

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**1788th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 23 October 1969,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

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**President:** Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

**AGENDA ITEM 25**

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Mr. Franzi of Italy, to present the report of the Committee [A/7690].

2. Mr. FRANZI (Italy), Rapporteur of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, (*translated from French*): Today I have the honour to introduce the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [A/7690].

3. Since 20 January 1969, the Committee has held nineteen meetings and the report sets out as accurately and concisely as possible, the results of its work. These results were achieved by the co-operation not only of all the members of the Committee and of the Secretariat, but also of Governments of countries not members of the Committee and of the secretariats of those specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations which were good enough to respond to the appeal addressed to them and to furnish their suggestions for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

4. The report consists of five chapters and three annexes. The first three chapters summarize the events which led up to the decision to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and give a short account of the correspondence with Governments of Member States and with the secretariats of the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations.

5. The fourth chapter recapitulates the suggestions received, particularly those from Governments of Member countries, including those received in writing from 45 countries and the oral suggestions made by countries members of the Committee. Those suggestions were classified by subject: themes and objectives of the celebration,

type of programmes and activities envisaged, measures relating to the organization and activities of the United Nations, measures directed at making the United Nations better known, commemorative measures and, lastly, suggestions concerning youth.

6. The fifth chapter summarizes the results of the Committee's work and in particular contains its conclusions and recommendations. Four paragraphs (37-40) deal with youth participation because the Committee members concentrated their attention on that question. In this connexion I would add that one of the three annexes contains a note from the Bureau of the Committee dealing specifically with the organization of a world youth assembly. Most of the Bureau's suggestions are reproduced in the four paragraphs mentioned above.

7. The report has two other annexes. One contains excerpts—which are in fact quite full from the communications received from 33 Governments, and the other a list of the public information activities planned by the Office of Public Information of the United Nations Secretariat with a view to making the Organization better known to the public.

8. The Committee has specifically requested me, when introducing the report, to give the General Assembly two explanations regarding paragraphs 33 and 42 respectively. In paragraph 33 the words "commemorative session" have been used to define the period during which the principal activities marking the twenty-fifth anniversary may be held. It does not imply that we mean to create new categories of sessions. With regard to paragraph 42, the footnote does not affect the Committee's decision regarding the issue of invitations to the ceremonies at Geneva.

9. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Mr. Akwei of Ghana.

10. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana), Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations: I should like to offer my personal congratulations as well as those of my delegation to the Rapporteur of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations for a masterly and factual presentation of the report of that Committee [A/7690]. His statement is a model of accuracy, brevity and fairness. As Chairman of that Committee, I can say without hesitation that it has been our privilege and good fortune to have the representative of Italy, who just spoke, as our Rapporteur. For me personally and for the Ghana delegation it has, indeed, been a great pleasure and honour to be closely associated with the work of the Preparatory Committee, and as Chairman of that Committee I am happy that the task assigned to the Committee has now been accomplished.

11. Turning now to the report under consideration, it must have struck many delegations already that this is one of the shortest reports ever to come out of a Committee of the General Assembly. This fact will naturally be interpreted by each delegation in the light of its evaluation of the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report. But there is one fact which none can deny—the importance of the subject matter with which the report deals. The overwhelming majority of Chairmen of delegations from all parts of the world gave an important place in their statements, during the general debate, to the subject of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. Stimulating ideas were voiced right through the general debate on what the theme and purpose of the commemoration should be, what activities and programmes should be undertaken and how the Organization should be made more effective, more meaningful and more relevant to the challenges of today and the expectations of tomorrow.

12. At the root of all these references could be detected a vague but persistent feeling that, despite significant successes and achievements here and there, the Organization had on the whole, perhaps, failed to rise to the noble ideals of the Charter; that old problems persisted while new ones emerged without visible hopes of their permanent solution; that new situations and developments, not foreseen by the Charter, called for adjustment in the structure and functioning of the Organization, and that the credibility and capability of the Organization badly needed to be restored.

13. It is against this background that the recommendations and conclusions of the report should be considered [*ibid.*, *paras. 27-47*]. These recommendations are the result of various suggestions received [*ibid.*, *para. 12*] from some forty-five Member States, specialized agencies and other organizations, as well as the Secretariat. They are also the result of considerable debate and deliberation in the Committee, aimed at reaching the widest possible consensus. The first important fact about these recommendations and conclusions is that everyone in the Committee agreed that the theme of the commemoration should be forward-looking, and that it should be based on the imperatives of peace and progress. This commemoration should not be just an occasion for self-congratulation and jubilation, although these were justifiable, but rather an opportunity for a solemn rededication by Member States to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations and to the obligations of membership in this Organization. Furthermore, fresh determined efforts should be made by the Organization to study the intractable problems or subjects which have, so far, defied solution in the major areas of the Organization's activities, and final documents should be prepared which would show the prospects for the solution of these problems, as well as those which would confront the Organization for the next decade.

