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

**AGENDA ITEM 21**

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker this afternoon is His Excellency Mr. Errol Walton Barrow, Prime Minister of Barbados.

2. Mr. BARROW: Mr. President, it is with genuine pleasure and not merely out of conventional politeness that I salute you and offer you the congratulations of my Government and the delegation of Barbados on your election to the Presidency of this crucially important anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly. Those of us who maintain serious concern with universal legal problems have long known and respected your scholarship in the important but difficult field of international law, and my Government considers it especially appropriate that this year, when the very structure of the international compact signed at San Francisco 25 years ago is under searching and wide-ranging review, the Presidency should be held by so esteemed and distinguished a man of law.

3. I am delighted also once more to pay my respects to your predecessor Mrs. Brooks-Randolph, who honoured Barbados earlier this year with an official visit and who captivated the hearts of Barbadians in every walk of life by her high intelligence and charm. I salute her therefore not only as our distinguished ex-President but as a friend and an adopted citizen of Barbados.

4. I am particularly happy to be among the first Heads of Government to congratulate Fiji on its attainment

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

of independence. Fiji is a country with which we feel a very real affinity, despite the great distance that separates us. Barbados was especially pleased to have been one of the sponsors of the resolution [2622 (XXV)] by which this new sovereign State was admitted to membership on a basis of equality in keeping with the spirit of the Charter of this Organization.

5. We all of us profess to come to the United Nations to search for peace, justice and progress, and in this twenty-fifth anniversary year we should be in duty bound to ask whether we are searching in the right way, or in the right place, or, more frankly, whether we are searching at all.

6. It is with frankness that I intend to speak today. The primary objective of this Organization is to maintain international peace and security, with a view, we take it, to saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Exactly one generation after the drafting of the Charter we have no choice but to confess that the generation that was born in 1945 has not been saved from the scourge of war, nor have we been able to perfect the machinery for maintaining international peace and security. We have, however, attempted to disguise our failures at some times, and our inactivity at others, by the invention of a whole new vocabulary to deal with international violence. Expressions such as "local wars", "pre-emptive strikes", "small-scale interventions" and "wars of national liberation" are employed to absolve this Organization from taking the effective measures which its Charter clearly requires.

7. But man cannot live by semantics alone. For each new phrase that is minted by the public relations men in the war departments of belligerent nations another twenty to thirty thousand people die in some struggling developing country. For it cannot escape the attention of people like us that it is mostly people like us whose blood is shed on the altar of the god called "tolerable levels of warlike activity". It is we, the proletariat of primary producers, we who manufacture neither tanks nor planes, far less defoliants, we who sweat in the cane fields and the rice paddies and the coffee plantations, it is we in Asia and Africa and Latin America who are the inevitable victims of international violence. The only war we accept as our legitimate concern is that against poverty, ignorance, disease, unfavourable markets for our products and rising prices for the consumer goods and machinery we import.

8. We sincerely believe that a rational, just and humane ordering of relations among nations is vitally necessary. Now, after 25 years of experimentation,

we cannot continue to wonder whether it is possible. In view of the alternatives, it has to be made possible.

9. There has been some agitation in recent years in favour of a reform of the Charter. My own Government has supported in this Assembly an initiative which calls for an examination of the need for Charter revision. Such an examination would be useful and might indeed be illuminating in so far as it would tend to bring into the open the views of the 126 States Members of the Organization. In any event, we are of the view that the fundamental structure of the compact remains valid today and will remain essentially valid as long as human beings prefer survival to annihilation. For the fact is that the world's major problems, 25 years after the foundation of this Organization, do not spring from failures and defects in the Charter of the Organization. Our problems spring from the strange determination of many Member States to treat the Charter not as a load-bearing wall in the structure of their policy but rather as a kind of veil painted to look like a wall through which at any time that suits them they can create the widest breach their peculiar national interests may dictate.

10. It would appear that what has taken place in the past 25 years is that the major Powers have been progressively abandoning the United Nations as the main instrument for regulating and harmonizing international affairs. It is not just small-country paranoia that leads us to see a positive connexion between that process and the process by which a limited club of 51 Members has been transformed into a nearly universal sodality of 126 independent States.

11. One of the closest advisers of a former President of the United States wrote in 1964 of "an irresponsible Assembly majority, composed of new Members who had not participated in the drafting of the Charter".

12. A former Ambassador to the United Nations had earlier stated that "due to the admission of so many new countries, the United States and the western democracies no longer control the United Nations".

13. Both of these distinguished spokesmen appear to deplore the principle of the Organization contained in Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter, namely that "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members". It is a fact that sharp cries of dissatisfaction are heard when one or another of the more powerful Member States finds that the Organization does not respond to its national interest with ready docility. It is then that we hear the loudest talk of "a crisis in the Organization".

14. Everyone and everything has been blamed for the growing distance between the United Nations and the major international political questions of our time. Some say the voting procedures are unrealistic; no small country, they claim, should have the same vote as any of the major Powers. However, in 1945 no reference was made to the fact that the small but proud and viable Grand Duchy of Luxembourg had the same vote as the mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Nor is there any evidence that the admission in 1946 of the ancient Commonwealth of Iceland, with a population well below 200,000, has been other than beneficial to this Organization.

15. Sometimes the attack is directed against the Secretariat. But it should be no secret that the Secretariat can do no more than it is authorized to do by the Members. This year we are examining the procedures of the General Assembly in the hope of achieving greater efficiency. My Government supports this examination and considers it timely and necessary. But even if we are able to get our Organization to function with jewelled precision, our efforts will be wasted so long as there is an absence of the manifest political will to use the Organization for the purposes laid down in the Charter and on the basis of Charter principles.

16. The Charter is the vehicle for the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world. Its fuel is the political will of the Governments of the world. The vehicle itself may be slightly defective and a little out of date, but even the most advanced racing machine cannot travel very far without fuel.

17. There is no doubt that the Organization underwent a fundamental change in the decade that has just ended. That change was in the direction of universality, which is the evident vocation of any organization which is pledged to harmonize the actions of the nations of the world. It was mainly brought about by the decolonization process, which not only represented a signal victory for the concepts of human rights, fundamental freedoms and the self-determination of peoples, but also brought the Organization itself into closer relationship with the facts of life in our time.

18. Those who secretly deplore that development are still living in the nineteenth century, when the world was run from capitals in Europe and North America, when a handful of statesmen could sit around a table with the map of Africa upon it and dispose of the lives of millions of people by an elegant flourish of a blue pencil and a ruler. Those days are happily gone, never to return—at least as far as the map-making side is concerned. Anyone who has attended an international commodity agreement conference knows that the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin is still not altogether exorcised.

19. The world today has a rather different configuration. We have seen the emergence of two and possibly three "super-Powers": super-producers and super-consumers of the world's goods, undisputed masters of contemporary technology, possessors of that most decisive of all technologies, the technology for ending human existence on earth. They must constantly be reminded in this forum and in every other appropriate forum that supreme power carries supreme responsibility. Because they can destroy the world, the heavy—but in a sense noble—responsibility of preserving the world is most of all theirs.

20. Then there are the wealthy industrial countries, many of which grew fat and powerful in past centuries as a direct result of the exploitation of the peoples

and resources of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Now that the days of empire are over, their responsibilities are still grave. They must honestly recognize the sources of their present affluence and ease; they must resist the temptation to re-establish empire under the guise of economic arrangements; and they must creatively and consistently engage themselves in the honourable task of making reparation to the descendants of those whose blood and sweat and land have largely made them what they are today.

21. Our world therefore comprises the rich and the super-rich—and then the rest of us, the conglomeration of small and medium-sized countries which have been labelled “the irresponsible majority”. We are the majority, but we do have responsibility. Our first responsibility must be to fend off starvation and disease, to seek human dignity and some measure of material comfort for our peoples. And our only hope of achieving these ends is in meaningful co-operation with all the members of the human family. It is not our responsibility to press the voting-buttons on our desk in this Assembly in docile acquiescence to this or that set of ideological dictates. It is our responsibility to discuss, to argue, to negotiate in favour of a more rational ordering of the world’s business, of a more equitable distinction of the world’s wealth, and for the extension of the fundamental rights and freedoms to all the world’s people.

