegation gave to your able predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia.

38. As we launch the Second United Nations Development Decade and confront the challenge of the 1970s, you have a tower of strength at your side in the person of Secretary-General U Thant, a man of outstanding ability and incorruptible integrity.

39. Now, permit me to break with tradition. The full text of my policy statement, which would have taken at least thirty minutes to deliver, has been distributed

and will be circulated subsequently as an addendum to the verbatim record of this meeting.<sup>1</sup> What I shall now deliver is a ten-minute summary of that policy statement.

40. The Secretariat has agreed to the following arrangements: that the full text of the statement to be inserted in the addendum of the record of these proceedings is not to exceed ten typewritten pages, single spaced, and that the reading time of the full text, if delivered, is not to exceed thirty minutes; and that in order that there shall be no abridgement of the right of reply, the full text of the statement must be circulated to all delegations twelve hours before delivery—which we have done—and on the day of delivery the full text will be again circulated to each delegation in the General Assembly. Again I repeat, the full text will be subsequently circulated as an addendum to the verbatim record of this meeting.

41. I hope that this innovation will not only save time and expense but help make future general debates more relevant and more meaningful.

42. Now for the position of the Philippine delegation on the various questions facing the General Assembly. My delegation urgently reiterates the Philippine proposal, first broached in 1955, that a fundamental review of the United Nations Charter be undertaken in accordance with Article 109.

43. At the very least, we should decide during this twenty-fifth anniversary session to form a preparatory committee for the review of the Charter, with terms of reference covering the three main areas of constitutional changes which my delegation outlined to the Assembly last year [*1760th meeting*].

44. A paramount aim should be so to strengthen the peace-making capacity of the United Nations that it could defuse the threat of renewed war in the Middle East, mediate actively to put an honourable end to the war in Viet-Nam, and play a central role in the crucial issue of disarmament and nuclear arms control which affects not only the security but the survival of mankind.

45. Deeply concerned at the breakdown in law and order implicit in the hijacking of civilian aircraft, my delegation is co-sponsoring a new agenda item to enable the Assembly to consider effective means of countering this new form of international piracy. Our proposal is motivated by humanitarian reasons and has no political or ideological motivations.

46. We give our full support to the suggestion that all Member States should voluntarily accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Again we appeal to the Government of Malaysia, our good friends of Malaysia, to agree to have the Philippine claim to Sabah adjudicated by the Court. We have a high regard for the new Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak, and we hope he will co-operate in having this

<sup>1</sup> Issued as document A/PV.1855/Add.1.

question settled once and for all in a manner worthy of our two countries' friendly relations and our membership in the United Nations.

47. While hoping that our big neighbour, Communist China, will eventually merit membership in accordance with the Charter, we shall maintain our opposition, which is not permanent, to its admission so long as it shows no desire to join the United Nations and abide by its rules.

48. We deplore the lag in the promotion of human rights and in the process of decolonization.

49. We share the deepening concern over the pollution of our environment and protest the use of the Pacific Ocean for nuclear tests that could disturb its complex and delicate ecological balances.

50. My delegation will support intensified United Nations action to extend assistance for family planning and population control to Governments which request such aid. We favour the establishment of a sub-regional population centre in South-East Asia with international support.

51. The fulfilment of youth's legitimate aspirations is of special interest to my delegation. We would welcome United Nations action for greater participation of youth in international affairs.

52. We subscribe to the integrated, unified approach taking equal account of the economic and social factors in national development, and would like to see this concept fully reflected in the strategy and programmes of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Insufficient attention to the social factor was one of the causes of the failure of the first Development Decade. We do not wish to see that mistake repeated.

53. On the whole, my delegation finds the international development strategy drafted by the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/7982, para.16] worthy of commendation and support. However, it is weakened by reservations on matters indispensable to the success of the Decade, such as the amount of resources to be transferred by the rich to the poor countries, target dates for easing onerous terms of aid, and effective measures to eliminate trade barriers and give developing countries wider access to markets in industrialized countries.

54. I would appeal to the delegations concerned to withdraw these reservations as a token of that decisive commitment without which the Second Development Decade, like the first, would be doomed to failure. In my judgement, this is one failure the United Nations cannot afford. We have reached a fateful juncture in our affairs. The phrase "time is running out" is no longer a figure of speech, but the literal truth.

55. I have described the 1970s as a dangerous decade because there is danger of international respect for human rights becoming unenforceable, of the poverty

gap becoming unbridgeable, and of the nuclear arms race becoming uncontrollable.

56. Consider the gravity of our predicament.

57. In the matter of survival: with more devastating weapons of mass destruction being produced and no system of effective controls in sight, mankind is much closer to the brink of nuclear annihilation by accident, by miscalculation, by a lapse of intelligence or will, or by suicidal folly. Never in history has the survival of humanity hung on such a very thin thread.

58. In the matter of living space: population pressure is reducing drastically our room for manoeuvre in solving economic and social problems within nations and in the world at large. It threatens to impose unbreakable strains on the capacity of our planet to sustain human life in reasonable order, decency and dignity.

59. In the matter of bridging the poverty gap: this problem constitutes the most important long-term challenge to the United Nations.

60. As President McNamara of the World Bank has pointed out very recently:

"Two-thirds of mankind—more than 2,000 million individuals—remain entrapped in the grip of hunger and malnutrition; high illiteracy, inadequate education; shrinking opportunity; and corrosive poverty. The gap between the rich and poor nations is no longer a gap, it is a chasm. . .

"This appalling fact transcends in importance and gravity all other social and economic problems of this century. Much of world civilization for the future will be significantly influenced by how we manage this problem."

61. He added population explosion to widespread poverty as another major factor in the grim equation of spiraling social unrest. He called attention to the social and political crisis which grows with each decade and threatens to round off this century with years of unrest and turbulence: a time of trouble during which the forces of historical change threaten to disintegrate our frail twentieth century society.

62. This prophecy recalls our able Secretary-General's warning that we have only ten years in which to subordinate our ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, improve the human environment, defuse the population explosion, and supply the required momentum to world development.

63. It all adds up to a challenge of unprecedented magnitude to the United Nations and the world community. It is a challenge that could make or break our Organization. The United Nations will have to acquire the capacity to cope with the overriding problems of peace, international order and human survival or lapse into permanent ineptitude and insignificance.

64. Last May a conference on human survival, held here in the United Nations, noted our dangerous drift

towards chaos and disaster. The conferees refused to despair—but only if the United Nations were to be permitted to develop its full potential in meeting common dangers and common needs.

65. Full development of the United Nations—that would indeed appear to be the only answer.

66. It would mean giving the United Nations adequate peace-keeping powers, sufficient authority to direct a concerted international effort to preserve our life-sustaining environment, and the means needed to implement a truly global development strategy. It would entail surrendering to the United Nations a larger measure of sovereignty than Member States have been willing to relinquish so far, and the acceptance by them of an allegiance to humanity superior to narrow racial or national loyalties.

67. For, indeed, if the human race is to survive, the human interest must be placed above the national interest, and the natural and essential agency for advancing the human interest in this, our United Nations.

68. It is admittedly a revolutionary concept but I ask: will anything less suffice? It is what our threatened world needs and what the world's troubled peoples, particularly the youth, are anxiously seeking and awaiting.

69. They want a peaceful world in which they can have a future unclouded by the threat of nuclear extinction. They want a new international order firmly founded on justice and law. And they want progress, not only for a select few but for all the members of the human family. That is what is expected of us, of this United Nations, if it is to survive.

70. The PRESIDENT: I thank the former President of the General Assembly for the interesting procedural innovation he has introduced. It will certainly not go unnoticed.

71. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It had been my hope that a loftier personality would be presenting the greetings and congratulations of my Government to the President. Due to unforeseen circumstances I must do so, but I can assure him that what you may have lost in quality is made up for by the warmth and sincerity of my feelings. Before meeting Ambassador Hambro I had occasion to know the very eminent Professor Hambro, whose rich doctrinal works many times channelled my hesitations and shed light on my doubts. When I met Ambassador Hambro I could appreciate his human qualities which combine wisdom with kindness. Now, on seeing President Hambro exercising his functions I have been able to see that the sum of his qualities as Professor, diplomat and man make him an outstanding leader who combines firmness with courtesy and a thorough knowledge of the rules of procedure, as well as an honest and energetic application of those rules. So it is that I extend to you, Mr. President, the greetings of my Government, but it is to the General Assembly that I address my

congratulations for having elected you to preside over this important session.

72. Before making the statement on behalf of my Government, I should also like to pay an affectionate tribute to our former President Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph.

73. May I request the delegation of the United Arab Republic to be so good as to accept the sincere condolences of my delegation, and my own, on the death of President Nasser? He was valiant in battle and an extraordinary statesman who undertook the difficult task of progressively modifying the social, economic and political structure of his nation, with the firmness of one who had the clear awareness that he was making history.

74. I would also request the delegation of Malaysia to receive my condolences on the occasion of the passing away of Ambassador Ramani, a brilliant jurist, from whose enlightenment we, who had the honour of knowing him and having a cordial friendship with him, so often benefited.

75. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Schumann, in his statement in the general debate, when referring to the commemoration of the first quarter of a century of the United Nations, wondered whether it was not "our duty to proceed to a certain examination of our consciences without hiding any truth" [*1842nd meeting, para. 85*].

76. I believe that in such a necessary self-examination both optimism and pessimism are negative attitudes—that optimism which considers that the Charter and the Organization it represents are perfect, as well as that pessimism which considers that the world Organization is a vast and painful failure because it has been unable to find a just balance between ends and means.

77. Personally, I can speak with the experience of one who has lived through and attended fourteen of the twenty-five sessions of the General Assembly, and with the impartiality of one who represents a small State which has not been directly involved in the disputes which shook the Organization in its first twenty-five years.

78. I shall start by pointing out certain basic facts. The first is that those in San Francisco who shaped the Charter had the immediate experience of the uselessness of the League of Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, since, despite the generous efforts of its leaders, it followed a system based on an association of interests and was born of a war which was above all a European war—although it did extend to other continents—a war of a Europe whose politics were based on the balance of power and the cold hardness of so-called political realism.

