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AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will hear this morning a statement by the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, His Excellency General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, H.Pk., H.J.
2. President YAHYA KHAN: I am happy to take part in this commemorative session of the United Nations and to meet here two great servants of peace, the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. The occasion has been made more memorable by the presence of so many distinguished leaders from many countries, with most of whom Pakistan enjoys cordial relations.
3. I have come here to renew Pakistan's commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.
4. Ever since my country's birth, this commitment has never weakened. It has shown itself particularly at two crucial junctures in our history and on an issue which engages our heart and mind. On those occasions, Pakistan based its policy in the hope that the United Nations would ensure the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination. We believed that it would thus build a stable peace on the foundation of

justice in our region. When called to the test, Pakistan co-operated with the United Nations to its utmost capacity.

5. The dispute concerning Jammu and Kashmir has twice led us to conflict. I often ask myself, is this dispute so intractable as to dash all our hopes for its settlement? What an immense contribution to world peace and progress could be made by the 650 million people of our two countries if only we could achieve an honourable and just solution of our outstanding problems. Is there any doubt that humanity would hail a Kashmir settlement on the basis of the principles of the Charter? Despite the frustration of all efforts made so far to resolve this dispute, it is not too late to make a fresh move towards peace. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, I take this opportunity to make an offer to India. Let us move towards peace by holding discussions about the withdrawal of our forces, both by India and by Pakistan, from Kashmir so that its people are enabled to decide their future without any constraint or coercion from outside. That is the offer I make here and now.

6. I renew also the proposal which I made in July 1969 that a self-executing machinery to settle all Indo-Pakistan disputes should be established as a concomitant of a no-war pact.

7. With regard to the equally grave problem created by the construction of the Farakka Barrage on the international river, the Ganges, I cannot imagine why it should be allowed to become explosive when all it requires is mutual good faith and the application of international law.

8. Pakistan has been deeply concerned with many international issues which, at one time or another, have engaged the attention of the United Nations. We have joined with others in seeking an early end to colonialism and racism in southern Africa. We believe that it is not only a question of upholding human rights; it is as much a matter of averting a danger to international peace and security. Peace will certainly be endangered unless the arms embargo against South Africa is tightened and scrupulously implemented, and unless the remnants of colonialism and racism in southern Africa are speedily liquidated.

9. The concern of my people over the events in the Middle East goes back to well over half a century; its roots need hardly be explained. To us, the issues involved are the basic issues of peace and justice. If a people are uprooted from their home, as the people

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

of Palestine were, if their fundamental rights are denied them, as theirs have been, if acquisition of territory by war is not undone, as it has not so far been in the Middle East, then the world will retreat to the time when might was right. The people of Palestine have been driven to desperation.

10. What we see in the Middle East is the danger of the pursuit of security so total for one State as to threaten the security of all its neighbouring States. What we see is the danger of disregarding the sensibilities of millions all over the world who cannot tolerate that the Holy City of Jerusalem be treated as the spoils of war. Few events have caused as much anguish to the people of Pakistan as the occupation of Jerusalem by force. No settlement which leaves the Holy City under the control of Israel, or permits Israel to retain any occupied Arab territory for that matter, can bring peace to the Middle East.

11. The situation in the Middle East has become critical from the time that the talks undertaken by Ambassador Jarring ended, no sooner than they began. I believe precious time should not be wasted in a barren pursuit of charges and counter-charges of violations of the temporary cease-fire. I urge that not a day be lost in reactivating the mission of Ambassador Jarring so that a just and lasting peace can be brought about in the Middle East.

12. Though the war in Indo-China has remained outside the purview of the United Nations, it cannot but cast a sombre shadow over all its proceedings. For every day it continues, without the people of Viet-Nam being enabled freely to decide their future, it destroys the confidence of man in the present world order.

13. Though diverse in nature, these issues bear a common denominator. Their content is the torment and tragedy of millions of human beings. All that their solution requires is that the principles which should guide the conduct of relations among nations be applied equitably.

14. Peace is indivisible; so is justice. We cannot apply one standard to one situation and a different one to another.

15. These issues pose two fundamental questions to this world body, the United Nations.

16. First, what is the nature of the peace which this Organization seeks to establish and maintain? Is it the peace which is based on equity and justice? Or is it the mere absence of armed conflict, sometimes frozen in a state of cease-fire under which unrest simmers and conflict smoulders?

17. Second, what is the operative reality of this Organization? Is it simply a directorate of the great Powers meant to secure their global interests? Or is it the means by which the collective will of nations, large and small, affluent and impoverished, can impose itself on different situations and make them conform to the standards of justice?

18. For a time, a measure of success in peace-keeping in certain areas of conflict brought credit to the United Nations. In the satisfaction gained as a result, it was forgotten that peace-keeping is, and should be, but a prelude to peace-making. Since the underlying causes of the conflicts were not removed, explosions occurred and the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations proved to be inadequate. Hostilities were resumed, then suspended. Grievances persisted. Injustice continued. Peace became brittle.

19. The pattern of these situations is almost uniform. The lesson that can be drawn from it is that unresolved international disputes, far from disappearing, harden with the passage of time. Too often a situation develops into which, willingly or otherwise, the great Powers are drawn. We all know of conflicts in which, if one great Power is moved to support the weak, another great Power feels compelled to align itself on the opposite side. International security is thus imperilled. The voice of the small Powers, while enough to carry resolutions at the United Nations, is muted in the clash of the great Powers.

20. If, therefore, it is essential that the United Nations should consider peace-making, and not merely peace-keeping, as its aim, it is equally essential that there be a harmony among the great Powers which should fully subserve the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

21. The arms race continues. The whole planet has become a tinder-box. The mightiest Powers are busy in ever multiplying their arsenals, in ever refining the delivery vehicles of weapons of ultimate destruction. Despite the laudable Treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the nuclear threat still remains to be assured. While the nuclear Powers concerned have recognized their special responsibility in this regard, they have undertaken no commitment, no commitment whatsoever. Technology places nuclear weapons within the reach of a growing number of States. Not all of them have renounced nuclear weapons or shown any great regard for the norms of good neighbourly relations.

22. In the non-nuclear field, some smaller Powers are not lagging behind the great in devoting their energy and substance to the accumulation of armaments. Though conventional, these armaments are now of a nature and quantum unprecedented in human history. Major wars have been fought during the existence of the United Nations. That they are, or were, fought with conventional armaments is no solace to the peoples with whose lives they have wrought havoc.

23. Only a fraction of the amount spent on armaments would suffice to solve the crucial economic and social problems of the developing world. The magnitude of these problems is appalling. When we consider that the world's population, four fifths of which live in developing countries, will number six billion by the end of the century, when we consider the impact of the rising expectations of these deprived billions, when

we consider the emergence of newer global problems such as those relating to the environment—the question that arises is: are the efforts of the United Nations equal to the challenge of this development?

24. The international development strategy for the next decade must be considered in this light. True, it is for the first time that the international community has formulated a comprehensive programme of goals, objectives and policy measures. But it is quite evident that the international strategy cannot cope with the real dimensions of the development crisis. At best, its execution would represent but one step forward on the long, slow road to human betterment.

25. The economic and social problems of the developing countries are intertwined with the over-all problem of nation building. In that respect, Pakistan today is passing through a creative phase. Its people are engaged in a great debate, without any inhibitions, on a wide range of domestic and external issues. Early in December this year, 60 million voters in Pakistan will go to the polls to elect a National Assembly. That Assembly will decide many fundamental questions relating to our national life. Transcending party differences, a people's mandate is already taking shape. Its main features are: that democratic institutions be evolved to provide for the people's participation in government at all levels and in all regions; that a just distribution of the fruits of the nation's steadily developing economy among all regions and classes of people be ensured; and that, in international affairs, Pakistan should not only preserve its independent outlook but continue to help, to its utmost capacity, to realize the goal of stabilizing peace based on justice throughout the world.

