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President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Philippe (Luxembourg), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)*

1. Mr. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): It is a great honour and privilege to introduce on behalf of my co-sponsors resolution A/L.571. This resolution has a long list of sponsors, which is some indication of the degree of unanimity which has been achieved after long and arduous consultations and negotiations and not a few compromises among the various groups and members—a unanimity which we hope will be reflected in the final voting. The resolution deals with the twenty-fifth anniversary of this world Organization, an anniversary which represents an important milestone in the life of any organization or individual.

2. In most countries and to most people, the twenty-first year marks the coming of age. Now that we are approaching our twenty-fifth anniversary, it means that we have successfully negotiated the period of adolescence, reached adulthood and achieved a certain maturity. The twenty-fifth anniversary, therefore, is not merely a time for celebration and jollification but also a time for stocktaking. It is a time for us to review the past with the wisdom born of experience and a realism born of maturity. If we are wise, we will recognize not only our achievements but also our mistakes; if we are mature and realistic, we will seek remedies rather than excuses for those mistakes. So with our eyes turned towards the stars and our feet firmly planted on the ground, we can look forward to a future more satisfying than the past.

3. That is the spirit which animates the draft resolution before us—a draft resolution which has developed from the report of the Preparatory Committee and which con-

sequently will reflect in substance the conclusions of that Committee.

4. The Committee emphasized that the programme of commemoration of our twenty-fifth anniversary should reflect the prevailing mood of the membership of the United Nations and of the world, which is not one of uninhibited jollification and rejoicing but rather one of sober contemplation of the size of the task that still lies ahead if the principles enshrined in our Charter are to be given meaningful expression. So the Committee recommended that, while the ceremonial aspect of our anniversary could not and should not be ignored, a proper degree of prominence should be given to those measures which could be employed to improve our Organization and make its functioning more effective, instead of engaging in a mere reaffirmation of principles to which we have too often given mere lip service.

5. This same mood is reflected in the terms of the draft resolution, so that while the second preambular paragraph calls for “reaffirming the faith of Governments and peoples in the purposes and principles of the Charter”, it also goes on to request a renewing of “endeavours to give them full effect”, and it emphasizes three very important aspects of our Charter obligations: “the maintenance of international peace and security . . . the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and achieving international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.”

6. There were some delegations who felt it was unnecessary to spell out these three aspects in particular, but there were others who were of the opinion that they were sufficiently important at this time to deserve special mention without in any way implying that the other aspects were to be ignored or that these three should represent the sum total of our efforts to implement the principles of the Charter.

7. Again, while paragraph 3 calls for a commemorative session of the General Assembly and paragraph 4 expresses the hope that as many Heads of State or Government as possible should honour us with their presence on that occasion, the remaining paragraphs are devoted, almost exclusively, to those practical measures which at present lie within the competence of the General Assembly to make the Organization more effective, including the completion of matters long under discussion but uncompleted or left in abeyance for one reason or another.

8. The draft resolution proposes that the commemorative session should be completed on our actual anniversary date,

* Resumed from the 1791st meeting.

24 October, which needs no justification at all, but also proposes that it should culminate in the signing and adoption of a final document or documents. The signing or adoption is not intended to be merely a symbolic gesture nor are the documents to be mere bits of parchment with illuminated lettering. If we expect Heads of State or Government to leave their countries and their important domestic duties for this occasion, it cannot be merely for the purpose of making gestures or standing in line like schoolboys to receive medals for good behaviour.

9. Paragraphs 7 to 10 give some evidence of the nature of the document or documents to be prepared for signature or adoption. In paragraph 10 all relevant organs and committees of the United Nations are requested to speed up their work and provide material which may be useful in the preparation of such documents. Paragraph 9 refers directly to the work being done by the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and paragraph 8 to the draft of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

10. If we are honest with ourselves we will admit that the first United Nations Development Decade was not a brilliant success, so that the twenty-fifth anniversary is a good opportunity of rededicating ourselves to a task which exceeds in importance many of the other activities of the United Nations.

11. Paragraph 7 refers to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which, fortuitously, falls in the same year as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations itself. Our activities under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) are an integral part of our efforts to promote and maintain international peace and security, and so the co-sponsors did not think it inappropriate to combine in a single resolution our plans for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary and our hopes for co-ordination with the Committee charged with the celebration of the tenth anniversary.

12. One of the most important recommendations of the Committee that was adopted eagerly by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution concerns the participation of the youth of the world. This emphasis on youth, in the context of contemporary realities, is by no means misplaced. All over the world the young people of today are expressing in dramatic and sometimes forceful ways their dissatisfaction with the state of society and their resentment against the kind of world that we, their elders, have created for them and in which they have perforce to live.

13. Perhaps they cannot on their own find an answer to all the questions that have bedevilled us for so many years—those serious and terrifying problems which confront the world today; but there are two things of which we can be quite certain: first, that they could hardly have made a worse mess of things than we have done, and secondly that their participation is essential if we are ever to extricate ourselves from the morass into which we have allowed ourselves to sink over the past 25 years.

14. There are some who maintain that this sudden upsurge of youthful activity is emotional, destructive and undis-

ciplined; others, again, that they are being used by external forces for subversive purposes. A little of this is undoubtedly true, because there will always be a few unworthy souls in every movement, young or old, and there are always people willing and ready to use any movement which shows signs of vitality for purposes far removed from the objectives of their original founders. When we have made allowances for all this and when we have stripped away the dross which sullies the gold, we are still left with a sizable core of intelligent leadership expressing genuine dissatisfaction with legitimate grievances and willing to participate in remedying the defects in their society.

15. Some two weeks ago, we witnessed here in the United States of America a massive demonstration against continuing United States participation in the war in Viet-Nam. I have no intention of intervening in United States internal politics. Whether or not the moratorium was right or wrong is for the American people themselves to decide. The point I desire to make is that this movement, which was initiated by young people, assumed nation-wide proportions and was joined by people of all ages and all walks of life. If it showed nothing else, it proved the ability of young people to organize and to mobilize public opinion and to stir the conscience of the nation. We cannot ignore talent, power and vision of that kind.

16. In my own very small country, Trinidad and Tobago, we too have our youth movements. They occasionally demonstrate—though not as often as their counterparts in the United States of America—and they are unlikely to stage a moratorium in respect of the Viet-Nam war in which we are not directly involved. However, they keep themselves abreast of the times and they study international problems with a seriousness which demonstrates their understanding of the influence these matters can have on their daily lives. Not long ago they decided to assess youthful sentiment in respect of two important international issues and on 23 October, the eve of our twenty-fourth anniversary, they staged a mock debate along General Assembly lines; they chose as their subjects two very important items from our current agenda, namely, the situation in the Middle East and the Second United Nations Development Decade, showing from the very start their awareness of the importance of both political and economic factors in maintaining peace in the world. The Prime Minister sent a message to this junior assembly, in which he stated that it would give the present generation of school-children “an opportunity to develop a historical perspective” and provide them with “a new insight into the complexity of the tasks of Government”.

17. These junior delegates were students from the University of the West Indies, secondary schools and various young people's organizations and they purported to represent 113 of the 126 countries which are Members of the United Nations. Before the opening, the gathering was addressed by the Minister of West Indian Affairs, Mr. Kamaluddin Mohammed. The Minister, referring to the cosmopolitan nature of the Assembly, stated that they had achieved a degree of integration which even the real United Nations had failed to achieve so far. If I may quote him in part, he said—and possibly in lighter vein:

“It is the first time that I have seen an African representative from Portugal, an Indian representing

Hungary and, the most fantastic thing I have ever seen, a Chinese representing Iceland."

These young people were not foreign students attending schools and colleges in Trinidad and Tobago; they are all citizens of our country and demonstrated in a practical way the interracial harmony which is one of the blessings for which we perpetually thank the Almighty.

18. According to reports from my country, the debates on the two resolutions were both intelligent and spirited. The lady delegate representing Canada attacked the developing countries for not making the best use of their resources—for example, unnecessary spending on armaments. She suggested that the strength of local defence forces should be limited to one man for every 2,000 persons. If we apply that criterion generally, including developed countries, the United States of America, for example, would be limited to an armed force of 100,000 over-all. There are already five times that number in Viet-Nam alone. Similar comparisons can be made in respect of other countries.

19. The report of the debate goes on to state that the Soviet delegate—a student from the University of the West Indies—"attacked the United States and other advanced countries for failing to play an unselfish role in international development".