22. This is the only forum we have in which we can pursue these goals. When the most powerful nations give every sign that they are trying to sneak out of this forum, then our situation begins to look desperate indeed.

23. Let us look at some of the facts. Let us look first at the question of the maintenance of international peace and security.

24. When an item on this question was introduced by the Soviet Union during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly,<sup>1</sup> it was greeted by a certain amount of—shall we say—scepticism on the part of a number of the more powerful Member States. As events have proved, “the rest”, those of us to whom the question of international security is far from academic, the smaller and poorer countries, made this debate their own. It occupied then, and has occupied during this twenty-fifth session, a high priority in the Assembly’s work; and my delegation co-sponsored earlier in this present session a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.517] which would have the item retained on the agenda of the twenty-sixth session.

25. But while we devote ourselves to a serious consideration of this problem, what do we find? We find that the major components of international security, namely, disarmament, denuclearization, *détente* and disengagement from the specific conflicts which are raging in the world, are all being tackled outside the coverage of this Organization’s procedures. There is the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament,

which had its birth outside, and which continues to operate outside, the framework of the United Nations. In 1958 disarmament was the business, it would appear, of only five nations; in 1959 another five nations were added; in 1961 the General Assembly was graciously invited to note that the catchment area had been widened to include 18 nations; in 1969 the General Assembly once more endorsed the agreement which had been “reached” on a further extension of the membership of the Committee. I quote from the fourth preambular paragraph of resolution 2602 B (XXIV):

“Noting that the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have reached agreement on the inclusion of eight additional members...”

The record shows that the role which has been assigned to the General Assembly on the question of disarmament is that of “noting” and “endorsing” a series of faits accomplis. It is not a notably dynamic role. We have come a long way from paragraph 1 of Article 1 of our Charter.

26. And what is the role of the United Nations in the Middle East, where one of the gravest conflicts of our time has been raging practically since the foundation of the Organization? Have the permanent members of the Security Council, with their primary responsibility for peace and security, used the Organization as a centre for harmonizing the relations of the nations in that region? No. They have favoured corridors, hotels and private apartments in New York rather than the good offices of this Organization.

27. Even the Palais des Nations in Geneva has been recently avoided in a most important harmonization exercise; the current talks between the United States and the Viet-Nameese, for which we all wish a speedy and successful conclusion, are taking place in Paris. The United Nations might never have existed for all the attention it is paid by the protagonists in this conflict.

28. And is there no role for the United Nations, even as a tacit observer, in the discussions on the limitation of strategic arms? Apparently not. If the big Powers consider this too serious a matter for an Organization founded for the purpose of saving “succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, then SALT has truly lost its savour. We wonder what has become of Article 26 of the Charter, by which the Security Council is not merely authorized but directed to formulate plans for the establishment of a “system for the regulation of armaments”.

29. When we turn to the economic aspects of the aims of the Charter, the solemn decision taken at San Francisco “to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”, we see the same syndrome of abandonment. According to the report of the Pearson Commission published last year,<sup>2</sup> the developed countries of Western Europe channelled less than one seventh of

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

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

their development assistance through international organizations in the period 1964 to 1967. In 1967, according to the same report, bilateral channels were used for nearly 90 per cent of official aid to developing countries. A few weeks ago, in a cryptic and daunting document presented to the Second Committee [A/8074], the representatives of a number of countries with centrally-planned economies more or less disavowed multilateral channels of economic co-operation with developing countries.

30. In this twenty-fifth anniversary year, the question which everyone is trying to answer is: where do we go from here? Any serious answer, any faintly rational answer, to that question is bound to seem Utopian. We live in a world where the concepts of "a balance of terror" and "second strike capacity" are taken for granted, even though the words actually imply a stage of warfare in which several million human beings have already been slaughtered through the appalling indifference of Governments.

31. Mr. President, you have listened with characteristic patience and fortitude to what you may well consider to be a philippic directed against the inadequacies of our own Organization. Now, in an attempt to be constructive I venture to submit the following proposals for the consideration of this special commemorative session of the General Assembly:

(a) That this Organization be not only a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations but the only centre for harmonizing the actions of all nations;

(b) That those nations which *de facto* and in terms of the Charter have the major responsibility for preserving international peace should pledge themselves to employ to the fullest the machinery of this Organization in pursuit of their responsibility;

(c) That Member Governments should give formal assurances of their readiness to commit all their energies, efforts and prestige to the task of preventing outbreaks of armed violence between nations, using the machinery of the Organization or, where necessary, creating new machinery, not excluding the use of good offices committees in which the Security Council may invite heads of State or Government to participate;

(d) That from 1971 all Governments, whether Members of the United Nations or not, be invited to decrease their expenditure on armaments by an agreed percentage and to contribute one half of the savings effected to a special disarmament for development fund to be created under the aegis of this Organization;

(e) That the international community should solemnly commit itself to a massive long-term programme of international development such as is contained in the strategy for the Second Development Decade, to be implemented in the spirit of the fourth preambular paragraph of the Charter by which Members of the Organization engage themselves "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

32. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the Right Honourable Jacques

Rabemananjara, Vice-President of the Malagasy Republic, on whom I now call.

33. Mr. RABEMANANJARA (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, as the personal envoy of His Excellency Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, the President of the Malagasy Republic, I am glad to greet in you, Sir, the representative of a country renowned for its wisdom and equilibrium, a country which devotes a good part of its external action to assisting the developing countries. Your reputation as one of the greatest specialists in the problems of the black continent is, I believe, an important qualification for the President of the General Assembly, where African affairs have great prominence. Accordingly, I see your election as proof that within our Organization talent is always recognized, and also as a promise that the problems of the developing nations will be considered with all due attention.

34. Furthermore, Mr. President, your father, a former President of the Norwegian Parliament, presided over the last Assembly of the ill-fated League of Nations before the war. Unlike some others, I do not see this as an alarming omen but rather as a symbol of continuity, a symbol of the determination of men to seek peace at all costs, despite the vicissitudes and hazards of our particularly troubled times. When the fate of the world and the peace of mankind are at stake, it is not for us to ask ourselves what chance our actions have of success; neither do we need to hope in order to try. As a distinguished figure once said in this same hall, there is no alternative to peace.

35. This twenty-fifth commemorative session of the United Nations is, above all, a session for stock-taking. Twenty-five years are little in the life of a man; for history it is scarcely a generation. But it is also the age of legal majority, the age when a man is sole judge of his acts and responsible for them.

36. The League of Nations never came of age. Nevertheless, in the years that followed the First World War it embodied generous and noble ideals which, for want of the means to back them up, proved inapplicable in the difficult hour of confrontation.

37. I am not among those who *a posteriori* condemn the ideal of Geneva. It was a start for mankind—a halting and disappointing start, to be sure, but one which all the same was a step forward. Furthermore, a number of its principles were subsequently included in the United Nations Charter, which demonstrates a certain continuity of outlook and assures us of a legacy only the positive aspects of which we need accept.

38. The Charter, signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, affirmed the determination of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in a human lifetime had brought untold sorrow to mankind.

39. Today we are all met here to ask ourselves quite simply where we are 25 years later. What have we

made of the ideals proclaimed in San Francisco? Where are we going, and how, all together, can we correct our faults and our errors so as to build at last a world of peace, a world that will be generous and humane to all?

40. I speak on behalf of a country which, thanks to its geographical situation, the far-sightedness of its leader, President Philibert Tsiranana, and the wisdom of its people, enjoys peace and is able to dedicate itself entirely to the only battle worth fighting: I mean the battle against under-development. Indeed, since the proclamation of the Republic, whose twelfth anniversary we celebrate this year with pomp and circumstance, the essential objective of my Government has been to ensure the well-being and material security of the inhabitants of Madagascar, to free them for all time from the age-old scourges of ignorance, hunger, disease and the uncertainty of the morrow.