26. The nations assembled at San Francisco solemnly pledged themselves to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security and to promote justice. But no sooner was the Organization established that it became a house divided against itself. The third world, despite its numbers, was unable to provide the support that was withheld from the Organization by the major Powers.

27. As I look to the future, I find little hope for the United Nations unless all its Members rededicate themselves to its principles and unite in a resolve to implement its decisions. For such unity of determination it is essential that the major Powers work out a relationship which can also be in the interests of the rest of the world. Unless the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China can find a way to the mutual accommodation of their interests and harmonize them with the aspirations of others, world peace will remain insecure.

28. A first step—indeed, the essential step—to strengthen international peace and security would be to restore forthwith the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Without the active participation of the more than 700 million people of China this world body will remain seriously handicapped in fulfilling its primary responsibilities. China's

participation, which is within its rights, would be a vital factor for consolidating peace and promoting progress throughout the world.

29. Friendly relations with the People's Republic of China is the cornerstone of our policy. We also greatly value our friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the United States. In that context, I am happy to say that Pakistan for one is not a country that dreads an accommodation among any two of the three great Powers or, better still, among all three.

30. Pakistan is moved by a vision. That vision is of all the great Powers joining with others in the common purpose of upholding the basic principles of the Charter and promoting justice between nations. In the contemporary situation the correlatives of justice are the enforcement of racial equality, the self-determination of peoples recognized by the United Nations to be entitled to it, and the reversal of any territorial conquests by force. Pakistan fears no hegemony of the great Powers if these Powers use their influence and bend their energies to these just ends. To hold the vision to be Utopian is virtually to say that it need never be pursued. Such an outlook would rob the United Nations of its sustaining hope.

31. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is the time for a renewal, a reorientation. It is the time for banishing rancour and dismantling the walls of estrangement. Pakistan pledges that it will not grudge its help in any move that may be made to realize that objective.

Mr. Shevel (Ukrainian SSR), Vice-President, took the Chair.

32. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call on the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, His Excellency Mr. Daramyn Yondon.

33. Mr. YONDON: Permit me to extend to you, Mr. President, my congratulations on your election to the high post of President of this commemorative session of the General Assembly. I should also like to offer His Excellency Secretary-General U Thant and the delegates to this session my sincere felicitations on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

34. The quarter of a century that has elapsed since the inception of the United Nations is of historic significance for the peoples of the world. This span of time separates us from the end of the most devastating war ever known in history, which took away tens of millions of human lives and destroyed great material and cultural wealth. In fact, it was the hope and the determination of the peoples not to allow such a war to occur again that gave birth to the United Nations. And this Organization has laid down in its Charter as the main objective the urgent need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to ensure lasting international peace.

35. During the past 25 years, a new generation of mankind has grown up. If this generation, and indeed the whole human race, has been lucky enough to avoid a world thermonuclear war, then in this a certain amount of credit undoubtedly should be given to the United Nations, which has served as a kind of lightning rod to deflect a number of dangerous international crises. Thanks to the efforts of peace-loving States, the United Nations has succeeded as well in adopting a number of significant decisions, including those in the field of disarmament.

36. Moral and political support lent by the United Nations to the liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples, and its recognition of the legitimacy of this struggle in all its forms, constitutes an important asset in the activities of the United Nations. The adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—whose tenth anniversary has so wisely been timed to coincide with the opening of our commemorative session—is an outstanding achievement in this field.

37. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic duly appreciates the efforts being made in the framework of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to promote the over-all progress of peoples, the normalization of international economic relations, and the overcoming of the grave consequences of colonialism in the newly independent States.

38. Speaking of the positive results of United Nations activities, it should be underlined that they are inseparably linked with fundamental changes in the world's development, which are of decisive significance for the strides of mankind along the road of progress, and for the successful implementation of the aims and purposes of the United Nations in particular.

39. First and foremost, it is during that quarter of a century that the world socialist system came into being, strengthened and developed. The historically positive role of socialism in international relations, in the fight for peace and security against aggression and military adventures, has been demonstrated with particular strength.

40. The colonial system has collapsed under the pressure of the powerful national liberation movement. Peoples of a good number of former colonial Territories have taken the path of independent national and socio-economic development. They are stepping up their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and are playing an active part in the cause of maintaining and consolidating world peace. The ranks of the progressive, revolutionary forces and democratic movements, encompassing various strata of human society, have increased and expanded enormously. The consciousness of the urgent need to safeguard peace has seized the minds of the broadest masses of the people.

41. It is evident that the United Nations owes its successes to these historic developments. Within the

framework of the United Nations, the concerted actions of the socialist States and peace-loving countries, which stand against imperialism and colonialism, constitute a determining factor in the activities of the Organization for the strict implementation of the aims and purposes of its Charter.

42. The Mongolian People's Republic will do its utmost to strengthen this co-operation in the interest of the advancement of mankind along the road to peace and progress. It will, furthermore, make every effort to consolidate the United Nations as an instrument of peace and international co-operation.

43. A necessary prerequisite to enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations lies in the strict observance of the Charter and the principle of universality.

44. We should like to state here once again that the ineffectiveness of the activities of the United Nations with regard to the problems of strengthening international peace and security is not due to imperfections in the Charter, but rather due to neglect or open breach of the Charter's provisions on the part of certain Member States.

45. The legacy of the cold-war period still predominates in the approach to the solution of such pressing issues as the universality of the United Nations. That is the only explanation for the absence from this hall of the representatives of a number of socialist States, towards which the imperialist Powers practise a policy of bigoted discrimination. That was precisely the case with the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic. Mongolia, the second socialist country in the world, which took an immediate part in the struggle against fascism and militarism on the side of the United Nations, was denied admission to the United Nations for more than 15 years.

46. It is the duty of the United Nations to do away with the discrimination practised in regard to States whose admission to the United Nations is being denied to this very day. One of these States, for example, is the German Democratic Republic, which consistently pursues an active peace-loving policy and has time and again proved its allegiance to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The desire of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to become a Member of this Organization and its readiness to assume and fulfil conscientiously the duties ensuing from the United Nations Charter were again confirmed in the message from Comrade Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, sent to the President of the General Assembly on 14 October 1970 [A/8127]. That message clearly lays down the position of the Government of the German Democratic Republic on outstanding international problems. The Mongolian People's Republic also is in favour of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

47. It is often said that the cold war has receded into the past. That may be so, but only in the sense that

the imperialist Powers have had to give up their policy of throwing back the world socialist system. As I have already stated, the consequences of that policy continue to have their bearing on the activities of this Organization even at present.

48. The icy grip of the cold war has not only blocked action by the United Nations directed towards effective implementation of its Charter provisions but often compelled it, especially in the first decade of its existence, to take decisions that were in open contradiction of the purposes and principles of the Organization. A glaring example of that, among others, is the continued occupation of South Korea for 20 years by United States troops under the United Nations flag, which poses a serious threat to the cause of peace and security in the Far East and the world over. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with other peace-loving States, calls for the immediate withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces from South Korea, for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and for the granting to the Korean people of the opportunity to decide the question of the peaceful reunification of their homeland without external interference.

49. The international community is expecting from this silver anniversary session concrete actions in tackling the urgent problems posed to the United Nations by contemporary world events. In these days, when the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is being celebrated, we have to admit that the cardinal task of this Organization, to save the world from the scourge of war, does not seem to be any nearer solution. Today a real threat of nuclear war is still hanging over the world like a sword of Damocles; the arms race continues at an ever-increasing pace; and acts of aggression and coercion fraught with grave consequences for the peace and security of nations are being committed all too frequently. Precisely for that reason, the situation in the world today remains tense and unstable.