20. The debate had its lighter moments, including points of order and clashes between East and West; but by and large, the young people acquitted themselves more than creditably and showed a deep understanding not only of the problems facing the world, but also of the functioning of the United Nations itself. These young people, unknown to themselves, were perhaps making it easy for the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to implement paragraph 12 of the draft resolution which is before us today.

21. There is another point in connexion with the world youth assembly which must be mentioned and that is the question of universality. The report of the Committee indicates that there was not unanimity with regard to the manner in which the Assembly should be organized or the countries to be represented.

22. One of the greatest weaknesses of the United Nations is the absence from our midst of a large part of the world's population. Young people are constitutionally and historically more tolerant than their elders and they collaborate in a number of movements and activities irrespective of race, creed or ideology; an attitude which we, who will one day have to yield the reins to them, would do well to copy. Perhaps if we succeed in achieving universality in respect of the youth at our twenty-fifth anniversary, we will have made a giant step forward towards achieving universality in the United Nations itself.

23. The question of "Teaching in schools of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the structure and activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, with particular reference to human rights" needs no urging. Resolution 2445 (XXIII) was one of the better accomplishments of the General Assembly and, in spite of obstacles which may be placed in the way of the implementation of this resolution, the principle is

sound and should be pursued with vigour, particularly during our twenty-fifth anniversary. There is a risk, of course, that Governments may teach children only what they want them to know about the United Nations. In some countries there is no academic freedom; acquisition of knowledge is centrally controlled and organized to support the existing régimes. Writers and artists are permitted freedom of expression only so long as they refrain from any criticism of practices which they abhor and which in many cases offend against human rights and human dignity. However, we should not on that account oppose the principle enshrined in General Assembly resolution 2445 (XXIII), for the more people who know and understand the structure and function of the United Nations, the more difficult it will become for the obstructionist to hamstring the activities and slow down the progress of this world body. Our hopes for the future lie in the youth of our respective countries and of the world. If we expect them to do the job which we have failed to do, we must at least give them the tools with which to equip themselves for the task.

24. Paragraphs 16 and 17 represent an effort to cure the malaise which has afflicted the world for far too long. The Secretary-General's note of 15 October 1969 [A/7712] lists four categories of treaties or conventions which lack sufficient support, or consideration of which has not been completed.

25. Category I contains multilateral treaties in respect of which the Secretary-General performs depositary functions and which have not entered into force for lack of sufficient ratifications or accessions. There are 12 of these; and while they are not all of equal significance, they all have some importance for the well-being of the world. The earliest dates back to 1961, and that is the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness and the latest is the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties dated 23 May 1969. There is also the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Members of the United Nations do not have to be reminded of the importance of these documents or the significance which they have for the peoples of the world.

26. Category II contains multilateral treaties in respect of which the Secretary-General performs depositary functions and which have entered into force but to which less than half of the States entitled to become parties did so. There are no less than 82 such instruments and the first of these concerns the Statute of the International Court of Justice whereby, under Article 36, paragraph 2, States may recognize as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court. It is clear that in any world order based on justice and equality and the maintenance of the rights of persons and States some judicial body should have the power, not merely to give opinions, but to make their acceptance mandatory. The members of the International Court of Justice have all been men of high calibre who represent different judicial systems and are held in high international repute. What is important is that it should be made abundantly clear that they are free from governmental pressures and act independently of national considerations.

27. Number 11 on the list is the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. This is a humanitarian as well as a

political problem. The world is made up of human beings and we represent them. We cannot, therefore, close our eyes to their sufferings and ignore their plight.

28. Some of the items in this category are under reconsideration now and certainly will have to be reviewed in the light of recent developments. Discussions on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction are all affected by items 57, 58, 59 and 60, which refer to the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, the high seas, fishing and conservation of living resources of the high seas and the continental shelf; and while we would urge States which have not become parties to the remaining conventions and treaties to do so, we should proceed with all speed with a review of the four which I have just mentioned, and which are destined to play so great a part in the not too distant future in the developments of man's latest and possibly most important frontier.

29. Category III contains only eight items. These are the multilateral treaties in respect of which the Secretary-General does not perform depositary functions and to which the General Assembly considers that States should become parties. Among these are the important treaties concerning nuclear weapons, activities in outer space and the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological warfare. We have just completed in the First Committee a lengthy and very instructive debate on international peace and security. If the expressions of delegations during that debate mean anything at all, then the Members of the United Nations should concern themselves with those treaties in category III which are of relevance to that debate and in which members have an obligation to participate.

30. Category IV contains only four items, and I shall say no more about them except that, since they are under consideration, we should not let the grass grow under our feet, but attempt, as early as possible, to arrive at a common understanding in the interests of humanity.

31. These four categories represent a formidable list but it is not a list of achievements but rather a list of failures of which we cannot be proud. If our twenty-fifth anniversary is to mean anything more than mere back-slapping, jollification and symbolic statements, we have in this document [A/7712] sufficient material to occupy our minds and our energies in an effort to make the next quarter of a century more profitable than the one that has passed.

32. Finally I desire to draw the attention of the Assembly to paragraph 5 of the draft resolution which requests the establishment of a further committee for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. This is necessary because the Preparatory Committee has already completed its task and submitted its report. If its recommendations are accepted, someone will have to undertake the responsibility of implementing them. It has been suggested that the membership should follow, to some extent, the composition of the present Preparatory Committee and the terms of reference are:

(a) Drawing up and co-ordinating plans for the anniversary;

(b) Organizing suitable activities for the anniversary to be undertaken by the United Nations, in the light of the report of the Preparatory Committee; and

(c) Considering proposals and suggestions, in relation to the twenty-fifth anniversary for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Of all these, I consider the third point to be the most important and the most relevant.

33. There is hardly a Member State here present which has not recognized and admitted that our Organization has not been as effective as it might have been. Equally, all have recognized where the weaknesses lie. There is a great reluctance on the part of many to accept the root causes of the trouble. Let us resolve once and for all to stop gambling with the fate of mankind, to stop playing power politics, to stop striving for prestige and advantage over our neighbours and to strive rather for the equalizing of the imbalance which makes men and nations restless, creates tensions and stimulates wars. Let us resolve that we shall implement our oft-repeated pledge to regard all men as brothers and to provide justice and equality for all.

34. It is in this spirit that I submit the draft resolution to this house in the confident expectation that it will receive the unanimous support of the delegations here present.

35. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I should like to make a few comments on the report [A/7690] and draft resolution contained in document A/L.571. Before doing so, however, I should like to say that the fact that a report and a draft resolution are before this Assembly today is due mainly to the energy, patience and diplomatic skill of the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Ambassador Akwei of Ghana. We owe our gratitude also to the three Vice-Chairmen, the Rapporteur and the excellent and dedicated staff provided by the Secretariat. I must therefore begin my statement by paying a heartfelt tribute to all of them. I wish to acknowledge also the important contribution made by many Governments to the success of the work of the Committee in submitting constructive proposals and suggestions.

36. For some years we have been witnessing a growing lack of faith in the capability of the United Nations to resolve the grave problems which threaten the peace and security of the world. The judgement of many countries has been severe towards the United Nations for having been impotent in the face of the many violations of the Charter and its provisions. What we are facing is, in four words, "a crisis of confidence".

37. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the activities of the Organization in 1968,¹ underscored the situation and pointed out that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations could be the occasion for a profitable, thorough review of what has been done and what has not been done, and for a positive change in the future. Many delegations, including my own,

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 1A.*

welcomed the initiative and expressly requested the Secretary-General to have an item regarding the celebration of the Anniversary included in the agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

38. Our United States colleague, Ambassador Yost, has rightly recalled [1788th meeting] the Secretary-General's warning of 9 May. Again a few days ago, speaking on the occasion of United Nations Day, the Secretary-General reiterated his warning when he stated:

"I am very much afraid that, although we have been able to reach the moon, we often show incredibly short-sighted selfishness, complacency and indifference when it comes to meeting the great challenges that we face here on earth. Above all, Governments seem to find it increasingly easy to disregard the voice of the international community, in spite of the solemn undertakings.

"Thus, a profound malaise characterizes the human situation today. In fact, the current youth unrest is in many respects but a reaction to this deplorable and steadily worsening state of affairs.

"To help reverse this ominous trend, to help stop the drift to possible disaster in the years ahead, is the overriding duty of every citizen of this world."