79. The United Nations differs from the League in that it was born of a universal conflict, of a total war,



which affected those who fought as well as the civilian population in almost every continent. Obviously, it was a war of interests—colonial interests, for example—but it was also a war of ideologies. It was natural that the Charter of the United Nations, which was born as an instrument for assuring peace and preserving future generations from the scourge of war, could not create a league of nations, but aspired to establish a community of peoples—“We the peoples of the United Nations”, in the words of the Charter—and which had to be based on universality, coexistence, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and the equality of all States, large and small. It was for this reason, too, that it had to serve as a means to co-ordinate international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields.

80. On arriving at the end of our first quarter of a century, we have to ask ourselves whether the Organization has discharged its essential duty of maintaining international peace and security. It is a positive fact that during these 25 years mankind has been spared the scourge of a total war, but as you, Mr. President, so brilliantly stated in your opening statement: “But peace is not the mere absence of armed conflict” [1839th meeting, para 45]. It is obvious that the fictitious universal peace which we live in is, rather than an absence of conflict, the expression of a terrifying balance of the weapons of mass destruction, especially thermonuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles.

*Mr. El-Shibib (Iraq), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

81. The gradation of the number of dead is a tragic experience in the history of war. Until the last century, wars consisted of movements of armies with the purpose of occupying enemy territory. The First World War was a war of positions, of trenches, in which each kilometre which was won or lost meant a terrible harvest of death. The Second World War witnessed the mass destruction of populations behind the battle front, so as to break the enemy nations' economic power and will to struggle. A third world war would affect all of mankind and could not be won by any Power because it would have the return character of a boomerang, given the fact that its lethal power is as uncontrollable as it is universal. Until a few years ago nuclear power was calculated to be 100,000 megatons. Today this must have increased considerably. In explosive force, this means more than 100,000 million tons of TNT; but in lethal power it means much more than that, because the radio-active fall-out would produce destructive effects at distances of thousands of kilometres away.

82. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1] the Secretary-General states that the military expenditure of the industrial countries for both nuclear and conventional armaments represents more than 85 per cent of the total world military expenditure, which now exceeds 200,000 million dollars a year.

83. With regard to missiles, *The New York Times* of 23 November 1969, less than a year ago, indicated

that the United States had 536 intercontinental ballistic missiles, 1,054 surface missiles and 655 submarine missiles, as compared to 150, 1,350 and 205 respectively for the Soviet Union. To this data we must add the fact that together with the single nuclear warhead of the Polaris type there are now multiple nuclear warheads, such as the Poseidon of the United States and the Soviet Union's SS-9.

84. This ultra-modern version of what was once called “armed peace” means that the former balance of power is today a balance of terror as well, and that one cannot seriously speak about the preservation of peace and security until one seriously takes up the problems of general and complete disarmament.

85. As for the preservation of peace and security, it is an obvious fact that this has been achieved only in so far as the avoidance of universal conflict is concerned, while it has not been possible to prevent local wars or the new phenomenon of civil wars with international support.

86. First it was Korea, whose remote origin was the questionable Moscow Treaty of 1945, concluded shortly after the signature of the United Nations Charter, which does not admit of the establishment of Trust Territories by States. The practical results were the division of an ancient country with its own culture into irreconcilable sectors.

87. Later it was Viet-Nam, that martyred land where the generation which today is thirty years old has not known a single day of peace. It is necessary that this unjust and cruel war be brought to an end and the Viet-Nameese people be free to determine its own destiny.

88. Finally, there is the Middle East, that cradle of cultures and religions, where peoples of the same ethnic quality, linked together by the inter-action of religious and cultural traditions, are not able to find the means for the solution of their disputes, possibly because external pressures, the game of spheres of political influence and the hypocritical battle of the strategic interests of the great Powers keep the fires of discord alive.

89. President Velasco Ibarra, the Head of State of Ecuador, has frequently and enthusiastically expressed his admiration for the Judaic people as an eternal spiritual force and his firm support for Israel regarding its need to be granted the right to a secure and recognized existence. My country, which has a long tradition of respect for the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and international conflicts, considers it indispensable that a negotiated decision be reached within the letter and the spirit of the Charter. The Secretary-General himself, U Thant, in his introduction to the annual report on the work of the Organization, spoke with realism about the need to start negotiations. He said:

“Only when the talks get under way and the parties begin to deal with substance will it become clear

whether they are prepared, in the interests of peace, to accept those compromises, and even to take what they believe to be those risks to their vital interests, which are the inescapable price for a peaceful settlement" [Ibid., para. 48].

90. While the cruel battles waged among peoples of a geographical region which has contributed so much to human culture smite us with sorrow, it is also a source of sorrow that this battle has extended to non-combatants who are taken as hostages.

91. In itself, the idea of hostages is a survival of barbarism, because a human being is not a negotiable instrument but an end in himself. But how much more beyond justification is the concept of taking hostages, applied to non-combatants, to women and children from countries outside the conflict. Accordingly, I have instructions energetically to condemn the hijacking of aircraft, which endangers innocent human lives, and the capture of hostages. My delegation will support any measures to prevent these attempts and to punish those responsible.

92. If in the preservation of international peace and security the shortcomings are visible, they are no less so when it comes to the application of the principle of universality, which is another of the corner-stones of our Organization.

93. The universality of the Organization starts from the very fact, which previously had not been achieved, that the Charter imposes obligations not only on Member States but also on non-Member States. Since non-Member States are the subjects of obligations, they have correlative rights, the first of which is their access to the Organization, the only requirement being to comply with the obligations. Universality will not be achieved so long as there remain outside the Organization, because of the interplay of political interests, some States able to comply with their international obligations and so long as some peoples that are awaiting their freedom to be able to constitute themselves as sovereign States remain under the opprobrious colonial régime.

94. The artificial concept of "overseas provinces" can no longer be maintained — the means whereby Portugal avoids fulfilment of the duties imposed on it by Chapter XI of the Charter. To the colonial war it wages there is only one acceptable solution, which is the granting of self-determination to the peoples of the Territories it administers. The permanent illegal action of South Africa in Namibia is an irritating mockery of the principles of the Charter, and the oppression of the illegal régime of Rhodesia over the Zimbabwe majorities is an opprobrium. We hope to see soon active Members of this Organization Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Zimbabwe.

95. The principle of self-determination of peoples, in the meaning of their ability to give themselves their own Government, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, has also suffered serious defeats and contradictions. In what have been called Western

democracies a short time ago the dangerous doctrine of the discipline of power came into being which was a restatement of the anachronistic Monroe doctrine, and it had been extended to Western Europe previously with what had been called the "British Monroeism", contained in a note to the United States of 19 May 1928 regarding the Briand-Kellogg pact.<sup>2</sup> Brought up to modern times, it has found an echo outside the Western world. The political interventions in the Americas and Asia were followed by the reproachable ideological impositions by force on Eastern Europe. The danger of the doctrine of spheres of influence continues to be a threat to the principles of the Charter.

96. The principle of peaceful coexistence and friendship among peoples with various systems has received a positive increment. Those of us who have lived in the United Nations during the asphyxiating days of the "cold war" can today breathe the clearer air of coexistence. Nevertheless, coexistence and universality are correlative terms, and as long as the present situation persists regarding the People's Republic of China it can be affirmed that the divisions between the Eastern world and the Western world have shifted only in regard to geographical position, displacing further east the dividing line.

97. Peaceful coexistence through a closer understanding between the super-Powers carries with it the danger that, since both are industrial powers, their common interests might affect the "third world". It is interesting that, as there is a growing East-West understanding, the divisions between the industrialized north and the developing south become deeper. An example of this has been the easy understanding between the industrial Powers without distinction of ideology regarding an immediate limitation of the territorial waters and the prudent attitude of the developing countries, which, in general, believe it is preferable to deal with this problem in connexion with all problems of the sea, including the prior establishment of an international régime and the machinery applicable to the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

98. Latin America has a long legal tradition in regard to maritime domain. The Foreign Minister of Colombia quoted [1846th meeting] one of the Principles of Mexico of 1956, namely, that an extension of the territorial sea is not a standard of international law. I should like to recall another of the 1956 Mexico Principles, which is the recognition of the right of each State to set the extent of its jurisdiction over its waters in accordance with its geographical and geological characteristics, and the interests of its population, up to reasonable limits. This right was recognized to some extent in the Tlatelolco Treaty<sup>3</sup> and it was reiterated in Lima last August, with the support of almost all the Latin American countries, including that of the sister Republic of Colombia. At that meeting too we

<sup>2</sup> General Treaty for Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy, signed in Paris on 27 August 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico on 14 February 1967.

reiterated the concept of the continental shelf, which came into being in the capital of the Dominican Republic in 1956, was incorporated in the Geneva Convention of 1958, and is totally contrary to the proposal made by President Nixon on the sea-bed.

99. At the meeting of non-aligned States held a few days ago in Lusaka,<sup>4</sup> which Ecuador attended as an observer, it was affirmed that they committed themselves to exercise their right fully and carry out their obligations to achieve the development and well-being of their peoples through maximum utilization of the natural resources existing on their territories and in the adjacent waters.

100. The fact that disagreements have become more acute between the developed north and the developing south, following the breadth (width) parallels, tends to displace to a secondary level the political differences that exist throughout the length of the meridians. The development targets set for the first Development Decade are far from having been attained. Injustices in the terms of trade have become more serious, and the assistance of the developed countries often becomes a mockery, because many of the millions received in aid returns, in the form of interest payments, dividends and acquisitions.

101. An important political consequence is the crisis of representative democracy. As long as the dispossessed masses of the developing countries cannot achieve high economic and cultural levels, representative democracy will increasingly be a benefit for privileged minorities. A political democracy without economic democratization is but a word placed in an empty container. And the growing advance of new national concepts which break away with violence from the forms of representative democracy should be a warning to those who maintain peoples over whom they would wish to exercise political hegemony in conditions of underdevelopment.

102. I would not wish this review to appear to be a catalogue of frustrations. It is an easy matter to charge to the Organization the mistakes of others as a scapegoat is blamed for sins it is innocent of. More is required of the Organization than it can give within its constitutional limitations.

103. In the first place, the Organization is not a super-State, nor is the General Assembly a world parliament. And the Security Council is far from being an executive power and the International Court of Justice a binding legal organ. And yet one frequently calls on the Organization to act as though it were a super-State. The United Nations originally comprised only the nations which, united, won the war. There are well-known relics of this in the Charter, for example, Articles 53, 77 and 107, which maintain the concept of "enemy States".

104. Although the idealistic intention of the creators of the Charter was to constitute a community of nations, the Charter preserves formulas relating to

power politics such as the veto, enshrined in Article 27, through the principle of the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council and the veiled veto which Articles 108 and 109 grant them as regards amendments to the Charter.