50. The most acute problem of the day is, as before, the United States aggression in Viet-Nam. By their enduring and persistent struggle against the imperialist interventionists, the Viet-Nameese people, who enjoy the broad political and material support of the socialist countries and peace-loving forces, have proved the futility of the policy of intervention and military interference in the affairs of other nations. Military power, however great it may be, is not in a position to thwart the irresistible historic process which is the movement of peoples for national liberation and independent development along the road of peace and progress. This testifies to the fact that the Viet-Nameese problem cannot be resolved by military means.

51. It is now more than two years since the Paris talks on Viet-Nam began. The United States side assumes a heavy responsibility by rejecting the constructive proposals put forward by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam—proposals which have as their aim the speedy

settlement of the Viet-Nam issue. The position taken by the United States at the Paris talks makes it very plain that the true meaning of the numerous statements and the so-called peace proposals of the Nixon Administration are nothing more than an attempt to keep and strengthen its positions in Indo-China.

52. The peace-loving nations, among them Mongolia, demand an unconditional cessation of the war of aggression in Viet-Nam and of the armed intervention in Cambodia and Laos, an immediate withdrawal of United States troops and those of its accomplices from South Viet-Nam as well as other parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Only on this basis will it be possible to ensure the inalienable right of the peoples of Indo-China to mould their own destiny and thus to create conditions for the establishment of a durable peace in South-East Asia.

53. The Mongolian People's Republic, which is firmly on the side of the Arab nations in their just struggle, has welcomed and fully supported the efforts made by the Governments of the United Arab Republic and other Arab States in the search for effective means of political settlement of the Middle East problem.

54. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has welcomed the agreement on the cease-fire in the Middle East and the renewed search for ways to solve the crisis in that region through the mission of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General. However, the course of events has demonstrated that the Tel Aviv ruling circles, with the direct backing of their main supporter, the United States of America, continue to oppose a political settlement of the Middle East crisis. Toward this end, they have boycotted and torpedoed every effort, both inside and outside the United Nations, to establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

55. Pursuing their overtly hostile policy towards the Arab peoples, the reactionary imperialist forces have put their stake on preserving the fruits of Israeli aggression, on complicating further the situation and on sowing discord in the ranks of the Arab nation. We fully share the view of the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Riad, who said that the position of the United States indeed meant that it did not seek a just peace, but rather sought to impose capitulation on the Arab people.

56. We consider that a genuinely peaceful settlement in the Middle East can be reached only on the basis of the implementation of the well-known Security Council resolution [242 (1967)], which first and foremost provides for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories.

57. Hotbeds of tension exist both in Europe and in Asia, wherever American imperialism, which has assumed the role of a world *gendarme*, is engaged in collusion with the *revanchists*, militarists, and other reactionary forces.

58. The effort of Washington, through NATO machinery, to forge Western Europe into a weapon of its global politics creates one of the main sources of tension in Europe. The mere fact of the coming into existence of the aggressive military bloc of NATO caused the division of this continent into military groupings, the intensification of the arms race, and the contamination of the political atmosphere of Europe.

59. The promotion of extensive co-operation among European States based on the principles of peaceful coexistence is the sole realistic alternative to the dangerous military confrontation there and the arms race. The signing of the recent treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany¹, which recognized in a clear-cut manner the inviolability of the boundaries established in the centre of Europe as the result of the Second World War, represents an important contribution to that end. Convening an all-European conference as proposed by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies would, to a great extent, facilitate the strengthening of confidence and the development of peaceful co-operation among all the States of Europe.

60. The outcome of the recent Soviet-French talks, in our view, fully corresponds with the interests of lessening the tension as well as strengthening the spirit of co-operation in Europe.

61. The Mongolian People's Republic, as a socialist State of Asia, considers that the continent of Asia, where dangerous centres of tension and war exist, badly needs the establishment of peace and the liquidation of the flames of war and crisis situations, so as to ensure the security and development of friendly co-operation of the peoples living on that continent. Genuine security in Asia is unthinkable without the cessation of the imperialist policies of aggression and without putting an end to the military and all other interference in the internal affairs of the States and the peoples of Asia.

62. In the present international circumstances, the cardinal task facing us today is to ensure international security. Therefore, the question of how to check the forces of aggression, how to put an end to the arms race, and how to ensure a lasting peace on earth is in the focus of attention of the international community.

63. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to the question concerning measures to strengthen international security, an item that has been placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union.

64. The adoption of a constructive decision on this burning problem of the day would meet the interests of the normalization of the international situation and would constitute a contribution of the United Nations to the strengthening of world security.

65. The need to consolidate the peace and security of nations brings to the fore the most vital problem of today—the problem of disarmament—which should commence with the total banning of nuclear weapons. In this connexion my Government accords great significance to the negotiations held between the Government of the USSR and the United States on the limitation of these weapons of mass destruction.

66. Without the slightest intention of understating the importance of the agreements reached in the field of nuclear disarmament, we would like to state that such measures could be fully effective only in the case of the participation of all States possessing nuclear weapons.

67. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor will represent an important step towards the total demilitarization of two-thirds of the earth's surface. That is why we are in favour of the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft treaty submitted by the Committee on Disarmament.²

68. Our delegation also calls upon the General Assembly to give its clear-cut mandate in favour of the immediate and simultaneous outlawing of both chemical and bacteriological weapons on the basis of the draft convention submitted by the socialist countries on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of such weapons.³

69. One of the grave sources aggravating international tension lies in the continued effort of world imperialist forces to suppress the national liberation movements of peoples and to preserve the remnants of the shameful colonial system.

70. Imperialist and racist forces, in their attempt to impede the irreversible process of decolonization, resort to the most aggressive means of interference and suppression—a clear example of which is the present situation obtaining in southern Africa. The covetous collusion of colonialist and racist forces has converted this part of the African continent into a stronghold and a springboard of collective colonialism, directed not only against the dependent indigenous people but also against the freedom and security of all the independent nations of the African continent.

71. In the field of the struggle against all forms of colonial and racial domination, there is no room for the United Nations to be complacent. Vestiges of the classical form of colonialism continue to remain in other parts of the world. As has been rightly pointed out in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General, U Thant [*A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1*], these vestiges are different from those in southern Africa only in dimension, not in kind. We

²Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.

³Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda items 29, 30, 31 and 104, document A/7655.

¹ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

should not forget either the increasing threat of neo-colonialism to the political and economic independence of the newly independent nations.

72. We consider that the present session of the General Assembly should devote due attention to the problems of world economic development. This Organization should play its part in removing and demolishing the existing obstacles and barriers created by the Western Powers in pursuit of their narrow, selfish interests, as part of the steps taken to introduce just and democratic principles into international economic and trade relations. These same policies and practices carried out by the imperialist Powers were one of the main reasons responsible for the failures of the first United Nations Development Decade.

73. Introduction of internal social and economic changes and adjustments are of decisive importance for the successful development of any individual country and, in particular, for the countries that have recently obtained political independence and are now engaged in eliminating the heritage of their colonial past. These measures primarily should correspond to the interest of the wide masses of the people and be directed at bringing about favourable conditions for progressive political and economic development of society. In this sense we feel that the draft strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade [A/8124 and Corr.1, para. 10] does not represent a well-balanced projection of the necessary measures to be carried out internally in the field of the social and economic transformation of society and of the external aid programme which should serve the purpose of facilitating the attainment of such a transformation.

74. The statement of the socialist countries on this issue [A/8074] does provide a scientifically based approach, tested in the light of the successful experience of many countries, including my own. It shows a genuine way of progressive social and economic development of society. The document also contains a number of constructive proposals and guidelines on the normalization of world economic relations as a whole.