39. The same alarming note has resounded all through the general debate in this General Assembly and during the discussions on the strengthening of international security in the First Committee. A synopsis of the statements made by many authoritative speakers would really be revealing. It would not require much time to notice that unanimity or near unanimity exists on one point at least, namely, that the anniversary of the first quarter of a century of the United Nations should not be an occasion for mere celebrations, but rather for rededication to the principles and the ideals of the Charter, for renewed and stronger commitment to build a universal order on the basis of the Charter.

40. From that premise one logical conclusion can be drawn: that is, that the preparations for the twenty-fifth anniversary must focus particularly upon the search for and the prescription of those remedies which can substantially contribute towards the strengthening of the United Nations.

41. The Italian proposal, which is included in annex I of the Preparatory Committee's report [A/7690], attempts to meet that requirement. Indeed, I believe that it is necessary to take into account the changes which have occurred on the international scene since the end of the Second World War. In fact, more than 70 countries have become Members of the United Nations and power groupings have been constituted. New centres of power in Europe and elsewhere have arisen. The United Nations must reflect those new realities.

42. In that connexion, I should like to recall a speech of General Carlos Romulo during the general debate, in which he stated:

"It is true that the purposes and principles of the Charter were, in a very real sense, written for the

ages—valid not only for this generation or the next, but also for the generations to follow. But the machinery and the methods for their realization were not meant to be immutable. After 24 years it is certainly necessary to scrutinize them closely and see how they may be made more useful and effective in our rapidly changing world." [1760th meeting, para. 65.]

43. That, in our judgement, is the line along which we should proceed. On the first day of the debate on this item [1788th meeting], we heard some encouraging openings in the remarks of the representative of the United States and two other permanent members of the Security Council. The Ambassador of Mexico, His Excellency Cuevas Cancino, in pertinent and far-sighted suggestions on the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice, outlines a real programme of action, a programme which would face, simultaneously and with well-inspired new political approaches, three of the major international problems today: the economic progress of the developing countries, the completion of the process of decolonization and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

44. I believe that the Ambassador's ideas would provide a solid basis on which we in the United Nations—"we, the workers for peace", to use the expression of the Secretary-General when he spoke yesterday in this hall on the fiftieth anniversary of ILO [1793rd meeting, para. 4]—could work out a meaningful programme of action for the next decade or so. We feel the approach of the Ambassador is very close to the idea of a global strategy for peace which we have proposed for the consideration of this Assembly and of the First Committee.

45. We are certainly aware of the difficulties inherent in a thorough reappraisal of the structure and functioning of the Organization and of the consequent process of readjustment and revision. Without ruling out a resort to the amendment procedures embodied in the Charter, we think that there is scope for improvement even in the present legal framework. On that point, I should like to recall the recent address of the Italian Foreign Minister to this Assembly. He stated *inter alia*:

"...appropriate solutions might already, to some extent, consist in a more functional interpretation and application of the Charter, in its present form, pending an opportunity to undertake the reforms which various other speakers have advocated before me. Thus, arrangements could be made for the constant participation in the Security Council of States which are capable of fully discharging the particular responsibilities deriving from membership in that body. This result could be achieved by implementing Article 23 of the Charter forthwith. By applying the same criteria and making a few changes in the rules of procedure, the functioning of this Assembly could be improved in order to ensure that its decisions are practical and effective as befits the prestige of a body responsible for the democratization of international life." [1783rd meeting, para. 43.]

46. We feel that the report and draft resolution [A/L.571] submitted for our approval should be interpreted and accepted in this spirit. At this stage I will not go through

them in detail, but I reserve the right to do so later if it appears necessary. I also reserve the right of my delegation to speak on draft resolution A/L.571/Rev.1 after it has been presented by its sponsors.

47. In this connexion, may I express my appreciation to the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Solomon, who has so eloquently introduced draft resolution A/L.571 on behalf of its sponsors, including his own and the Italian delegation?

48. What I should like to emphasize is that the report and draft resolution which I have just mentioned have our full support. For our part, we would have welcomed even more far-reaching conclusions, but I repeat, we give our full support to draft resolution A/L.571.

49. President Nixon, in his address at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, stated that "good words are not a substitute for hard deeds" [*1755th meeting, para. 45*]; and he added "in today's world there can be no stability without change" [*ibid., para. 46*].

50. We need action, resolute action, in which our common aim must be to adjust the United Nations to a reality which has evolved since 1945. Many speakers in the First Committee noted that international security is not a static concept and therefore an Organization whose primary role lies in the maintenance of peace and security cannot remain static; even less can it allow—to paraphrase Mr. Araujo Castro's penetrating remark—the freezing of the political and strategic framework of 1945. That is why we point out how highly important is the mandate that is to be entrusted to the Committee which the General Assembly is asked to set up—a mandate which should allow the broadest possible interpretation of paragraph 5 (c) of the draft resolution. On this point I support what Mr. Solomon has just said and express my sincere appreciation to him for having emphasized this particular paragraph.

51. Lord Caradon, having most convincingly advocated the convening of a youth world assembly [*1788th meeting*], warned that we would earn and deserve international contempt if we were to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations with stale oratory and empty ceremonies only. I fully share his opinion. The United Nations must face the challenge of a world in turmoil and live up to the expectations of a rising, impatient generation. Let us therefore be bold and not miss a unique opportunity for a great endeavour—for an objective appraisal of our shortcomings, a thorough revision of our machinery and working methods, and an earnest rededication to the principles of the Charter.

52. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation welcomes the constructive work of the Preparatory Committee and congratulates its Chairman, Mr. Akwei, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Franzi, for their effective and patient work and for the lucid report which they have produced.

53. The selection of "Peace and progress" as the theme of the anniversary was appropriate. Primary emphasis is thus placed, as it should be, on peace in order to make it, as the report suggests, "a starting-point of an endeavour to establish a durable peace" [*A/7690, para. 14*].

54. We also support the suggestion made by the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, that the year 1970 should be dedicated to the quest for peace and be declared a year for peace.

55. As we all know, the first and paramount concern of humanity is the avoidance of war and the establishment of an enduring peace with justice through the United Nations as provided in the Charter. Yet, after a quarter of a century of the existence of the United Nations, we have not even tried to do this in any co-ordinated or meaningful way.

56. As a result we find ourselves in a continuing and aggravated arms race, a nuclear arms race, and in the midst of growing violence, armed conflict and minor wars in all parts of the world, with the overhanging threat of a nuclear catastrophe that could be triggered by any escalation of those conflicts. The aspects of peace and security should therefore be given prominent consideration in any substantive work related to the anniversary.

57. Our Secretary-General has warned us that, according to information available to him as Secretary-General, the Members of the United Nations have:

"perhaps 10 years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts".

That statement² is also an indication concerning the work for the celebration of the United Nations anniversary.

58. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, a private organization, in its twentieth report, concerning the United Nations in the next 25 years, which merits serious attention, states:

"The challenge is political, economic and moral. War threatens in various areas of the world where armistice agreements have worn thin. Despite the more than 20 years of disarmament negotiations, . . . the race in both nuclear and conventional armaments continues and the arms budgets of the world are at their highest point." And the figures are quoted. "Many small nations spend a large portion of their budgets in armaments, diverting crucial sums from economic development and other important objectives."³

This is again an indication of what is the general feeling on the importance of international security, peace and disarmament in connexion with the theme of the anniversary.

59. The twenty-fifth anniversary, as was aptly pointed out by speakers who preceded me, is the occasion for self-examination in an effort for a new and more positive approach to world problems and for a more meaningful rededication to the Charter. The main purpose of the

² Given at the opening session of the Conference on "The Second United Nations Development Decade: A Challenge for Rich and Poor Countries" sponsored by the Institute On Man and Science and held at Headquarters on 9 May 1969.

³ Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, *The United Nations: The Next Twenty-five Years*, p. 7.

commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is, and should be, to strengthen the Organization morally and materially as a dynamic instrument for peace and progress in the world and as the only hope of mankind for survival.

60. Morally, the United Nations would be strengthened by its Members conforming with their obligations under the Charter, and by agreeing on measures necessary for the practical implementation of the provisions of the Charter and for the development of the Organization in a fast-developing world. Materially, it would be strengthened by providing the Organization with the means for its proper functioning, assisting and developing its finances, and for its general development through the strengthening of world security.

