

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



COMMEMORATIVE SESSION
14 to 24 October 1970*

**1868th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 15 October 1970,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 21:

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by the Honourable Tun Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia	1
Speech by Mr. János Peter, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic	4
Speech by Mr. Mohsen Alaini, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Yemen Arab Republic	11

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on His Excellency the Honourable Tun Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia.

2. Mr. ISMAIL: Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend my sincere and warm felicitations to you as President of the General Assembly. We are indeed privileged to have a person of your renowned scholarship and diplomatic skills to preside over the Assembly at this historic and important session. Your election to the Presidency of the Assembly is an eloquent tribute to you personally for your outstanding personal qualities. It is furthermore a fitting reflection of the high esteem in which your country, Norway, is held for its singular dedication and contribution to the cause of the United Nations.

3. I should like also to take this opportunity of conveying to your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia, my delegation's admiration and thanks for her leadership in steering the twenty-fourth session with grace and distinction.

4. At this commemorative session I wish to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant. Throughout the difficult years of his office he has come to symbolize all that is best in the United Nations and he has consistently pursued the cause of peace with rare skill, indefatigable courage and great foresight. All of us will recall with gratitude his decision to accept a second term of office much against his own wishes and inclination. On behalf of the Government of Malaysia, I wish to thank U Thant for his selfless devotion and service to the cause of the United Nations and world peace.

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

5. Twenty-five years ago, out of the brutal and destructive savagery of the Second World War, the United Nations was born, bringing fresh hope for lasting peace and a better life for mankind. At San Francisco the founding Members of the Organization inscribed in the Charter the determination of the peoples of the world to safeguard the peace, to protect human rights, to establish justice and the rule of law and to promote economic growth and social progress in a world free from domination and exploitation. The Charter brought forth to the community of nations a new framework of purposes and principles to guide nations in their relations with one another and in their common striving towards a peaceful, progressive and just international order.

6. Looking back at the last quarter-century, it is evident that in the pursuit of the ideals enshrined in the Charter our achievements have been limited. But, at the same time, these should not be minimized.

7. In the field of peace-keeping the United Nations can look with considerable satisfaction at the success of its peace-keeping operations in Kashmir, in West Asia, in the Congo and in Cyprus.

8. In the field of decolonization the successful emancipation of more than 1,000 million people from colonial bondage would have been much more protracted and difficult without the United Nations.

9. In the field of human rights there is the historic Universal Declaration and in recent years there has been much constructive work resulting in the various covenants affecting human rights.

10. In the field of disarmament the United Nations can claim some success, including in recent years its role in bringing about the signing of a number of important agreements on arms limitation.

11. Much more tangible though less dramatic has been the achievement of the United Nations in the field of social and economic development. Through its network of specialized agencies and special programmes, it has launched a global development strategy which is an unprecedented international co-operative effort to raise living standards in less developed countries.

12. The above recitation is, of course, indicative only of the achievements of the United Nations. But although the Organization can claim to have realized some of its ideals enunciated 25 years ago, those achievements fall far short of the hopes and expecta-

tions of the peoples of the world. Wars are still being fought. Human rights continue to be violated. Millions of people are still living in colonial bondage. Millions of others are still suffering from the oppression of *apartheid*. Two thirds of mankind still live in poverty, disease and illiteracy.

13. But the ills and frustration of the world today should not be allowed to drive us into pessimism and despair about the efficacy of the United Nations. There is, of course, no shortage of cynics. Indeed, in the last few years my Government is conscious of a growing sense of cynicism and weariness threatening to permeate the very fabric of the Organization itself. As the appeals and reminders from the small and developing countries grow in strength for better trade terms, for more meaningful economic aid, for more positive support to eliminate colonialism and racism—these very appeals and reminders have been derived as a sign of irresponsibility or immaturity. Much verbal play is made of the fact that a resolution at the United Nations does not necessarily represent a solution of the problems discussed.

14. No one knows better than we, the poor and the weak countries of the world, that raising the decibel of our condemnation and our appeal will not in itself solve any of our problems. But let us pause awhile and ask whether, in fact, the world has grown indifferent because our voices have become too strident, or whether we have had to speak more loudly and insistently in the hope of reaching a world which has become increasingly callous. Who indeed are the irresponsible ones—those who are consciously making efforts, through this Organization, to bring about greater peace, progress and justice, or those, safe in their prosperity, who no longer wish to take the United Nations seriously? Let us not simply appeal for an end to bitterness and recrimination. We must do more. Malaysia indeed appeals for a rational, level-headed and practical dialogue. At the same time we appeal for an understanding of the frustrations and miseries of poverty, of *apartheid* and of colonial domination. It is simply not good enough to ask us to avoid certain inconvenient issues or to be more patient and thereby be, what is termed as, more practical and more pragmatic.

15. There may indeed be defects in the methods of work and organization of the United Nations. It is therefore important that this matter be thoroughly studied with a view to improving the machinery of the Organization so as to bring about the optimum utilization of our resources and our energies. It is in that spirit that my delegation, together with others, has sponsored a draft resolution on the rationalizing of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly. But all these should not blind us to the deep-seated frustrations and miseries of so much of mankind and the plain fact that some of the shortcomings or failures attributed to the United Nations are actually caused by the unwillingness of Member States to observe fully the Charter.

16. I turn next to the international political situation which today at the beginning of the decade of the seventies is vastly different from that of the early

sixties. There is a thaw in the cold war as it is succeeded by a growing *détente* between the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. We welcome this encouraging trend and we hope it will continue in the coming years without in any way adversely affecting the interests of the smaller and medium Powers. The fact still remains, however, that the fundamental rivalries and antagonisms and competition for spheres of influence are still very much in evidence and causing tension and division.

17. It is also a fact that the world today is no longer bi-polar. It is, if not multi-polar, at least tri-polar. Specifically, I am referring, of course, to the People's Republic of China, whose absence from this Organization reflects a serious shortcoming of the United Nations. Furthermore, the denial to a big Power of its proper role cannot be conducive to the establishment of a stable and harmonious world order. This is hardly the time or place to examine the long chain of cause and effect which has led to the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. I should only wish to state here the view of my Government that, taking into account the right of the people of Taiwan to self-determination, a right which surely States Members of this Organization cannot deny to any people, China should be properly and fully represented in this Organization. The exclusion of China from this Organization and from the mainstream of international activities is unrealistic and short-sighted, and benefits no one.