41. All the nation's resources and all its energies have been mobilized to that end. But no matter how committed they may be to this struggle, no matter how ardently they may strive towards that goal, the Government and people of Madagascar are nonetheless aware of what is going on in the rest of the world. They are watching developments there all the more closely because, even if Madagascar has suffered no direct or spectacular reverses as a result, it cannot help being deeply affected by the recent deterioration in the international situation, or wondering with the deepest concern, not to say anguish, about the future of peace, the respect for human freedom, and the independence of nations.

42. We have to recognize that never has there been so great a discrepancy between words and deeds as there is today. This scandalous state of affairs has so struck our people that, in reaction to the hypocrisy of our times, to what our President has eloquently dubbed the "talking sickness", our party, the party now in power in Madagascar, has adopted as its slogan: *acta et non verba*. But what do we actually see?

43. People talk peace, and what we have is war. Freedom is acclaimed, and never have essential human freedoms been so grossly flouted. There is talk of brotherhood, and never has the gulf of inequality yawned so wide between the wealthy peoples and the so-called proletarian nations and the underprivileged nations.

44. Inequality in material progress, the unjust distribution of wealth, the widening gap between rich and poor have only aggravated a situation that was already disquieting.

45. Man, the eternal Prometheus, since he snatched the mystery of fire from heaven, has not always succeeded in using it constructively, but has often bent it to perverse ends.

46. In his race for progress, man has shown himself both greedy and ignorant. Greedy to heap up material goods, he is in danger, like King Midas, who changed

everything he touched into gold, of simply dying of hunger. While he cherishes the proud notion of bestriding the most distant planets and for that purpose swallows up billions and billions of money, millions upon millions of his brothers languish in the lower depths of the most utter destitution. Being ignorant, he is astonished, like the sorcerer's apprentice, at the ills he himself has unleashed.

47. The breakdown of the biological balance by the distortion of our environment—a matter on which the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada dwelt this morning [*1865th meeting*—]—and the degradation of the milieu in which we live, have come with abundance. Our atmosphere is poisoned, our waters are polluted, the air we breathe is contaminated, life on land and in the oceans is being adulterated, and our living resources are being destroyed. The threat seems so urgent, so deadly to mankind that, as I speak to you, scientists from more than 30 nations, gathered from the four corners of the earth, are holding a symposium at the University of Tananarive to consider the problem, to sound the alarm for the particular attention of an Organization with the scope and authority which ours has. When shall we be aware of it? For this is a price our world cannot afford to go on paying much longer.

48. In a century marked by the development of communications, the world has shrunk and men have become more independent. However, having become more independent and having drawn closer to one another, do they understand one another any better? That is the problem.

49. In reality we have not yet succeeded in leaving behind the stage of the fragmentary society. We are still living in a society modelled on that of the nineteenth century, a society which is liberal in its ideas, to be sure, but not always liberal in its actions, particularly in its economic achievements, which are hard on the weak and favour the powerful. It is a closed society too, a society incarnated above all in a Europe which, as Valéry put it, was rent asunder for having "*joué aux Armagnacs et aux Bourguignons*". Instead of uniting, that society foundered in destructiveness, poverty and crime.

50. We must transcend that stage and we must realize that even the world scale, as a framework for considering our present problems, may be too narrow and hence outmoded. We must leave behind the fragmentary society before peace, justice and reason give place to violence and terror once and for all.

51. My remarks may seem to stem from disenchantment or disillusionment. As for disenchantment, I have never been carried away by any magic formula, for I know that the quest for peace is a long-term, difficult, day to day undertaking, of which only the end is noble. Disillusionment perhaps; but if so, it is precisely because in the short term I believe in the ideal incarnated in the United Nations. We are naïve in Madagascar! This ideal, alas, is not divine and could hardly be perfect. However, like any human under-

taking, it is perfectible, if, by uniting our wills, we can decide unanimously to pursue together our slow and painful efforts.

52. No social change, no change in the state of civilization, has ever taken place without tremendous upheavals and without temporary upsets. The transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the opening up of new worlds, overturned the narrow world of the sixteenth century, the heir to the mediaeval age.

53. Generous ideas, and the exhaustion of a rigid classical civilization, gave rise to what the historian Paul Hazard once called the crisis of the European conscience in the eighteenth century. That did not, in the age of enlightenment, prevent the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and Kant from devising peace plans which even then were supposed to be universal and everlasting!

54. Therefore, it is only natural that we in our turn should be confronted with the stern demands of a crisis of conscience, a crisis of greater magnitude and greater intensity than all those preceding it. It is only to be expected that our Organization itself should suffer the adverse effects of a juridical and economic morality that is inherited from another century and is already pretty much of an anachronism. The important thing is not to be indignant about this but rather to understand it and, above all, courageously to draw the conclusions. I think that that is what we are here for.

55. The nations of the earth must learn not merely to coexist—and I must say that I myself do not much care for the term “peaceful coexistence”, for we must coexist by the very nature of things, but as for its being peaceful, how can you expect peace when some have everything while others are destitute? As I was saying: the nations of the earth must learn not merely to coexist more or less peacefully, but to live together, really together. Our friends in Latin America have the word *convivencia*. I do not know how it may be translated into the other languages; in any event, the term is exactly what we need, *convivencia*: living together. I must translate it in this sense: “living together, harmoniously, in brotherhood”.

56. Perhaps if man persists in his folly he will become wise. The balance of terror must be supplanted by the balance of reason if the world is to survive. In fact the fragmentary society and national egoisms have ceased to have any real foundation and no longer correspond to the real aspirations, the deep aspirations, of man in our time.

57. From up there on the moon he has conquered, man has been able from that distance to measure our little earth on its true scale, and to think that the human ants moving about on its surface must, if they are not to destroy themselves, endeavour to create a common will, a unity of will in the image of their own small planet, lost in the immensity of space. Would it be wilder or more Utopian to give oneself up to the intoxication of such a dream, to the boldness of such a vision, than to nourish the ambition to bestride and master the mysteries of Venus and Mars? All this is within our reach; all we need is the will.

58. It is therefore high time that we found the political will to act on recommendations even if they are sometimes contrary to our own selfish interests. That is how we in Madagascar view the role of the United Nations and the role of those who take pride in being its Members, be they great, super-great, or—very small like us.

59. Last year at the same time, from this same rostrum [1774th meeting], I myself, like all heads of delegations, analysed the world situation and tried to suggest some solutions to the most vexing and serious problems now confronting mankind. On re-reading my speech, I realized that I could almost deliver the same speech again word for word, so true is it that the problems have not fundamentally changed and that the behaviour of nations has remained the same. In some trouble spots, alas, the situation has even become worse.

60. However, on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which coincides with the celebration of 10 years of decolonization, I should like to strike a different note. Leaving the harsh language of facts, I should like to put to you some thoughts inspired by this double commemoration.

61. Any sociological study of international relations essentially includes the consideration of two phenomena: one, which seems to be permanent in human history: wars and violent conflicts between political societies; the other which, on the contrary, is altogether recent and which is probably the newest, most original and most characteristic feature of our age: the international organization.

62. Why should we, either through pessimism and scepticism or after a reasoned study of discouraging facts, resign ourselves to the permanent and long-standing phenomenon? Why must we say that the recent phenomenon of the international organization has failed to impose itself? Once again it is a question of will. Are men really incapable of finding the will?

63. Peace is more than a political, legal or diplomatic state of affairs secured or guaranteed by appropriate techniques. Peace is indivisible, that is to say, political peace demands respect for certain fundamental moral laws, and it is not playing with words to say that peace is a supreme aspiration of man. There is something divine above it. None of the features which make up its unique visage can be ignored or excluded. Because the men of our time have not fully respected the requirements of peace, it has followed that sometimes the roads to peace no longer coincide with those chosen by man.