75. This twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly has special significance for the history of this Organization. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the people of the world expect that the present commemorative session will result in working out effective measures directed towards the positive solution of the pressing problems the Organization faces today.

76. I should like to express the hope that the United Nations will do its utmost so that our motto "Peace, justice and progress" will be truly realized in the actual deeds of this great forum.

77. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Laraki, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, who will deliver to the General Assembly a message from His Majesty, Hassan II, King of Morocco.

78. Mr. LARAKI⁴ (*interpretation from French*): This is the message from His Majesty King Hassan II:

"It is a particularly pleasant duty for us to convey to the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations our greetings and the expression of our highest consideration and to address to them this message on the occasion of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our high international Organization.

"We hope that this anniversary will be the prelude to fortunate events and will reaffirm the perennial mission of our Organization in smoothing out difficulties of all kinds putting an end to world conflicts and leading at last to the reign of peace in the world and tranquillity and brotherhood among peoples.

"However, despite the optimism with which we envisage the future, despite our devotion to our Organization, we cannot help but wonder with anxiety, when faced with the complexity of certain situations and whenever serious events occur, whether we may continue to place our faith in the United Nations, whether it is still possible to hope for a more serene future.

"But any fears and apprehensions are dispelled when we recall that the United Nations is the highest international body; that it is founded on the noblest principles and ideals; that the laws which govern it and which it has given itself can not be illusory and without influence. And we refuse to believe that this Organization could possibly be fated to fail and to collapse.

"The hopes which the peoples are placing in the United Nations are high hopes indeed. As soon as the Organization was founded, the nations did not fail to see it as the most efficient instrument for peace, concord and security in a world prey to fears and apprehensions of all kinds.

"Since its creation, many crises have broken out in different areas of the globe and shaken international peace, but despite its failures or hesitations, the faith which the peoples continue to show in the United Nations has led to the appeasing of minds and the maintenance of its prestige.

"This hope which the peoples persist in maintaining in it, whatever the circumstances or vicissitudes, constitutes the very foundation of our Organization, a shelter for impoverished nations and defenceless peoples concerned with problems of security and their future and who aspire to a worthy and prosperous life.

"But in order to continue being worthy of the confidence of peoples and to deserve respect and esteem, the United Nations must remain faithful to its principles and its mission.

⁴ Mr. Laraki spoke in Arabic. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

“Our Organization can preserve this valuable asset of confidence only if its resolutions and recommendations are based on principles of justice and impartiality and if they are in conformity with the deep-rooted aspirations of the international community and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

“The resolutions now being adopted by the United Nations are in no way compulsory for the States which obstinately ignore the rules of international morality. It is our duty to enable our Organization to render these resolutions legally binding and to ensure their effective implementation.

“It is on this condition that it will be possible to overcome the shortcomings of our Organization and to transform it into an instrument capable of restoring its authority, of re-establishing the rights of the oppressed, of countering aggression and unflinchingly promoting the triumph of justice and truth.

“Because they are sure that the grave consequences of their acts will be met with mere indifference, certain States continue to pay little heed to the resolutions of our Organization.

“If our Organization had enforced scrupulous respect for the principles of the Charter, if it had fully and in all circumstances assumed its responsibilities, certain crises would not have reached frightening proportions.

“It was possible, in the light of the progress achieved by mankind, to believe that the era of certain aggressions was a thing of the past and that the peoples of the world had attained a degree of civilization enabling them to respect the principles of law and their commitments, but reality has dashed our illusions and we became powerless witnesses of an odious aggression which undermined the most sacred foundations of all civilizations.

“The noblest human values have been trampled underfoot, the blood of the innocent has been shed, mourning has penetrated the hearts of all those whom death has spared and who have seen criminal and sacrilegious acts committed before their very eyes.

“These unspeakable acts have been committed in a land considered as the cradle of religions and the meeting ground of the faithful of all creeds who come there to strengthen their faith and to seek peace for their souls.

“Vast Arab territories have been invaded and occupied by the Israeli aggressor who balks neither

before the rules of morality nor before the repeated condemnations of the international community and the relevant decisions of our Organization. Encouraged by its impunity, Israel is behaving like an absolute owner and with the arrogance of the occupier in these spoliated territories.

“The lack of radical solutions for this grave problem has led to a deterioration of the situation and threatens the future of the international community with ever greater dangers. The realization of this danger created in the Arab and Moslem world an awareness which has led to wise and far-sighted positions.

“Unfortunately, this positive attitude did not meet with any favourable response in the circles concerned, and no sign of good will has appeared in order to re-establish the situation, to eradicate the sequels of aggression, to enable the victims to recover their rights and the territories wrested from them. No encouragement, no aid has been given to those who are suffering from aggression, those who harbour no expansionist designs, who rise up indignantly against any infringements of their sovereignty.

“Hope persists, however, that the great Powers will use their influence in order that solutions may be found that will guarantee to the oppressed countries the restoration of their rights and the recovery of their usurped territories. It must nevertheless be recalled that no solution can be just and lasting unless it takes into account the existence of two million Palestinians who for too long have lived in exile and have henceforth resolved to embark valiantly upon the struggle for the triumph of their claims and of their rights.

“Any solution of the Middle East problem which would not take into account the Palestinian reality is doomed to fail, because it will have ignored the most fundamental aspect of this problem.

“In this respect we wish to address an appeal to the international conscience so that a speedy solution may be found for this situation, that peace and security may be restored and the spectre of war banished forever.

“Before concluding this message to the international Organization, it behooves us once again to draw the attention of the international community to one of the most challenging problems of our era, namely, that of economic and social development. In this respect we appeal to the great industrial Powers and to the developed countries sincerely to examine the means likely to endow the world economy with a greater balance in the distribution of wealth through better understanding and wider co-operation among States.

“When peace reigns in the world and when the developing peoples are able to embark resolutely upon the road to progress, there is no doubt that bright horizons will open up for the international

community. They will not merely be limited to immediate material needs, but will be the harbingers of a future of peace, justice and progress.”

79. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call upon Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Personal Representative and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of the Philippines.

80. Mr. ROMULO: I bring to this august Assembly the cordial greetings and best wishes of the President of the Philippines, His Excellency, Ferdinand E. Marcos. He has instructed me as his Special Envoy to this commemorative session to reiterate the formal pledge of the Republic of the Philippines, as a founding Member of the United Nations, of our loyal and unstinting support of the purposes and ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter, which it was our privilege to help draft and sign in San Francisco in 1945.

81. This is a solemn commemorative session. In the general debate, that has lasted almost one month, we have established our respective Governments' positions on the various world problems before us.

82. On this important occasion, an occasion that marks a very significant milestone in the human Odyssey, we cannot afford to fail in our responsibility to make the most searching evaluation of our world Organization and of ourselves.

83. What is it that we have all come here to do in this commemorative session? Have we travelled thousands of miles just to engage in polemics, in noisy rhetoric, in charges and counter-charges? Have we come here just to shake our heads sadly over the demonstrated weaknesses of the United Nations? Or have we come here on this solemn commemorative occasion to fulfil our central responsibility to the world's peoples, that is, to finish the job begun at the San Francisco Conference by giving the United Nations what it needs most: effective powers to deal with the basic causes of war, powers to preserve our environment, powers adequate to meet the cry of the world's peoples for justice?

84. If we can address ourselves to those needs, if we can provide the United Nations with enforceable and responsible authority, then we shall have done the noblest work in the whole of the human record. But if we cannot do this—and indulge only in polemics—then nothing else we do or say here will spare us the most scathing indictment ever handed down in history. Rather, let it be said of us that we were able to put human sovereignty ahead of national sovereignty and that we were equal, in this commemorative session, to the great task of safeguarding life on our planet.