18. Turning to the situation in South-East Asia, my Government is gravely concerned over the continuation of the war in Indo-China which constitutes an immediate and serious threat to the peace, progress and stability of the region. We are painfully distressed furthermore to see our neighbours in Indo-China, and particularly in Viet-Nam, endure the affliction of war for so long with no apparent sign of peace being restored. Recent developments in the area, which brought increased fighting in Laos and the widening of the war into Cambodia, have aggravated what was already a grave situation. Despite the apparent slowing down of the current fighting, those developments underscore the urgency of efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement to the conflict. For, unless arrested in time, the war in Indo-China could widen still further and escalate to more dangerous levels, and produce a situation which, in military as well as in diplomatic terms, will make a peaceful settlement infinitely more difficult than it is already.

19. In an urgent quest for peace, Malaysia together with several other countries attended the Djarkarta Conference of Foreign Ministers in May of this year. Regrettably, the attendance at the Conference was not as representative as we had hoped. The objective of the Conference, though it was occasioned specifically by the dangerous developments in Cambodia at that time, was to seek peaceful ways and means to restore peace to Cambodia and to Indo-China generally and to enable the people of the States concerned to maintain their national sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity. Though the initiative of the Djarkarta Conference and of the follow-up three-man mission,

of which Malaysia was a member, has not been fruitful for the time being, Malaysia will continue to explore every possibility of contributing constructively towards a resolution of the conflict.

20. In this connexion, we have noted the various statements, in recent weeks, of the parties at the Paris peace talks. I wish to refer specifically to the statement of President Nixon of 7 October. In our view, it is a sincere and forward-looking statement and, without going into any of the details of the proposal contained therein, we believe it represents an earnest and significant effort which, we continue to hope, will receive a careful and constructive response from the parties to whom it has been addressed.

21. In the final analysis, the path to a peaceful settlement of the conflict lies in the application of the principles of non-interference, self-determination and neutralization of the Indo-China area. The agonizing price that the people of Viet-Nam have paid in the last two decades surely points in that direction. At the same time, it is also the view of my Government that the lessons of Viet-Nam have clearly shown the need for the neutralization of the region as a whole.

22. I therefore wish to reiterate from this rostrum my Government's call for the neutralization, not only of the Indo-China area but also of the entire region of South-East Asia, guaranteed by the three super-Powers, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Such a guaranteed neutrality will eliminate the seeds of potential conflict and will ensure durable and lasting peace. Of course, my Government is aware that we are still a long way from attaining that desirable objective, which we believe should be high in the priorities of the regional agenda. There is need for each of the countries of the region to set its own house in order. There is also need to promote the closest contacts and co-operation, on a bilateral as well as a multilateral basis, among the countries of the region and thereby to develop a greater sense of regional consciousness and solidarity.

23. There is, finally, the need to demonstrate that our activities and policies do not adversely affect the basic legitimate interests of the major Powers. It is only then that the countries of the region would be in a position to seek an undertaking from the three super Powers to guarantee their independence, integrity and neutrality. This is surely in the interests of all concerned: a neutral South-East Asia free from big Power entanglements, from external threats and from external subversion.

24. Another problem which requires urgent solution is the explosive situation in West Asia. For over two decades, the displaced and dispossessed people of Palestine, who were evicted from their homeland following the creation of Israel, have been languishing under the agonizing ordeal of untold misery and injustice. I should like to reaffirm here the conviction of my Government that for lasting peace to be achieved in the Middle East there must be full and just restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. This

remains the crux of the West Asian problem, the just solution of which is a prerequisite to lasting peace in the area.

25. The continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands constitutes a grave violation of the principles of the Charter and poses a grave and immediate threat to peace. The implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 is becoming increasingly urgent in the face of the mounting tension and deteriorating situation in that area. Recent developments, with the reactivation of the mission of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, offer some hope. My Government welcomes the present initiative of the Jarring mission to work out a peaceful settlement within the framework of the Security Council resolution. However, we are gravely concerned at the current lack of progress in this initiative and we hope that the impasse may be speedily overcome.

26. This is also the year of the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on colonialism. Despite the tremendous progress in the field of decolonization, we still find that the hard-core colonialists are ever more deeply entrenched in southern Africa. Indeed, the forces of racism and oppression in South Africa, in Namibia, in Southern Rhodesia, and in Angola and Mozambique have become even more stubborn and arrogant with the passage of time, encouraged and strengthened by the attitudes and activities of their trading partners and military suppliers.

27. We appeal therefore to those countries which are in a position to bring about a change in southern Africa to re-examine their present policies and to ask themselves what objectives they expect to achieve by following such policies. If, as we hope and believe, the objective is the liquidation of colonialism and racism in southern Africa, then we must ask whether over the years this objective has indeed been served by their policies. The answer is surely clear. On the other hand, the appropriate courses of action to follow have been charted with precision and clarity in the consideration of the subject in this Organization over many long years. We continue to hope, on grounds of morality, of humanity and of sheer long-term interests, that these appeals and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council will be heeded.

28. Malaysia, for its part, would like to reaffirm here its steadfast support for the people of southern Africa in their fight against colonialism and racism, and its readiness to contribute in whatever way it can to their struggle. Of course, the freedom fighters of southern Africa need no lectures from us to realize that it is first and finally their own struggle for which they will need to steel and strengthen themselves. But we offer whatever assistance and encouragement we can. In this connexion I should like to express here my Government's condemnation of any violation of the Security Council embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa.

29. I turn finally to what is perhaps the single most fundamental issue facing developing countries such as

mine; namely, our development and our efforts to lift ourselves into today's age of science, technology and electronics. Of course, the primary responsibility rests with each individual country. But just as the United Nations is committed to safeguarding international peace, to securing respect for human rights and to seeking the liberation of colonial peoples, so also we are committed to achieving economic justice and economic well-being for all the peoples of the world. There can be no lasting peace as long as two thirds of mankind live in poverty, illiteracy and ignorance; we are irretrievably interdependent. This is the vision of the one world which inspired the founders of the United Nations 25 years ago and which should continue to guide us today. My Government is committed to do the utmost for ourselves, but we are also committed, at the same time, to co-operate with other nations, friends and neighbours alike, to achieve our mutual interests in prosperity and progress.