105. The tendency of some great Powers to maintain the exclusive and excluding character of the Security Council in matters pertaining to peace is yet another vestige of the survival of power politics because the Charter has given the Security Council alone primary or paramount responsibility, granted by the Members, that is to say, by the General Assembly.

106. Those constitutional factors have frequently paralysed Council action, which has gone from the systematic veto to the inoperative method of innocuous consensus. We shall refer to this point when we discuss the strengthening of international peace and security in the First Committee.

107. Another factor which paralyzes action is derived from the arbitrary interpretation given by some great Powers to peace-keeping operations. The creation of peace-keeping forces able to act quickly in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter is a premise without which all the resolutions of the Security Council will be mere academic exercises.

108. Another effective advisable means would be the establishment of a group of experts capable of being moved to areas where disputes occur or situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security. That idea, which some years ago was generously put forward by the Netherlands, could be re-examined and brought back to life.

109. I referred earlier to failures in regard to the principle of universality. And yet it must be recalled that in 1946 only fifty-one States were Members of the Organization. In 1955, sixteen States were added after a lengthy interval. When the commemorative period starts there will possibly be 127 Member States. The constant struggle of the countries of the third world has won major victories in the field of decolonization, and we are confident that that struggle will continue.

110. As regards the principle of universality, I must state that it does not consist solely in admitting new Member States, but, above all, in the universal agreement that the Charter is a multilateral treaty whereby Member States have agreed to place part of their internal jurisdiction under international jurisdiction. Therefore, my delegation deems to be dangerous the tendency to consider that regional agreements and systems have a primary role in problems of peace and security. If Africa or Latin America were to lock themselves up in their regional systems and that tendency were to extend to other continents, there would be no reason for the United Nations to exist. Regional systems, which are extremely valuable in the fields of economic, social, cultural and political co-operation, are means for the solution of regional conflicts under the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, which is the primary organ for the mainte-

<sup>4</sup> Held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

nance of international peace and security. However, regional organizations cannot be invoked as having binding and exclusive jurisdiction.

111. Summarizing the above, it would seem that the United Nations, not having the means of enforcement of a super-State, would have to reduce its role to a tedious forum of speakers. But it is evident that the United Nations Charter has given the Organization dynamic elements which can make it more perfect even without the need for specific amendments.

112. The fact that the Organization lacks the enforcement means that a super-State might have does not detract from, but rather strengthens, its role as an organ of international public opinion. This is a fact which responds not only to technological advances but also to the community feeling which becomes stronger and more binding.

113. The pressure of public opinion, which the United Nations represents has permitted not only the strengthening of peaceful coexistence but also that of co-operation, which produced fortunate achievements such as the Moscow Treaty on nuclear tests, signed in 1963, which we hope will be completed with the elimination of underground testing and will become universal with its acceptance by all nuclear Powers; the Treaty on the prohibition of the use of outer space for the placement of weapons of mass destruction signed in 1967 [see resolution 2222 (XXI)]; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed in 1968 [resolution 2373 (XXII)], which we hope will be perfected and become universally valid; and the Tlatelolco Treaty, whose protocol of guarantee is still awaiting the signature of all the nuclear Powers. Thus, the United Nations is increasingly being transformed into what you, Mr. President, in your work written in collaboration with Professor Goodrich, called "the open conscience of mankind".

114. Also as an organ of international public opinion the United Nations discharges the duty of concentrating world attention on the faithful observance of human rights. The struggle against discrimination for reasons of race, sex, nationality or religion is being transformed into organic bodies of doctrine and legally binding covenants. It is true that to the shame of mankind and as a perpetual violation of the Charter, *apartheid* exists as a State doctrine in South Africa and the Southern Rhodesia of Ian Smith; but it is true too that in other parts of the world racism has become an illegal and punishable practice.

115. The United Nations has served as the centre of opinion in other important matters, among which I shall only mention the initiative taken by Sweden on the problems of the human environment. Man is perhaps the only animal which destroys the environment surrounding him: the air, the water and the land. Through science and technology man has acquired dominion over nature, but he has forgotten that he himself is a limited animal being who, as Professor René Dubos of Rockefeller University told us, "can live only so long as he maintains and creates around

him a micro-habitat similar to the one in which he became what he is". This necessity to conserve the biosphere is one of the most urgent problems and the very basis of our own survival.

116. I shall end my statement with an inevitable conclusion which was pointed out this morning by the representative of Argentina: the United Nations can be no more than what its Members—large, medium and small—wish it to be. But whatever may be the differences regarding the aims and the means to achieve them, there are four essential principles which can be mentioned as being universally accepted.

117. The first is that war can no longer be a means to create, alter or eliminate rights. That principle, which was incorporated in the Charter as a pre-existing mandatory standard, is the only one which can restore to a world of conflicts a feeling of security, which is the condition for peace. To this end it is necessary to develop and improve more complete systems for the peaceful settlement of disputes, to condemn aggression and the ignoring of territorial conquests obtained through threats or the use of force. Since its creation as a State, Ecuador has maintained a constant respect for the principle of *uti possidetis jure*, which has served in Latin America as the source for the creation of nationalities on the basis not only of territorial captaincies-general and vice-regencies but also on the basis of what was decided at the Court of Appeal audiences.

118. The second principle is that peace and security, at a time of historical crisis, such as the one we are living through, are linked to the peaceful coexistence of sometimes opposite political systems. The division of the world into spheres of influence leads to the negation of the basis principles of coexistence which are: respect for political self-determination; non-intervention in internal affairs; and equality of States large and small.

119. The third principle is universality, which is the source of the idea of an international community, which the United Nations aspires to be. That requires an open-door policy and the liberation of colonial peoples and countries.

120. The fourth, and last, principle is that loyal co-operation in the economic sphere is indispensable to lessen the gap between development and underdevelopment. That which I have called international public opinion in politics corresponds to that which, in the economic field, President Caldera of Venezuela has called international social justice. It must not be forgotten that most of the developing countries have lived through colonial régimes, the metropolis of which in each case built its present economic power at the expense of the exploitation of the colonial people. We are now celebrating the first decade of political decolonization. We hope that the next decade, which will be simultaneous with the Development Decade, will consider making a start in the struggle against economic colonialism. The peace of the slave prisons was created by the wealth of a few being based on

the pauperization of the many, but this will not lead to peace with justice, to which all peoples of the world aspire.

121. The fact that the Organization cannot be more than the will of its Members permit it to be, creates great responsibilities. It is in our hands to make of the United Nations a community organized for the fulfilment of the noble principles and purposes of the Charter or a series of peoples subject to the omnipotent will of the armed super-Powers; a world of freedom or one of obedience, of justice or of arbitrariness, of well-being or of poverty. It is my hope that when our work is judged in a historical projection it will be found that we have done our duty.

122. Mr. ICKONGA (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): I cannot begin my intervention without referring to the solemn resounding tribute which our Permanent Representative paid yesterday from this rostrum [*1852nd meeting*] to the memory of President Nasser whose death made a profound impact on the Congolese people and particularly on President Marien N'Gouabi who was very close to the late President and had for him a feeling of very great personal affection and militant comradeship—and also on myself, since I was, for three years, Ambassador of a friendly country to the United Arab Republic and benefited from the kindness of a man who has now joined the select group of the heroes of history.

123. For three years, day after day, I had a chance to observe the many-faceted work of President Nasser. I particularly noticed his absolutely resolute will to turn Egypt into a powerful country, to build in it an independent economy, to turn the Egyptian fellah into a man aware of his own personality, his own value, a respected man. I have admired his unequalled courage, which, like the courage that animated the pharaohs, enabled him to carry out the great Aswan Dam project and to overcome thousands of difficulties.

124. President Nasser succeeded and he has died at precisely the moment when his people valued him so much, when Africa is partly liberated and when it is engaged in the decisive fight to expel from its land the colonialists and the imperialists.

125. A citizen of the third world, non-aligned, supporter of liberation movements, pan-African, pan-Arab—such was President Nasser to whose memory we now pay solemn tribute.

126. The People's Republic of the Congo through my voice is happy to join in the chorus of congratulations which are fully deserved and which have been addressed to President Hambro with warm and moving eloquence by the speakers who have spoken before me in the general debate. President Hambro's great moral, and intellectual qualities of exceptional calibre and his talents as diplomat, jurist and statesman have been sufficiently described by the various speakers to remind us that the fate of the twenty-fifth session has been entrusted to a man most qualified to lead our debate towards that ideal to which we all aspire, a

real convergence of peoples towards a better understanding and greater co-operation between all races and peoples.

127. President Hambro is taking over the presidency from Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph who left the imprint of her strong and captivating personality on the twenty-fourth session, giving the nations of the world definitive proof of the serious intention of African women to free themselves from the bonds of the past and to take part fully in the construction of a new world.

128. But I can feel satisfied that I have really done my duty only when I pay tribute to the courage, lucidity and devotion to the cause of peace of our Secretary-General, U Thant.

129. We have open to us several ways of celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. In any case, it is a chance and a place for all of us to carry out an over-all health check-up of the Organization.

130. Some, intoxicated by technical progress and swept away by hypocrisy—which we are used to now—set about this event by indulging in pseudo-philosophical discourse which, far from identifying objectively the difficulties which persist unfortunately in the international community, contribute, often by their aphorisms and the facile pre-determined vocabulary of deceit, only to making more opaque the mask which conceals the crucial problems of our time and which prevents any durable solution from being achieved.

131. Others, on the other hand, who find themselves in the front row of this great theatre of violence, injustice and exploitation, which can be said to be the true background of our society of today, make it a point of honour to set against that exalted lyricism the harsh law of reality to reveal the truth, certainly without arrogance but without weakness also, in order to draw from it valuable lessons and definite claims based on the spirit and letter of the Charter which so many people here quote from so readily and abundantly.

132. The celebration of the anniversary of the United Nations provides an excellent opportunity, but unfortunately it is in danger of remaining a mere polite formality unless the purposes and principles of the Charter, above all, are respected, since they govern the direction in which the activities of the Organization should lead. These goals and principles, we must emphasize, are designed to guide the conduct of the Organization and Member States in order to lead to the happy accomplishment of the common objectives those States have set themselves.