85. It has frequently been stated that there is a crisis in connexion with the United Nations. The nature of that crisis is, however, seldom discussed. For the world's peoples it appears as an urgent, burning question: will the United Nations be able to respond on the necessary scale and in adequate time to the mounting global problems that we face?

86. To those closer to this world Organization and familiar with its successes, its failures and problems and the reasons for them, the nature of the crisis is more complex. It is, first of all, a crisis of commitment. Too many members of the family of nations still regard the United Nations as a convenience to be used when that use is consonant with their immediate foreign policy goals and to be ignored when the declared will of the human community is not expedient for them to follow. Obviously it is impossible to arrive at an expression of the common good on that basis, and as a result we have witnessed and continue to witness the flouting of the principles and requirements of our Charter.

87. No nation or group of nations has the resident wisdom to go it alone in deciding the course of world affairs, nor can it pretend to have the composite perspective of the many cultures, the many ways of life, the many and vitally important insights which are available in our world Organization. World affairs are no longer foreign policy; they are the affairs of the world community.

88. The awesome advances of science and technology have determined for us that the world is henceforth a community. We have not had the liberty of making that decision, nor can we reverse it. Our great difficulty lies in the fact that this new circumstance is not recognized universally nor its implications acknowledged. The major implication is that the world community cannot survive without the allegiance of man to mankind and its expression in the institutions of community.

89. If the unanimous and near-unanimous decisions of the Security Council are to go unimplemented and the recommendations of the General Assembly are to go unheeded, if the United Nations is not to be used to deal with and resolve the most crucial issues facing us. Then the credibility of the United Nations will diminish and recourse to international processes will wane, with the most dangerous consequences.

90. The crisis of the United Nations is also a crisis of support. There is a tendency to make support of the United Nations contingent upon whether its decisions and the decisions of its agencies are pleasing to individual Members. There is insufficient support for the United Nations as the focal point for the forging and activating of those instruments and processes vital to construction of a just international order. An outmoded ambivalence towards growth of world order still exists in some areas of the community of nations and reflects itself in ambivalence towards the United Nations.

91. The crisis of the United Nations is also a crisis of accomplishment. The record of achievements in the codification of human rights instruments, in establishing principles of economic development, in pioneering new techniques of peace-keeping, in arriving at principles to guide friendly relations among States is, we must all admit, impressive. With those achievements a crisis of implementation has developed. The United

Nations family is now faced with the decision whether to implement the principles and processes it has elaborated or to ignore them and turn away from the United Nations.

92. In the human rights field there is no more glaring example of non-implementation than in the matters of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and the failure to end residual colonialism. In the field of development, the needs can be determined and the goals set, but achievement depends very largely on the voluntary participation of the more fortunate nations.

93. Finally, there is a crisis of adaptation. The new global problems that face the world community are unprecedented in scope and require a high degree of flexibility and adaptability on the part of the United Nations. Even more, recognition is needed by the Member States of the value of using the world Organization to discharge important new responsibilities. We can be extremely grateful—and the world should know this—on this twenty-fifth anniversary that we have an Organization in being with experience, background and potential for growth of the United Nations, capable of meeting new challenges. At the same time, we must not overlook the deficiencies which have become apparent during the first quarter-century of operation.

94. Probably the weakest point in United Nations activity relates to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Many small disputes have been settled quietly through the good offices of the Secretary-General, as provided for in our Charter. Yet the Charter places minimal emphasis on peaceful settlement of disputes compared with other functions, and minimal results have been achieved for whatever reason. Many conflicts have been immobilized, but political solutions have not automatically followed.

95. It must be clear that unless settlement of disputes can be accomplished through United Nations auspices, resort to armed conflict will be inevitable and disarmament will be unachievable. Nations cannot disarm into a vacuum. Although temporary arms limitation agreements may be reached in the interim, disarmament can be achieved only when alternative methods of keeping peace and settling disputes are available to the world community. Thus, agreement on the procedures for future United Nations peace-keeping operations is essential. Equally essential, however, is expansion of the role of the United Nations in settlement of disputes. In the daily life of nations we assume and expect that stubborn disputes will be subject to fact-finding, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication. In the world community the necessity is even greater because the consequences of inaction are so serious.

96. Numerous valuable suggestions are being advanced during this anniversary year for improving the functioning of the United Nations in these vital areas. There is the danger that these important contributions will be lost in the charges and countercharges that we are making here unless a means is found to consider them in depth and to recommend them for

approval and implementation. The delegation of the Philippines has made some specific proposals and suggestions in this regard.

97. The outcome of the crisis of adaptation will also be determined by whether the United Nations is enabled to assume responsibilities with respect to any new global problems that defy solution on a piecemeal, national basis. Among these, the monitoring of the threats to our environment and determination of guidelines for international observance is one of the most obvious. The water and air of the planet are held in common by mankind. They are not subject to delimitation or appropriation. The world is an organic system, an ecological whole. It cannot be managed by, or for the benefit of, one or several of its parts.

98. The same may be said of the new frontiers of the sea. It is significant and encouraging that the concept has been so widely accepted that the resources of the sea-bed are the common heritage of mankind. It is to be hoped that a United Nations-connected international régime for equitable management of those resources will be established at the earliest possible time.

99. Planetary management will increasingly be the key to safeguarding mankind's future on earth. The tiny and fragile biosphere of spaceship earth requires it. The trend is inevitable and irreversible. It is best, therefore, to plan wisely for the inevitable so that we may determine its shape. Otherwise, we will forfeit the freedom of choice as to the kind of world in which we will live.

100. At present, the response of the United Nations, of Member States and of mankind itself is too slow to match or to be responsive to what is occurring. The basis of the world crisis is that mankind has yet to perceive fully the nature of that change and to respond to it. Man does not now act in consonance with the requirements of his new, small, unitary world. Man is now his brother's keeper, whether he wishes it or not—whether or not it is part of his religion, his politics, or his economics. The global village requires new human relations, new modes of thinking and acting and it requires nothing so much as the institutions through which the village can function—the institutions which are seen in rudimentary form in our United Nations.

101. Politics, my friends, is the art of the possible, and the United Nations is perhaps the design of the presently possible. But the gap between what is possible and what is required must be closed with imagination, renewed commitment and foresight and the sense of adventure. If humankind and the family of nations fail to bridge this gap, it will not be because we have dared too much in giving trust or in expecting understanding, or because we have dared too much in designing a just and peaceful international order, but because we have dared too little. That is the challenge of the next 25 years.

102. My fellow citizens of the human race, here in the United Nations is the place for us to save our

planet. And there is no better time to do it than now, the beginning of our second quarter-century.

103. The United Nations is the proper place in which to create the effective agencies and institutions that can safeguard our earth.

104. The highest function of the United Nations is to represent man in terms of his world needs—needs that can no longer be adequately met by the individual nations.

105. What is it that brings us all together and ties us all together?

106. We are brought together and held together by the vision of a world in which man neither has to kill or be killed; a world in which the world's resources will be protected and developed for the common good; a world in which man will not be separated from social justice, a world in which he will not be abused, cheapened, or humiliated; a world in which man knows there is adequate nourishment for the bodies and minds of his children; a world in which nations themselves submit to law and the process of law; a world, in short, in which the conditions of peace and the conditions of life are understood and upheld. This world of ours is infinitely precious. The human life it sustains must be cherished and nurtured.

107. The United Nations gives us promise by upholding the human estate and of bringing order and dignity and peace to our planet.

108. The first order of business for the human race, therefore, is to develop the United Nations and bring it to full size. For it is through the United Nations that we can justify the great gift of life.

109. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I call on His Excellency Mr. Gaston Thorn, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg.