30. It is therefore with hope and expectation, but at the same time with concern, that Malaysia looks to the fulfilment of the objectives and aims of the Second United Nations Development Decade that will be launched at this session. Clearly, the expectations created from the First Development Decade were far from fulfilled, largely through the failure of the developed countries to live up to their responsibilities, as even a cursory glance at the Pearson report¹ will show.

31. The summoning of the political will to an increased effort is essential if the Second Development Decade is to avoid the regrettable course of the first. The self-interest of every nation requires expanded and more vigorous action than in the past. Statements of general principles and general purposes are not enough. These must be specific and concrete commitments by both developed and developing countries. These include the untying of aid to purchases from donor countries, arrangements in primary commodity trade, general as opposed to selective preferences, aid and capital flows, the criteria of aid in performance and not in political terms, the use of multilateral agencies for the channelling of aid, the transfer of technology, and the recognition that growth targets should be seen in terms not merely of the gross national product, but also of the social objectives of overcoming social and class privileges. Similarly, there is need to consider organizational changes in the United Nations development system, and in particular in the United Nations Development Programme, to attain the objectives of the Second Development Decade. The Capacity Study, otherwise known as the Jackson report,² has stimulated thinking in this direction which we hope will bear fruit in the course of this session.

32. The problem facing us today is the necessity to bridge the gap between promise and performance, and between the hopes and pledges of the Organization's founding fathers and the disappointments and frustra-

tions at the end of 25 years of existence. Meanwhile, new horizons lie before us. These include population, environmental sanitation and the new frontiers of the sea-bed and outer space.

33. As members may be aware, last month saw in Malaysia the smooth transition from the previous Government to a new Government under the premiership of Tun Abdul Razak. In our domestic policies, we shall be guided by our Rukunegara, our national ideology, to achieving a greater unity of all our peoples, to maintaining a democratic way of life, to creating a just society in which the wealth of the nation will be equitably shared, to ensuring a liberal approach to our rich and diverse cultures and traditions and to building a progressive society oriented to modern science and technology. In our external relations, we extend our hand of friendship to all countries that wish to be friendly with us on the basis of respect for each other's independence and integrity. We shall be loyal to our friends, as we have been in the past, and we welcome the friendly co-operation and assistance of all countries. We shall follow our independent foreign policy, basing our judgement of every issue on its particular merits within the framework of peace, decolonization and development. From this rostrum and on this significant occasion, I wish in particular to pledge our continued faith in the United Nations and in the purposes and principles of the Charter. In the pursuit of these ideals and aims, the Government and people of Malaysia pledge here our full and unequivocal support. Ours is a small voice in the councils of the world. But we shall speak always without bitterness or rancour on the side of truth, justice and human values.

34. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, His Excellency Mr. János Peter.

35. Mr. PETER: It is a great privilege for me to have this opportunity of greeting you, Mr. President, as President of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations, and I am so glad that a few months ago you had an opportunity to visit Hungary. At that time you did not visit Budapest itself, but you visited Veszprem, one of the old capitals of the 1,000 year-old Hungary. I hope that the next time you visit Hungary you will see Budapest as well.

36. During the festive meetings of the present commemorative session all delegations and the Governments of all Member States—regardless of their social systems and their past histories—are preoccupied with the questions which have been summarized in a most expressive way by Secretary-General U Thant, whose experience is interwoven, more deeply than that of all of us, with the life and activities of this Organization. The Secretary-General has summed up his experience and his problems in the following terms in the introduction to his report:

“What are the means by which the United Nations can play an increasingly vital role in the world of tomorrow? How can the United Nations make more effective use of its possibilities for reconciling differ-

¹ *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

² *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.70.I.10).

ences between its sovereign Member States? What changes can be evolved in its methods of operation so that its capacity for improving the human condition will be utilized to the full?" [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1, para. 1.]

37. That is indeed a good summary of the questions of vital importance to the United Nations. The Secretary-General answers those questions by stating as an expression of his fervent hope:

"... we shall find the answers to questions such as these and continue to make progress—no matter how slow and painstaking it may at times appear—towards realizing the noble goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations" [ibid.].

38. The Government and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic willingly join in the common responsibility and co-operation of all Member States with a view to finding, formulating and putting into effect the realistic and correct answers conducive to a happy and peaceful future of the family of peoples. It is obvious to us that the purpose set out in the Charter—for the peoples to live together as good neighbours, free from the scourge of war—can be attained only by a joint undertaking of all Member States.

39. Hungary and its people offer the experiences of their 1,000-year history as a modest contribution to the regular everyday activities of the United Nations and combine them with the specific experiences of other more ancient and younger States Members of the United Nations in order to shape a collective wisdom.

40. Being engrossed in this endeavour, during this period of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations and by the lights and shades of the present international situation, I should like, by summarizing the experiences of the Hungarian People's Republic, to give simple and clear-cut answers, clear to representatives of countries having different social systems and different historical backgrounds, to four questions. First, how has the world in which we all live changed in the past twenty-five years? Second, what part has the United Nations played in the process of the changing world? Third, what was Hungary before this changing world and what is it now? Fourth, what advice do the experiences of this quarter of a century give us for the search for a peaceful and happy future?

41. Now, first, the question: How has our world changed in 25 years?

42. How has it changed with respect to the chances for war and peace?

43. In brief the changes can be described as follows. During the 25 years since the end of the Second World War we have succeeded in averting the manifold dangers of a third world war, and today we live amidst the possibilities of the definitive elimination of war while, at the same time, we face the danger of a thermonuclear war.

44. The United Nations was brought into existence by countries having different social systems. The concept of the United Nations was maturing among the allied and associated Powers of the anti-fascist coalition at the time of the Second World War. Those who had joined forces against perils, and for victory, in war realized the necessity of doing so with a view to securing the free and peaceful future of the nations.