133. In all objectivity I must state that there lies an abyss between these principles and their proper implementation. What do we see every day? The hypocrisy of certain great Powers which day by day move further and further away from the hope expressed in the Charter to see established a peace which will offer all nations the means of living in security within

their frontiers, a peace which will provide all men in all countries with an assurance that they will live a normal life free from fear and need. This hypocrisy has cruelly disappointed the young nations of the third world, which had foolishly placed their hopes in the United Nations.

134. What have the great Powers done in a positive sense to eradicate tyranny, subjection, oppression and intolerance? Let us have the intellectual courage—which consists of finding out the truth or admitting it to ourselves when it displeases us, or just simply telling the truth—to take note of our defects and deficiencies. Some speakers, from this rostrum, have urged all delegations to engage in self-criticism and to examine their consciences on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization.

135. Let me say that the revolutionary people of the People's Republic of the Congo is thoroughly devoted to peace. We are convinced that it is in peace and harmony with our neighbours that our people can construct a prosperous, independent economy. That is why we welcome the reconciliation brought about last June between the two sister Republics of the Congo, whose Heads of State, President Marien N'Gouabi and President Joseph Désiré Mobutu, on that occasion showed a courage and a sense of responsibility of which Africa can justly be proud. Our two leaders thus showed the world that ideological differences should never constitute permanent reasons for division and tension.

136. Within our frontiers, the Congolese Labour Party tirelessly pursues the same policy of peace, democracy and justice, involving in the difficult task of national construction all Congolese devoted to the ideals of the revolution without distinction as to ethnic origin or region.

137. Notwithstanding this fervent desire for peace, every day we are under attack by imperialism, which tries to create agitation and stir up trouble in our midst. The Congolese people, united as one man around their leader and their party, is determined to thwart these criminal moves of imperialism.

138. As an African, I can only give a very severe opinion of the decolonization mission entrusted to the United Nations by the African peoples. This year—which really seems to be the year for negative anniversaries—we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. To say that nothing has been done in the ten years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration would be wrong, but in all objectivity we must recognize that results in this field are quite meagre. It is difficult for me to understand why a citizen of the Congo is more entitled to freedom than his brother in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia or Guinea (Bissau). Could someone tell me: is there really a proportional distribution of dignity and independence? The colonial and criminal war which Portugal has imposed on the African peoples benefits from the active and undeniable support of cer-

tain great Powers, Members of this Organization. With the whole world looking on, the Portuguese colonialists are able to draw on the organic co-operation of NATO, together with the financial and military aid of the capitalist countries which, wearing their cloak of deadly hypocrisy, exploit the credulity of the African countries as they become the bloodstained accomplices of the enemies of our peoples. Sheer calculation and a flair for making deals have guided the hand of imperialism, and the monopolistic capital of exploitation, in its rapacious determination to bring under its control the immense mineral and agricultural wealth of Angola and Mozambique. Alert minds are beginning to grasp this fact. The African peoples now know that those who help the Portuguese colonialists to keep part of Africa under the colonial yoke are, and can only be, the worst enemies of the peoples of our continent.

139. For ten years we have constantly denounced—with abundant proof—the policy of *apartheid* and the imperialistic aims of the Pretoria Government, which, strengthened by the assurances and substantial aid it constantly obtains from certain Western Powers despite Security Council resolutions, stubbornly persists in its lofty disdain for any international order. It continues to commit foul crimes against the people of Namibia and the other peace-loving peoples of Africa. The minority régime of Salisbury, supported by the racists of Pretoria and the inveterate colonialists, in our opinion constitutes a constant and intolerable challenge to the international community. Can we tell Africa how the great Powers have responded to the Lusaka Manifesto,<sup>5</sup> which is an appeal to reason and fraternity? The responsibility for the fate of the Zimbabwe people belongs, we declare once more, to the United Kingdom, which, notwithstanding the repeated requests of the African countries, has not been willing to re-establish the right of the majority to manage a country which is really their own.

140. The common destiny of the African peoples, upon whom the most cruel colonial domination in history was inflicted, dictates to us the sacred duty to support by all possible means the just struggle of the national liberation movements, which will sweep from our continent the consequences and stains of colonialism and imperialism.

141. I have spoken of Africa, but elsewhere in this world also intolerance and dreams of imperialist domination have kindled flames which are a real threat to peace and security in the world. The crusades undertaken by a great Power, the United States of America, which in the most dubious name of anti-communism, are spreading grief and destruction everywhere, have never been condemned here with the vigour they really deserve.

142. This attitude of renunciation, this lack of perspicacity and firmness on the part of the Organization make us all supporters of hypocritical compromises, accomplices of the aggressive forces, which, notwith-

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

standing the vigorous resistance constantly put up by the patriotic forces struggling bitterly for national liberation, independence and peace, are far from abandoning their bloody enterprises.

143. That is why, on this twenty-fifth anniversary, we should not hesitate to denounce any threat to peace.

144. We must denounce all manoeuvres and juridical artifices used by certain Powers to thwart the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China as a founding Member of the Organization. That is a duty that the international conscience must face up to. The brave Chinese people has the inalienable right to have in Peking the Government and institutions it chooses. Is it not immensely arrogant to try to have that great people—which has made a great contribution to the progress of mankind—represented by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which is a kind of Chinese-speaking American Government?

145. For twenty years obstacles have been placed in the way of a thorough discussion of the Korean problem, another instance of aggression sustained by the United States of America in Asia. My delegation would once more draw attention to the danger imposed on the peaceful life of the Korean people by the imperialist American Government. How can we fail to experience a feeling of revolt, given the artificial frontier imposed by the aggressor on this culturally rich nation, a nation with traditions going back thousands of years? We would assert that in order to serve the cause of the unification of Korea and serve peace, it is very important and urgent that the American occupation troops which unscrupulously make use of the United Nations flag should withdraw from the south part of Korea; and that, moreover, the United Nations Commission for the so-called reunification and rehabilitation of Korea—which is an abject instrument of the American administration—should be disbanded and an appeal made without discrimination to the North and South Korean delegations in order to seek a solution to the severe problems of that country.

146. Is there any need to talk about the fierce aggression of the Washington Government against the Viet-Nameese people, the Cambodian people and other peace-loving peoples of South-East Asia, where the United States is setting up the bloodstained puppets devoted to them alone? These barbarous aggressions unfortunately have provoked only the mildest of protests here.

147. The war of extermination continues in Viet-Nam, notwithstanding the constructive proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front at the Paris Conference, proposals which the United States has clearly never taken into account. The aggressive American forces have invaded Cambodia and wrought terrible destruction there, and no one said a thing about it.

148. This is how the Organization and the great Powers which lead it intend to set up peace on this earth.

149. The People's Republic of the Congo fully supports the Indo-Chinese people's struggle to resist aggression.

150. The events in the Middle East and their tragic aftermath also bear the mark of the criminal work of imperialism, which now intends to set Asians against Asians, Latin Americans against Latin Americans, Africans against Africans and Arabs against Arabs. We favour peaceful solutions of disputes but as far as concerns the Middle East dispute, the fundamental interests of the Palestinian people must be protected. There will never be a solution to this crisis as long as the Palestinian people, denied their rights, are excluded from any negotiations that may take place.

151. I will not talk about the failure—and this because the pain is too great—of the international development strategy which is a kind of enshrining of the supremacy of the developed countries over the Asian, African and Latin American countries; this economic imperialism which constantly threatens our still fragile independence, prompts us to voice doubts once more as to the sincerity and effectiveness of the new United Nations Development Decade. The economic great Powers are themselves the first to recognize that the gap separating them from what are normally called the developing countries is constantly growing wider.

152. But what they do not say is that they are not prepared to take appropriate measures to cope with the situation which bears within it the seeds of a general revolution and of which we might, I think, with some justification say that such a revolution would not be to the benefit of future generations of the developed nations, because it would be conducted without them and necessarily against them. In our opinion—and this is no blackmail at all, because as far as we are concerned President Marien N'Gouabi has always taught us that we should rely on our own strength—only the renunciation of national selfishness would make it possible to avoid, or if not to avoid at least to lessen, the inevitably disastrous effects of such a confrontation of interests among States.

153. Let us hope that this problem will occupy a pre-eminent place amongst those which it is our duty to examine on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of our Organization.

154. This gloomy picture, which reflects the widespread discontent and the areas of tension which threaten to throw discord into the message of peace and hope contained in the United Nations Charter, nevertheless need not make us forget that we must all sincerely face the joint weight of our international obligations and help revive the United Nations by our day-by-day conduct, and not just by declarations which are quickly forgotten. We must restrain the arbitrary aims of certain Members and lead everybody to a strict respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter. This is a duty which this session, entrusted to the talents of its President, must not fail to accomplish. Let us never forget that our quality as Member States imposes on us a status of dual nature: if we have rights,

we ought not to forget that our duties are of equal magnitude: the duty of obedience to the provisions agreed to in the interests of this Organization, of peace in the world, of friendship and progress among peoples. The People's Republic of the Congo, its President, Commander Marien N'Gouabi, its Party, the Congolese Labour Party, and its Government are ready to subscribe, fully and wholeheartedly, to this programme of friendship, solidarity and peace.

155. Mr. KIRCHSCHLAEGER (Austria): May I begin by expressing to Ambassador Hambro, on behalf of the delegation of Austria, our best wishes on his election as President of this General Assembly.

156. We derive great satisfaction from the knowledge that this twenty-fifth session of the United Nations will be held under the Presidency of a man whom we not only admire as an experienced diplomat, but whose background and personality are so germane to the problems and the respect of international law. This may be quite significant at a time when national and international systems of law are exposed to increased attacks and hard tests.

157. As representatives of a European State, we are also happy to see that this twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly happens to be held under a President from our continent. Starting with the first General Assembly of 1946, which convened under the presidency of that European statesman of genuine greatness—Paul-Henri Spaak—and up to this twenty-fifth anniversary session, a chain of outstanding personalities coming from all continents has presided over our Assembly. The President of this session is continuing this illustrious tradition.

158. I also wish to use this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of the Austrian delegation to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, President of last year's General Assembly.

159. A tragic event of the first magnitude has cast a dark shadow on our deliberations. President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic died suddenly on Monday of this week. In him his own country has lost an outstanding leader and the world a statesman who, by opting for a cease-fire followed by negotiations, rekindled the hopes of millions for a peaceful solution of the Near East conflict. We bow our heads to the memory of a great man and extend our heartfelt sympathy to the people of the United Arab Republic in their great bereavement.

160. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which came into being after the end of the Second World War out of a genuine desire to free future generations from the scourge of war, is an occasion to consider what has been achieved and also what has been left undone so far; an occasion to examine our conscience and to ask whether each Member State has really made a due contribution to the peaceful co-operation of the peoples of the world. I believe that it should always be borne in mind that the United Nations can successfully exploit the possibilities open

to it by the Charter only within the boundaries set for it by the will of all Member States, and especially by the great Powers.

161. Looking back at the developments of the last twenty-five years one is entitled to ask to what extent have we shown respect for the fundamental principles of international law and acted in the spirit of the Charter? Have we, the States Members of this Organization, really refrained in our international relations from the use or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of other States? Have the Member States always settled international disputes by peaceful means and in such a way as not to endanger international security and justice? Has the principle been applied that no State should interfere in the domestic affairs of another State? Has the principle of the equality of sovereign States and their peoples and their right to self-determination been observed? And, finally, have the States carried out in good faith the obligations assumed under the United Nations Charter?

162. We must acknowledge, regretfully, that there is a flagrant discrepancy between the present international situation and those principles of the Charter and of international law which should have governed friendly relations among States. While we make speeches here, people are fighting and dying in South-East Asia and in the Middle East. Horrible acts of air piracy, kidnapping and murder of innocent hostages are increasing in a frightening way. The rules of international law, the principles of the Charter and human rights are trodden underfoot daily and real or imaginary wrongs are avenged by new lawlessness.

163. I believe that this situation, which is of grave concern, can be resolved only if we find our way back to that deep and sincere desire for peace which filled all the nations of the world at the end of the last great war, and if we make the principles of the United Nations Charter the guideline for our conduct. Just as in the domestic life of a State, mutual tolerance must be exercised in relations between communities, as advocated by Comenius—the 300th anniversary of whose death is being commemorated this year—when he said:

“No State receives internal peace as a free gift; it is the expression of mutual give and take, of self-restraint, of freedom based on equal and inalienable rights and the dignity inherent in all men. The same applies to external peace: it will not just drop into one's lap without mutual give and take, self-restraint and continuous effort.”

164. Austria, as a permanently neutral State whose national security is closely linked to international stability, is vitally interested in all measures conducive to the strengthening of international security; accordingly, we welcomed the debate at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the item entitled “Strengthening of international security” and conveyed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations our position and proposals on that item [A/7922]. To



come closer to that objective of international security, it is first necessary to strengthen the United Nations as the most important institution for the preservation of world peace and to support it in the fulfilment of its task. The current anniversary session of the General Assembly provides a welcome opportunity to that end.

165. Peace on our planet will be attainable only if each individual State makes its contribution to that end by endeavouring to solve, in the spirit of the Charter, all problems arising with its neighbouring States and within its region.

166. Since Europe, too, is not free of such tensions and since Austria has a natural interest in a *détente*, it welcomed the recent signing of a treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union<sup>6</sup> as an encouraging beginning. It also welcomed the proposal to hold a conference to deal with questions of security and co-operation in Europe. In a series of bilateral talks with interested States, Austria has endeavoured to make its contribution to the creation of a generally acceptable basis for such a conference. Austria has outlined its position in a memorandum addressed to all interested States.

167. A minimum of trust is a prerequisite for all co-operation and the foundation for the success of any conference. The best way to build trust remains the fulfilment of treaties and respect for United Nations resolutions. In this connexion it is a source of great satisfaction for me to be able to report to this Assembly on a problem which, in accordance with two resolutions of the General Assembly, it was possible to move appreciably closer to a solution during the last year, namely, the question of South Tyrol.

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

168. By its resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI) the General Assembly has called upon Austria and Italy to resume negotiations on the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946, which regulates the status of the German-speaking population of the Province of Bozen and establishes a system designed to guarantee to the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province of Bozen "complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, within the framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element".<sup>7</sup> The talks were to be resumed with the objective of finding a solution to all differences related to the implementation of the aforementioned agreement.

169. Last year, after nine years of effort, Austria and Italy worked out a proposal for a solution which has received, on a democratic basis, the approval of the elected representatives of the people both in Austria and Italy as well as that of the South Tyrolean minority. The two Governments have conveyed this information to the States Members of the United Nations through

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

<sup>7</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

the Secretary-General in documents A/7927 and A/7928 of 22 July 1970.

170. While the proposed solution could not be based on a reconciliation between the legal positions of the parties concerned, it provides nevertheless for a number of steps to be taken by the Austrian and Italian sides in accordance with a time-table called "calendar of operations". Within its framework and by means of a constitutional law, ordinary laws, executive regulations to the constitutional law and administrative decrees, Italy committed itself to granting a number of legislative and administrative rights to the province of Bozen—the homeland of the South Tyroleans—thus expanding the autonomy of that minority.

171. The administrative decrees provided under this time-table of operations have already been issued. The constitutional law was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by the Italian Government at the beginning of this year and is now under parliamentary consideration. The ordinary laws should be submitted to the Italian Parliament before the end of this year. It is our sincere hope, and we are encouraged therein by the Government declaration of Prime Minister Colombo on 10 August 1970, that the parliamentary procedures for the projected legislation will not consume too much time, so that its positive political effects may not be impaired by excessive delay.

172. As soon as the measures enumerated and described in detail in the official annex to the Italian Government declaration of 3 December 1969, which were noted with approval by the Austrian Parliament at its meeting of 16 December 1969, and which are to be incorporated in a Constitutional Law, ordinary laws and executive regulations to the Constitutional Law, become legally valid in South Tyrol, Austria will declare that it considers as terminated the dispute which was the subject of the aforementioned resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

173. Hand in hand with the implementation of measures in favour of the South Tyrolean minority in Italy, an agreement between Austria and Italy will be signed and submitted to the ratification procedures and, after completion of these steps, will come into force. This will make the provisions of Chapter 1 of the European Convention on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes<sup>8</sup> applicable, in the relations between Austria and Italy, to disputes concerning the interpretation and implementation of bilateral agreements in force between the two parties, also in those cases where disputes refer to facts or situations prior to the coming into force of the aforementioned European convention between the two States.

174. I am happy to acknowledge that, through the new regulation envisaged for autonomy in South Tyrol, a corner-stone was laid for a renewed and fruitful co-operation between the two neighbouring countries, Austria and Italy. The Austrian Government is firmly

<sup>8</sup> Signed in Strasbourg on 29 April 1957 under the auspices of the Council of Europe.

resolved to honour its commitments under the proposed solution. At the same time, it confidently trusts that Italy will make its contribution to the further development of friendly and rewarding relations between our two countries by a speedy implementation, in letter and spirit, of the measures envisaged, and also by following a policy of understanding in respect of the South Tyrolean ethnic group. Austria is sincerely interested in such a development.

175. Notwithstanding the efforts by European States to arrive at a lessening of tensions and to achieve closer co-operation, the overall political picture of our world remains clouded. It is an undeniable fact that it has not become possible to put an end to warfare in the Middle East and in South-East Asia, or even to reduce the hazards the situation in the Middle East presents to world peace. There was no lack of earnest endeavour from various sides. In particular one has to rate highly the efforts deployed by the great Powers to reach a formula acceptable to all parties for settling the differences in the Israeli-Arab conflict. The cease-fire and the renewed search for a political solution to the conflict through the interposition of the United Nations mediator, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, were overshadowed by the sanguinary battles fought in Jordan. In the long run, however, the only hope for a solution would seem to lie in a settlement of the deeply rooted differences among the peoples of the Middle East by peaceful means. Austria is convinced that the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] points to a way that would lead to a peaceful co-existence of the peoples of that area, a region so rich in cultural heritage and economic potential. Austria is prepared to continue its contribution to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in that area and is also willing, whenever it is deemed desirable, to provide observers or contingents even on a larger scale.

176. The war in Viet-Nam goes on and in the course of this year has even spread over a wider area because of the hostilities in Cambodia. While here, too, efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement and a de-escalation of military actions should not be overlooked, we cannot refrain from expressing this year again, our serious concern at the continuation of the armed conflict.

177. We hope that in the face of the continuing human suffering and of the apparent deadlock in this horrible war, all sides will eventually realize that here too a political solution and the use of peaceful means can alone lead to a settlement, a suitable basis for which may be provided by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. We have to realize that all planning for the future would be pointless, that we would lack credibility unless we succeeded in settling problems of this scope and urgency.

178. Among the grave problems confronting us, I should now like to point with purpose to those occurrences which not only represent a retreat from the fundamental rules of a civilized world, but which may also become a serious threat to the maintenance of peace. I am referring to the increasingly frequent acts of air piracy and bombing attempts against civil aircraft

in flight, as well as to the abuse and even slaughter of innocent hostages to enforce political ends. I agree entirely with Secretary-General U Thant when he calls such acts savage and inhuman and asks for effective international measures to prevent the perpetration and spreading of these crimes.

179. In the light of our interest in the strengthening of international security, Austria follows the development of the disarmament talks with the greatest attention. I should like to express here our satisfaction that the two super-Powers found themselves ready to engage in negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons. The fact that the latest phase of these talks was held in Vienna underscores anew the relevance of a permanently neutral State as a venue for such meetings. May I express the hope that the continuation of these talks will lead to concrete agreements whereby the threat of an atomic devastation of our planet would be at least diminished, if not altogether removed.

180. At the same time I should like to emphasize the significance of multilateral disarmament efforts which have world-wide disarmament measures as their objective. The coming into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] in march of this year was certainly an important step forward. Austria, one of the first countries to ratify this Treaty, appeals to those States which have not yet decided to do so to accede to it, despite the perhaps not entirely balanced commitments between the nuclear and the non-nuclear States. Austria also welcomed the fact that important tasks relating to the implementation of the Treaty were referred to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

181. The complexity of the question of disarmament is directly related to the revolutionary progress in science and technology. It is therefore logical that in the last years the United Nations has increasingly directed its attention to the long-range problems which are closely linked to this technical evolution. I am referring here mainly to the practical applications of space technology which are likely to change our daily life in the future. I should also mention, in this context, the attempts to institute a legal system for outer space and the ocean floor and, last but not least, the efforts of the United Nations to preserve the human environment.

182. Despite an encouraging start in the area of legal arrangements for outer space, a slowdown may now be observed in this work. Nor have the efforts to set forth a declaration of principles for the sea-bed, so far, achieved the desired goal. This immobility must be overcome because, not only in theoretical but also in practical terms, legislative action of the United Nations in these two fields appears to contribute constructively to the future evolution of the world Organization.