14. The first problem regarding the subjects considered is the difference of view in the Committee on the subjects to be highlighted. In the view of my delegation, there is no question that there was wider general agreement on the first six subjects than on the remaining ones. However, every attempt has been made to reflect accurately the views of those other delegations who felt strongly about additional subjects. In our view, the compromise reached is a good one

and the important thing now is to implement this particular recommendation rather than to reopen a debate without issue about this or that list of subjects. In this connexion, preponderant opinion in the Committee favoured the highlighting of such subjects as disarmament, decolonization, the Second United Nations Development Decade, human rights, particularly *apartheid*, peace-keeping and principles concerning friendly relations. The view was also expressed that other subjects deserved the earnest and genuine attention of this Organization. To my mind, there are enough subjects in the report to occupy the attention of the United Nations. The only condition which should govern consideration of these subjects is that these studies should result in positive programmes of action to be adopted at the commemorative session in the form of final declaration or declarations.

15. There were those in the Committee who argued that the Organization is failing to come up to expectations because of the inherently difficult nature of the subjects it is confronted with, a difficulty which necessitates detailed and patient study and analysis. There were also those who argued that, even if this difficulty exists, the Organization itself was responsible because of a structure and working-methods which are obsolete, inefficient and unnecessarily expensive. Further, there were those who argued that there is nothing wrong with the Organization as such, but that the villains of the piece are the Member States themselves because they have paid only lip-service to their obligations under the Charter. To all of us who have suffered the frustrations and apparent malaise of the Organization it is obvious that all three schools of thought deserve attention and that it is necessary to attack the causes of our ineffectiveness on all three fronts. It is because of this that the final documents to be adopted at the commemorative session are so important.

16. In this connexion we must consider the commemorative session recommended for next year [*ibid.*, *para. 33*] as one of the most important recommendations of the Committee. If the twenty-fifth anniversary is to mark a watershed in the history of the United Nations, then this commemorative session must have a significant impact on the Organization. That was why it was generally felt in the Committee that the commemorative session should be attended by as many Heads of State or Government as possible, to serve notice, as it were, on all the Committees and organs of the United Nations that would be considering the various subjects, to expedite their work so that not only will documents be ready for the Heads of State or Government to consider at the session, but they should also be of such consequence that the Heads of State or Government will wish to attend the commemorative session and adopt the final document or documents on United Nations Day, 24 October 1970. The Committee has further recommended that the same period of the commemorative session should also provide an opportunity for implementing the programmes which the Preparatory Committee for the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples might recommend.

17. Let me now turn to the next most important recommendations of the Committee, those relating to the inclusion of youth representatives in national delegations to

the twenty-fifth session and the convening of a world youth assembly [*ibid.*, *paras. 37-40*]. The first recommendation was unanimously adopted by the Committee and underlies the importance which it was felt, through all stages of the Committee's work, should be given to the role of youth in the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. It is the hope of my delegation that Member Governments will not only include these young men and women in national delegations but, what is more important, allow them as much freedom as possible in expressing their views on agenda items of special interest to them. It is clear from the report of the Committee, as well as from the statement we have just heard from the Rapporteur, that probably no single item commanded the attention of the Committee more than the idea of the convening of a world youth assembly. It is a most important recommendation which I would commend to representatives for their support.

18. Let me state from the outset the plain fact which arose from the discussions of the Committee on this issue. As to the need for holding a world youth assembly, I believe I can say that there was no division of opinion as such, in principle. All were agreed on this principle. Secondly, on the objectives, mechanics and details of such a conference there was an equally overwhelming opinion in the Committee in favour of the note on the subject prepared by the Bureau of the Committee [*ibid.*, *annex II*]. It was only on two matters that the Committee could not carry a few of its members; first, the idea that participation in such a youth assembly should be open to the youth of all States, and second, the question of objectives and planning of the Conference itself.

19. Concerning the idea of opening the youth assembly to youth representatives from all the world, I gained the distinct impression that if this were possible next year, none would oppose it. Precisely for the same reasons that this Organization is not yet fully representative of the world community today, it would be impossible to organize the world youth assembly on the basis of universal participation.

20. The question we had and still have to face is the following: are we to turn our backs on the clear evidence, all over the world, of the frustrations and dissatisfactions of youth concerned over the trend of affairs in our time? Are we to ignore the noble idealism which throbs so violently in the hearts of young men and women, which sometimes drives them into actions we fail to understand completely or approve, but which are clearly motivated by a sincere desire for constructive and meaningful change? My delegation's answer to that question is no. We must accept the logic of reality and support the convening of the world youth assembly on the only basis that is possible and try to make the best of our present limitations and get the most out of them. Concerning the second criticism that details of both the objectives and planning of the proposed youth assembly are not clear, we feel that those who have positive suggestions will be given a sympathetic hearing.

21. In the circumstances, and for the foregoing reasons, my delegation wholeheartedly supports the recommendation of the Committee on the world youth assembly and commends it to all delegations.

22. Last, but not least, is the Committee's recommendation regarding the ratification of or accession to interna-

tional instruments [*ibid.*, *para. 36*]. The Committee recommends that an appeal be made during the current session of the General Assembly to all Member States to give urgent consideration to the ratification of or accession to a number of multilateral instruments which have been adopted, endorsed or supported by the United Nations and which have not entered into force for lack of sufficient ratifications or accessions, or which have entered into force but could be strengthened by additional ratifications or accessions, as well as to their effective implementation. The importance of this aspect of the Committee's recommendations in promoting international understanding and world peace cannot be overemphasized.

23. These are the four main aspects of the Committee's conclusions and recommendations to which I wish to draw particular attention: the final declaration or declarations, the commemorative session, the world youth assembly, and the appeal for the ratification of or accession to international instruments.