45. The contradictions of the United Nations erupted at the very moment of its birth. On 26 June 1945 the United Nations signed the Charter at San Francisco, undertaking to serve the great purposes contained in it. Ratification was already under way—and only under way—when, a few weeks later, on 6 and 9 August 1945, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan.

46. Since then the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted resolutions on the principles of negotiations for general and complete disarmament, international treaties have been concluded on the partial limitation of the arms race, bilateral and multilateral talks have been held with a view to concluding further agreements and treaties for the elimination of the dangers of a thermonuclear war—and all this under the threat of a real thermonuclear war. Little is said about this question in these days. Time and again there has been spread in public opinion the false assumption that the accumulated amount of destructive thermonuclear power is, permanently or definitively, the principal preventive force against the danger of a thermonuclear war.

47. New efforts are needed for us to set out on the road which the United Nations, upon the proposal of the Soviet Union, has marked out for the principles aimed at the preparation of general and complete disarmament.

48. The signing of the Charter of the United Nations almost coincided with the horrible tragedy of the launching of the first two atomic bombs. Today the disarmament talks on comprehensive principles concerning general and complete disarmament coincide with the permanent threat of a thermonuclear war.

49. It is part of the tragic situation of today that—even without a new world war, even without a thermonuclear war—the arms race itself, its further extension, can ruin, first of all, the great Powers participating in the arms race, and ultimately also the life of the whole of mankind. The proportions of the intensifying arms race may grow beyond all our imagination. The race may extend to new kinds of weapons, to ones that are still unimaginable today but may be developed in the future by new scientific discoveries. It may extend to new dimensions, to the depths of oceans, to the endless distances of outer space, to celestial bodies and even to other solar systems. The scope of the participants of the race may extend gradually to including all humanity, all nations. Today it is usual to speak of two thermonuclear States. I wonder whether there are not any more. Besides the five nuclear States we know of at least 10 other countries

which can at any moment start producing atomic weapons. If the whole process cannot be reversed, the circle may widen immensely. Hardly had the non-proliferation Treaty [resolution 2373 (XXII)] come into force when one of the signatories—I might even say that it was the United States of America—expressed the view of its leaders that it was a disadvantage that Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany did not possess atomic weapons.

50. The emergence of new industries of nuclear armament, the extension of the circle of thermonuclear States, in addition to making the danger of war entirely incalculable—all this not only makes it impossible for mankind to use the energy and technology obtained through new discoveries for its own good, but they also divert other resources of immense and ever larger quantities from the solution of vital human problems and undermine the material existence of mankind in the whole world.

51. All forces ought to be combined to reverse this tragic process.

52. How can these dangers be lessened and how can the negotiations be brought to success? A condition of decisive importance is the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The direct talks of the two leading Powers bearing most particular responsibilities ought to be made more constructive. This would be made easier if the mutual relations of the five nuclear States were improving so that all five Powers could take part in the negotiations towards reducing the arms race, eliminating the threat of a thermonuclear war and removing the causes of armed conflict. Without the assumption of joint responsibility by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom, there can be no satisfying agreement on questions of disarmament, the arms race and on the question of the dangers of a third world war.

53. All this is made difficult, or practically impossible, by two armed conflicts of our times—the Viet-Nam war which has again grown into an Indo-China war and the Middle East situation created by a war of aggression. There are also less-conspicuous, hidden difficulties: the tension around Korea in Asia and the mutual relations of the German States in Europe.

54. In spite of their diversity and the difference in their nature, these problems are interconnected through the strings of the fundamental contradictions of our age. In the fundamental contradiction of our age it is obvious that everything in our world is connected and interconnected with everything else. If we take the world in the fullest sense of the word, the most different human undertakings, from the resources of the earth through the depths of the oceans and the surface of the globe to outer space, partly counteract one another and partly assist one another. This general interdependence of the various fronts means that nothing can be settled in any sector of the front until all the sectors of the front are stable. On the one hand, one has to fight for solutions in all sectors simultane-

ously and, on the other hand, one has to force the advance in those sectors where the conditions are ripe.

55. We in Europe are now advancing under favourable auspices towards the consolidation of peace and security, towards confidence in European peace and security. But at the same time we are aware that Europe is in a situation of interaction with the whole world, and the comparatively favourable development of our conditions does not lessen our vigilance in this respect and we recognize that the problems of other parts of the world may influence the situation in Europe.

56. The termination of the war in South-East Asia by a political settlement not only would serve the peace and the cause of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, but would make it easier to settle all other major international problems. Just as in 1965 it was the intensification of United States aggression and the starting of the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam that introduced a new stage of increasing international tensions and added to the danger of broader international conflicts, so in the circumstances of today new and favourable actions may originate in South-East Asia if the way towards a peaceful settlement can be found. This would have a favourable effect upon the Middle East, upon the Far East, upon Europe and even upon any negotiations related to the cause of international security, as well as upon the Soviet-United States talks on arms limitation.

57. The necessity of such a peaceful settlement in South-East Asia is clearly seen by all. Not even in the United States does there seem to be anywhere a responsible leading circle which could suppose that it is capable of gaining a military victory in South-East Asia. The realistic outlines of a peaceful settlement also are beginning to develop.

58. At the start of the escalation, as early as the autumn of 1965, it became clear that communication between the attackers and the attacked would be possible only if the United States would stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in an unconditional way and without the threat of resuming the bombing. It was indeed the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam that opened the way to negotiations. This was clear in 1965, and it is just as surely clear now, in 1970, when the operations have been extended to Laos and Cambodia, that the talks in Paris are making no progress because the United States Government prevents the realization of the aspirations to form a coalition government in Saigon.

59. This is today the key problem of South-East Asia. If this is solved and if this question is answered a sensible solution will be found to all other questions. Just as the international conferences on South-East Asia in 1954 and 1962 had a favourable effect on the whole international situation, so in the same way after the formation of a coalition government in Saigon the events in South-East Asia may take a new turn and a new international conference on these subjects would have a salutary effect not only on South-East Asia but also on the cause of universal peace and security.