64. Hence the anomalous international situation of the post-war years that we are still experiencing: it is not a state of war but neither is it peace, the true peace which all the peoples of the world so ardently desire. Again because real peace is indivisible in its various aspects, it can never be instituted on the social and international level unless it is also and above all a domestic reality. We stand defenceless before this state of affairs. At a time when we should be applying



a global policy, we resort to partial remedies, economic remedies, diplomatic remedies.

65. How difficult it is tirelessly to eliminate the obstacles! Social injustice, unemployment, poverty contrasted with the privilege of those who can afford the luxury of waste, the dangerous imbalance between technological progress and the moral advancement of peoples, the frantic arms race. Need I remind you of the famous warning of Saint Augustine when he said:

"It is more glorious to kill wars with words than to kill men with steel, and it is truly glorious to win peace through peace."

66. Although peace is a common asset of the human community at all levels of organization and complexity, the most important element of peace is the temporal common weal, the proper end of society. Only an organized international society can assure to man, above all, security, respect for the essential rights of the person and mutual aid.

67. Patience, a moralist once said, is the art of hoping. Although our patience may be sorely tried, it is our duty on this anniversary to search our hearts and, setting aside all selfishness, to consider the future, the duties and the prospects of the international community which we would build.

68. Peace, whose ideal components I have attempted to analyse, unfortunately does not reign over all the world. There are still too many trouble spots that give rise to cold war, if not hot war; a division of the world, a sharing of zones of influence as the result of which newly-independent countries like my own have to ask themselves, after 10 years of real political life, whether they should be proud of their independence or whether they must resign themselves to being under the more or less disguised sway of others. Essential human freedoms are no longer guaranteed.

69. International opinion is rightly alarmed at acts of violence which threaten the life and safety of airline passengers, for example. My Government formally and resolutely condemns these acts of terror and these acts of aerial piracy. No cause, no matter how legitimate, can justify such acts. Blackmail that makes use of the freedom and the life of innocent people seems to us intolerable.

70. I regret that acts of aerial piracy have no legal existence in international law. While the law of the sea pays considerable attention to putting down sea piracy, none of the international juridical documents governing the law of the air considers the problems posed by the illegal hijacking of aircraft. On behalf of my country I express the hope that a text will be adopted as a matter of urgency to fill this gap and provide for punishment of these acts of brigandage.

71. My Government is ready to punish individuals that commit acts of aerial piracy; it is ready to extradite them and to submit them to the rigours of the law in the State whose aircraft has been hijacked—the law

of the flag thus being applied in the same way as for ships.

72. The crime of aerial hijacking should be regarded as a crime of common law and not as a political crime for which there is no extradition. This codification, we believe, does represent progress, but in no event can it be regarded as a final solution to the problem. Having suffered from piracy earlier in its history, Madagascar cannot sanction this modern form of it: aerial piracy. My Government therefore welcomes the draft resolution submitted by the Government of the Philippines<sup>3</sup> and will give it every support.

73. In this field of the defence of human freedoms the United Nations cannot fail in its duty; it cannot content itself with lip service and banal protests. All airline passengers must have the right to travel without any interference, and transit passengers must not be detained on any pretext.

74. In the circumstances, the suggestion of Secretary-General U Thant that an international tribunal be appointed to put down aerial piracy cannot but arouse our interest, and we must express our agreement with and gratitude to the Secretary-General.

75. At the last session of the General Assembly, it was decided [*resolution 2499 A (XXIV)*] that the ceremonies to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization would be based on three fundamental concepts of great importance: peace, justice, progress. These three principles constitute a trilogy which cannot be separated one from another; they are indivisible. They sum up man's desire to live in a free world where peace reigns among the nations, and justice and progress among men.

76. After 25 years of life, our Organization should attain its full maturity; it should firmly and confidently broach a new stage of its life. With the massive influx of young African and Asian States the United Nations is no longer what it was before; it has become the international forum where the peoples of the world test their solidarity and also, unfortunately, their divisions. May I express the hope that, thanks to the experience acquired, the spirit of solidarity will prevail over the spirit of division? Let us cease to be an Assembly of diplomats, I beg you; let us become a kind of international parliament where dialogue will prevail over confrontation.

77. We shall thus help mankind to become aware for the first time of its unity within a political society on a planetary scale. The international commonweal, which I have attempted to define, will cease to be an abstract notion, and thus every State will find itself directly involved, not only in tensions and in conflicts but in the political, economic and cultural progress of all other countries.

78. Since 1965, if my memory serves me well, the Secretary-General has deliberately guided the United

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/C.6/L.803.

Nations in the direction of effective protection for young States, and we are grateful to him for this. He wants the United Nations to compensate for their weakness, that is to say, to serve as the main guarantor of their political independence, and the best guarantor of their economic and cultural development against any neo-colonialist encroachment.

79. Thus the United Nations tends to play, for the young nations, the role of *societas naturalis perfecta* in the philosophical sense that Saint Thomas gave the words; that is to say, the role of a universal political community, the only community that can assure to man all the natural goods which he is entitled to claim.

80. We now have a noble and magnificent opportunity to strengthen the action of the United Nations and to renew our commitment to struggle so that all peoples—I repeat, all peoples—may attain to freedom and well-being. That is what we must do if we wish to pass from the field of concepts to that of realities. It is what we must will if we want something other than meaningless words, words cut off from reality.

81. As I conclude my statement, I cannot do better than repeat a statement made by our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant:

“The world is witnessing an obvious decline in international morality. States are more and more relying on force and violence for the settlement of their international disputes. If this trend is not reversed and if there is not a return to the principle of non-intervention in the free destiny of nations, the very future of peace and of international security is dark indeed.”

82. It is time, high time, for the world to get a grip on itself and to demonstrate a greater capacity for reason.

83. The twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly is more solemn in nature than the others. It is, as I have said, an Assembly in which we take stock of our past activities. I shall not go back to this. Others more eloquent than I have already talked about it. We must reckon up our weaknesses and our mistakes, and think only of our future action.

84. At an earlier session, Madagascar took the initiative, together with Cambodia and Gabon, of proposing that an item entitled “One day of war for peace” be put on the agenda.<sup>4</sup> The acceptance of that initiative indicated that Governments had become aware of the dangers threatening mankind and of duties incumbent on them. How do matters stand today?

85. Borrowing the expression of a Nobel Prize winner, Albert Camus, I can say: “Tragedy today is collective; the long dialogue of men must go on”. Men are forced to live together in a universe that technology has made smaller.

86. They are interdependent, and yet enemies. The world has only one people, the human race; yet the earth is peopled by strangers. There is no longer a political drama anywhere in the world which does not have repercussions on our daily life.

87. Today, unfortunately, we are far from the missions that the founders originally entrusted to the United Nations, devised to bring about the reign of peace on earth. Nevertheless, even if the Organization has become more a meeting place than a centre for action, its usefulness remains, provided these meetings produce some result. The Organization would thus give our tormented world proof that nothing is lost, that the sun will rise, and that man will continue to hope and, with the poet of the dark years, to repeat: “Tomorrow will be fair”.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker on the list is the Vice-President of the Dominican Republic, His Excellency Mr. Carlos Rafael Goico Morales.

89. Mr. GOICO MORALES (*interpretation from Spanish*): Precisely nine years have elapsed since the day when a man of lofty moral stature and courage, the President of the Dominican Republic, aware of the realities existing in his country, appeared before the General Assembly [1021st meeting] to profess his faith in the destiny of democracy and to state emphatically that no dictatorial régime would reappear on the soil of the Dominican Republic to trample the ideals for which the allied nations had fought in the greatest of world conflicts.

90. Now that this lapse of time has sunk into the unplumbable depths of the ages, I come to this historic celebration, as the representative of that statesman, to declare, before the highest dignitaries representing the States of which this Organization is composed, that that promise has emerged unscathed from the severe trials to which we have been subjected by fate.

91. Along the only path which a law-abiding State may follow, we are progressing resolutely towards the essential objectives which must distinguish any living and effective democracy.