183. The technological, scientific and also political developments of the last decades have made the interdependence of human activity all over the globe even clearer. This is evident in the political and, perhaps

even more so, in the economic field. Accordingly, industrial States must take into account, in their economic policies, the interests of the developing countries. The United Nations and its subsidiary agencies on their part should carry out the technical preliminary work necessary for a better understanding of the increasing needs and also for the co-ordination and execution of the various programmes. The Second United Nations Development Decade, approved by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and designed to reduce the gap between the poor and the rich by promoting the economic growth of the developing countries, thus acquires particular significance. Austria will make its contribution to the goals of this decade and within the limits of its economic possibilities will in particular make every effort to achieve, during that period, a volume of development assistance equivalent to 1 per cent of its gross national product.

184. The presence in Vienna of important United Nations institutions, particularly the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, and the holding in our country of numerous international conferences underline once again the importance which we attach to the Development Decade. In this regard I wish to point out that the Austrian Government incurred very substantial expenses to provide UNIDO with fully adequate working premises — mainly through new construction — and we are proud to note that our efforts in this direction were rewarded by the appreciation expressed from all sides, including the Secretary-General.

185. Regarding the establishment of a United Nations city in Vienna, which would serve as headquarters for the organizations already located there, as well as those that would wish to move to Vienna in future, an international competition of urban architecture has now been completed. The projects selected by the jury are now being examined by the Austrian Government in respect of their feasibility, and it may be expected that a decision on the project to be adopted will be made, in consultation with IAEA and UNIDO, even before the end of this year. Austria hopes that by providing the financial support for this undertaking it will make a further valuable contribution towards the attainment of the objectives of the Development Decade.

186. I should like now to point to two more subjects which, in our view, deserve particular attention on the part of the United Nations. I am referring to the fact that the uses and the significance of data processing in economy, education, administration and science have grown to such an extent that individual States can no longer, by themselves, keep pace with this development. At the same time a situation should be avoided in which, because of higher technical capability, individual States or groups of States acquire a monopoly in this important field. The Austrian Association for Data Processing therefore submitted some time ago a memorandum to Secretary-General U Thant, which contains a proposal for the setting up of a central service for the processing and exchange of data within the United Nations framework and which, in addition to the processing of the material,

would also have the task of carrying out an objective evaluation of all the data on the basis of unified standards, thus preventing possible manipulations.

187. The second thought I wanted to submit is that, in view of the continuously increasing demands on national administrations and on the secretariats of international organizations, the problem of the auditing of these administrations acquires a growing significance. Austria is happy to be host in Vienna to the International Secretariat of the Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions, which has set itself the task of promoting principles of efficient administrative controls through periodic exchange of experience. In accordance with a wish often expressed by developing countries a seminar has been planned within the framework of that Organization's activities, to be conducted in Austria in the spring of 1971, with assistance from the United Nations Development Programme, which will deal with State audit problems at the highest level, with particular emphasis on problems peculiar to developing countries.

188. In conclusion, I should like to go back once again to the phenomenon of the increasing acts of violence occurring both in international and national life. According to Article 1, paragraph 1 of the Charter, the primary purpose of the United Nations is to settle international disputes and situations which may lead to a breach of peace by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. It would therefore be correct to say that the United Nations is built on the principle of "peace through law".

189. The external peace to be ensured in accordance with that principle necessarily implies internal peace within the members of the family of nations as its prerequisite. That internal peace cannot exist, in the long run, inside a State which does not respect the fundamental rights of the person, which are also consecrated by the Charter of the United Nations. Human rights and fundamental freedoms can no longer be exclusively regarded today as the classic rights which we may find in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948.

190. The principle of the equality of all men has since been expanded by the codifying activities of the United Nations, aimed at preventing all forms of racial discrimination. Discrimination based on the colour of the skin or on ethnic origin, such as we find it today in particular in southern Africa, is therefore liable to compromise external peace. The Austrian Government has repeatedly stated that it rejects the concept of *apartheid*, which is contrary to the Charter, just as it rejects every other political concept based on racial, religious or ethnic discrimination. I wish to restate this position of ours most emphatically and to stress, in this context, that in the opinion of Austria, the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, which was endorsed by the twenty-fourth General Assembly, points to a practicable way towards the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization adopted ten years ago.

191. The developments in southern Africa are the more alarming since the discriminatory policies, condemned by the whole world, are spreading to an area which by virtue of decisions of this Organization had been placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The inhabitants of Namibia must be given the right freely to determine their future, just as all the other peoples of the world.

192. In connexion with this problem we welcome the decision of the Security Council reflected in its resolution 284 (1970) of 29 July 1970, which requests an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding "the legal consequences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970)". One hopes that the advisory opinion to be handed down by the International Court of Justice will bring this Organization one step nearer to the solution of the Namibian problem.

193. In this connexion, it would seem appropriate for me to say a few words about the International Court itself. We believe that the proposals submitted to the General Assembly to review the role of the Court deserve close study. Those proposals are designed to expand the sphere of action of the Court, and in that context more emphasis could be placed on the concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes. Especially interesting is the idea of setting up regional chambers of the Court which could be used for the settlement of disputes within a given region. To stress the significance which Austria attaches to the role of the International Court of Justice, I should like to state here that the Federal Government of Austria has decided, during these last days, to introduce a bill in Parliament which would provide for the issuance of a declaration under Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, according to which Austria will recognize the jurisdiction of the Court as "compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other State accepting the same obligation".

194. I have focused my remarks more specifically on the aspects of international security and the maintenance of law and order in the world. This in no way means that we underrate the significance of other problems. I am, however, firmly convinced that a firm rededication by all Member States to the principle of friendly relations and co-operation among nations would be an essential step to bring us nearer to peace and to the solution of all pending problems.

195. We must learn from the past that peace, justice and progress form an indivisible whole and constitute as such the *conditio sine qua non* for the survival of mankind.

196. Mr. HERRERA IBARGÜEN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before starting my statement may I, by your leave, express the condolences of Guatemala to the people and Government of the United Arab Republic on the death of its illustrious President, Gamal Abdel Nasser, which is a manifest loss to the world.

197. I also wish to express our condolences to the Government of Malaysia on the deeply felt death of that great jurist, Ambassador Ramani.

198. May I express to you, sir, on behalf of my Government, and on my own behalf as your friend for many years, our sincere and cordial congratulations on your well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly?

199. This year in which we commemorate the first quarter-century of the life of our Organization, I should like to give some views on its functioning.

200. The Organization was created, among other important purposes, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and, in general, to protect mankind in the economic, social and human rights fields.

201. As regards the first of these great and noble purposes, to preserve peace, I shall make some comments.

202. In the field of international law, great efforts have been made and numerous solutions have been attempted to put an end to the tremendous problem of wars. Perhaps the greatest achievement is the very creation of the United Nations.

203. It has been said that the Organization has not been able fully to discharge one of its primary functions, namely, the maintenance of peace throughout the world. The Viet-Nam war and the latest war in the Middle East have, once again, given a basis for these criticisms. Yet one cannot therefore affirm that the United Nations has not fulfilled any function in the maintenance of peace. The Organization has succeeded in diminishing and resolving some tense situations which have threatened peace and has made it easier for Member States to have access to the mediation required to overcome critical moments and to arrive at peaceful solutions. It has been possible to maintain peace in Cyprus for example. The Emergency Force of the Organization succeeded in maintaining peace, not without great difficulties, in the Middle East. In that same area, recourse was had to United Nations machinery in order to lay down principles for the settlement of the conflict. Earlier, to mention another case, a group of military observers from the United Nations in India and Pakistan managed to contain the tug of war in Kashmir.

204. In connexion with this work of pacification, it is necessary to mention that the results do not depend exclusively on the Organization. As has been said here, the United Nations is not a super-State, it does not possess supra-national powers. The maintenance of peace largely depends on the decision and goodwill of States Members in the observance of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

205. In a sector of activities related to the preservation of peace, some progress has been made. I would mention as examples the 1959 resolution on general and complete disarmament [1378 (XIV)], two treaties

of vital importance: one on the abolition of nuclear tests and the other on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; the idea of designating the sea-bed as a zone reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes; the study by the Disarmament Commission of the question of chemical and bacteriological weapons; the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space; the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the item entitled "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effect on world peace and security".

206. Here we should like to mention a regional Latin American effort for peace, the treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America, the Tlatelolco Treaty, which has created the first inhabited area in which nuclear weapons are forbidden. My country is a party to this important Treaty and a member of OPANAL, the organization which was established under this international instrument. Guatemala hopes that, like the United Kingdom, other countries outside Latin America, especially the nuclear Powers, will ratify the additional protocols to the Treaty.

207. There is a relationship between the functions of preserving peace and the right of the veto in the Security Council. It is true that the exercise of the veto by the great powers has created dissatisfaction among some States Members of our Organization, because generally it has been used when an immediate solution of a grave crisis which threatens the peace of the world is being sought in that lofty organ, a solution which is difficult to find because of the absence of the concurring votes of the great Powers. This has brought about a constant criticism, which has led some to maintain that the preponderance of the great Powers in the Security Council is in open contradiction with the legal equality of States, a fundamental right which is already enshrined in international law and which is derived from the sovereign personality of States.

208. Such a contradiction is only apparent, in my opinion, because a calm and considered review would lead us to differentiate between two totally different situations: on the one hand a legal category, namely the sovereign equality of States, which has never been questioned and has always been exercised in the General Assembly, the highest body, and in the other United Nations organs. In these forums, States, large and small, participate in the discussion and the adoption of resolutions which in some cases are binding on Member States. The second is the direct function of maintaining peace and the adoption of collective measures to avoid, prevent and put an end to war and aggression, a function which was entrusted in the first instance to the Security Council. Collective action is to a greater degree the responsibility of the great Powers which have to support it militarily and economically, and it is because of this circumstance, which is purely *de facto*, real and evident, even for the maintenance of world balance, that it is necessary to take action with the consent of the world Powers. Adopting a collective measure against the will of a great Power might mean total war.

209. Hitherto, the discrepancies in the interests of the great Powers have rendered difficult the adoption of collective measures in the Security Council and have weakened its function to maintain peace in the world. But I sense and feel that these great Powers are beginning to come closer together, as is proved by the bilateral SALT talks, and that they will come to agree that the maintenance of peace in the world is the basis for a better development of their own interests and, therefore, of those of all mankind.