60. The Middle East situation, which is a result of aggression, is to a certain extent interlinked with the conditions in South-East Asia. Had it not been for the general international situation, aggravated by the aggression of the United States in Viet-Nam, the militarists of the Israeli Government would not have ventured in 1967 to start an attack on the Arab countries. The continual acts of aggression committed by the United States in South-East Asia give the Government of Israel courage to put off its acceptance of the 1967 resolution of the Security Council, to maintain the conditions of aggression and even to launch new attacks. Under the Charter of the United Nations, if the Security Council is unable to provide protection to the country which has been attacked, that country shall have the right under Article 51 to any means of self-defence, including the use of force.

61. The Israeli Government is mistaken in its judgement of the conditions of international law if it believes that it may negotiate on an equal footing with the neighbouring Arab countries while holding illegal possession of territories occupied by aggression. Israel first has to put an end to the conditions of aggression, to leave the occupied territories, and only then will a situation arise in which Israel can become a legitimate party to negotiate a Middle East settlement. Until then, however, the Arab countries are entitled under the United Nations Charter to prepare for retaking those territories even by force of arms.

62. The Arab countries, having regard for the interests of their own peoples and for universal human interests, wish to find the solution in a political settlement by peaceful means. International life has suffered a great loss by the death of the great Arab leader, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. Also in this forum I express the Hungarian people's respect for the memory of President Nasser and their profound sympathy with the mourning Arab people fighting for their rights.

63. The principles of a solution of the Middle East crisis are formulated in the 1967 resolution of the Security Council [242 (1967)]. The way to the application of the principles will be free when Israel withdraws its troops from the territories occupied by the aggression. The ways and means of this withdrawal ought to be fixed in international agreements, and then all other provisions of the Security Council resolution should be guaranteed by international agreement.

64. Any step conducive to the solution of the Middle East problem will have a favourable impact on the settlement of all other international conflicts and problems in Asia, Africa, Europe and in Latin America.

65. Progress must be made towards settlement in the various concrete issues, separately as well as concurrently and in conjunction with the general problems.

66. At this commemorative session the proposal of the Soviet Union relating to questions of international peace and security, while aiming at improving the general political atmosphere, by that very fact promotes the solution of those specific questions.

67. How has our world changed in the past 25 years? How has it changed with regard to the peaceful coexistence of peoples?

68. In short, the question can be answered as follows: the colonial systems have disintegrated definitively and finally; colonial domination in its old forms can never be revived again. But the issues of the economic independence of the liberated countries have been left unsolved. There still exist remnants of the colonial system. From time to time neo-colonialist efforts gather momentum. The fate of the world is affected considerably by the solution of problems in the development of the countries freed from colonial rule.

69. The disintegration of the traditional colonial systems has introduced a new period of world history. We Hungarians, we here in the United Nations, have experienced directly favourable consequences of this event. At a time when the cold war was in a very intense stage, here in the United Nations, here in this Organization, representatives of countries which would have liked to make Hungary a stepping stone to attacks against the Soviet Union conducted an overall campaign of cold war against the Hungarian People's Republic. They would have liked to make use of the United Nations to turn Hungary and its people against their own interests. These attempts went on for years and years. These reactionary manoeuvres were doomed to failure from the very beginning, of course; they were doomed to failure by the proper development of the life of the Hungarian people, by the shift in the international power relations, and power proportions; but here, in the United Nations, their futility was made particularly evident by the new situation which, with the appearance of new Member States, drew attention from the artificial cold-war issues to the basic problems of modern history.

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

70. In this the socialist countries received considerable help from new Member States, countries liberated from colonial status, and Hungary will never forget their support against the cold war. In the removal from the agenda of the United Nations of the so-called question of Hungary, together with many other false issues, an important part was played by the appearance of a great number of countries liberated from colonial rule and by their participation in the work of the United Nations. The Hungarian people, who are now going the way of peaceful development, look with respect upon the peoples of the developing countries and nations, and, based on their own experience, know full well and will never forget that the liberation of those peoples and the disintegration of the colonial system, has favourably influenced international power relations, improved the general international atmosphere, lessened the tensions, and promoted international co-operation.

71. At the end of the Second World War the traditional system of colonialism was almost entirely intact, but then it started disintegrating with increasing speed. The General Assembly of the United Nations discussed its Declaration on the liquidation of the colonial system

in 1960, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Organization. The results are great and have made history. We are glad to state this today, 10 years after the Declaration and in the twenty-fifth anniversary year of the United Nations, but we know that—although not hundreds of millions any longer—approximately 30 million people still live under the colonial yoke and the liberated countries have not yet achieved economic independence, it is mainly by these means that here and there neo-colonialism can score some important successes.

72. The Hungarian People's Republic views the problems of the developing countries as common problems of the whole world. That is why it takes every opportunity to promote its relations with those countries and is seeking ways of economic and political co-operation with them.

73. We paid great attention to the Addis Ababa Conference of African States.³ A favourable sign of the present international situation is the diminishing of the internal contradictions of the Organization of African Unity and the strengthening of its united actions against remnants of the colonial system, and against the policy of *apartheid* of the Republic of South Africa.

74. The Lusaka Conference of non-aligned nations⁴ reinforced the front of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. We look with great esteem upon those who helped the Conference make progress in such a favourable direction.

75. The Hungarian People's Republic regards the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, as well as the First and Second United Nations Development Decades, as most important factors in the present international situation and strives to take part in projects of international co-operation promoting the economic independence and advancement of the developing countries.

76. The development of countries liberated from the colonial yoke is fraught with many contradictions. Even in debates here views are voiced to the effect that the pace of liberation may have been too rapid. Such views are held mainly by those who do not dare otherwise admit the horrors of the colonial past. No matter what difficulties arise from the many unsolved questions of the newly independent countries, all this does not diminish the historic significance of the collapse of the colonial empires, and the cessation of the outrageous atrocities committed by colonialism.

77. In 1960 the United Nations General Assembly declared that all colonial countries should be granted independence by the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. We are now celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary, and colonial territories still exist. In

spite of this we look back to the past 25 years as the historic period of the crumbling of the system of imperialism. One of the places where this process of incalculable consequence found eloquent expression was this Assembly hall of the United Nations. The constructors of the General Assembly hall did not reckon with such a swift pace of disintegration of the system of imperialism. In the period of the rapid disintegration of the colonial empires it was necessary, year by year, to make more room for the seats of delegations in this hall. The Organization started with 51 Member States, today it has 127 Members. There is not enough room in this hall, even though representatives of very important countries are not present here.