92. In this knowledge, I am encouraged to perform the duties imposed upon me in extending, on behalf of the Head of State of my Government and the people of my country, their greetings to all Heads of State present here and to the delegations and to convey their best wishes on the occasion of this anniversary of the birth of the United Nations.

93. The invocation of the principles clothing democracy and the prophecy that that democracy would be fully restored in all its majestic dignity in my country—at a time when we were still experiencing in our domestic policies a period of political upheaval with all the consequent international complications—met with hampering preparations in the form of uncontrollable events, violence of all kinds, and even civil war. Yet, although these undermined our social strata by

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes*, agenda item 92, document A/7183 and Add.1.



divisive and gloomy antagonisms, they nevertheless allowed us a breathing space in which to organize what had been disturbed and torn by a series of events that so painfully threatened the destiny of our age-old institutions.

94. We have lived through those distressing times, plagued by the doubts and vicissitudes to which all societies are inevitably subject until they are able to attain a measure of that perfectibility that is the goal of any evolution. That is the stage towards which we are progressing with resolute energy and abundant and increasingly promising hopes for a noble people harassed by fateful events and unrelenting trials in the formation of a discipline that will join freedom with order.

95. Such was the situation faced by our people in the last decade, and in fact, such it has been since 1844, when we won our independence through courageous acts and joined the international legal order. Yet, on several occasions we have been unable to avoid relinquishing a part of our sovereignty, which we have as many times regained, thanks to a spirit of virile nationalism which has emerged, at the most difficult moments, in the Dominican Republic ever since, under the inspiration of the loftiest ideals, our country came into being. It was this spirit that led us to accomplish those feats that fill with glory the saga of our epic love of self-determination.

96. That American land which has shown examples of gallantry, of heroism and of faith, possesses unfading glories such as—among many others which have also resisted the buffetings of time—the fact that we possess the city which was the first chosen to be the capital of America, that city which, under the vice-regency of Spain, was termed the Athens of the new world, and to which was reserved the privilege that since the dawn of the discovery of America the light of Christian civilization in this part of the world was disseminated in all directions.

97. Over four centuries ago, in the very ancient city of Santo Domingo, the foundations were laid of American legality, at a time that coincided with one of the most decisive periods of the fifteenth century, at a time when the spirit of the Renaissance was acquiring strength and honour.

98. To support the unchallengeable truth of this assertion on this solemn occasion of the celebration, which is a cause for rejoicing to all men, I will say that it was the Real Audiencia of Santo Domingo with primary jurisdiction over all the conquered lands, that originally gave rise to the first manifestation of organized justice, the age-old expression of which we revere today as one of the most ancient instruments of the Law of the Indies.

99. As the heirs of the legacy of history constituted by the Real Audiencia and the Law of the Indies, as the consistent adherents to the standards governing civilized coexistence today, as, in the final analysis, we are taught by the principles of the United Nations

Organization which we helped to found in San Francisco 25 years ago, nothing is more gratifying to my Government and my people than to strengthen our faith and conviction that this world Organization is indeed the most human and magnificent juridical concept that has ever been devised to preserve and to perfect the universal lineage of man and to make him worthy of his imperishable destiny.

100. I cannot omit mention of another endeavour which also emerged from the ruins of another world war which, although less destructive and pitiless than the last, yet possessed the same features that challenged all the things we had seen created by the confrontation to which Hellenic culture was subjected by the advent of Christian civilization. I refer to the defunct League of Nations for which President Wilson's 14 points opened the gate but which, lacking effective support, did not meet the hopes which had led to its creation.

101. My country, with unwavering determination, supports the seven fundamental points contained in Article 2 of the Charter of this Organization which has governed us for 25 years. It is only fair to admit that many of those principles were, in some way, also included in the rules adopted by the League of Nations.

102. The fact that they became a part of the backbone of the world Organization shows that the international juridical system cannot be conceived of without such guiding regulations, but I refuse not to refer to these precepts in an open and laudatory fashion on the happy occasion of this celebration. We recognize in such norms one of the most far-reaching contributions obtained in our time under the beneficent aegis of our Organization.

103. In the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise there can be found the seeds of these concepts that safeguard the dignity of man. They resounded extensively after the glorious feats of Latin American independence in which the genius of Bolívar, with a profound concept of democracy, proclaimed the republican and representative system to be the most perfect form of government in Latin America. It is obvious that I refer to the abolition of slavery which was genuinely represented by that universal figure, Abraham Lincoln, "the man of the people" as he was justly called by one of the most distinguished exponents of poetic thought of the United States of America.

104. I venture to believe that it is these deeds that acquire sublime standing from the norms which, from early times, inspired that new decalogue which protects and saves man against cruelty and which we recognize today as human rights. The Declaration of Principles governing these inalienable rights is one of the achievements of the United Nations of worldwide magnitude. From the lofty heights of this General Assembly, we cannot mention this fact without recognizing that, as yet, this concept has not been embodied in a formal instrument, compulsorily in force and to be applied in all corners of the civilized world. We should here and now encourage efforts to bring us closer to the

day when these principles, essential as they are to the human condition, be enwrapped in the provisions of a binding nature to States present here and with the strengthening help which the present period in the life of the United Nations offers.

105. From the European Declaration on Human Rights<sup>5</sup> to the very Declaration of the United Nations itself, background and experience have shown the free countries that divide the face of the earth that there is no conflict to the international guarantee of such important obligations, by the tangible achievement of which we reach the heights that separate us from the primitive days of mankind.

106. To do justice to ourselves, we must all trust that in a period that is obviously tormented for all mankind, we are not reaching out for the creation of a Utopia. However gloomy the prospect may appear, we must nevertheless endeavour to find practical solutions that will be viable to these ends.

107. An achievement like the one I have mentioned was possible in the inter-American legal system, and it is difficult to understand why that same achievement should be considered impossible on a wider scale and embrace cultures older and more advanced than those which made such outstanding contributions to Costa Rica and to which my country has rendered homage and obedience.

108. With regard to human rights, I make bold to state with satisfaction and pride that it was in my country, in the city of Santo Domingo, where on the pages of history there was written one of the earliest events relating to the struggles for the most sacred rights of man.

109. I must mention here the moral battle fought by the Dominican friar Antón Montesino in 1511 to reinstate the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola as human beings and vassals, and not as slaves. In the presence of the Viceroy, Don Diego Colón and other dignitaries of the colony, that ascetic friar, "A great preacher who at times was most severe in his admonitions and who delivered his sermons angrily but effectively", according to the description of Father Las Casas, produced on the Fourth Sunday of Advent of that year his famous homily entitled *Ego vox clamantis in deserto*, which was rather a passionate denunciation condemning the outrage that was being perpetrated on mankind in the person of the Indians. The new doctrine preached by Antón Montesino very quickly found a constructive echo in the Spanish philosopher and theologian Francisco de Vitoria, also a Dominican friar like Montesino, who is considered the founder of international law. In 1538 he was already defending the view that pagan peoples were also subjects of the law, independent and legitimately entitled to freedom and independence, and as such worthy of respect even from Christian nations.

110. Actually, as was reported by an outstanding historian, Montesino had dared to preach in the wilderness of man's conscience. He cried out, with the same conviction with which today we have cried out for justice, that we should make worthy and valid the rights inherent in the nature of man.

111. In the light of the universal drama we are witnessing, we are filled with the encouraging and renewing hope that, following the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the second act will bring into force a world agreement on human rights.

112. The Charter that we adopted in 1945 declares that the peoples which subscribed to it are determined to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small..." and forbids discrimination for reasons of race, colour, sex or religion.

113. Despite the upheavals through which the nations of the world, including my own, have passed, since those sacred words were spoken, the balance sheet drawn up shows us that we have not sacrificed much in pride, in the concept of sovereignty and in the demands of the policies of State, to appear here with our arms full of imponderable goods as gifts for our Organization, after the 25 years that have elapsed.