110. Mr. THORN (*interpretation from French*): Speaking at this commemorative session, it is a particularly pleasant duty for me to tell the President of the General Assembly how very happy we are to see him holding that office. Even beyond his eminent personal qualities, we greet in him a very worthy representative of Norway, to which my country is linked by so many bonds of solidarity. His example clearly shows the course to be followed. As our Secretary-General, U Thant, has wisely emphasized—and I wish to pay him a tribute—in future the force of law must prevail over the law of force. The President's career has been guided by that principle at all times. May we in turn find it a source of inspiration.

111. In looking back to draw up a realistic balance-sheet and evaluate the results of the 25 years since the United Nations came into being, we are at times seized with uncertainty and at times with bitterness—doubtless rather more than with the satisfaction generally deemed suitable for such occasions. The successes we have achieved through our efforts come

nowhere near being a complete response to the expectations of the founders of this Organization on the morning of the most deadly war in history. The crisis of confidence that prevails in our times thwarts the hopes born throughout the world 25 years ago. To "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", that was the prime objective solemnly inscribed in the Charter at San Francisco. The prime objective, as I said, because the peaceful character of relations between nations constitutes the unavoidable premise for their positive co-operation in every field of activity. Yet since then in various parts of the world armed conflicts have broken out and still rage. Repeatedly they have brought us to the brink of a general conflagration which, because of the weapons of mass destruction man possesses today, would doubtless mean the annihilation of most of mankind.

112. True, a series of favourable circumstances, among which the balance of terror paradoxically was as decisive as the patient work undertaken in this Organization, have spared us the fatal outcome.

113. True, human rights and fundamental freedoms have been solemnly proclaimed and since then, the violations they always suffer in various parts of the world are recognized as potential causes of conflict. True, the principles of distributive justice, the need for which become increasingly clear for every organized human society, have begun to be applied thanks to the efforts undertaken for the developing countries and jointly with them.

114. True, the international community has grown beyond the expectations of 25 years ago because of the accession to independence of many young States in Africa and Asia, thus progressively ensuring the universal character indispensable for our Organization to flourish and for the effective implementation of the principles on which it is based. But for our Organization to become really universal, the problem of the representation of divided nations must be solved, and, in the first place, that of China a satisfactory solution, it seems to me, includes two separate but related phases.

115. It is indispensable at the outset—and indeed obvious—that the 750 million inhabitants of continental China be represented in the United Nations by the authorities who actually govern them, just as the Republic of China of Taiwan must be represented so that it may continue to enjoy the rights of a normal Member of the United Nations.

116. The alliance which enabled the United Nations to triumph at the end of the Second World War, suddenly, as soon as peace was restored, gave way to a stubborn rivalry in which the principal victorious Powers turned against one another and little by little this led to a frantic armaments race. The use of force—indeed, of terrorism—as a means of action in international politics seems, alas, once again to have replaced the principle of the collective responsibility of all, namely the establishment of constructive co-operation by peaceful means. A series of more or less

limited conflicts have originated in the use of force, consequently preventing those organs primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace from functioning normally.

117. On entering the second quarter-century of its existence the United Nations, that is to say, not an abstract entity but the States which constitute it—since the Organization as such essentially cannot exceed the impetus which its members consent to give it—must therefore ask themselves what new direction they intend to give their joint action. A new direction for their action, definitely, but we must never allow ourselves to be led to attempt a revision of the principles of the Charter, even though our institutions require constant adjustment to a situation that is itself evolving continuously. Because the principles of the Charter have stood the test of time and still correspond to the profound aspirations of man.

118. If we examine our consciences we shall first have to consider means to ensure peace in the world, since that is our main purpose, and to restore international security wherever it is threatened. In other words, we shall have to consider what initiatives must be taken to put an end to the conflicts that always ravage certain areas of our planet.

119. The basic principles are known since they are contained in the Charter itself. Let us mention first of all the obligation of each State to refrain not only from the use of force but also from the threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States, as well as to refrain from any intervention in their internal affairs under whatever pretext or in whatever form. Let us further recall the need for all to settle conflicts that divide them by peaceful means so as not to endanger peace.

120. These rules of conduct have as their corollary strict observance of and scrupulous respect for the sovereign equality and political independence of all States, large and small, whatever their affinities, traditions or political and social systems. For the benefit of the peoples these entail the right to determine their own destinies freely, that is to say, free from any foreign interference or intimidation, whether armed or not, open or concealed, including intervention by armed forces often beyond the control of a sovereign State. Security, in fact, is affected not only when violence is committed by one State against another, but also whenever individuals, and this is increasingly frequent, become the innocent victims of acts of piracy which are considered to be unacceptable and dishonourable, even though their authors claim that they are gestures of war or of political pressure and whatever one may think of the policy followed.

121. If we closely examine the various conflicts, situations of crises and tensions the world has known since the allied victory of 1945, we must in all objectivity recognize the obvious—the beginning of those conflicts and those situations is in every case due to the violation of any one of the principles I have referred to.

122. It is therefore no longer enough to reaffirm those principles in words, however solemn the chosen form. On the contrary, what we need is to find ways and means which will in fact prevent the lines of conduct thus outlined being once again openly flouted or quite simply ignored. For it is only by determining concrete procedures, which are jointly accepted, to which all will attach the same significance and give the same objective, that we shall succeed in avoiding the recurrence of the sad experiences of the past.

123. Concrete procedures and common objectives in an atmosphere of growing understanding between States, embracing both peace-keeping operations and the settlement of disputes by way of conciliation, mediation, arbitration or judicial recourse. It is fitting to recall in this connexion the extent to which the presence of United Nations observers has proved to be beneficial in critical regions and how cruelly their absence was felt, and we must especially recall their withdrawal at certain times. We welcome the initial progress to generalize their use and to legalize it in some way through the united will of all parties concerned, nevertheless recommending in the interests of all that in future the withdrawal of such observers can no longer be decided upon unilaterally.

124. The improvisations to which it has been necessary to have recourse in the past—particularly in the crises in the Middle East, the Congo and Cyprus—demonstrate the usefulness of a military force for peace that is immediately available and recruited and trained directly by the United Nations. For that reason we subscribe to the recommendation made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report, where, in this connexion, he advocates "a political consensus at a higher level, among the major Powers" [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1, para. 15], this would not mean that other States Members of the United Nations would abandon their own responsibilities; on the contrary, recruitment for the force must be done mainly among the nationals of those other Member countries.

125. Preventive measures, however, have never been sufficient, and will no doubt not be any more sufficient in the future, to avoid the outbreak of disputes. The Middle East gives us the example of a situation which has plagued our Organization almost since its inception. Only the use of the entire range of means of action available can bring an end to the deadlock. Let us not hide from the fact that lengthy, patient and persevering efforts will, because of the nature of things, precede a solution of the crisis on the basis of the formula drawn up by the Security Council almost three years ago; but alas, there seem to be different interpretations of it and the four great Powers have unfortunately not yet come to an agreement on its implementation. All the elements of this problem are so very closely linked together that it seems useless for me to try to establish chronological priorities, while only one over-all solution can be effective.

126. Any process of major conciliation and mediation implies in the first place the immediate participation,

in a spirit of positive co-operation, of the Powers which have the essential means of action indispensable for safeguarding, restoring and guaranteeing peace wherever it is endangered.

127. In the quest for a solution to the painful Middle East conflict, it would be desirable to have broader agreement among the four great Powers. Any delay as we have always said, is of no benefit to anyone. It aggravates the evil, and renders the situation more inextricable. Through that agreement the parties directly concerned will perhaps finally reach some understanding. Crowned with success, that would lead to substantive and balanced recommendations giving a uniform interpretation to the settlement formulas, whose absence, unfortunately, we constantly note.