78. What changes have occurred in the conditions of human coexistence and social systems in the past 25 years?

79. In short, this question can be answered as follows. During this time the world socialist system has come into being and the international power relations have changed radically. Among the States Members of the United Nations more and more countries are seeking new ways of development. The fact that the new social order has grown into a world system has had a decisive effect upon the international events of the past 25 years. It has had an effect on the disintegration of the colonial system. In the lifetime of preceding generations the colonial wars took a heavy toll of human life throughout the centuries. The fact that in our time the forces fighting for independence in colonial countries could gain victory with such tremendous speed can be explained largely by the existence of the new world system, which placed a check on the international power policy of the former colonial Powers.

80. The fact that it has so far been possible to prevent a new world war and to limit the current wars of aggression, in the hope that they will be completely eliminated, can be explained to a great degree by the strength of the new world system of socialism.

81. The fact that since Hiroshima and Nagasaki we have had no additional cities, in those or other parts of the world, to cite as victims of atomic bombs and that, so far, a thermonuclear war has not broken out, can be explained primarily by the existence of the new world system of socialism, with its ideology aimed at securing the peaceful future of mankind and its power aimed at curbing the dangers of thermonuclear aggression.

82. The second question was: what has become of the United Nations in the past 25 years and what part has the United Nations played in the process of historic changes?

83. In short, this question can be answered as follows. During its history of a quarter of a century, the United Nations has grown in dimension beyond all expectations, in the midst of successes and failures, illusions and frustrations. It has grown just as enormously in its manifold spheres of activity. And, despite all this, a great deal of uncertainty, misunderstanding and con-

³ Seventh ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Addis Ababa from 1 to 3 September 1970.

⁴ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

troversty about the fulfilment of the principal mission of the United Nations exists among us. All this is best shown by this silver jubilee session. Many of us—almost all of us—were looking forward to the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly with great expectations. Many expected a great deal to emerge from the agenda of this session, from the general debate and from the resolutions. But all of us also expected government representatives of the Member States to have the opportunity to have talks and private discussions on a number of controversial issues, and to arrange for the settlement of those issues. The indications are that all of those expectations will not be fulfilled. There are those who are particularly responsible for this. The success and failure of this silver jubilee session may very well symbolize the entire course of the history of the United Nations and the basic problems of the fulfilment of its principal mission.

84. The founders set up the United Nations, as you know very well, Mr. President, as a forum for co-operation among countries having different systems and different interests. The main purpose of co-operation is the maintenance of peace and security.

85. At the present session it seems fashionable to point out that this international Organization has lost its former importance. During the debates a variety of explanations has been given for the diminishing importance of the United Nations. Some explain it by the fact that the Security Council has more rights than the General Assembly, and cite that as a contributing reason for the decrease in importance of the United Nations. Others seek an explanation in the special right of the permanent members of the Security Council, in what is called the right of veto. There are also some who think that the glory of the United Nations is diminishing because of the rapid growth of its membership, owing to the large-scale participation of the new Member States, the developing countries.

86. The United Nations has undergone a number of crises in the course of its history: in 1950, at the time of the Korean war; in 1956, at the time of the Suez crisis; at the peak of the cold war, when attempts were made to use the United Nations even against Hungary; and in 1964 and 1965 at the beginning of the escalation of the war in Viet-Nam, when attempts were made also to apply the provisions of Article 19 of the Charter in a most unconstitutional manner.

87. The United Nations has found itself in a critical situation whenever a power group has attempted to use the Organization for purposes contrary to or at least different from its Charter.

88. The United Nations really loses its importance when such attempts are made. If the Government of the United States, before and during the present period, had not been engaged in attempts at restoring its so-called policy of strength, then this session could have produced more and greater results.

89. The United Nations was established after the Second World War as an institution of international

co-operation. In this it differs fundamentally from the League of Nations, which was created after the First World War. The League of Nations was a gathering disguised by the abstract and sophisticated theories of international law of the victor Powers of that war. It drifted with the tide of shifting power relations in Europe until it went out of existence as a consequence of its own fundamental contradictions.

90. The United Nations, on the contrary, is an agency of international co-operation. Its task is to reconcile the mutual interests of the great Powers and small countries, the common interests of socialist and capitalist countries in accordance with the principles of freedom, independence and peace.

91. In the past 25 years power relations have changed to a large extent. The fifth permanent seat on the Security Council is occupied by a delegation which represents no great Power whatsoever. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the United States have grown into Powers of a kind which has never before existed in history and is unparalleled today. In the meantime, the number of States has grown as a result of independence and other political movements. In 1945 there were 51 States Members of the United Nations; today there are 127. However, a number of important States are not represented here. We miss representation of the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Korean and Viet-Nameese peoples.

92. The whole world and power relations as a whole have changed a great deal during these decades, but the fundamental principle of the United Nations has remained unchanged. The Organization must be made a forum of co-operation among small and large countries with different systems, for the benefit of all Member States. Any proposal which—however good the intentions on which it may be based—imperils the principle and possibility of effective co-operation among all Member States endangers the future of the United Nations and the interests of Member States, and I should say of world peace and security. Such proposals are ones which are designed to transfer the powers of the Security Council to the General Assembly, to make the value of a vote dependent on the amount of financial contributions, to abrogate the right of veto in order to loosen the interdependence of the great Powers bearing primary responsibility for the prevention of a thermonuclear war, and to make the United Nations a sort of world parliament instead of a forum of international co-operation.

93. It will be to the advantage of all States of the world and serve the cause of peace and security if the principles of the Charter are left unchanged and, if in improving the activities of the United Nations, we take into consideration only changes in the position of Member States regarding their international responsibility. Any weakening of the present Charter provisions, binding the great Powers to one another and conferring special rights on the Security Council members, would jeopardize the interests of precisely the small States which launch such proposals from time to time.

94. It is not by chance that the greatest results during the past 25 years have been achieved by the specialized agencies of the United Nations. It would be better if these bodies were guarded from the temptations of power politics and the cold war and maintained as forums of international co-operation. Among the traditional, as well as the recently established, agencies in this respect are the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. The experience of those bodies has to be put to use in order that the United Nations may become the most effective possible organization of international co-operation in the interest of consolidating international peace and security. We should be an organization of international co-operation.