61. International peace and security should be maintained on a less fragile basis. To that end, we all agree that the principles of the Charter must actually be complied with, and we all know that the collective will of nations and peoples for co-operation is the essential element. At the same time, we may realize the practical need for facilitating the whole process of peace and security by providing the appropriate instrumentality under the Charter for the maintenance of peace through the United Nations and for the pacific settlement of disputes. We may thus want to take a closer look at the relevant articles of the Charter and adopt more determined and systematic measures towards their effective implementation through a strengthened United Nations. The primary purpose of the United Nations, contained in Article 1, paragraph 1, of the Charter, calls for, first, the maintenance of international peace and security through effective collective measures and, secondly, the peaceful settlement of international disputes in conformity with justice and law. Those two aspects of peace are referred to in one and the same article—Article 1.

62. Closely linked with those two interdependent subjects is the question of disarmament. These three matters should together form the subject of a special study with a view to exploring in an interrelated way the possibilities for their effective implementation. The occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations presents an opportunity for such a study. So far there has been no co-ordinated study of these three interdependent subjects in a meaningful effort to achieve the purposes of the Charter. Particularly with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes, no work has even been done independently to provide the necessary procedures and modalities to facilitate the practical application of the various means for the pacific settlement of disputes as listed in Article 33 of the Charter. This work should have been undertaken soon after the Charter came into force, and one would assume that there would have been no difficulties because of the cold war in applying those procedures.

63. In that regard, the report of the Preparatory Committee refers to a number of suggestions in paragraphs 18 and 19 for serious studies of the problems facing the Organization, and it lists first the three subjects mentioned above: disarmament, peace-keeping and collective security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. As is suggested in the said paragraphs, a relevant study might be undertaken by a committee of international experts or "wise men"

appointed by the Secretary-General. We believe that the setting up of such a study group during this session would be a constructive contribution towards a more substantive commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary.

64. Decolonization and human rights present another important aspect of our problems. The vestiges of colonialism and the practice of *apartheid* in southern Africa ought not to be allowed to continue. This problem can be fully dealt with in connexion with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which appropriately coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. At the same time full consideration should also be given to the Second United Nations Development Decade beginning next year and the relevant development strategy.

65. On the aspect of international law, the special committees dealing with the relevant subjects could be urged to exert special efforts to expedite their work with a view to its completion on the occasion of the anniversary. We have to remember that in order to have security and peace we must have a legal order. Therefore the legal arm of the United Nations must be strengthened.

66. These are some of the main problems that have to be considered in a realistic setting of goals for the coming decade or for the next 25 years of the United Nations. The difficulties and obstacles with which any or all of these problems are beset can provide no reason for hesitation or for a lessening of the urge towards those goals. On the contrary, the greater the difficulty the greater should be the urge, particularly as the obstacles usually spring from parochial concepts that are gradually, we hope, fading away; nor should such difficulties provide the convenient excuse that the effort is unrealistic. In a world that is now rapidly developing, what is often called unrealistic is precisely the reverse; it is the true realism of adjustment to a rapidly changing world. As the representative of the United States, Mr. Yost, pertinently remarked in his forward-looking statement, there is "greater danger from the kind of realism that makes for excessive caution and timidity than in a bold approach which offers the only hope of meeting successfully the challenges that face us". [1788th meeting, para. 43.]

67. Lastly, the growing problem of pollution, which involves the slow but inexorable deterioration of man's natural environment, affecting his health, happiness and very life, should be given specific consideration. It is a new problem, not yet sufficiently grasped or understood in its magnitude, its potential and its dire implications. It is a national and at the same time an international and a world problem. It should be emphasized on every occasion and we hope it will not be ignored on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

68. Reference to this problem is made in the concluding statement made at the Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, held in Quebec from 22 to 27 June 1969 under the auspices of the Stanley Foundation. The relevant paragraph on pollution runs as follows:

"The natural environment provides an opportunity for a vital new United Nations role. Pollution is a growing

problem, but the threat is matched by the growing public demand for clean air and water. International action is required because most forms of pollution cross national boundaries, and because nations which act against pollution could suffer economic disadvantages if other nations fail to act.

"We commend the United Nations General Assembly for calling a Conference on the Human Environment in 1972. We urge prompt planning and research so that the Conference can take decisive action.

"The Conference should draft and submit to the nations an international convention on clean air, clean water and other aspects of the human environment which require international protection."⁴

69. We welcome the references in the report of the Preparatory Committee to the participation of youth in the commemoration of the anniversary. Perhaps the one significant and hopeful occurrence in recent world developments has been the emergence of the youth movement. This young generation was born and brought up in a United Nations age and a space age. These young people instinctively sense that the corollary of instantaneous global communication and space travel is human brotherhood, not as a mere ideal but as a natural condition of life. They can realize that the humanistic ethic is indivisible and requires a common approach to human problems at all levels. They are instinctively more ready to adapt themselves to the moral imperatives of the present nuclear and space age. They can thus impart a new spirit to our generation—a new spirit which comes to a world finding itself in bewilderment and confusion by the suddenness of the technological break-through and the rapidity of change.

70. We support the convening of a United Nations youth assembly by the United Nations, preferably at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York, where youth would be closely acquainted with the work of the United Nations and with the significance of the Organization as a dynamic instrument for world peace and security as well as peaceful change in the developing world. They could see from close quarters the difficulties that the Organization encounters in achieving its main purposes—that of eliminating the dangers of war and establishing a stable peace. Thus they could understand how they could constructively co-operate with the United Nations and become its allies in an effort to realize the purposes of the Charter.

71. The proposed United Nations youth assembly would offer youth an occasion for imaginative thinking and positive action in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. It might also provide the opportunity for youth to be organized on an international level so that its youthful enthusiasm and dynamism might be constructively channelled to strengthen the United Nations in its endeavours to achieve a new world of justice, harmony and peace.

72. With regard to the draft resolution that has just been submitted by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Ambassador Solomon [A/L.571], I reserve my position until I have had the opportunity of studying it.

73. Mr. NAGY (Hungary): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations on its hard and fruitful work in assembling and putting into shape the different ideas and suggestions of Member States concerning this important item on our agenda. As the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Ambassador Akwei, said in his introduction [1788th meeting], the hard work resulted in a short but comprehensive report [A/7690] which, in our opinion also, is a good basis for establishing proper and common procedures on mutually accepted principles.

74. The Hungarian Government attaches due importance to the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. Twenty-five years is a rather short period in history, but it can be a significant milestone in the life of a nation as well as that of the community of nations. It is especially so with regard to the past 25 years, during which the face of the world has substantially changed.

75. Nineteen hundred and seventy will be an important milestone for my country and its people, as it will then be 25 years since Hungary became free and independent, reborn from the flames and horrors of the Second World War. The main burden of liberating my country from Fascist oppression was borne by the Soviet Union. Thousands of monuments erected to the memory of the fallen heroes and thousands of graves throughout Hungary mark the enormous sacrifices of the Soviet Army while driving the Hitlerite invaders and their lackeys out of Hungary. Also buried in Hungarian soil are sons of the other allied nations and other countries, as well as the best sons of our own people, who have laid down their lives in the fight against the dark forces of fascism and for the best causes man can ever have—freedom and peace—the very same ideas upon which the United Nations was established and its Charter drawn up almost 25 years ago.

76. I do not wish to take up much time in enumerating the losses and destruction suffered by the Hungarian people during the Second World War. However, I wish to emphasize that, ever since the end of the Second World War, including the years when my country was prevented from joining the United Nations, the Hungarian people has always attached primary importance to the strengthening of international peace and security and to all the lofty ideas laid down in the Charter. We cannot but agree with the representative of the United Kingdom and others who said that the problems of the United Nations do not at all derive from its Charter.

77. We need only read the Charter to recognize the truth of that statement. The Charter leaves neither doubt nor misunderstanding as regards the purposes of the United Nations. Yet, there are States Members of this Organization which act in flagrant violation of those purposes, defy the resolutions of the highest organs of the United Nations, commit armed aggression, and advocate and practise racial discrimination.

78. We are of the opinion that it is in this that the real and fundamental problems of the United Nations at present lie and, therefore, we add our voice and consent to those who said earlier in this debate that the twenty-fifth anniversary

⁴ The Stanley Foundation, *Fourth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade*, p. 13.

of the United Nations should be a time for rededication and redetermination to observe more strictly the principles of the Charter.

79. The Hungarian Government, in its communication to the Preparatory Committee, expressed its opinion as follows:

"The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is an excellent opportunity for this large community of nations to initiate definite and comprehensive measures to do away with the existing hotbeds of war, to stave off the danger of nuclear war, and to realize general and complete disarmament as soon as possible.

"...