114. We cannot deny that we have made much headway, but as Members of the United Nations we believe that that progress was in many cases impelled, without the nations that have benefited from such progress having contributed their fullest efforts. This dialectical exercise shows how far the utilization and influence of our Organization can go in international life, whether that influence is brought to bear directly or indirectly on specific aspects of relations among the peoples represented here.

115. We would venture to attribute certain changing peculiarities of the present day to that phenomenon, particularly those that have emerged in the last 10 years. We would say that to a large extent it is due to the revolution in ideas in which and through which all peoples and all communities affected by historical events are moving in these years of decision. It would be absurd to resist the transformations in social, political and economic ways of thought that have followed one another with surprising speed as the consequence of the constant conflicts that present-day civilization imposes upon us. By the same token, we cannot evade nor minimize the urgent demands, at times courageously expressed, by the youth of the world as proof of their dynamic awakening.

116. Today's youth is impatient for total change in a changing world. His eager vigour is made manifest in all societies regardless of how isolated they may be from those centres that are dominated by the culture and experience of centuries. But it is a fact that we are confronted by a creative force, of a new mentality—to a certain extent a typical mentality—justified by the forces of progress regardless of its complexity,

<sup>5</sup> Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed at Rome on 4 November 1950.

which must be heard. These attitudes of the youth of the world have been considered problematical and doubtful manifestations which, if they do nothing else, do sow confusion and to a large extent inhibit the actions of traditional communities, where suddenly there has been felt the awakening of lively and disquieted minds eager to shake the foundations of obsolete orders and systems undergoing slow and weak transition.

117. But similar reactions have been met with at different times in history. We need go no further back than immediately after the French Revolution to see them in all their eager life. We cannot observe nor admit to any difference between then and the present era of nuclear energy and space travel.

118. The World Youth Assembly that met this year<sup>6</sup> under the auspices of the United Nations was of extraordinary importance and was a further example of the means at the disposal of the world Organization to achieve progress that not only benefits Member States but also opens up new and unexpected horizons for attaining definite goals and for making the Organization the supreme mediator in solving cases in which the basic objectives of the Charter are involved.

119. As a Member of this Organization, the Dominican Republic had the satisfaction of being present at the birth of the third world. Its progressive growth and evolution into what it has now become due to its constructive individuality, have been hailed by the Dominican people, in whom we recognize an eager openness to anything that is the result of great efforts and the impulsive manifestation of aspirations that had been buried under the dust of centuries.

120. The distinguishing attribute of my country of exalting all noble causes and espousing all victories that are achieved in clean contest is a characteristic common to all peoples who have suffered and survived the vicissitudes to which they have been subjected by destiny or perhaps the accumulation of fateful events that have left such painful scars upon the full enjoyment of our sovereign rights.

121. It is therefore not surprising that my country has in so many cases supported those nations constituting the third world, especially in the General Assembly and its dependent bodies. It is for that reason also that we view with admiration and respect the wealth that the third world pours into international co-operation—a concept to which we are bound by that desire for solidarity that flows from the substantive principles to which we wish at this important and memorable moment to pay tribute.

122. We are second to none in the well-earned spontaneous support we decisively give the third world, now that we have achieved the maturity of 25 years of United Nations history.

123. In setting forth these considerations, may I refer specifically to the Algiers Declaration of the African States, which is related to the Bangkok Declaration and the Tequendema Charter? The Charter of Algiers<sup>7</sup> gave rise to the New Delhi affirmation<sup>8</sup> which was the critical point in the most effective formula for balancing international economy in the developing countries and those now in the transitional stage, at a time when we must recognize as an unshakable truth the economic interdependence of States. I venture to say that it made obsolete the entire ponderous structure of world economy. It is high time that we be quite frank and decide whether we will now accept the concept that the ills affecting an ever narrowing world are almost totally due to the maladjustments in the world economic structure.

124. We must also frankly admit that after the New Delhi meetings there has been an emptiness with respect to agreements and recommendations in connexion with this matter.

125. We must admit that certain important progress has been achieved in the difficult task of finding formulas for prior agreements to reduce and slow down the arms race, that most deadly enemy of world peace.

126. Unless we are mistaken in this evaluation—which is a happy stress of the goodwill of the Powers—after a protracted period of international dialogue on this grave question, the very limited progress achieved towards more desirable and positive situations constitutes a minimum advance to assist us in relieving the tensions that have affected us all for quite some years.

127. One of the aspects most worthy of consideration is the fact that the nuclear Powers have reached agreement on a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. We are gratified to point out that that instrument has been signed and ratified by the Dominican Republic. Likewise, our country has signed and ratified the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.<sup>9</sup> It should be emphasized that our little country neither produces nor possesses nuclear arms of any kind. For this reason it might appear that the contribution we have offered in this respect is of no operative value, but reflects only a purely static and contemplative position. Yet we believe that the decision of the smaller nations to become parties to those agreements represents a manifestation of firm will, a position of international policy which, carefully analysed, will be found to have its real significance in the juridical fact that participation in agreements of that kind is but a reflection of the right to vote granted to all Member States by the Charter, without regard to territorial area or economic or political potential, features which in no way detract from the dignity of the nations that

<sup>7</sup> Adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven on 24 October 1967.

<sup>8</sup> Adopted at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968.

<sup>9</sup> Opened for signature on 14 February 1967.

<sup>6</sup> Held at Headquarters from 9 to 17 July 1970.

identified themselves with the ideals and purposes embodied in the signature they placed on the San Francisco Charter.

128. We would like to think that, apart from the right of veto, this is where we will find the power that gives vitality and effectiveness to the United Nations Organization; and thus we once more recognize the usefulness of the world Organization, so often the object of slander in the constant ebb and flow of international issues. It might perhaps not be paradoxical to attribute to a certain slowness in action on the part of our Organization the fact that it has survived—and we are confident it will continue to survive all trials—and that it has served to curb the spread of conflicts to more sensitive and dangerous areas. If this view is not correct, we must then assert something more to the liking of peace-loving nations: that the world does not want war.

129. Many among us have not forgotten a phrase that was coined a few years after the Charter of the United Nations came into force. Certain sceptical international observers at that time were given to repeating, somewhat vehemently, that "The Allies won the war on the battlefields but lost the peace at the conference tables".

130. Although it could be argued that in that premature judgement the real significance of peace in its true manifestation had not been taken into account, overlooking the fact that peace is the result of the perfectibility and of the integral culture of nations, yet it still cannot be denied that there were errors and lack of foresight, the tragic consequences of which we have had to endure. But the truth of the matter is that we are finding solutions for problems that appeared insurmountable; that we are recognizing that the barriers separating us from true peace result from the disparities among the basic economies of the various countries, which in turn are pushing us onto the road to conflicts that could very well culminate in a third world war, with all the concomitant horrors of atomic weaponry; we must at the same time admit that with the passing of each day we are becoming more and more aware of the interdependence of States on the basis of co-operation and mutual assistance, and that this infuses us with great hopes for the survival of the United Nations, the Organization that encompasses all the free peoples of the earth, joyfully assembled in this gathering marked with heartening signs of a better understanding among the entire human family.

131. If with a degree of pragmatism in international policy these structures were to be made to coincide, we would come much closer to the concept of united peace, which should be the ideal that most convincingly imbues the revolution of ideas, which is the hallmark of all the upheavals of our day in all parts of the world.

132. Let us with optimism celebrate the dawn of a new era in the history of the United Nations. Let us rejoice that, imperfect or not, as far as circumstances have allowed it to, our Organization has fulfilled its duty of preserving peace and avoiding the ghastly

scourge of war. Confronted by the dismal prophecies of doom, let us raise our resolute faith in the rule of law and justice.

133. Our people—that of the Dominican Republic—wishes to lay claim to possessing a historic glory, namely, that it was on Dominican soil in the mountains of the Bahoruco where, in this part of the world, the first peace treaty was signed. It was executed between the plenipotentiary of the Crown of Spain, Barriónuevo, and the rebellious Indian, Enriquillo, the symbol of freedom.