95. The third question was: what has become of Hungary in the quarter of a century since the Second World War? The answer can be summed up as follows.

96. In 1945—at the end of the Second World War—the year of the establishment of the United Nations, Hungary was at the lowest point of its 1,000 year-old history, rich in successes and failures, and on the verge of destruction and deep tragedy; while today Hungary is living in the quietest period of its entire history, experiencing the most rapid development of the Hungarian people, a period of purest friendship with its neighbours after many centuries of hostility.

97. The past 25 years have been a new period not only for Hungary but also for all Europe. There is good reason to speak of all Europe in connexion with Hungary, for what has happened to Hungary has a bearing on the modern history of all Europe.

98. The whole of Europe is now in the midst of the longest period of peace in its history. This is primarily due to the fact that, in place of the trials of the old policy of balance of power which led to wars called by different names—the Hundred Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, the First and the Second World Wars—the policy of peaceful coexistence has begun to take hold. A basic factor of this historic change is that, in the centre and the east of Europe, a new social system—socialism—has made possible a new kind of development in Europe, and this new system thus created conditions in which militarism and revanchism can count on less and less success in Europe.

99. Characteristic of the new situation in Europe are the Soviet-West German Treaty,⁵ the progress in the Polish-West German negotiations, the preparations for Czechoslovak-West German talks, the successive meetings of representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the terms of international law.

100. It is a guiding principle of the foreign policy of Hungary to create the most favourable international conditions for the life of its people in connexion with the interests of international peace and security—and of European peace and security in the first place. The best way for Hungary to attain this goal is the following. Hungary is in close alliance with the Soviet Union first of all, and at the same time with other socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid; it enhances its multiple relations with the developing countries and its co-operation in the industrial field while deepening, in general, its relations with the advanced capitalist countries as well on the basis of properly interpreted principles of peaceful coexistence.

101. The Hungarian People's Republic looks upon the United Nations as an international forum suitable also for its own affairs, a forum in which co-operation among peoples can be promoted for the sake of the progress of the peoples of the whole world and for the sake of international peace and security.

102. A significant event in the life of my country will take place in a few weeks; the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will provide occasion to appraise the way we have gone so far to examine our present attitudes and to determine our future domestic and foreign policies. I can safely say—as appears from the democratic functions, meetings and mass manifestations in Hungary these days—that the Party Congress will confirm Hungary in its domestic policy and heighten its influence in the field of international affairs. It will be an event of stability.

103. The fourth question was: what next? The experiences of the past quarter of a century, the contribution of Member States from their previous experiences, the lessons we can draw from those experiences—what advice does all this give us and how does it help us, in and outside the United Nations, to prepare a peaceful and happy future for mankind?

104. We have to be aware that the United Nations is a community of Member States among which antagonistic differences exist. The difference between capitalism and socialism is antagonistic. But on a world scale the socialist and the capitalist countries are bound together by many common responsibilities. Sharp differences separated and still separate the colonizing nations from the colonized countries, but common responsibilities exist between them. Sharp conflicts oppose the aggressors to the attacked countries, but even the attacked and the aggressors have common responsibilities in the present world situation.

105. I could enumerate the divergences. I could point to the differences between highly developed and developing countries, and perhaps the diversity of the colour of skin and that of cultures, but no matter how many antagonisms and other differences may exist, there exist the bonds of common responsibility between us. Here in the United Nations we must try, by glossing over no differences or conflicts, to seek out the uniting facts of common responsibility and

⁵ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

thereby to reduce the tensions, to remove the dangers of war and to liquidate the current conflicts.

106. The alternative which mankind has before it is either thermonuclear war or peaceful coexistence, that is, the settling of disputed issues by relatively peaceful means.

107. The Hungarian People's Republic takes part in shaping the future of the United Nations in the awareness that it has to help remove the danger of a thermonuclear war and to promote the cause of mutual understanding and the peaceful, happy future of the peoples—the peaceful future of nations, the peaceful future of the world.

108. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Yemen Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Mohsen Alaini.

109. Mr. ALAINI: It is indeed gratifying for my Government, and a source of great satisfaction, to extend to the President our heartfelt congratulations on his brilliant election to the Presidency during this commemorative session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. My delegation is proud to lend its co-operation to the President of the General Assembly. Equally, we must convey our greetings and respect to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts and dedication to the cause of peace, justice and progress.

110. A quarter of a century has elapsed since the foundation of the United Nations. Today, while we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our noble Organization, we must look into the records to identify our achievements and failures during the past 25 years. In this commemorative session, we must recall the main objectives, inspired by the founding Members, to be pursued by the United Nations. At the Conference in San Francisco, the theme was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security. This is still valid now. The Charter speaks of international peace and security as a priority among the objectives to be fulfilled. The Charter further asserts that the renunciation of the use or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any Member State is an indispensable obligation of all Member States.

111. The world community has witnessed several violations of a deliberate nature which are incompatible with the principles enshrined in the Charter, yet our Organization was unable or unwilling to act with responsibility in accordance with its Charter commitments. It is, however, our direct responsibility, as Members of the United Nations, to honour and respect the Charter and the values it stands for, or else we are destroying the United Nations as an institution for peace, justice and progress of mankind.

112. In the view of my Government, the failure of the United Nations can be attributed to the following elements: the unwillingness of certain major Powers and Member States to co-operate with the United

Nations when their individual interests are not immediately concerned; the existence of what has been termed as "double standards" within the Organization has permitted individual national interests to overrule the collective interests represented by the United Nations.

113. The problem of Viet-Nam continues to be of significant concern to world peace and international security. We strongly believe that the complete withdrawal of the occupying foreign troops from Indo-China is a prerequisite to any lasting peaceful settlement. The people of Viet-Nam should be given the liberty to exercise their right, to decide their destiny and to shape their own future without any outside interference.

114. The People's Republic of China, with 700 million inhabitants cannot and should not stay outside the United Nations. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations diminishes the Organization's universality and effectiveness and is in contradiction to the principles and ideals of the Organization.