"The Hungarian People's Republic, now as before, is ready to support an initiative aimed at thwarting the danger of nuclear war and at realizing general and complete disarmament.

"... The Hungarian People's Republic supports any noble motion made on this occasion for the total liquidation of the vestiges of the colonial system, for the complete enforcement of the universality of the Organization, for the advancement of the developing countries, for the general assertion of human rights." [A/7690, annex I.]

It is exactly in that spirit that my Government approaches the item on our agenda.

80. It augurs well for next year's celebrations that one of the most important items on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly aims at the strengthening of international security. My delegation is of the opinion that the prompt acceptance and realization of the proposal of the Soviet Union on this subject [A/7654] would create a very favourable framework for and give a clear guideline to the celebrations in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. That would also help us avoid the mistake of paying only lip service to the United Nations, the danger of which has been brought to our attention by many delegations during this debate and would contribute a great deal to the further strengthening of the principles laid down in the Charter. We would mislead ourselves and the people of the world, and we would create wrong and dangerous illusions, if we tried to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary without strengthening international security, without making serious efforts to do away with the roots of the shortcomings of our Organization.

81. The views and suggestions of the Hungarian Government with regard to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations are contained in the report of the Preparatory Committee [ibid.]. Some of our suggestions have met with the general consent of the Preparatory Committee; others have not. Of course, my delegation would have been glad to see all our suggestions accepted, but I am fully aware that the need for the broadest possible consensus on this important question demands a certain degree of compromise. My delegation has examined the report and recommendations of the Committee in this spirit. Though

we have reservations about the feasibility and usefulness of one or two recommendations, we are of the opinion that the report of the Committee, as a whole, forms a good basis on which to make the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary an effective and forward-looking one. My delegation agrees to the form of the commemorative session of the General Assembly proposed by the Committee, including the participation of as many Heads of State or Government as possible. We regret, however, that in its report the Preparatory Committee was unable to pay due attention to the universal character of the United Nations and to the serious shortcomings that result from the non-acceptance of that principle by some Member States.

82. Finally, I should like to emphasize that my delegation is ready to study the draft resolutions submitted to us with great care, in the understanding that the resolutions we finally arrive at must serve the realities and ideas in which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be commemorated.

83. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): At the outset, I should like to express my delegation's most sincere thanks to Ambassador Akwei, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, and to the other members of the Committee for the assiduous, conscientious and masterly work they have done in preparing the report submitted to us [A/7690]. The Committee's report and the draft resolution contained in document A/L.571, sponsored by 33 States, and so eloquently presented by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, deserve the very careful consideration of all Member States.

84. Before discussing specific points contained in the papers before us, I should like to touch briefly upon the way in which we view the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

85. It must be admitted that, despite the significant contributions made by the United Nations to the cause of international peace and security during the past 24 years, there is nevertheless a widespread feeling, both within the United Nations and outside it, that this Organization has not entirely lived up to what was expected of it by the authors of the Charter of the United Nations. This feeling has produced a sense of frustration, and we note the trend of the gradual decline of the United Nations in the eyes of public opinion, as the President of the General Assembly so aptly put it in her opening remarks to this session [1753rd meeting]. It would then be quite unbecoming in the eyes of world public opinion if we were to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations simply as a joyful occasion without seriously reflecting upon our past achievements and failures, and without renewed determination to improve our performance in the future.

86. In this sense, I am greatly encouraged to note that there is a wide consensus in this respect, as expressed in the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, and incorporated in the second preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/L.571 as follows:

"... the anniversary should be an occasion to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective

by reaffirming the faith of Governments and peoples in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and renewing their endeavours to give them full effect . . .”.

87. It was in the same spirit that the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Kiichi Aichi, said, in his statement in the general debate on 19 September 1969:

“On the occasion of this anniversary, it may be highly useful to reflect upon the areas in which the United Nations has failed, during these 25 years, to achieve what was originally expected of it, to define the future direction which it should follow and, at the same time, to review the Charter of the United Nations for the purpose of ensuring a more effective functioning of the Organization.” [1756th meeting, para. 31.]

88. In this regard, it was suggested by the Foreign Minister that, in order to make the functioning of the General Assembly and the Security Council more effective, we might examine questions such as whether the composition of the Security Council and its method of voting should remain the same as originally established and whether the powers of the General Assembly should be enlarged and expressly provided for in the Charter. At the same time, Foreign Minister Aichi also emphasized the need for the better co-ordination of the work of the United Nations and its related agencies in the field of economic and social development.

89. It is therefore the considered view of my delegation that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be made a significant occasion to mark a new beginning for our efforts—renewed and determined efforts to seek ways and means of strengthening the functions of the United Nations, including a review of the United Nations Charter.

90. It was with these considerations in mind that my delegation studied the draft resolution. We welcome the forward-looking stand it takes, and support its tenor. However, I should like to make a few comments on specific provisions of this document.

91. The first of my comments concerns paragraph 5 of the draft resolution regarding the mandate of a committee to be established for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. According to the draft resolution, this Committee would be entrusted with

“(a) Drawing up and co-ordinating plans for the anniversary;

“(b) Organizing suitable activities for the anniversary, to be undertaken by the United Nations, in the light of the report of the Preparatory Committee;

“(c) Considering proposals and suggestions, in relation to the twenty-fifth anniversary, for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations”.

92. In the view of my delegation, the last-mentioned task is considerably different in nature from the other two tasks to be undertaken by the Committee, and, when combined

with that of preparing a suitable text for a final document, as stipulated in paragraph 6 of the draft, it would constitute work of considerable substantive importance in which, I am sure, many delegations, including mine, would take an active interest.

93. In order to enable these delegations which are interested in the question of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations to participate in this important undertaking, the possibility of enlarging the membership of that Committee might be considered. If, on the other hand, the Committee is only to be empowered, by paragraph 5 (c) of the draft resolution, to undertake a mere procedural task of gathering and compiling proposals and suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations, my delegation has no particular objection to this paragraph, although in the view of my delegation it may later become necessary to establish some other suitable organ to study the substance of this important matter. In the event of such an organ being established, the Japanese delegation would wish to participate in it together with other interested delegations.

94. I make this comment because I wish to emphasize the need for all of us very thoroughly to study this question of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations, as my Government attaches great importance to this particular aspect of activities for the anniversary.

95. A second point of my comments relates to paragraph 16 of the draft resolution. In principle, my delegation has no objection to including a paragraph which is intended to expedite ratification of, or accession to, a number of multilateral instruments which have been adopted, endorsed or supported by the United Nations. However, it might be questioned whether it is the intention of the paragraph that Member States should be asked, as the present wording of the paragraph could imply, to consider ratification or accession even in cases of certain international conventions which were adopted by the United Nations with only a handful of Member States voting in favour and by far the greater majority abstaining. It would be more reasonable to interpret this paragraph to include only those instruments which have been adopted, endorsed or supported by “an overwhelming majority”.

96. Finally, I should like to mention that various activities are now being considered in Japan to commemorate the anniversary on a national level. Japan, for its part, is prepared to do its utmost in the pursuit of our common ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is the strong hope of my delegation that the twenty-fifth anniversary will mark a decisive step in the history of the United Nations as a new starting point for our search for advancement towards the road to everlasting peace.

97. Mr. OTEMA ALLIMADI (Uganda): It is useful that as we consider the question of how best to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we should grasp the real importance of such an occasion. The celebration should afford us a great opportunity of looking at our Organization critically and sincerely with a view to using the wisdom of hindsight to correct much that needs to be corrected. Of course, the twenty-fifth anniversary should provide an occasion for self-congratulation where we

deserve some; but much more important it should be an occasion for soul-searching and a fresh rededication to the spirit of the Charter.

98. In its 24 years, the United Nations has, to a good extent, performed well. The very fact that it has endured so long testifies to the fact that it is a machine made with precision to serve certain ends. On matters of international peace and security, it has tried to bring the force of the Charter to bear on certain situations. The results have not always satisfied everybody, but some semblance of peace has nevertheless been maintained. For our part, as one of the relatively new Members in the Organization, we appreciate the role the United Nations played in our own interests.

99. When, after its independence, my country joined the United Nations in 1962, for instance, we found a disproportionate representation here of African States. Today, hardly seven years later, the ratio has shifted and the African States taken as a bloc are a majority. This resulted from the collapse of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere thanks to the contribution of the United Nations in this area. We all look back to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as a document of a momentous impact, not only in the annals of this Organization but also of history. Africa is probably the greatest beneficiary of this Declaration. We can all look back and say justifiably that that was work well done. For us in Africa, and certainly for my country, that is an occasion which deserves celebrating.