210. Still on the subject of the maintenance of peace, Guatemala recalls with satisfaction that exactly ten years ago the General Assembly declared that the subjection of peoples to foreign control, domination and exploitation constituted a negation of fundamental human rights and that it jeopardized peace and world co-operation.

211. My country is in the ranks of those who fought for the cause of the liberation of subject peoples, so as to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; it gave its warmest support to resolution 1514 (XV), in the drafting of which it participated, and it will support all measures which in conformity with the Charter are adopted to achieve the independence and freedom of millions of human beings who still suffer in the twentieth century from the opprobrious colonial system.

212. The liberation of peoples leads me to analyse economic and social problems. We note with some disillusionment that the first United Nations Development Decade fell far short of achieving the aspirations we had for it. It is our most sincere hope that the same will not occur with the Second Development Decade.

213. In this connexion, we agree that it is the responsibility of all nations to adopt such measures as may be necessary to promote economic activity and social progress. Nevertheless, we are likewise convinced that, without the will and co-operation of the developed countries and unless there prevails a genuine spirit of justice in relations among States, the efforts made by the countries of low *per capita* income cannot go very far.

214. Unfortunately, we are fighting against time, and if in this decade that we are now beginning we do not manage to diminish substantially the extreme differences in wealth and the social injustices, the consequences may be irreversible.

215. For the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade it is necessary to agree on a strategy. In this connexion, we are happy to observe the excellent work done by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and that done by the Preparatory Committee for the Second Development Decade. It is our keenest wish that soon, during the present session of the General Assembly, the Members of this Organization will be united on criteria and establish a strategy which will forestall a new failure.

216. Guatemala shares the concern of other countries regarding the possibility of a protectionist policy in the more highly industrialized countries, which would render null and void the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in regard to universal preferences.

217. Furthermore, we are concerned about the arms race and the consequent diversion of resources, which could otherwise have been used to increase food production, improve the human environment and alleviate poverty. It is our hope that during the present decade a formula will be found that will lead to general and complete disarmament and that the necessary instruments will be established to utilize the resulting savings for the benefit of the great majority of the world population still suffering from hunger.

218. Here it is appropriate for me to mention a very important matter. I am referring to the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction in which a sister republic of Central America, El Salvador, actively participates.

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

219. My country is awaiting the results of the work of that Committee to make a careful evaluation and then take a position on this problem, which is so important for the future of mankind.

220. However, we wish to state in advance our conviction that it would be appropriate to work together on the problems involved in the new law of the sea, so as to find appropriate solutions to the problems of the continental shelf and territorial waters as well as the use of the sea-bed, the exploitation of natural resources and the preservation of marine species. The latter aspect is of vital importance for many countries, such as mine, which seek a guarantee of the development of the resources of the sea for the benefit of the coastal populations. At the last Conference, recently held in Lima, on this subject, the delegation of Guatemala stated: "What we wish to know is whether the sea, at least that adjoining our coast, will serve to feed our people or will continue to be the business of the large fishing fleets" of the super developed countries.

221. At the outset of my statement I spoke about certain fundamental purposes of the Organization, such as the preservation of peace and in general the protection of mankind in the economic and social fields and in the field of human rights. In contrast to those noble purposes of the United Nations, in various parts of the world—and here I must include my own country—subversive acts are committed which, in some cases, in a rampant torrent of violence and in absolute negation of human rights, are reprehensible crimes, committed with the ultimate aim of invalidating fundamental State institutions.

222. Also within the context of violence, I wish to mention specifically two matters of the utmost gravity.

One is the hijacking of aircraft, which is manifestly a collective threat to the security and lives of persons, and which, in certain circumstances, may create situations that jeopardize peace; the other is the kidnapping of important persons, such as diplomatic agents, which may have the effect of disturbing international coexistence. In the opinion of my country, in connexion with these two subjects—the hijacking of aircraft and the kidnapping of important persons—we should adopt adequate solutions at the regional level and here at the United Nations, within the framework of international law and of penal laws. Until specific international standards on these subjects are established we consider that it is the duty of States to apply existing penal standards and extradition provisions.

223. In conclusion, I should like to mention the Central American question. Guatemala is very happy to see the positive steps being taken to bring the sister republics of El Salvador and Honduras closer to one another which, we are sure, will lead to a definitive solution of the conflict that has arisen between those two countries. In making this statement, we express our confidence in the process of Central American integration which is already leading to the creation of an area of progress and well-being for our peoples.

224. On this matter, as on previous occasions when representatives of Guatemala spoke from this rostrum, I wish to remind the General Assembly of the existence of an old dispute with the United Kingdom concerning Belize. We now reiterate our faith in the peaceful means of settling international disputes as provided for in the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, we are convinced that the people of Belize will find the most just expression of its destiny within the Central American context.

225. Guatemala, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, once again expresses its faith in the Organization. It is our profound conviction that on balance its record of achievement is a positive one. We offer our most determined co-operation so that it may achieve a yet loftier stature because, in the last analysis, it is mankind's best effort until now for its own survival.

226. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I begin my statement in the general debate and with the consent of the President, I should like to state from this rostrum the deep and sincere feeling of solidarity with which the people and the Government of the Republic of Paraguay as well as members of my delegation associate themselves with the sorrow of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic on the premature death of their President, Gamal Abdel Nasser, an eminent leader of world-wide stature, to whose memory we seriously and respectfully bow.

227. On coming to this rostrum I shall first discharge an express mission, which is as honoured as it is pleasant, entrusted to me by my Government. On its behalf I extend to Ambassador Hambro its warmest congratulations on his election to preside over this ses-

sion of the General Assembly, during which the United Nations Organization will commemorate its twenty-fifth anniversary. My Government sees in Mr. Hambro's election both a tribute to Norway because of its eminent and constant contribution to the cause of peace, and a tribute to Ambassador Hambro's lofty personal qualities, which have justly won for him our respect, admiration and confidence. As the representative of my Government I present to his predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, a tribute of sincere appreciation for the outstanding work she did during the previous General Assembly.

228. It has been a rule of my delegation to participate in the general debate at each session of the General Assembly so as to state from this rostrum its views regarding the principal problems submitted to it for consideration and on the most important items in the agendas.

229. But, in this anniversary year, which marks a quarter of a century of existence for the United Nations, we wish to depart from this rule and present in a tightly-knit synthesis a recapitulation of some of the ideas connected with the past, the present and the future of our Organization, which have already been expressed by my delegation at previous meetings.

230. Being fully aware that no co-operation in the application of the principles and the attainment of the purposes of the United Nations is more complete or more noble than that which can be offered by Member States through their compliance and respect both in their domestic and international conduct, we wish to present the credentials which authorize me to speak from this rostrum with objectivity and independence of views.

231. My country is one which belongs to the numerous group of the "developing countries", as they are called, whose economy is essentially agricultural and of livestock and whose industrialization is still in its beginning. Furthermore, it is one of the only two countries which in Latin America see that, over and above the problems inherent in development without sufficient financing, we furthermore face problems which result from being land-locked. As such, we have fought and will continue to fight with steadfast determination to win acceptance for ever-more-advanced principles of international law which will compensate for the disadvantages derived from our being situated at a considerable distance from the sea. In this connexion, an eminent jurist from Afghanistan said that the problems of international trade of land-locked countries are enormous and that this condition does not disappear, even though the problems may change from time to time and from region to region.

232. I mention this circumstance simply to give you a clearer idea of the magnitude of the problems which Paraguay must overcome and vanquish in its tenacious and uninterrupted effort under a dynamic and patriotic Government, to consolidate our economic infrastructure and to raise to ever higher levels.

233. On the international level our conduct is such that we can proclaim, without either boasting or false modesty, that our country has not created situations nor been involved in conflicts that required the attention of the General Assembly at any time. That does not mean that we have no problems of this kind, or that we have not had them, but that, in conformity with our own tradition and with the mandates of the Charter, we have sought and still seek adequate solutions by way of direct negotiations.

234. Internally, we have carried out a vast task of consolidating the economic infrastructure, of constantly raising the standard of living of our population; of improvement of our democratic institutions; of maintaining the value of our currency, despite the tremendous sacrifices this implies; and, above all and foremost, we have managed to strengthen an order of peace based on justice, in which democratic political parties are free to play an active part, and are now preparing to participate in general municipal elections called for 25 October. The index of attendance at schools, as well as that of nutrition, are among the highest in Latin America. Progress, in a few words, is continuous and integral, and the results obtained are the best rewards won by the statesman who presides over our national destiny. This is the country which I represent in this Assembly and whose voice I bring to you.

235. Perhaps as never before, this general debate has given us an opportunity to know with greater accuracy the points of view of Member States regarding the undoubted successes of the United Nations during its twenty-five years of existence; regarding the failures which, even though with pain and in spite of sincere efforts, we must recognize, and the frustrations which more than once have tended to weaken our will. But, above all, this debate is in a way unique, because the criticisms of the shortcomings of the Organization, brought to light during its life span, have been set forth with loftiness of purpose and, we believe, with a constructive intent.

236. But it would be tantamount to self-deceit and to deceiving the peoples whom we represent if these criticisms, addressed to the United Nations as a whole, were not accompanied by a capacity for as objective an examination as possible, which each Member must undertake, of the value and scope of his own national effort to give the provisions contained in the Charter universal content and validity.

237. As long as this capacity for criticism and self-criticism exists we can have faith in the future of our Organization, in its role, and expect that its actions will move forward a time of well-being, of dignity, a time of value and happiness for the human being, whatever his nationality, race, sex, creed, language, the place where he was born, or the land he inhabits.

238. Some of the criticisms have perhaps been very severe. It is conceivable that with the creation of the United Nations, the world, which had just emerged from an extremely cruel, bloody, and devastating war,

placed in the Organization an overdose of optimism about the possibilities open to it, giving it a prematurely illusory content.

239. The frustrations resulting from the contrast between illusions and reality and from observing the growing political and economic power held by a few States, which are too powerful in comparison with the vast majority of those which make up this Assembly, have probably been some of the determining causes of a situation which, particularly in recent years, has become accentuated and is certainly a cause for deep concern. This situation consists in the tendency to remove from United Nations jurisdiction some of the gravest international problems which should, because of their very nature, have a natural forum in this Assembly. Instead of bringing those problems to a frank and open debate in this universal forum, they have been taken to the restricted forums of the conference tables of a few States which are, of course, the strongest within the community of nations. We cannot accuse the most powerful countries which hold the political, military and economic power I have referred to, of being solely responsible. We must also recognize our share of responsibility. We have increasingly attributed to them greater responsibilities, thus adding to the power which they already have, the power of representation, which is nothing but a disguised form of a renunciation of what should be our unavoidable duties.