128. Besides, who would be in a better position than the Secretary-General or the Special Representative in whom he has placed his trust to bring about a meeting of the minds, without which there can never be peace or understanding? And to infer from the particular to the general, does it not follow that the initiative of the Secretary-General, whose impartiality and devotion are beyond suspicion or criticism, deserves to be encouraged far more whenever the usefulness of mediation makes itself felt? It would not infringe upon the legitimate prerogatives of anyone, but on the contrary would add to the value of our Organization and above all would strengthen its effectiveness were we to confer broader powers on the Secretary-General, so that he render his good offices to the parties prepared peacefully to settle their disputes in often delicate and complex situations.

129. Another conflict, which has been ravaging an innocent people for many years, is the Viet-Nam conflict. We have always thought that the only valid solution was a negotiation between all the parties concerned, the objective of which would be to ensure self-determination for the Viet-Nameese people. We have taken note with interest of the recent proposals of President Nixon, which should make possible a progressive achievement of that objective. For humanitarian reasons, it seems to me that the idea of an immediate cease-fire should receive unanimous approval.

130. In the long run, our efforts should be directed at making it a general practice to settle disputes of a legal character through the intermediary of the International Court of Justice as the main judicial organ on the world level. This course can progressively become the rule, rather than being followed—as it has up to now—in isolated and exceptional cases.

131. To put an end to already existing conflicts and to prevent those about to break out is undeniably a most important goal. International tensions, while they do not always result directly from the persistent and diverse arms race, conventional and nuclear, are however always nourished and aggravated by it. One cannot recall too often that close to \$200,000 billion are spent each year in the world for armaments, whereas not even a tenth of that sum is devoted to helping the developing countries. There is quite rightly a grow-

ing clamour which gives these staggering figures the symbolic value of the collective madness which seems to be taking over more and more of mankind.

132. But real general and controlled disarmament requires the re-establishment of a climate of confidence.

133. It is undeniable that some partial and fragmentary progress has already been achieved. In Europe, the start of a process of continuous negotiations warrants some hope and exercises a favourable influence on the political climate, in the direction of a dialogue and the lessening of tension. That is why my Government welcomed the recent signature by the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR of a Treaty leading to the normalization of relations between those two States. We hope, in particular, that that will be a step towards a lasting improvement of the Berlin situation, through an indispensable political agreement, and towards the serious preparation of a conference on European security, which would imply the immediate and active participation of all interested parties—a conference which should be carefully prepared, bilaterally and multilaterally, so as to give it a real chance for success.

134. Speaking about Europe and the improvement in the situation which has begun there, how could I fail to mention the will expressed by each of the States members of the European Economic Community—the will to add to the results already achieved in the field of unification, new efforts so as to broaden our community and to make known abroad the feeling that the countries forming that community have, after centuries, finally succeeded in overcoming their exclusively national interests, thus putting an end to the dissensions which have shaken the world for centuries? Indeed, those countries remain, and I would go further, are becoming increasingly aware of their new responsibilities in the modern world, because of the efforts they have made for unity and integration.

135. Time is short for the two super-Powers to find the means for effectively limiting the increase in strategic weapons. A positive result in this respect would not fail to bring about a chain reaction in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which has been marking time or all too often is characterized by excessive slowness.

136. At present we see ever more clearly that certain limited conflicts—limited, but which constantly grow in violence—run grave risks of spreading and are maintained largely by the delivery of weapons from outside. That is why I hope that, as a concrete measure we shall finally implement the proposal made a year ago from this very rostrum by Mr. Pierre Harmel, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, when he advocated that the Security Council establish effective control over the delivery of weapons and clandestine traffic towards conflict-ridden areas [*see 1765th meeting, paras. 130 and 131*].

137. Among the tasks of our Organization, assistance for development will in the long run become para-

mount. Co-ordinated international action—that is, the preparation of the strategy to be followed so as to create better conditions of justice throughout the world and to grant to all peoples opportunities, which, if only roughly comparable, will progressively bridge the gap separating the economically most developed countries from those which are less endowed. Special attention and perseverance is required on our part. To bridge that gap requires global action, not only because of the enormous volume of national and other resources required, but because of the need to use them rationally.

138. The figures reflecting the amounts devoted respectively to armaments and to development explain the insufficiency of the results obtained so far. No political argument should give anyone a pretext to avoid his responsibilities in this field. Finally, the assistance given through bilateral agreements, above all, when it is a matter of the transfer of public financial resources, should progressively take the form of collective multilateral action, which alone can bring together the indispensable conditions for objectivity.

139. That is why I completely support the suggestion of the Secretary-General to call more directly on the young—indeed to mobilize them—into our ranks in this great battle of our century which is the struggle against under-development.

140. It is only then, to quote the words of President Kennedy spoken on 25 September 1961 from this very rostrum, that:

“ . . . development can become a co-operative, and not a competitive, enterprise—to enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become in fact as well as in law both free and equal nations” [1013th meeting, para. 73].

141. Procrastination and reticence, not to speak of open opposition, have almost always accompanied our efforts in the course of the 25 years which have elapsed. The successes obtained are frequently limited to a marginal part of the Charter. If we do not wish to run the risk of one day being caught unawares by events, we need to recognize the objectives to be attained and have a constant will for their attainment.

142. The postponement from decade to decade, of the major problems of our time, for which urgent solutions are required, should be a thing of the past. Impatience has become the main characteristic of our time.

143. Let us make the best of the opportunity. Let us give form and substance to the aspirations which constitute the basis of our Charter and let us see to it that the celebration of this twenty-fifth anniversary will be a prelude to a new era in which all the peoples of the world, aware of their inter-dependence, will—through an organization which will unrestrictedly attain effective universality—create genuine peace, justice and progress.

144. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, His Excellency Mr. Adam Malik.

145. Mr. MALIK: I have the honour to extend to this Assembly the personal greetings and congratulations of President Suharto and the people of Indonesia on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. I am to convey his sincere regrets that pressing commitments at home would not allow him to attend this commemorative session.

146. On this auspicious occasion, as we gather to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, allow me first to dwell briefly on the history that Indonesia has shared with the United Nations. Since the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945, the year of the birth of the United Nations, the national struggle of Indonesia has been closely interwoven with the United Nations.

147. In the early days of Indonesia's armed struggle for freedom from a colonial Power, we received positive response from the Organization, which greatly facilitated the recognition of Indonesia's independence by the international community in 1949. Not too long ago Indonesia again received very valuable assistance from the United Nations which brought about the formal return of West Irian and restored Indonesia's national unity and territorial integrity.

148. On behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to the United Nations for its support during their fight for freedom, independence and unity. Moreover, we appreciate highly every assistance that the United Nations has provided us over the years. At this juncture we should also like to pay tribute to the work of the successive Secretaries-General, and particularly to our present Secretary-General, U Thant, for his unceasing efforts in the quest for peace, security and the well-being of mankind.

149. In the setting of this commemorative session we are tempted to sit in judgement of the capability of the United Nations to carry out the mandate of its Charter. We have heard many criticisms levelled at the performance of the United Nations during the past 25 years, harsh criticisms reflecting anguish, disappointment and frustration but at the same time also hope and expectations. Yet, whether its past can be judged a success or a failure, it is the future of the United Nations, and thereby our future, that must concern us now.

150. An encouraging achievement of the past quarter-century has been the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the subsequent agreements and conventions relating to it. Together they have become the basis for our struggle, especially in the case of the developing nations, to end discrimination in every field, in particular with regard to our fight against racialism and its repulsive manifestation, *apartheid*.

151. Another positive achievement has been the Declaration on decolonization. This resolution, 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which was submitted by 43 Asian-African countries, cannot be separated from the Bandung Declaration and the Dasa Sila, or 10 principles for international relations, which were both produced by the Asian-African conference held in Bandung in 1955. Both those declarations have no doubt been instrumental in speeding up the emancipation of colonial Territories towards independence and sovereignty. Indeed, resolution 1514 (XV), the tenth anniversary of which we celebrate today, now constitutes the basic framework for action by the Member States of the United Nations. However, our struggle has not yet ended. Remnants of colonialism are still rampant in the world. We still feel the urgency of the situation as no less than 40 million people in 66 named major units of Non-Self-Governing Territories continue to remain in the shackles of colonial bondage.