100. In matters of general international security, we have similarly witnessed a tendency towards improved normalization of the situation. What more can be done to normalize international relations further must result from our total commitment to the Charter, both collectively and individually.

101. There is, of course, no peace without economic development. This Organization must, in appreciating that axiom, move in the coming 25 years in the direction of correcting the imbalances in trade and economic development between the countries in the "have" and those in the "have-not" camps. The medium of UNCTAD, for instance, must continue to provide members of the Organization with a forum where the discrepancies in economic relations between the rich and the poor countries can be aired. Trade is still unfairly conducted in favour of the developed countries which continue to treat the developing countries as sources of raw materials and no more. These are discrepancies which are not conducive to peace; and my delegation hopes that the post-silver jubilee of the United Nations will greatly reduce the tendency to indulge in dreary repetition of insipid propaganda which has been the outstanding characteristic of the first 25 years of United Nations existence, and instead move head-on to work for peace through economic progress.

102. The most serious question which will face our Organization in the coming 25 years is that of decolonization. Today, 24 years after the Charter of the United Nations was signed, and nine years after the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the problem of decolonization is still a serious one.

Indeed, my Foreign Minister, speaking at this rostrum during the twenty-third session of this Assembly [1706th meeting], remarked that the problem of decolonization, especially in southern Africa, has just begun. The impasse is getting harder to overcome as a result of a lack of a political will of Member States of our Organization to undertake a meaningful collective action to rectify the situation. Such impasses have not only frustrated Member States of this Organization, but have also appropriately evoked doubts in the minds of many, especially those in need of their human rights, as to whether this Organization is still a repository of their confidence. It would be appropriate if the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations could go part of the way towards removing the crisis of confidence now prevailing in our Organization, especially in the minds of those in greater need of freedom.

103. I have said already that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be a time to reflect on how to strengthen world peace. I want to qualify that a little here. Our Organization has had a great deal of preoccupation with the maintenance of a façade of international peace. My delegation is not against peace. However, I maintain that peace is a function of a greater entity which is freedom. People who are not free cannot be peaceful. Any peace that can be observed among people who are not free is simply fear on the one hand and, on the other hand, a strategy by them to regroup their forces so as to be able to strike better at the forces of the *status quo*. It is thus a false peace. I suggest that, in commemorating the silver jubilee of our Organization, not only should we resolve to rededicate ourselves to the search for peace, but our Organization should decide that peace can be achieved only if it is sought in freedom for all men. For freedom takes precedence over peace.

104. Unfortunately, we have seen all too frequently that the United Nations, especially in dealing with the question of colonialism in southern Africa, is far more disposed to see a semblance of peace rather than a temporary dislocation of the *status quo* which would give way to a more durable peace with freedom. Unless the United Nations in the coming years rededicates itself to work for the freedom of all men, all its efforts to maintain peace will be in vain.

105. Another question which my delegation would like to see tackled realistically as we prepare for the twenty-fifth year of our Organization is the one of the universality of this Organization. The Charter of our Organization foresees a willingness by Member States to accommodate social systems different from their own. The time has now come to translate this ideal into reality in the foreseeable future. Accordingly, my delegation hopes for a change of heart, a willingness by some of us to subdue our biases and permit the universal representation of all States in our Organization. Only through such a new posture can international peaceful coexistence, which is one of the essential prerequisites for international security, be achieved.

106. Another important question touching upon international security is the one of the equality of States. We all recognize the parity in international law of all countries, big and small. We also recognize that as a result of this equality all States are interdependent. Interdependence should permit collective action in tackling questions of peace and

security. Unfortunately, it has long been the common practice for the big Powers to assume the attitude of "Big Brother knows best". They have tried to convince themselves and others that the task of preserving international peace is their prerogative alone, and that all other States must be made to toe the line. Much as my delegation encourages bilateral talks between the big Powers, when circumstances permit, I should like in future to see such talks resulting in agreements that truly reflect the sentiments of Member States of this Organization. The habit of big Powers presenting small Powers with faits accomplis is incompatible with the spirit of the Charter as well as international law and equity. I hope very earnestly that in the coming years we shall see complete respect for all views in this Organization.

107. In regard to the question of participation by youth in the coming celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization, my delegation believes that, if that were found necessary by this body, such a gathering of youth would be useful only if it were truly universal. We should endeavour to keep the biases of the past generation from contaminating the generation of tomorrow.

108. To conclude, my delegation endorses the recommendations contained in the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. My delegation also endorses fully the view of the Secretary-General as expressed in his annual report on the work of the Organization that the best way of celebrating the occasion in question is by rededicating ourselves to the ideals of the Charter. Only by rededicating our efforts to the achievement of international security, self-determination and freedom of all men can the Organization look forward to a long period of success and peace in the world.

109. Mr. RESICH (Poland) (*translated from French*): The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should not be only an occasion for holding celebrations and for offering congratulations. This important and great anniversary should mobilize all the Members of the United Nations to take practical steps to strengthen the Organization and to determine what are the most important tasks in the present world situation. The Polish delegation is therefore in complete agreement with the Secretary-General, when he states in the Introduction to his annual report:

"I feel very strongly that the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary should not be ceremonial, but substantive. All organs of the United Nations should, in my view, make a special effort to reach specific agreement on such major issues before the world Organization as development, peace-keeping, disarmament, decolonization and friendly relations among nations" [*A/7501/Add.1, para. 207*].

110. The action of the nations which were united in the common struggle against aggression and nazism led to the establishment of the United Nations. Twenty-four years ago the nations of the world, united in their determination to prevent a repetition of the monstrous crimes which are engendered by any form of racial hatred or desire to settle disputes and differences by war and other acts of aggression, decided to establish the United Nations.

111. I should like, at this point, to recall that the causes and purposes for which the United Nations was established are closely linked with the tragic history of the Polish people, one of the first victims of Hitlerite aggression. That is why Poland was among the founding Members of the Organization, although it did not participate in the San Francisco Conference.⁵

112. The authority and importance of the United Nations during its 24 years of existence have increased as the Organization has successfully resolved questions of great importance for the general progress of mankind. Such, for example, is the nature of one issue currently under discussion, the call for a strengthening of collective security [*see A/7654*]. We hope that the United Nations will also settle this question successfully.

113. The Polish delegation shares the view of a number of other delegations that the preparations for this anniversary should concentrate on certain issues of prime importance which are awaiting solution within the framework of the United Nations. Our concrete and practical approach to the preparatory work for this twenty-fifth anniversary is based on our faith in the great and positive role of the United Nations in the solution of present and future world problems. If signs of frustration of a sort have been observed—as has been mentioned here—its cause is mainly to be found, not in our Organization, but in a lack of goodwill, in patent or latent refusal to implement the decisions, declarations and conventions adopted by the United Nations. It is precisely that attitude which must be eliminated, although this does not rule out the need to pursue our efforts to improve the functioning of the United Nations.

114. Desiring to make a practical contribution to the preparations of the work programme of the United Nations for 1970, the Polish Government formulated its position and set out basic principles for the preparation of the twenty-fifth anniversary in its letter of 29 November 1968 addressed to the Secretary-General. The Polish delegation would like to express its thanks to the Preparatory Committee for its efforts, the results of which are to be found in the report submitted to the General Assembly [*A/7690*], in the form of suggestions and recommendations.

115. We believe that this report constitutes a sound basis for the future work of the Preparatory Committee. In particular, we should like to express our gratification that a number of suggestions made by States which are not members of the Preparatory Committee have been taken into consideration by that Committee.

116. On the eve of its first quarter century, the United Nations must find answers to two basic questions. First, on what primary problems of the contemporary world should it concentrate its efforts so as not to disperse its means and strength and so that it can move forward with the spirit of the times and of progress? Secondly, what measures should be taken to ensure that United Nations decisions and declarations, which are the common property of mankind, are applied effectively by all countries?

⁵ United Nations Conference on International Organization, held from 25 April to 26 June 1945.

117. Starting from this principle, we are of the opinion that first and foremost among these fundamental problems is the question of application of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. Wishing to increase the efficiency of the Organization's work, the Secretary-General, in the Introduction to his annual report, addressed a strong appeal to all Member States in which he recognized that the time had come to settle that urgent problem. Allow me to quote from his very important appeal, which is addressed to all of us:

"Year after year, I have drawn attention to the need for the United Nations to make progress towards universality of membership as soon as possible" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 195].