24. Before I conclude, let me leave the Assembly with one thought which kept recurring in my mind at several stages of our deliberations in the Committee. It is the question of financial implications. We often encountered difficulties over certain suggestions because there were reservations here and there about the need to spend money on this or that suggestion. The result has been that if we have erred at all in this respect we have probably done so on the side of economy rather than on that of extravagance. I think that if we sincerely believe what we say about the need to strengthen the effectiveness of the Organization, we must act on the principle that what needs to be done must be done. We must be willing to pay the price for making the United Nations effective, especially if it is a question of spending such money once in twenty-five years.

25. I have discussed some of the highlights of the report of the Preparatory Committee, which I wish to recommend for serious consideration and acceptance by the General Assembly. As I have already stated, the Committee's conclusions and recommendations have been the result of very serious discussion and deliberation. Prolonged arguments sometimes characterized the Committee's discussions, but, in the end, the spirit of compromise and accommodation, so essential for progress and broadbased action in the tasks facing this Organization, prevailed. The recommendations and conclusions therefore represent the widest possible agreement reached by all members of the Preparatory Committee. A similar spirit characterized our discussion of the draft resolution to be presented later. It is our hope that this spirit will also prevail in our discussions in the plenary Assembly so that we can move forward together.

26. We are confident that the recommendations contained in the report, if accepted for implementation, will contribute significantly to the greater effectiveness of the United Nations. But we must remember that adoption of these recommendations and any resolution resulting therefrom is only the beginning; the task of strengthening the Organization is still before us.

27. The recommendations of the Committee relate to various activities which might be undertaken at all sig-

nificant levels, international, regional and national, with a view to ensuring that the year 1970 will make so widely known to the world the ideals of the United Nations that every individual will be conscious of the relevance of the Organization to himself and of the role we all have to play as each other's keeper. We are confident that national governments will respond in the same spirit of high purpose and endeavour as the Committee has displayed.

28. I should like to associate myself with the Rapporteur's expressions of gratitude to the Office of the Secretary-General for the considerable assistance and advice it rendered to the Committee in the preparation of this report and the draft resolution.

29. I should also like to thank all the delegations, specialized agencies and other organizations which so kindly responded to the Chairman's appeal and submitted their suggestions on the most appropriate manner in which they felt the twenty-fifth anniversary could be commemorated. All those suggestions were carefully considered by the Committee. We found them extremely useful, and I must say that but for the constructive proposals submitted by these bodies the task of the Preparatory Committee would have been made more difficult.

30. Finally, may I be permitted to recommend the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations for the unanimous acceptance of the General Assembly?

31. The PRESIDENT: Perhaps I should now mention that it is my understanding that draft resolution A/L.568/Rev.1 will not be introduced by the sponsors today.

32. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is certainly an occasion to be commemorated. We are all deeply grateful to the Secretary-General for proposing that we do so. It is no small thing for this extraordinary experiment in international organization to have survived for twenty-five years. That fact in itself provides the occasion for a ceremony. The United Nations has not only survived—it has made unprecedented contributions to international peace and security, to the self-determination of peoples, to economic and social development and to the advancement of human rights.

33. Yet I believe that, as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee has just reminded us, none of us are under the illusion that the twenty-fifth anniversary should be a time for self-congratulation or complacency. On the contrary, it must be a time for soul-searching and for candid recognition of how far we have fallen short of the purposes of our Charter and of effective means of carrying them out.

34. On 9 May of this year U Thant said:

"I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the Members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development

efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control."<sup>1</sup>

35. You, Madam President, in your opening remarks to this General Assembly, were eloquent in expressing alarm over "the gradual decline of the United Nations in the eyes of public opinion" and stating bluntly that, "it would be complacency on our part if we were to yield to the delusion that we are doing our best and that the world persists in misjudging us" [1753rd meeting, para. 47]. You then set us all an example when you declared:

"But, to satisfy my conscience, I must not refrain, in the evaluation of the general situation in the United Nations, from asking all of us to probe our souls and search deep into our minds to ascertain whether or not we have given . . . to the United Nations cause the best and the most of ourselves." [Ibid., para. 52.]

36. I think we have only to glance at some of the key provisions of the Charter to see how far we have fallen short of making them living realities, how substantially we have failed to develop the institution and the sort of international society which the authors of the Charter had in mind. Do we in fact "take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace"? Do we "accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council"? Do all of us, do most of us, settle our "international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered"? Do we all "refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state"? In electing new Members to our Organization do we judge objectively whether they "are able and willing to carry out" the obligations of the Charter? In electing non-permanent members to the Security Council does this Assembly pay "due regard . . . in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security, and to the other purposes of the Organization"? Does the Security Council and do the Member States "take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice"?

37. Those questions only need to be asked in order, unhappily, to be answered in the negative. We have, in fact, only just begun, after twenty-five years, to implement our Charter. Perhaps it needs in some respects to be amended, but, more important and more urgent, it needs to be implemented.

38. So I would look forward most of all to the twenty-fifth anniversary as an occasion for collective soul-searching, for a rigorous self-examination as to whether and why we have fallen short of our purposes, as to how and when we can at long last, next year, five years hence, through the coming decade, make them effective.