115. The continued existence of colonial rule in Namibia, the illegal racist minority régime in Salisbury and South Africa, and the savage colonial war against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), constitute a slowing down of United Nations efforts to bring peace based on justice and in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is the conviction of my delegation that the complete elimination of colonial racism is a determining factor towards the realization of international peace based on justice. Only then could the United Nations maintain the confidence of the peoples with regard to the principles and objectives to which the Organization has committed itself.

116. My delegation views the global economic development as one of the most urgent problems that confront our world today. Proper solutions to this problem could be achieved only through the meaningful co-operation of all nations and international organizations.

117. Although the primary responsibility for development rests upon the developing countries, the developed nations are invited to assume a vital role in solving the economic dilemma of the developing countries. I must also emphasize the responsibility of the United Nations in the process of economic development as part of the conditions leading to the fulfilment of its objectives. So far, the United Nations has not been fully effective in the field of economic development. The First United Nations Development Decade, for example, proved to be a complete failure. Today, *per capita* income in the developing countries is still below human dignity and comfort. Chronic poverty, under-employment and unemployment are still major problems with which the developing countries are faced in this decade.

118. My delegation is convinced that development is an essential path to peace and justice. There cannot

be peace or justice in a world where severe income disparities prevail. On the other hand, development, as we see it, has no magic formula that could be applied to each and every nation. This is due to the fact that each country has different combinations of resources and its own cultural framework. This is why I emphasize that the role of initiating and pursuing development rests upon each developing country. In this connexion, my delegation endorses in principle the draft resolution in document A/C.2/L.1104, which is being debated in the Second Committee at the present session. This resolution reflects, in general, our belief that development should be the international objective in the Second Development Decade and that the sovereignty and full independence of all countries should be preserved.

119. In this commemorative session, we have to face the facts and examine the record, no matter how unpleasant they are, that is, if we want this Organization to succeed in its efforts and not to fall in the same trap of irresponsibility that characterized the League of Nations. We firmly believe that the destruction of the League was brought about by its attitudes and policies and by its failure to respond to the problems of the oppressed and small nations.

120. I need not remind you of the problem of Palestine in order to draw a comparison and a conclusion. The problem of Palestine could cause a holocaust, the results of which no one would dare to contemplate.

121. At the conclusion of the Second World War, the trusteeship system was terminated in many parts of the world and the peoples of these Territories were given the right to self-determination in order to conduct their own internal affairs according to their free choice.

122. This principle of self-determination was not applied in Palestine. The British Mandate was terminated. Yet, in contravention of the terms and obligations of the Mandate, the Mandatory Power surrendered the country to a minority group to the exclusion of the majority of the population. Political pressure by certain major Powers was exerted on the United Nations to have it give its consent to this absurd situation. Not only did the United Nations refrain from deploring the expulsion of the Palestinians, but it accepted the establishment of a Jewish State in complete denial of the right of the majority of the Palestinians, Christians and Moslems alike, and in complete defiance of the letter and spirit of the Charter.

123. With the blessing of the United Nations and certain Powers, and with methods which still remind the world of the Fascist and Nazi nightmare, the new racist authority in Palestine embarked on a twofold policy: terrorizing and displacing the indigenous Palestinians, Christians and Moslems; importing and transplanting in their place, aliens of a Jewish faith coming from countries where they and their ancestors had lived for hundreds and thousands of years.

124. The Zionists continue their expansionist policy, not only in Palestine, but even against the territorial

integrity of three independent Member States neighbouring on Palestine, while this Organization has limited its role to the adoption of resolutions, which we knew the aggressor would never heed; or to the collection of charitable contributions for the Palestinians who have been called refugees, as if they were doomed to live forever in refugee camps or else perish.

125. After a long, painful period of more than twenty years of suffering and waiting, the Palestinians, living in camps and on charity, have lost patience and hope in finding justice through this Organization. So we see them now, trying with their own ways and means, their sacrifices, their sufferings and their lives, to right the wrongs and to regain their land and their rights. We are confident that world public opinion and conscience, which has started to listen to their voices, will support their just cause. We are confident that despite all the odds against them, victory at the end will be theirs.

126. It is our earnest hope that the United Nations will reassess its position with regard to the Palestinian problem and the people of Palestine. This reassessment is dictated, in our opinion, by the principles enshrined in the Charter and by the keenness of Member States to preserve this Organization as a symbol of hope to all nations and as a guardian for peace, justice and progress in the world.

127. I see no examples of wrong and injustice parallel to the Palestinian cause except those of South Africa and Rhodesia. For in these three cases aliens, imported from far-away and various lands, are transplanting themselves, thus displacing the indigenous peoples of these unfortunate countries.

128. It is the responsibility of this Organization and its Member States to stand against the forces of aggression and against the violations of the basic rights of all peoples to freedom and independence, to stand firmly by the peoples' right to self-determination and self-government on the basis of one-man-one vote.

129. Yemen has been a member of the United Nations since 1947. Before and after that, it has given special consideration to national independence and has always deplored all forms of interference by foreign Powers in the internal affairs of other nations.

130. In 1962, the Yemeni people proclaimed the Republic. By taking this action, the Yemeni people terminated the backward and reactionary régime which blocked our path of progress and development. Moreover, that régime had isolated Yemen for years from the world of the twentieth century.

131. Although the young Republic has experienced considerable internal troubles and some difficulties in its relations with some countries, the Yemen Government, beginning early this year, has achieved considerable success in bringing stability and peace. National unity has been achieved and the Yemen Arab Republic has normalized its relations with neighbouring countries and with all nations. Before the end of this year, the constitution will be submitted for ratifica-

tion and a national legislative body will be elected. And thus, we will continue to build the political and social structure of our State in order to achieve real progress in the fields of economic development, education and health.

132. My country extends its hand with all sincerity in a drive to co-operate in all spheres of concern with the Member nations within the framework of the United Nations Charter and the principles of non-alignment.

133. I should like to conclude my statement by extending my delegation's congratulations to all those who work diligently here at Headquarters and in different parts of the world to achieve the objectives of the Charter and all the principles for which the United Nations stands, with the hope that the future will bring peace, justice and prosperity to all mankind.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.