Further on the Secretary-General states:

"I feel that somehow this problem should be resolved in the near future in the interest of the greater effectiveness of the United Nations" *[ibid.]*.

118. We believe that the Preparatory Committee is in a position to make specific recommendations to ensure that all countries wishing to do so may participate in the commemorative session of the General Assembly. The twenty-fifth anniversary provides a good opportunity for application of the principle of universality.

119. Another fundamental problem is the adoption of practical steps aimed at general disarmament. The United Nations is founded on the principles of peace and the peaceful coexistence of peoples. But ideas and principles are not enough. It is essential that they be applied. The most direct path to this goal is through conferences on peace and general disarmament.

120. The Polish delegation hopes that the commemorative year will be an additional stimulus which will speed up work in this field in the various Committees. Closely connected with this issue is the question of preparation of the economic development programme for the Second United Nations Development Decade. On this vital issue, we believe that the United Nations must take specific steps to eliminate all forms of discrimination and other obstacles to the development of international trade. This question should be included among the priority matters to be dealt with in the preparatory work for the commemorative session. The discriminatory measures applied by certain countries or groups of countries in trade and in their economic relations and exchanges are among the most important factors impeding economic and social progress.

121. One of the most serious issues is the need for complete liquidation of colonialism and action to prevent its reappearance in a new form: the birth of racist organizations in the territories of former colonies.

122. The United Nations has written a splendid chapter in the history of mankind by adopting a number of historic texts concerning the freedom of peoples and of individuals.

123. The great victories in the field of human rights and in the struggle of peoples for independence have been made possible by the efforts of the socialist countries in the

United Nations and by the alliance of peoples inspired with a desire to achieve the full realization of these noble purposes.

124. The neo-Nazi forces are threatening the security of mankind and our Organization must take more effective action in this regard. The current work on documents such as the draft appeal for the strengthening of international security *[see A/7654]*, the draft declaration on peaceful relations among peoples, and the draft declaration on social progress and development *[see A/7698]* is therefore of all the more importance. Also of importance is the work on the development of humanitarian international law, the work on the dangers of a revival of racism and neo-nazism and other work relating to fundamental human rights.

125. In its suggestions to the Preparatory Committee, the Polish delegation has put forward, as one of the most important problems confronting the Organization, the formulation of a programme covering the purposes and tasks of the United Nations in the field of the development of the younger generation. These purposes and tasks should, however, be defined with the direct participation of democratic and progressive youth organizations. Youth will contribute a great deal to making United Nations programmes in all fields more up to date and more in line with reality, and particularly to laying down specific obligations in the struggle for peace against the imperialist and colonialist forces. The sound suggestion to hold a world youth assembly should be warmly supported, account being taken, of course, of the fact that the representatives of progressive youth organizations would take an active part in the preparatory work for such an assembly.

126. During the 25 years of its existence, the United Nations has adopted sound and admirable declarations and conventions. A large number of them have been implemented in practice and are influencing the formation of systems of law, political systems and social progress in the contemporary world. However, we must not ignore the fact that too many countries have not yet acceded to these conventions and that many declarations have not yet been put into practice. For this reason, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the appeal made to all States to speed up the ratification and implementation of the instruments adopted by the General Assembly. The stock of goodwill which the United Nations has won for itself during the last 25 years will be all the greater if the decisions of its organs are put into effect promptly and effectively.

127. Among the means for securing implementation of United Nations decisions, a second and important one is action to ensure the efficiency of the executive, supervisory and co-ordinating bodies of the United Nations system. The competent commissions and committees of the United Nations are now preparing a number of important recommendations in this field. We believe that the Preparatory Committee will study these suggestions as carefully as the priority questions, for the United Nations is becoming such a vast organization that, if its executive organs do not function efficiently, economically and rationally, its programmes cannot achieve their purposes.

128. In conclusion, I should like to emphasize on behalf of the Polish delegation that the twenty-fifth anniversary of

the United Nations will provide an opportunity for drawing up a huge balance-sheet of the objectives attained by the peoples and for determining the prospects for future development. It is also a marvellous opportunity to strengthen the idea of peace and collective security. It will give a powerful impetus to progress and development, both economic and social, which should lead to the total abolition of poverty and hunger, and to the elimination of the gap between poor and rich nations.

129. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): I will be very brief in stating the views of my delegation on the important question before us, which indeed pervades the whole scope of this General Assembly. The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations calls for a necessary reappraisal of the whole structure and functioning of our Organization.

130. To the benefit of this Assembly, the winds of renewal should begin to blow. We derive an element of satisfaction from the realization that there is a certain tendency in the United Nations towards its *aggiornamento* and I hope this tendency will grow stronger and stronger to the point of becoming an irresistible movement for renovation.

131. Perhaps the difficulties we are facing now, the doubts that weigh heavily upon us, the disappointments and frustrations many of us feel, are an inevitable stage of the growth process. Let us hope that our Organization will emerge strengthened from the process.

132. The delegation of Brazil has examined, with all due care and interest, the draft resolution on the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations [A/L.571] and the report of the Preparatory Committee [A/7690]. We wish to state our appreciation of the commendable work of the Committee. We agree that 24 October 1970 should mark a high point in the celebration at United Nations Headquarters, but we likewise feel that we should commemorate 26 June as well, and that Geneva should have a part in the programmed activities and appropriately concentrate on a survey of achievements and perspectives in the economic and social field. The general debate itself could be partially dedicated to the celebration of the anniversary. My delegation agrees with the suggestion that on 24 October, we could proceed with the signing of the solemn declaration, each country being represented by a Chief of State or Head of Government, a Minister or other special representative at the highest diplomatic level.

133. As far as the contents of the declaration is concerned, my delegation feels that balance is all important, and that no special emphasis should be given to the interests of any group. By this I do not mean that particular points should be neglected, but I wish us all to be aware that there is a danger that the declaration might become so vague that it might lose its impact. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that the declaration should consist essentially of a reaffirmation of the principles of the Charter and that it should reflect the theses that are today intended to assure the interests of all Member States, that is, peace, security and co-operation for development.

134. On the other hand, we lend our support to the basic idea that guided the work of the Committee and is reflected

in the text presented to the Assembly. We also believe that the silver jubilee of the United Nations must be something more than an ordinary festivity. This does not mean that we should play down the festive aspect of the commemoration, which is justified, despite the grave problems afflicting most of humanity, and even in the face of the fear and insecurity that now plague all nations. We will be celebrating 25 years of effort dedicated to the settlement of conflicting interests which, wrongly or rightly, are considered vital by each one of the parties or groups involved. For 25 years we have endeavoured to attain this goal in the general interest of mankind, in keeping with the spirit of the Charter which we have all solemnly pledged ourselves to respect.

135. The task is not an easy one. That is why the results we have so far achieved and the fact that we are still willing to keep on trying are well worth a celebration. However, the festivities can only be justified by the existence of the political determination expressed in the draft resolution before us that we avail ourselves of this anniversary as the occasion to renew the pledge that many of us took in San Francisco and others joined in subsequent years. We renew that pledge not only by making a declaration of principles—which is, of course, a *sine qua non*—but also by adopting effective measures to prove our determination to keep on fighting and to ascertain that we have firmly founded hopes that our objectives can be achieved.

136. Such hopes are expressed in the draft resolution, which invites the younger generation to take an active part in our commemorations. That appeal can be open to different interpretations. One of them is to show our recognition that the youth of today, in addition to its numerical importance, is—unlike its predecessors—fully determined to take part in political and social life as a definite and distinct group—as a group yet lacking in formal responsibilities and acquired interests, not only concerned with present-day problems but even more worried about the heritage they are to receive, individually and collectively, when they come into the political and social arena as adults.

137. It is only right that the United Nations should wish to approach that group, to listen to them, and even to make them cognizant of the magnitude of the problems with which they in their turn will eventually have to deal. It will be up to them to continue the work we have started. Very shortly the responsibility for decisions will be theirs and they should be prepared to bear the burden of that responsibility.

138. Under the terms of the draft resolution, the United Nations implicitly recognizes the right of youth to express its viewpoints on the problems of peace and world progress, which is to say, on the most important problems the Organization has to face.

139. Under such circumstances, would not the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly be a suitable opportunity of reaffirming in a concrete and objective way our faithfulness to the principles of the Charter concerning the sovereign equality of all nations? Would not the General Assembly present the proper occasion to restore the General Assembly's right to debate the more serious problems which represent our gravest concerns?