<sup>1</sup> Statement made at the opening session of the Conference on the Second United Nations Development Decade: A Challenge for Rich and Poor Countries, held at United Nations Headquarters on 9 May 1969.



39. The Secretary-General, as I have noted, warns that we may have only ten years in which to reverse the fatal course of conflict, armament, overpopulation and under-development which we are now pursuing. I can think of no more suitable task, no more imperative duty, for us to perform next year than, first, to take whatever concrete action to deal with these problems we can agree to take during that anniversary year and second, to lay down, collectively in so far as possible, concrete objectives, adequately responsive to the disastrous impact of those problems, for implementation before the end of the decade. Whatever we may decide to do of a ceremonial character in celebration of the anniversary should merely emphasize and reinforce the practical steps we should take or propose to meet this overriding responsibility.

40. We believe that the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, under the able, patient and good-humoured guidance of Ambassador Richard Akwei of Ghana, has provided us with a most useful report [A/7690]. The recommendations in that report [*ibid.*, paras. 27-47] provide a framework for commemoration by the United Nations, by the specialized agencies, by regional organizations, by national Governments and by non-governmental institutions around the world. While we shall have to see how some of the proposals mentioned in the report are elaborated, we support the main thrust of the recommendations in that report, particularly the theme of "Peace and progress" and for that reason have joined as a co-sponsor in the draft resolution [A/L.568/Rev.1] which is now before the Assembly. We are particularly pleased by the large number of co-sponsors of the draft resolution, representing countries from all over the world, and hope that all delegations will join in supporting and implementing the draft resolution.

41. President Nixon, in his address to the General Assembly last month drew our attention to the challenge and opportunity that lie before us. He said:

"For the first time ever, we have truly become a single world community. For the first time ever, we have seen the staggering fury of the power of the universe unleashed, and we know that we hold that power in a very precarious balance. For the first time ever, technological advance has brought within reach what once was only a poignant dream for hundreds of millions: freedom from hunger and freedom from want—want and hunger that I have personally seen in nation after nation all over this world. For the first time ever, we have seen changes in a single lifetime—in our lifetime—that dwarf the achievements of centuries before; and those changes continue to accelerate . . .

"In this new age of 'firsts', even the goals of a just and lasting peace is a 'first' we can dare to strive for. We must achieve it. And I believe we can achieve it." [1755th meeting, paras. 84-85.]

42. It will require not perfunctory eloquence but hard work to strengthen the United Nations as a dynamic instrument for peace and progress, to enable it to respond to the needs of a world changing with bewildering speed. The job, as U Thant has correctly pointed out, must be

done by the Member States. The United Nations, after all, has virtually no power of its own. Its success rests entirely on the readiness of its Members to put their power at its service and to subordinate their parochial concerns to the common cause of a more peaceful and secure world.

43. In setting our goals we must, of course, be realistic. Yet, I believe, there is greater danger from the kind of realism that makes for excessive caution and timidity than in a bold approach which offers the only hope of meeting successfully the challenges that face us.

44. It would be premature for me to outline today a definitive programme of goals for the next decade. My Government will want to give the most serious attention to these goals during the year ahead. We shall also want to study the thoughtful submissions of other Governments, for example the stimulating memoranda submitted by Ghana, Guyana, Ireland, Italy, the Philippines, Sweden and Yugoslavia which are annexed to the report before us. We shall also want to give serious attention to certain studies prepared by responsible private groups, such as the recent study entitled "The United Nations: The next twenty-five years", prepared by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; and the ideas in "Controlling Conflicts in the 1970s", set forth by a panel of the United Nations Association of the United States of America. I should like to sketch out in a preliminary way certain approaches which might be explored further during the coming year.

45. The first purpose of the United Nations is to keep the peace. Without a reasonable measure of peace there can be only the most precarious progress in human welfare and human rights. The United Nations, through its peace-keeping operations, has made a great contribution in the last twenty-four years. Yet all of us are keenly aware of how often we have failed and continue to fail. I would suggest three avenues of approach for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations in this area.

46. First, we should greatly accentuate our efforts to agree on guidelines for strengthening United Nations peace-keeping. The Security Council should be made a much more effective instrument in this regard and its primary role should be fully recognized. The residual responsibilities of the General Assembly should also be preserved and the authority of the Secretary-General should be maintained. The role of each is laid down in the Charter; these roles are complementary and in no sense incompatible. It would be a signal achievement for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary, and a significant first step, if there were general agreement on guidelines for strengthening United Nations peace-keeping operations—the type of agreement which the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations is seeking. We of the United States hope that this goal can be achieved during the coming year and we shall bend every effort to make it a reality. This, in turn, should pave the way for strengthening of standby arrangements and for more reliable and equitable financing of United Nations peace-keeping, based on the collective responsibility of the membership.

47. Secondly, there must be greater emphasis on the peaceful settlement of disputes. While containing violence through United Nations peace-keeping is necessary, such

peace-keeping is not sufficient while the roots of conflict remain. Improvement must be found through developing instruments for fact-finding, negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, through greater use of the International Court of Justice, and through other methods of peaceful settlement. We will vigorously participate in efforts during the coming decade for such improvement. Among other steps, might the General Assembly next year reconstitute its panel on inquiry and conciliation in order to revitalize this procedure?