152. Thus, this commemorative session offers us every opportunity to reaffirm our dedication and renew our commitment to the liquidation of colonialism by approving the programme of action on decolonization. This programme has clearly charted the course we have to follow for our future action. It is, therefore, not meant to adorn our bookshelves. On the contrary, it has specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism. In this respect, I should like to make particular reference to the immediate and desperate plight of the peoples of Namibia, of Zimbabwe and of the colonial Territories of Portugal in Africa.

153. I stand here to assure Indonesia's continuous support to the peoples that are still being denied their right of self-determination. However, Indonesia's continuous support for the struggle of indigenous peoples towards freedom and independence does not imply support to wars of liberation, assisted by a foreign Power, which are merely devised to inflame civil war within an independent and sovereign country. The danger of foreign subversion is no less evil than open military aggression.

154. The United Nations community has continually been confronted with the dichotomy of wealth that prevails in our world. To meet this challenge, it has launched an unprecedented effort to raise the standard of living in the developing countries through a network of specialized agencies and special programmes. However, we are still faced with a widening gap between the richer and poorer nations. In a conscientious effort to eradicate the poverty, misery and hunger endured by the majority of mankind, the international community has taken upon itself the responsibility of formulating a comprehensive, self-contained framework for global development.

155. Taking its first feeble steps in a new realm of international responsibility, the community of nations, after years of arduous efforts, has succeeded in producing an international strategy for economic and social development and has submitted it for our approval. We have before us a unique opportunity, not only to

initiate a truly international effort to establish distributive economic justice, but also to take our first step in the new era of international thought. The future, not only of the United Nations, but of the survival of the world in peaceful and prosperous harmony, is dependent upon our ability to adapt to the new priorities of a rapidly changing world.

156. The General Assembly stands to accomplish an act of great historic moment when it solemnly adopts the international development strategy for the 1970s. While there were those who expressed some reservations about this document, it must be understood that it best reflects the consensus of the entire international community at this time.

157. I would also like to point out that the value of the international development strategy will depend upon the actions of Governments as they employ it during the decade. It is, therefore, of great importance that we agree to set up an appraisal and reviewing machinery to ensure that the implementation of the strategy is as effective as we hope it will be.

158. There can be no more appropriate time than at this commemorative session, as we reaffirm our commitment to the principles and purposes of our 25-year-old Charter, to give our unanimous support to the cause of global development and to endorse, without reservation, the strategy which can assure that our first step into the next quarter century will bring the nations of the world closer together.

159. Peace is undeniably of the utmost importance for the future of the United Nations and of the world. It is a prerequisite to any real accomplishments in the field of development. However, even in the crucial area of peace and security there is notable evidence of the failings of the United Nations.

160. World peace is indivisible. The United Nations can, accordingly, no longer rest on the argument that since the founding of the Organization there has been no global holocaust, when its ineffective position permits local wars, such as those in Indo-China and the Middle East, to burn on. They certainly do not diminish the threat of a global war through miscalculation that still hovers over the world. The United Nations can, therefore, no longer shirk its responsibility to safeguard peace and security everywhere in the world.

161. The ineffectiveness of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 can thus not be considered a valid reason for the Organization and its Security Council to turn a blind eye to the war in Indo-China. Furthermore, the ten-point proposal made by North Viet-Nam, as clarified in the eight points forwarded last September by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, together with the five-point proposal of President Nixon, all deserve serious study by the parties directly involved in the conflict, in order to explore the possibilities of reaching a mutually acceptable formula.

162. With regard to the Middle East, we hope that after the demise of President Nasser, a great Arab and

world leader, all concerned will continue their endeavours towards a peaceful solution of the conflict. The Security Council has already provided a basis for such a solution in its resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. The question is now whether this Organization has the will and the courage to implement its own decisions.

163. It is a matter of regret that the General Assembly has so far not been able to reconcile the different points of view with regard to measures designed to strengthen international security. Since these measures are a most vital element of our chances for peace in the next quarter of a century, it is of great urgency that a declaration be produced that could enjoy our unanimous support. We must constantly remind ourselves that what matters most is not the preservation of national self-interest, but rather to find as much common ground as possible where we can work towards the strengthening of the Charter and the strengthening of international security.

164. In this vein, we are grateful that the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations was approved by the General Assembly. We believe that the acceptance of the seven principles contained in the draft resolution on friendly relations [A/8082 para. 8], will facilitate the application of the provisions of the Charter regulating the relations among States, and will thus contribute to harmonious relations within the community of nations.

165. Although Indonesia upholds the principle of equality between all nations, big and small, rich and poor, we are realistic enough to acknowledge that the effectiveness of the United Nations, and particularly its efforts at disarmament, will depend to a very large extent upon the role that the major Powers are prepared to play. We would hope that just as the founding fathers entrusted them with a special position, granting them a permanent seat on the Security Council, with veto power, the big Powers will respond commensurately with a greater sense of responsibility. It is thus the greater obligation of the major Powers to endeavour to co-operate with each other in the search for peace, justice and prosperity. If the principles of mutual respect, non-intervention and co-operation can be sincerely implemented by all the Members of the United Nations, then we can expect that our efforts to translate the ideals and aims of the Charter into reality will be successful.

166. By singling out the big Powers, I do not mean to imply that the rest of us should remain mere onlookers. On the contrary, each one of us must be prepared to contribute in a sincere and realistic manner to the best of his ability.

167. Rather than pursue rhetorical questions as to where the fault lies for the past disappointments in the United Nations, let us avail ourselves of this historic occasion to assess its present position and to cor-

rect our programme of action in order to adapt it to the new role that the United Nations will be called upon to play in the next quarter of a century.

168. While we consider the United Nations the only representative international forum in the world today, it is regrettable that certain countries still remain outside the Organization. We certainly cannot expect to effect global improvements unless the organ designed to achieve these ends is in itself universal in nature. Therefore, as a primary and essential step, we urge universality of membership.

169. We are also confident that the United Nations provides potentially the most effective and comprehensive machinery today for the achievement of peace, justice and prosperity for mankind, on the basis of international co-operation. However, the growth of the Organization, both in size and concept, requires that its administrative and operational machinery be attuned to the demands of the times to ensure a more efficient discharge of its obligations.

170. So too, the advances in technology not only permit, but demand, that operational efficiency be secured by reforming each organ, and enhancing the interrelation and co-operation of these bodies.

171. Many have stressed the need of a revision of the Charter. I do not find myself in opposition to these sentiments. I would certainly agree that time, indeed, requires that the Charter be adapted to the new conditions which prevail. However, the Charter in its essence, as formulated 25 years ago, will always be the guiding force for our actions here, and, I may add, will remain fundamentally unchanged.

172. In the final analysis, the success or failure of any organization depends upon the contribution of its members. It is not the mechanics of organizational improvement, nor the semantics of such revision, but rather the commitment of each Member to the spirit of the Charter that will determine our success in the future. It is in that spirit that I hope we have all assembled here today, in a spirit of optimism for the future of mankind, for the betterment of each man's condition and for the improvement of their relations together. It is in this spirit that the Government and people of Indonesia rededicate themselves to the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

173. In conclusion, I would earnestly invite all Members to practise introspection and self-criticism, so that all of us without exception may play a more positive role and make a more substantial contribution in an atmosphere of the widest possible mutual understanding and accommodation, in order that this World Organization may really become an effective machinery for peace, security, justice and prosperity.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.