140. Next year we intend to grant to the young the consideration they deserve with regard to their current concerns and future responsibilities. I believe that it would be advisable to profit by that hopeful move in order to re-establish all Member States, without consideration of size, wealth and power, in their status as full adults, not only because of their vital concerns and existing responsibilities, but so as to be faithful to the terms and spirit of the Charter.

141. For that appeal to youth to make any sense, other measures are called for since, among other things, it does not seem logical to ask for a renewal of the human elements of the Organization by the absorption of the upcoming generation if we do not at the same time, with the same interest and enthusiasm, occupy ourselves with a feasible and very necessary rejuvenation of the Charter.

142. As I have had the opportunity of stating elsewhere, and as other representatives have stated on several occasions, the twenty-fifth anniversary is a propitious and suitable time to face the problem of the necessary revision of the Charter. If it does not incorporate the changes, the problems and the achievements which have accumulated in 25 years, that document will not be in any condition to meet the goals it was intended for, nor to translate faithfully into reality the lofty principles it contains. I also wish to point out that a document to which all Member States contribute, and not just those who were present in San Francisco in 1945, will at least, for obvious psychological reasons, carry much more weight.

143. We could not wish for a better opportunity of taking the process of revising the Charter than that afforded by the next General Assembly. In 1970, in addition to celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we will be celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and we will begin the Second United Nations Development Decade. In order that 1970 may truly be called the "Year of peace" and the theme "Peace and progress" may have true full meaning, something more remains to be done. The year 1970 must mark the solemn and effective reaffirmation of the principle of sovereign equality for all nations. It must signify the closing of the existing gap between nuclear, industrialized nations on the one hand, and non-nuclear, non-developed nations on the other; between powerful and non-powerful nations; considered respectively as reliable and non-reliable, as adult and non-adult nations. There could be nothing more promising—in the sense of activating the principle of sovereign equality among nations, a principle that is a basic condition for world peace and progress—than our initiating the process which will lead to the revision of the Charter.

144. The Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations has received and put on record numerous ideas to infuse the Organization with new energy and numerous suggestions, some commendable, to open up new paths and avenues for the United Nations. We all aim at giving new hope to mankind, new reasons for each man to believe in the principles and purposes of an international order, based solely on justice and equality for all. It would indeed be tragic if we, the representatives of the peoples of the world, should fail in this endeavour—and time is running short.

145. All the programmes and declarations being considered to mark properly the quarter of a century of this Organization would be a futile and meaningless exercise if we failed to convey to our peoples the feeling that justice, not force, equality, not sheer power, security, not violence, are the goals and the guiding ideas, the very basis of the sound international order we are trying to establish. There is no more persuasive, more direct way of regaining the confidence of the world in our Organization than to pledge our support to its basic ideals of peace among nations and justice among men.

146. The United Nations is not a sure pledge of world peace. It cannot even guarantee the territorial integrity and security of its Members. The Organization has not yet been able to escape the corollaries of power politics that assured its founding in 1945, and its operations on a more or less precarious basis in the 24 years since its creation. It is the only valid option in the common fight for peace and international security. For that reason we will have to preserve it and work to strengthen it. The maintenance costs of this Organization are minor in comparison with the risks we would run if it were no longer with us. Even if we consider the expense a heavy burden from the accountant's point of view, we must remember the Secretary-General's admonition in April last year: just one day's fighting in Viet-Nam costs the parties to the conflict more than the total annual budget of the United Nations. Numbers and ciphers then speak less eloquently and less gloomily than the dangers that would threaten us.

147. The United Nations may represent only a tenuous and very slender hope for peace, but there is no other hope.

148. Mrs. SCHOUWENAAR-FRANSEN (Netherlands): The occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations demands reflection more than retrospection, a look into the future rather than a view over the shoulder, as the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Solomon, pointed out to us in his introduction of the draft resolution at the beginning of this meeting.

149. With this in mind, my delegation takes this opportunity of expressing some opinions on a number of elements which should constitute the basis of our celebrations.

150. The report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [A/7690] contains numerous contributions and worth-while suggestions. We are indebted to the members of that Committee for their untiring efforts to combine all these proposals into a single document which may serve as a guideline. In particular, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Akwei. We are most grateful for his introductory statement [1788th meeting] which pointed to the direction we should follow. In doing this, however, the representative of Ghana also made it clear that a choice had to be made between a great number of divergent suggestions and proposals. It is clear, therefore, that the result obtained is a combination, and perhaps no more than a distillation, of all those proposals.

151. In the draft resolution now before us [A/L.571] a number of significant additions have been formulated. To

my delegation, it seems wise and sensible for the Preparatory Committee, at this stage of its activities, to yield to a committee for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations as proposed.

152. For a delegation that has not had the privilege of participating in the arduous task of the Preparatory Committee, it may seem presumptuous to voice an opinion at all on the results achieved. On the other hand, we attach so much importance to the object of the celebration that we venture to come forth with some remarks, and we present these remarks in the spirit of the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, which states that the General Assembly is convinced "that the twenty-fifth anniversary should be an occasion to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective by reaffirming the faith of Governments and peoples in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and renewing their endeavours to give them full effect", as Mr. Vinci of Italy so ably pointed out this morning.

153. One of the most important and worth-while issues now before the Assembly is the preparation for the Second United Nations Development Decade. This common effort of developed and developing nations may well be a programme that will shape the relationship among the entire membership for years to come. As the beginning of this new decennium coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary, my delegation has taken note with great satisfaction of paragraph 8 of the draft resolution distributed this morning. I quote:

"... to consider during the early part of the twenty-fifth session the draft of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade with a view to having it adopted during the commemorative session."

154. In the field of law, another effort is presently being undertaken to develop friendly relations and co-operation among States. I refer to the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, which is preparing a declaration elaborating upon the seven basic principles of the Charter. In his introduction to the annual report, the Secretary-General mentioned the twenty-fifth anniversary as a particularly fitting occasion for the Assembly to adopt such an important declaration [*A/7601/Add.1, para. 175*]. The Netherlands delegation firmly endorses this view and therefore welcomes the appeal addressed to the Special Committee as contained in paragraph 9 of the draft resolution now before us.

155. It is inconceivable to my delegation that the United Nations, in the twenty-fifth year of its existence, should not express in clear terms its common desire for continued and sustained efforts towards further attaining methods of weapons control and disarmament, as a first step towards the immense task which lies before us in the next 25 years, that is, the organization of a world without war. We trust, therefore, that the final document envisaged in the draft resolution will restate this universal desire. A world without

war is not achieved by disarmament alone; a prerequisite for peace is respect for human rights. The late Dag Hammarskjöld said, in a speech on human rights:

"We know that the question of peace and the question of human rights are closely related. Without recognition of human rights, we shall never have peace, and it is only within the framework of peace that human rights can be fully developed."

156. Youth has claimed our attention by all the means at its disposal. Another generation is clamouring for understanding. It is preparing to take over from those who were present at San Francisco and who led the United Nations in those first years. Youth should indeed take part in the celebrations and give expression to its desires on world order. A youth assembly provides a welcome occasion for participation of this kind. My delegation envisages an assembly of this kind as a free meeting of free minds, organized by a desire to give expression to ideas living in our younger contemporaries. We trust that all delegations will give careful thought to the preparation of this novel and unique experiment, which may well condition our thinking for a long time to come.

157. Many Member States have made suggestions with regard to the desirability of improving the functioning and administrative organization of the Secretariat and the necessity of reinforcing its structure. To my delegation, the proper functioning of the Secretariat deserves special attention in the year of our celebrations.

158. The thoughts that I have expressed form no more than a small collection of the ideas which were formulated in my country concerning the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, of which we hope to present more to the Preparatory Committee in due time.

159. I realize full well that these remarks cannot in any way boast originality. However, they do reflect the ideas that are current in my country. The ideals of the United Nations as laid down in the Charter retain a value that transcends other interests. We therefore hope that any document focusing world attention on our celebration and kindling hopes for the future will not fail to take into account those desires.

160. With regard to the draft resolution as a whole, as it stands now, we shall express our considered opinion in due time. However, in addition to the main draft resolution [*A/L.571*] on the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1970, another has now been introduced [*A/L.570*] with the object of preparing a compilation of all resolutions adopted during the past 25 years. It is evident that the need for such a compilation exists. However, since the Fifth Committee has been informed that the total cost of such an undertaking would be almost \$1 million, my delegation, while appreciating the initiative, is hesitant to subscribe to the proposal.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.