48. Naturally, the most important element is and will remain the willingness of countries to engage in procedures for peaceful settlement. There must be a greater willingness to accept conciliation and mediation. Resort to arbitration, as was done so successfully between India and Pakistan on the Rann of Kutch issue, must become more common.

49. Thirdly, we must pursue with much more energy and realism our common responsibility to check the dangerous and costly arms race. There are now more than enough nuclear weapons in the world to destroy every living thing on earth. No nation can or will disarm unilaterally but prompt, effective and collective means of checking the arms race, particularly as regards weapons of mass destruction, are long overdue. Nor is the need for disarmament limited to the great Powers and nuclear weapons. All the wars now being fought are being fought with conventional arms; it is the ever mounting burden of conventional armament which weighs on the poorest nations and is one of the most serious impediments to their economic, social and political development.

50. Along with keeping the peace, a second, and equally important, purpose of the United Nations is building peace through development. The essential imperatives of that purpose have been in recent weeks again tellingly brought to our attention in the report issued by the Commission under the eminent chairmanship of Lester Pearson, and in Robert McNamara's annual address to the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Both deserve earnest study and prompt action. The Pearson Report recalls the well known fact that "development is not a guarantee of political stability or an antidote to violence. Change is, itself, intrinsically disruptive."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, a world where two thirds of the people are in countries that are desperately poor could easily become a world of desperate nations—so desperate that peace would be much more seriously and widely threatened than it already is. Moreover, a world where such glaring disparities exist is a moral challenge to us all which we cannot ignore without lessening our own moral stature.

51. Many speakers from this rostrum have expressed disappointment over the results of the First United Nations Development Decade. Certainly we all wish that more had been done. Still, the fact remains that more developing countries have made the breakthrough to self-sustaining growth during the past decade than during any other decade in history. While some countries have grown little during that time, the target of an average annual increase of 5 per cent in the national product of developing countries by the end of the decade has apparently been reached.

52. So there have been some commendable achievements in the first United Nations Development Decade, but many notable failures. The level of economic aid from developed to developing countries fell short of its goal. Many harmful trade barriers to the exports of developing countries have not been eliminated. The burden of repaying loans is a serious brake on the progress of developing countries. Social progress, the essential corollary of economic progress, is still woefully neglected. Far too often the appallingly rapid growth of population has tragically limited, sometimes even nullified, the benefits of economic growth. As to the latter, Mr. McNamara, in the address I mentioned, has repeated a timely warning:

"The enhancement of human dignity, and the consequent capacity to lead a fuller, freer, more thoroughly human life, is the ultimate objective of development. Economic progress is a means to that end, but no achievable rate of economic growth will be sufficient to cope with an unlimited proliferation of people on our limited planet."<sup>3</sup>

53. We shall have to do much better in the Second United Nations Development Decade. The developed countries will have to take a new look at their trade and aid policies. The developing countries, for their part, will have to take a new hard look at their policies, priorities, and performance, at the effectiveness of the means by which they mobilize their people and resources, improve food production and carry out population policies designed to promote human welfare as well as economic growth. All of us will have to take a new look at the machinery by which the entire United Nations family establishes priorities and co-ordinates operations in this complex field.

54. All these and other aspects of the Second United Nations Development Decade are being considered in the Preparatory Committee created for that purpose. I want to assure the Assembly that the United States will do its utmost to assist in that Preparatory Committee's work so that we may move away from disenchantment towards a true partnership for progress.

55. If there is hope for breakthroughs in the Second United Nations Development Decade—and I believe there is—much of this hope lies in the spectacular advance of science and technology. Two men walking on the moon last July were a dramatic symbol of how science has turned the wild dreams of yesterday into the realities of today. Science and technology are international. Throughout history the advances made in one nation have found their way to others and scientists learned to co-operate long before diplomats did. Now we are meeting two new challenges, wisely recognized by the General Assembly when it established the Committees on outer space<sup>4</sup> and the deep sea-bed.<sup>5</sup> By their very nature these ever less hostile areas are the common frontiers of all mankind.

<sup>3</sup> Address to the Board of Governors by Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank Group, given at Washington, D.C., on 29 September 1969, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (resolution 1472 (XIV)).

<sup>5</sup> Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2467 (XXIII)).

<sup>2</sup> *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 7.

56. From the standpoint of the developing countries, the next decade should see a greatly accelerated programme for scientific and technological co-operation, aimed at widespread dissemination of technology for meeting the basic needs of man, such as nutrition, shelter communications, health and sanitation. This should include new techniques and teaching methods for the development of scientific manpower.

57. I turn now to the question of decolonization, which is commended to our attention not only by the Charter itself but also by the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

58. Among our goals for the coming decade must be self-determination for all peoples and the complete abolition of colonialism or alien domination wherever it exists in the world. This is not likely to be accomplished by adopting more resolutions, or by escalating the language of the resolutions. It certainly will not happen over-night. But we are convinced that all of us must take a serious new look at the hard core problems which remain.