134. That peace treaty considered on the juridical plane where we must place the indigenous nature of those that represented the aborigines of La Hispaniola, has been so judged by one of the most eminent thinkers of this continent, Don Emiliano Tejera. He asserted that "the Charles V-Enriquillo agreement possessed the meaning and the nature of a treaty and had profound and permanent consequences in the creation of colonial public law".

135. Our country was also the first in the new world to subscribe to a treaty of arbitration, and "arbitration" is one of the peaceful means of solving international conflicts and controversies.

136. Thus, we come to the statement that the Dominican Republic is a Member of the United Nations which possesses a long tradition of respect for and compliance with the terms of law and justice and despite having been convulsed very often by domestic policy and international politics, we trust in the great and noble principles which make all sovereignty inalienable; we believe in the legal order of things and, therefore, in a promising and fruitful future for the United Nations.

137. On behalf of my Government and my people, may I express the satisfaction that we feel at participating in this solemn celebration of the silver jubilee of our Organization. In so doing and in fulfilment of the ennobling mission entrusted to me, I cannot but think of the Sermon on the Mount, which even in the agitated days through which we live still preserves its force and vigour, particularly in one of its most important chapters defining the action reserved for the world Organization: human rights.

138. Finally, with my mind still on the immortal passage of the Book of Books, may I call here for "peace on earth: goodwill towards men".

### **Special ceremony to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**

139. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with its previous decision the Assembly will now hold a special ceremony to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

140. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have invited the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-Four, His Excellency Mr. Davidson S. H. W. Nicol, to be with us on this special occasion. It gives me great pleasure to give the floor to Ambassador Nicol.

141. Mr. NICOL (Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples): It gives me much pleasure—and indeed it is a great honour for me—to participate in the commemoration today of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, on behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

142. It is a day that should symbolize the solidarity of the Member States of the Organization in their determination to accelerate the unconditional attainment of freedom and national independence by all Territories still under foreign rule. It is a day to rededicate ourselves to the principles embodied in the Declaration in regard to the liberation of colonial Territories and to the purposes and tenets enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

143. As is well known, the Charter reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. It also proclaimed among its purposes the achievement of international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

144. As a corollary, the General Assembly, in the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, convinced that all colonial peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. To that end the General Assembly declared in its resolution 1514 (XV) that:

“The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation”

and that:

“Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.”

In the same context, the Assembly declared that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educa-

tional preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

145. The full achievement of these lofty goals has as yet eluded peaceful realization, particularly as regards the southern part of the African continent. Yet, on the part of the United Nations, the gap between purpose and accomplishment does not imply a lack of concern or constructive effort; the Organization has indeed done a great deal to encourage and assist the peoples of the colonial Territories, in Africa and elsewhere, in their progress towards freedom from alien domination. This contribution is reflected in the achievement of independence by some 30 dependent Territories with a total population of nearly 60 million, since the adoption of the Declaration 10 years ago.

146. At the same time, the progress thus achieved in recent years in the process of decolonization serves only to underline the anomaly that 10 years after the adoption of the Declaration several million people are still subject to colonial rule and that most of them live under régimes which offer them little hope of early or peaceful emancipation. Indeed, in many of the colonial Territories repressive measures, including the use of armed action, continue to be taken against the inhabitants, depriving them of their prerogative to exercise freely and peacefully their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

147. What, then, are the reasons for the present situation, which we feel constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security? One does not have to seek far for them; they are to be found principally in the disregard by some Powers of the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the reluctance of some other Governments to extend to the Organization their full co-operation in the application of effective remedies to the outstanding problems. Indeed, the extent of compliance by those Powers with the pertinent United Nations resolutions has fallen far short of the objectives of the Declaration. The sense of frustration that prevails as a result of the persistence of colonialism in all its manifestations, in particular in southern Africa, seems to leave little room for optimism regarding the immediate future.

148. It was against this background that the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session requested the Committee of Twenty-Four to evaluate the activities undertaken by the United Nations over the past 10 years to promote the decolonization of the dependent Territories and, in the light of that evaluation, to formulate a specific programme of action designed to eliminate all the remaining manifestations of colonialism. As Members are aware, that programme of action, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), which is before us, was adopted by the General Assembly only two days ago.

149. The adoption of the programme of action by the General Assembly marks an important stage in the further development as well as the reaffirmation of the principles enshrined in the Declaration and thus represents a notable contribution to the process of

decolonization. One such development is that the concept of inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence was expanded to include a recognition of their inherent right to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress by force their aspirations for freedom and independence. Proceeding from this recognition, the General Assembly recommends that Member States as well as the specialized agencies and the organizations within the United Nations system should render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories in their struggle to attain freedom and independence.

150. Then there is the reaffirmation by the General Assembly that the subjection of peoples to alien domination constitutes a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of peaceful relations among nations. It is in this connexion that the General Assembly attempts to intensify its efforts to enlist active support and involvement of the Security Council in the field of decolonization. In particular, in so far as concerns the situation obtaining in southern Africa, the General Assembly recommends that the Security Council put into effect appropriate measures of enforcement directed at repressive régimes and binding on all Member States, so that the implementation of the various United Nations resolutions concerning the Territories located in that part of the continent will be ensured.

151. While I shall not attempt here to enumerate all the measures envisaged under the programme of action, it should be manifestly clear that the aim and resolve of the Organization are the ultimate achievement of societies free of any political system which condones any form or manifestation of colonialism.

152. The state of colonialism demoralizes both the colonial Power and those whose countries have been occupied. Among the colonizing Powers, there are some whose statements and actions show quite clearly the realization of this phenomenon, because they have been able temporarily to put themselves in the place of the subjugated and oppressed.

153. The elegant pragmatism of Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom in his declaration of the "winds of change" blowing over Africa comes to mind. The great affection and esteem in which Charles de Gaulle of France and his lieutenants are held in many parts of Africa and Asia for their recognition of the necessity of colonial independence as a manifestation of the rebirth of the glory of their country provide another example. We have noted also the recent foreign policy statements regarding Africa and Asia which have been made by President Nixon and we look forward to their bold and speedy implementation. The change in policy towards United States investment in Namibia, in Africa, is a small but welcome beginning.

154. It is with satisfaction that we note the transformation of the colonial relationship between Belgium, Spain and the Netherlands and their former Territories

to one of a healthy, genuine and mutually respectful alliance. Although they do not possess colonial Territories, we should like to pay tribute to the constant and tremendous encouragement of the socialist countries for their assistance in our striving towards decolonization following the dictates of Lenin, the centenary of whose birth was commemorated this year. The fraternity and sharing of common historic experience of the Latin American countries have guided us through many difficult pathways and brought us into clear sunlight.

155. In a week's time President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will be here. As Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and as the recent Chairman of the conference of non-aligned States,<sup>10</sup> he will give us with his usual brilliance an assessment of our progress in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and he will do so better and at a higher level than I am able to.

156. All I can do now finally is remind representatives of what the late Frantz Fanon correctly wrote in one of his controversial essays: "For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity."<sup>11</sup>

157. I am confident, therefore, that Member States, individually and collectively, will give their most serious attention to the recommendations contained in our programme of action of decolonization with a view to its speedy implementation.

158. This year marks not only the tenth anniversary of the Declaration but also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization. Let us, on this day, renew our dedication to the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism in all its manifestations. The Organization will, I trust, derive from that dedication much of the impetus, so necessary at this juncture, for the application of the universally valid principles of human equality, of human dignity, of social justice and self-determination in all dependent countries.

159. As long as a single individual remains a colonial citizen, unable to choose his own government, unable to travel freely in the country of his birth and to own land, unable to shape his own destiny and that of his loved ones, the Committee on decolonization will consider its work unfinished. We shall continue to go forward boldly into the future, encouraged and empowered by the faith and resolution of this General Assembly of nations.