240. Hence, the time has come to reaffirm the need to make maximum use of the possibilities of this lofty forum. It is time to bring or bring back to it the problems which are its responsibility and not remove them. And when these problems refer to the breach or the possibility of a breach of peace and international security, the obligation is even more absolute. If any attitude can be dangerously negative, if any conduct can contribute to a greater degree to the ineffectiveness of the United Nations and eventually to its decline, it would be to remove from the Organization the examination of the problems I am referring to.

241. Of course, we must expect that debates of such problems will bring to light deep differences of views in the application of the principles and the attainment of the purposes of the Organization—criteria which not only will be different but will even be opposite. None of this should discourage us. Perhaps we should be less concerned with the quest for constant unanimity, since uniformity of thinking is not a usual condition among men who come from and represent different continents, States, races, cultures and civilizations, and accordingly respond to different historical, political and economic interests. In the contrast of criteria is the indispensable element to give strength and vigour to our Organization.

242. In making those comments I do not intend to attempt to pronounce judgement on the results achieved by the United Nations during twenty-five years of existence. But I would be failing in an unavoidable duty were I not to formulate the categorical and unequivocal affirmation that in our view the postulates,

the principles and the purposes of the United Nations, incorporated in the Charter which was signed at San Francisco, are at present as valid as they were then, that in themselves they point to the goal we shall some day reach and that today, like yesterday, they define the standards for domestic and international conduct, whose universal scrupulous and loyal observance is, and will continue to be, the best guarantee for the maintenance of peace and security in justice, for the establishment at the world level of the rule of that justice, to regulate relations among States in an order in which each one enjoys full sovereign equality, and to promote social progress and the economic well-being of man within an atmosphere of greater freedom.

243. Our differences in many cases are due to our diverse criteria regarding the procedures which are adequate to win universal acceptance of such principles, and for the likewise universal attainment of these purposes. These differences are due also to varying assessments of the effectiveness of the organ to which the Charter attributes the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, namely the Security Council. The political conception of what the post-war world would be, seen from the perspective of 1945, determined the structure of that Council and the role of fundamental importance assigned to its permanent members. These had emerged victorious after a long and hard bloody war, waged in solidarity, against the forces of aggression and barbarism. That conception of the post-war world, nevertheless, is not fitting for a different era. Since then we have seen the decline of great colonial empires. On the world stage we have seen the emergence of super-Powers endowed with a military, economic and technological might as yet unknown on earth. On the other hand, a result of the growing application of the principle of right of peoples to self-determination in the process of decolonization which, nevertheless and regrettably, has still not been completed, most representatives who attend this Assembly represent States which barely twenty-five years ago were subject to the colonial yoke and are today masters of their own sovereign destinies. No, the world of 1945 is not that of 1970.

244. In San Francisco it was expected that, in cases of a breach or threat of a breach of international peace, the permanent members could take joint and harmonious action to preserve peace. The expectation faded, time has seen to it, and the result has been, in many cases, the inability or powerlessness of the Security Council to take effective action; inability or powerlessness which is all the more to be deplored since the action which we expected from that organ was both indispensable and urgent.

245. Faced with that situation and its possible consequences for the effectiveness of the fundamental mission which devolves on the United Nations—which led to its creation—we can expect a growing role for the other Members of the Organization, particularly for those which represent the less endowed areas of the world—Africa, Asia and Latin America. But let us not forge for ourselves the vain illusion that because



of our number we constitute an influential force, yet nor would we wish to underrate the value of our numerical majority, a numerical majority and a value which would subsist to the extent that we found a formula for joint action, based on our own common interests. This quest is something far greater than a right. It is an obligation to exert our best efforts to that end and with that purpose.

246. Referring to the area from which I come, Latin America, I must specifically mention the important and far-reaching role in the preservation of peace and international security which our regional Organization plays, an organization which combines the achievements which honour its existence with the vast capital of its contributions in the field of international law.

247. Now, I believe it is my duty to reiterate once more the concepts stated in past sessions of the Assembly by the head of my delegation and Minister for Foreign Affairs. If States are to act within the international community as individuals do within national communities, logic indicates that the peaceful coexistence of countries of such varied origins and disciplines, with such different ideological, political and economic criteria and at such unequal stages of development, can only be secured with the three traditional basic elements: international law or the set of internationally accepted principles loyally observed; international tribunals or organizations for the administration of justice; and international forces able, when needed, to forestall situations which violate accepted laws and to apply international sanctions.

248. The United Nations has done considerable work in the field of establishing international laws, because of the many conventions adopted under its auspices, but we must recognize that the road ahead is a long one. As regards organizations able to administer justice at the international level, we note with concern and sorrow the declining role of the International Court of Justice. We believe that acceptance of international justice and compliance with the decisions of competent organs is no offence to the sovereignty of States. On the contrary, it is typical of eras of regression and barbarism that, in the event of conflict between States, the strong try to prevail over the weak by their own means, for their own benefit, disregarding all concepts of right and justice.

249. As for the existence of international forces provided for in the Charter, the possibility is still remote. Years ago, in his introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, presented to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session,<sup>9</sup> the Secretary-General referred to offers of military units as reserve forces made to the United Nations by several Member States, that is, forces available to the Organization whenever a justified need for them arose. The Secretary-General then added that he had not been able to do much because no competent United Nations organ had adopted any measure authorizing him to accept the offer, even though no expenditure for the

Organization was involved until a contingent actually began to serve the Organization. Six years later, the situation is still the same. Furthermore, it is known that there has been no solution to a problem indissolubly linked to the possibility of having those forces, or others, intended for peace-keeping. I am referring to the adoption of equitable systems to finance peace-keeping operations. We know the magnitude of the efforts made in the relevant committee, under the leadership of an eminent Latin American, to find mutually acceptable formulas. In recording the fact that they have not yet been found, we trust that the months to come will prove to be more fruitful.

250. The above comments and, particularly, some made during this general debate, would seem to indicate a desire to revise the Charter. We frankly admit that we do not believe that the time is propitious to undertake such a task. At the same time we believe that for a real and effective evaluation of the predominant trend of thought among Members of the United Nations, the General Assembly already has the appropriate instrument in item 88, entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations". Let us avail ourselves of that instrument.

251. I have devoted most of my statement to questions related to international peace and security. Implicit in these comments is the hope for general and complete disarmament, under adequate international control. If I have not made special reference to matters pertaining to disarmament, it is because the item is on the agenda of the First Committee, where there will be ample opportunity for an exhaustive examination. For the time being, I should like to voice the deep concern with which we observe the monstrous amount of resources invested in armaments, an amount which is all the more overwhelming when it is compared with the figures to which the solidarity of the developed world is reduced, as its contribution to the economic and social development of most of the human race.

252. Peace is the corner-stone on which order among nations and collective security rest, because they are indissolubly linked with other problems, and it is the latter that affect us from day to day. This is so for those of us who constitute the countries called developing, in our unceasing efforts to overcome the obstacles to our economic and social development, to correct a system of international trade which is not only unjust but immoral, to obtain the equitable distribution of our riches and the fruits of our work and to raise the standard of living of our peoples, many of whom, in this second half of the twentieth century, are still struggling in the infamy of backwardness and the degradation of poverty.

253. Every day that goes by without demolishing the artificial barriers which separate those who have too much from those who have too little, barriers dividing those who enjoy highly satisfactory remuneration as compensation for their efforts from those who must be satisfied with the wages of a pauper, means new and increasing suffering for those large masses of man-

<sup>9</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A.*

kind. In that difference, the magnitude of which can only be measured in unspeakable anguish is rooted the greatest of the potential conflicts which it is possible to imagine, and, should it ever break out, would spare no continent, no country, no human community.

254. The time for finding adequate solutions to this contemporary drama is running short, particularly in this Second Development Decade. The hour is late, but not irrevocably so. Therefore let us renew our efforts and our hope, in the expectation of better days. I conclude my statement with a quotation from the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil: "We must not forget that the United Nations represents the only specialized agency we have for peace, development and collective security" [1841st meeting, para. 15].

255. On our capacity for collective action, on our sincerity of purpose and on the intensity of our efforts, will depend whether we convert into fruitful reality the theme of this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations: peace, justice and progress for all the peoples of the world.

256. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Malaysia has asked to exercise his right of reply, and I now call on him.

257. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): Before I exercise my right of reply, I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to the representatives who extended their condolences and sympathy on the death of Ambassador Ramani, a member of my delegation. I shall convey those expressions of condolences and sympathy to my Government and to the bereaved family of the late Ambassador Ramani.

258. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, in his oral and written statement today, made reference to his Government's claim to Sabah. I appreciate the spirit of friendship in which he raised that question and it is in that same spirit of friendship that I exercise my right of reply.

259. The position of the Malaysian Government on this issue has been clearly stated at past sessions of the General Assembly, and it is not my intention today to go over the ground all over again. I only wish, for the record, to state the basic position of the Malaysian Government, and that is that, in our view, the Philippine claim to Sabah has no legal basis. What is most important in this issue is that the people of Sabah themselves in 1963 expressed their will, in free exercise of self-determination, to join Malaysia. This free exercise of self-determination and the choice of the people of Sabah to join Malaysia was ascertained and testified to by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, in 1963. Sabah is therefore irrevocably an integral part of Malaysia, and the Malaysian Government has no doubt whatsoever about its sovereignty over Sabah. I wish to add that the choice of the people of Sabah in favour of Malaysia has been reaffirmed several times in subsequent elections held in the State of Sabah.

260. The right of peoples to self-determination is a key principle of the United Nations Charter, the scrupulous observance of which is an essential basis for harmony and co-operation among nations. I wish to express the hope that, in the spirit of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the Philippine Government will be able to approach this problem on the basis of respect for the right of self-determination which the people of Sabah have exercised.

261. Finally, my delegation welcomes the spirit of co-operation and friendly relations that exist between my country and the Philippines, and we express the hope that this will be further strengthened. There is much that our two countries can and should do, in bilateral and regional co-operation, in promoting peace and progress in our region, and it is to these ends that we must devote all our endeavours.

*The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.*