59. We should recall that 97 per cent of the people who were under colonial domination in 1941 have now become citizens of independent nations, and that the bulk of these achieved independence without violence. It behoves us to exercise special patience, ingenuity and determination in bringing about a peaceful exercise of self-determination by the remaining 3 per cent, as suggested in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa.<sup>6</sup>

60. Finally, there can be no more significant objective for the United Nations in its second quarter century than the reinforcement of the dignity and the rights of man and of woman, of simple human beings of every colour and creed. Some progress has been made since we adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but I would venture to say that there is hardly a country represented in this hall, my own country included, which does not witness daily a violation of some elemental right to some of its citizens. Surely we must set, as one of our goals, the disappearance from this earth not only of the evil of *apartheid* but of all other violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. A good way to begin would be a prompt decision to appoint a high commissioner for human rights, as has been proposed by Costa Rica.<sup>7</sup>

61. All of this cannot be accomplished without great improvements in our procedures and methods of work here in the Assembly and in all the councils, commissions and specialized agencies of the United Nations. Constructive suggestions in this regard were made in our general debate by a distinguished former President of this Assembly, Carlos Romulo, by the Foreign Ministers of Canada and of Italy, and by many others. It behoves us to pay the most careful heed to proposals such as theirs, if we are to escape the dead hand of rhetoric and bureaucracy and create at last the peaceful and progressive international society which our Charter enjoins.

62. I am particularly gratified that the draft resolution [*A/L.568/Rev.1*] places so much emphasis on the role of youth. If the United Nations is to have a future in the next decade and the decades to follow, then surely those who are now young must become more involved in making it work. As for the United States, our young people of today, perhaps more than at any time in our history since the Declaration of Independence, are becoming concerned with and involved in the world around them now. For this reason, we welcome the resolution's proposal that this General Assembly decide to convene a United Nations youth assembly next summer. We also welcome the invitation to Governments of Member States to consider the inclusion of youth in their delegations to the next General Assembly. Further, the United States delegation will propose the inclusion on the agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Youth and the United Nations". Personally, I look forward to this infusion of new blood and new ideas in the work of the United Nations. We believe that such an item could include a discussion of the results of the youth assembly; could help to co-ordinate actions concerning youth in various United Nations bodies; and would enable us to explore fully the role of youth in strengthening the United Nations.

63. Adlai Stevenson once said: "The central question is whether the wonderfully diverse and gifted assembly of human beings on this earth really knows how to run a civilization." That is still very much an open question. It is we, and the Governments we represent here, who must start at once to think anew and chart anew the course we must take to survive, prosper and live peacefully in a world that changes daily with frightening speed.

64. What is supremely important is not this institution but the purposes it was created to serve. If it does not serve those purposes history will sweep it away. But who can believe that sovereign Governments, without the United Nations, without a common institution and a common code of conduct, would serve the same purposes? Let no one suppose that the United Nations, this Organization, these buildings, these meetings, could cease to exist and the world not suffer things far worse than it suffers today. In these twenty-five years something of the fate of humanity has become bound up with what is done—or not done—in these halls. We cannot escape history. We, and the Governments we represent, must make this institution a better instrument of man's needs. The twenty-fifth anniversary should be, above all, an occasion for common efforts to that end.

65. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): In my delegation's opinion, it would not be proper or fitting to let a subject such as the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations pass without comment, since the United Nations is now the international organization that has been in existence for the longest span of time. The fact that it has outlived other similar undertakings is due to the profound conviction of nations that at the present time it performs an essential function. And this is so despite the serious limitations that have become apparent in the course of its twenty-five years of existence. We wish therefore to take this opportunity to put forward some ideas and suggestions that may be helpful to the development of the United Nations.

<sup>6</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/7754.

<sup>7</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 98, document A/5963.*

66. There are many possible approaches to this problem and the report of the Preparatory Committee [A/7690] is very comprehensive in this respect. Many of the suggestions received by the Committee and many of the conclusions it has reached deserve our attention, an attention which I believe might extend beyond the formal celebration of the anniversary of the adoption of easy formulae since that would mean that the Member States had missed yet another opportunity.

67. In addition to the ceremonial aspect, perhaps an indispensable tribute to the household gods of our world, we should concentrate on means "to strengthen the Organization and make it more effective", as the report before us rightly states. We believe that, during the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly, we should make specific suggestions which if considered later, would no longer be applicable.

68. I will not attempt to analyse each and every one of the recommendations made in the Preparatory Committee's report, but will concentrate on a subject of such importance and relevance that it cannot be overlooked. I refer to the structural changes which, so far as is possible, will make our Organization a more effective instrument for reflecting the aspirations of a united and better world.

69. Our Charter, being a historical product, has its limitations, and although my Government has always considered that strict respect for the principles it embodies is the key to considerable progress in international coexistence, it now ventures to suggest certain changes, which are technical rather than political, to improve the machinery available to the Organization, since the lofty aims to which we aspire will be the more readily attainable the better the machinery at our disposal. Even if political realities differ from those of 1945, the difference is not such as to obscure the many constructive aspects of the multilateral treaty on which our work is based.

70. Many references were made during the general debate to the desirability of a revision of the Charter. It was mentioned by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Mexico [1763rd meeting] and of Colombia [1768th meeting]; the former stressed the urgent need to strengthen the Economic and Social Council, while the latter pointed to the vital necessity of bringing the Charter up to date and even suggested that a General Conference should be convened of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter in accordance with Article 109, the provisions of which have been overlooked for nearly 15 years.

71. Of the six principal organs of the United Nations established by the Charter, there are three that, subject to human limitations and to the limitations inherent in any ideal, have functioned along the lines laid down by our predecessors at San Francisco. But the other three—I refer to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice—call for improvement. What better occasion than the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization to review them and if possible, set in train the machinery which would make them better able to perform their original function?