160. The PRESIDENT: I now call on our Secretary-General, His Excellency U Thant.

161. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The General Assembly on Monday [1862nd meeting] endorsed a

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

<sup>11</sup> F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove Press, 1966), p. 36.



programme of action, drawn up by the Committee of Twenty-Four, designed to ensure the complete implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On this solemn occasion, which marks the passing of nearly 10 years since the adoption of that historic Declaration, I think it is appropriate for us to pause and look back on what the United Nations has accomplished in this field and what still remains to be done.

162. The adoption of the Declaration on 14 December 1960 will, in my opinion, be remembered as one of the historic moments in the annals of the United Nations; for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—like its predecessor, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—marked a great stride forward in the application of one of the fundamental principles which the Members of the United Nations are pledged to uphold, in this case the principle of equal rights and self-determination for all peoples.

163. When it adopted the Declaration without a single dissenting vote, the General Assembly made it clear that the conscience of the international community could no longer be satisfied with the slow pace of progress towards decolonization and that the continued denial of the fundamental right of self-determination to dependent peoples throughout the world was not only contrary to the Charter but was also an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation, two of the basic objectives to which the United Nations is committed.

164. By solemnly proclaiming the necessity of bringing a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and by calling for immediate steps to be taken in all dependent Territories to enable their peoples to enjoy complete independence and freedom, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, the General Assembly was thus acting in pursuance of the Charter and of the moral obligations assumed by Member States.

165. The 10 years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration have been years of tireless and unremitting efforts, often in the face of very great difficulties, to bring about its full and complete implementation. The results of these efforts are to be seen in the fact that approximately 53 million people, inhabiting 26 Territories, have emerged from dependent status and many of them are represented here today as Members of the United Nations. Only yesterday, yet another dependent Territory, Fiji, having attained independence, was admitted to membership of the United Nations.

166. In very large measure, these results have been due to the unstinting endeavours of this General Assembly and of its Committee of Twenty-Four, to which the Assembly assigned the task of examining the application of the Declaration and making suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of its implementation. There can be no doubt that this Committee, by its tireless efforts, has played a decisive

role in keeping the problem in the forefront of attention and bringing about a concerted approach to decolonization in the United Nations.

167. Today's commemorative session would have been more satisfying if we had not needed to proclaim a new programme of action to attain the goals of the Declaration. For the fact remains that today, 10 years after its adoption, there are still some 28 million of our fellow-men in 44 dependent Territories who still live under alien rule and are thus deprived of their fundamental right to freedom and independence. Many of these, it is true, inhabit small and often isolated Territories, where the realization of the goal of decolonization presents difficulties of a technical and economic nature requiring special solutions in each case. Some 18 million, however, as we know, live in southern Africa where the problem of colonialism is compounded by the absence of the most basic human rights.

168. The fact that there remain 28 million people who are still today deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence can leave no room for complacency, for the perpetuation of this situation is not only an anachronism but also a serious obstacle to the promotion of world peace and international co-operation. In the international community today, the overwhelming desire is for peace. Nations are tired of the conflicts which have dragged on interminably since the end of the Second World War and which threaten at any moment to engulf large areas of the globe.

169. Colonialism in any territory is an unbalanced state of affairs, and unbalance is what is at the root of war. Surely, looking back at the gigantic strides that have been made in decolonization since the foundation of the United Nations, it should now be possible to work towards an equality among peoples and an era of co-operation that will eliminate the frustrations which lead to war.

170. I therefore call upon all Member States to keep before them the principles of the Charter, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples so that we can move forward to the era that lies beyond colonialism. In history, we see that disputes over the status of a territory have usually been the bitterest and certainly the most long-lasting. There can be no doubt that the interests of all Member States without exception—and I repeat the words "without exception"—will be well served by the granting of self-determination to all dependent peoples.

171. The PRESIDENT: In 1945, at San Francisco, the representatives who drafted the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories were well aware of the fact that they were introducing a decisive change into one of the accepted institutions of international society. It was recognized by all that, henceforth, in all the colonial Territories which still existed, the interests of the inhabitants were paramount. The Declaration was at that time sufficiently revolutionary in

character to induce one of the original Member Governments to describe it as "a charter for the freedom of colonial peoples". At the same time, Chapters XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter established an International Trusteeship System which went far beyond the Covenant of the League of Nations.

172. The experiences of the Second World War certainly had a decisive effect on this change of heart in the international community. They brought home to men and women in all countries a lesson in international morality. The value of freedom became dramatically much clearer for those who had themselves been subjected to the unbearable oppression of foreign domination. The brutalities of the war had shown large-scale rejection of human rights by tyrannical Governments. Ideas that had long served to enhance the value of human existence, and which were reinforced in the American and French revolutions, took on a new content and were recognized by all to be universally applicable. Certain fundamental principles of natural law were given renewed life, among them the notions of popular sovereignty and national self-determination. These ideological factors have inspired the historic movement of decolonization since 1945. The pace has been uneven. But a steadily increasing number of former colonial Territories have reached independence, some through the actions of the United Nations, others through the determined struggles of their own peoples or after negotiations with metropolitan Governments. In the United Nations, an increasing number of new nations with an experience of colonial rule have been deeply conscious of the need to accelerate the process of general decolonization, and have effectively promoted this view.

173. During the historic fifteenth session of the General Assembly, Member nations, new and old, of every political conviction, came together in serious negotiations to lay a new foundation for our efforts towards decolonization. The result of their labour is found in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is a document which is inspired by the ideologies of all the different groups of Members of the United Nations, and I venture to say that it is to the everlasting honour of the Organization that that Declaration was adopted 10 years ago without a single opposing vote. We celebrate today the tenth anniversary of that Declaration, in the recognition that it has had an impact on international life which is comparable only to that of the Charter itself and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which it is in many ways related.

174. All peoples have the right to self-determination and to determine freely their political status. Administering Powers are enjoined to respect the freely-expressed will and desire of the people of Territories which have not attained independence and to transfer unconditionally and unreservedly all powers to those peoples in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation is a denial of human rights and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. That is because of the deep-

rooted desire in men to rule themselves. It is an urge to be master of oneself, to be master of one's destiny, and, in the last instance—and that is most important of all—the desire of men to be masters of their own soul.

175. During those years since 1960, the Declaration has formed the basis for the efforts of the United Nations to accelerate the process of decolonization. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has furnished the General Assembly with copious and detailed information on conditions in colonial Territories, and every year the Assembly has taken stock of developments and pointed out new avenues to obtain more concrete achievements in the field of decolonization. The Declaration has been a source of inspiration to the peoples of dependent Territories in their efforts to realize their right to self-determination and it is our duty never to disappoint them, but to offer them effective support, and at the same time we must keep in mind that it is for each nation itself to claim its own freedom and to decide its own future for itself.

176. Today, the General Assembly has embarked on a special commemorative session to observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. In the summing up of our experience of 25 years, we can safely conclude that the United Nations has been instrumental in shaping what may be termed a nearly universal policy of decolonization. That great movement towards national liberation has by far surpassed the hopes and predictions in 1945, and its successes have changed the nature of the international community, and brought it new value. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples welds the values of the old world and the new and we are, all of us, called upon to carry on with the unfinished business that remains despite our achievements.

177. The United Nations has made it quite clear, beyond a doubt, that the colonial peoples of southern Africa share fully in the right to self-determination and freedom. The Assembly and the Security Council are irrevocably committed to contribute to the fulfilment of the aspirations of these peoples. Similarly, a number of territories in other parts of the world—in many cases small, isolated and poor—are still governed by colonial administrations. The peoples of these Territories equally share in the right to make their wishes known, to exercise their right to self-determination and to find their place in the world in accordance with the principles of the Declaration.

178. To give full effect to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and to bring about a speedy termination of colonialism as we have known it, a determined effort is required from us all. Let us find reinforcement in the principles of the Declaration, in the programme

for further action which has been drawn up. Let us concentrate on constructive imagination to work for the full implementation of the Declaration and for the realization of that hope for "freedom and progress"

which forms the theme for this solemn commemoration.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*