72. Under Article 58 of the Charter, the United Nations is intended to be a great centre for the advancement of

countries which, as technology has developed, have been unable to secure all its benefits for the welfare of their citizens. The Economic and Social Council was entrusted with the task of carrying out this sound policy, but, with the passage of the years, it had abandoned this role and left the execution of this task to other bodies, which are differently constituted and have new powers at their disposal. It is unwise for us to acquiesce in the proliferation of these new bodies. They duplicate and bypass the work of the Council, which is constantly concerned with secondary matters. My Government believes the time has come to make the Economic and Social Council a great organ of co-ordination, of a co-ordination that leaves with the new bodies, namely, UNIDO, UNDP and UNCTAD, the responsibility for carrying out the great undertakings provided for in the Charter for the advancement of all the nations of the Third World. We believe that, as suggested by the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, an annual meeting at the highest level both of members of the Council and the representatives of the specialized agencies, which significantly, have been reducing the rank of their spokesmen, might instil new life into the Council, in which we still place our hopes.

73. The Trusteeship Council was overtaken by the speed of the decolonization process. With this achievement, the United Nations has written an unforgettable page in the history of mankind and is now confronted with an unyielding hard core. But the reason why the Trusteeship Council was never a great organ of decolonization was because the provisions of Article 73 proved much more productive than those of Chapter XIII of the Charter; it has survived as an organ of which no use is now made, while the great work in this field is being done by the Committee of Twenty-four, by the United Nations Council for Namibia and by the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

74. My Government believes, with reason, that the time has come to change this aspect of the Charter and adapt it to all the great developments of decolonization, so that the many somewhat dispersed efforts can be co-ordinated and their impact and effectiveness increased. A new Council responsible for all aspects of decolonization, a Council which, being one of the principal organs, would bring home to every Member State the fact that we are facing a long and uninterrupted process calling for sacrifices from all of us without exception—such a Council would no doubt give a new impulse to a cause intimately connected with all the humanitarian aspects of the Charter, because we must not relax our efforts until all men are free, regardless of their race, their geographical antecedents, and their cultural origins.

75. The International Court of Justice—the last of the organs to which I have referred—has not fulfilled the expectations that presided over its establishment and has remained virtually becalmed amid the changes our world has undergone in the past twenty-five years. The new item which the Court itself has put before this Assembly with a view to enabling it to move its seat when it may consider this desirable is evidence of the decrease in its work and of its inadequate development, matters which give rise to serious concern. The Government of Mexico has always relied on the law and its consolidation as one of the



immovable pillars of good relations among peoples and it cannot but be seriously concerned that the principal judicial organ of the international world is being relegated to second place. It now seems essential that there should be a special committee to examine the Statute of the Court in the light of the experience of the last twenty-five years, during which there has been an avalanche of international events for which so-called classical international law has been ill-prepared.

76. My delegation considers that all these changes in the Charter and in one of its parts in particular—the Statute of the International Court of Justice—could be carried out without modifying its structure or the political principles on which it is based. The authors of the Charter never believed that they were legislating for all time; on the contrary, they expected that extensive amendments would be made after a short period, but these have not proved possible. We hope therefore that these ideas, which would obviously help to revitalize important organs of the United Nations—may be considered by the General Assembly as worthy of consideration and as a vital part of this process of regeneration that befits the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. This is an anniversary which, in the light of the situation, it has been rightly decided will serve as an occasion for work and continued effort and not merely for commemorative ceremonies.

77. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): We welcome the Committee's report, we thank the Chairman and the Bureau of the Committee for the work they did and we congratulate the Chairman and the Rapporteur on the speeches which they have made to us this morning. We warmly commend the draft resolution [*A/L.568/Rev.1*] which has been prepared and circulated. I do not need to go through the recommendations in the report or to refer to the detailed proposals set out in the draft resolution; they explain themselves. Nor do I wish to range over the whole field of United Nations activities.

78. What I do wish to do this morning, and to do shortly, is to invite the Assembly's special attention to two ideas which gathered increasing momentum and strength as the Committee's work went forward. Those two ideas are, I believe, of great potential consequence to the United Nations. I beg leave to speak of them and I promise to do so shortly.

79. In doing so I like to remember Victor Hugo's famous saying: "One thing is stronger than all the armies of the world—an idea whose time has come."

80. I believe that I speak for every sincere and serious representative in the United Nations—so I am encouraged to believe by the speeches to which we have already listened this morning—when I say that the anniversary must be an occasion for an honest assessment of our failures in the past, matched by an equally determined will to do better in the future, so that we can escape from frustration and turn the anniversary into an inspiration and an achievement.

81. If we were to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary only with stale oratory and empty ceremony we would earn and deserve international contempt, and we would entirely misjudge the mood and the need of our time. If we were

guilty on this occasion of the sin of complacency, we should not be forgiven. It is well to repeat and remind ourselves that there is nothing wrong with the United Nations except the Members. We must avoid the temptation, I suggest, to blame others.

82. I listened, as I always do, with the closest attention to the speech just made by the representative of Mexico. I paid special regard to what he said about the Economic and Social Council and the International Court. He is well qualified to speak on both subjects. Nevertheless, I would be bold enough to say that there is nothing very much wrong with the Charter. How well it has stood the test of time. It has not lost but gained respect through the years. We need not waste time finding fault with the instrument; the sword of the Charter is keen and sharp whenever we care to use it. Nor need we waste time finding fault with each other. It is idle to single out the super-Powers or the permanent representatives on the Security Council or the middle Powers or the smaller countries for blame. All of us have old faults and all of us have new parts to play.

83. We all have a duty to work for agreement, for the understanding which promotes agreement and for the co-operation which comes from agreement. We all know that we can do better in our constant effort to win the prize of agreement. We want the United Nations anniversary of 1970 to mark a new commitment and a new will to agree, for when we agree there is no limit to what we can do together.

84. That was the first idea which emerged as the Committee's work advanced. What was the second? It was the idea of a world youth assembly. It was the idea that youth participation should be the distinguishing characteristic of the anniversary. Here, to United Nations Headquarters next summer there should come representatives of the youth of all Member States. They should be representatives of the generation born since the Charter was signed, a new generation to the rescue. They should come to a youth assembly, working under the same rules of procedure as we work. They should come to discuss the greatest issues of the future—world security, trade and development, race relations, human environment and the like. They themselves should make the plans for the world youth assembly of 1970 and they themselves should control their own proceedings and make their own resolutions. I do not doubt that they will rise to the opportunity which will come from their own inspiring initiative.

85. Much preparatory work certainly needs to be done. International youth organizations have already started to share in it. They were the prime originators of the project. They must carry the main responsibility for raising the funds and for planning and carrying out their ambitious, imaginative proposal. I am confident that they will succeed. I say that we should give them our full support and our enthusiastic encouragement.

86. Those are the two ideas which I earnestly commend to the Assembly. They already command wide support. I am sure that support will quickly come flowing in from the new generation everywhere, from east and west and north and south, to make the United Nations instrument much more effective in its second quarter-century than in its first

and to enlist the vigour of youth to help. Those are the two ideas which, we trust, will distinguish the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and make it worth working for. Those are the ideas which, if translated into action, will make it memorable.

87. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is certainly an important event and a milestone in the development of our Organization. A quarter-century of the United Nations existence is both much and little.

88. It is much because the past twenty-five years have been filled with events of historical importance such as the development of friendly co-operation among socialist States, the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of many young independent States, and the swift advance of science and technology, the culmination of which has been man's penetration of outer space.

89. At the same time, it is little because, from a historical point of view, we can expect many more decades of the complex and laborious struggle to strengthen international peace and security.

90. At the very inception of the United Nations, the Soviet Government declared, from the lofty rostrum of the founding conference at San Francisco, that it was a sincere and staunch advocate of establishing a strong international organization. At that time, the Soviet delegation stated that it would co-operate fully in the performance of this great task with all other Governments which were truly dedicated to that noble undertaking.

91. Since its establishment, the United Nations has made a useful contribution to the development of international relations. For almost a quarter of a century, it has succeeded in preventing the outbreak of a new world war which, in the present circumstances in which States possess nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, would inevitably have had the direct and most irreparable consequences for all mankind. This is a great achievement by peace-loving peoples and a major success for the United Nations. The Organization has also played a part in eliminating the shameful system of colonialism and in the development of international co-operation in the solution of a number of pressing problems of international life in the post-war period.

92. The work of the United Nations has been furthered by the adoption of a number of proposals made by the Soviet Union, aimed at the relaxation of tension, the limitation of the arms race and disarmament, the elimination of colonialism and the struggle against aggression. The policy of peace, which was formulated and bequeathed by Lenin, the great founder of the Soviet State, is the policy of principle of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

93. The history of the United Nations, which goes back for almost twenty-five years, confirms the unquestionable fact that States Members of the Organization can successfully solve major international problems if they show goodwill and adopt a constructive approach based on strict compliance with the Charter.

94. And yet peace is still unstable and fragile. In various parts of the world acts of aggression occur, attacks on independent States, the seizure of territories belonging to them and attempts to establish foreign domination over peoples whose hard struggle to destroy the colonial system has succeeded and who have won the right to independent existence and development as a State.

95. Lives are being lost, material wealth is being destroyed and huge amounts of resources are being diverted to the arms race. The world continues to live in a state of tension.

96. This means that the purposes of the United Nations are still far from fulfilment and that it still has much to do if it is to help to create the necessary conditions for strengthening international security and ensuring that peoples live in peace.

97. The present world situation requires the Organization to intensify its efforts to carry out its most important central task: the maintenance of international peace and the strengthening of security, and the concentration of its capabilities and activities on this cardinal endeavour.

98. This is the basis on which the Soviet Government has submitted the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654] as an important and urgent item for consideration at the present twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

99. In our view, the programme of measures proposed by the Soviet Union to strengthen international security represents the basis on which the Organization's preparations for its twenty-fifth anniversary could take shape.

100. It is in building up the aspirations of peoples for peace and embodying them in specific actions, in helping to combine the efforts of all peace-loving States to halt acts of aggression, that the United Nations has a prominent role to play. It was indeed for that purpose that it was established. The Charter of the United Nations—this collective treaty uniting its Member States—endowed the Organization with these powers. The Soviet Government believes that the Organization should be strengthened, that its authority in international affairs should be enhanced, that its structure should not be weakened and that its political machinery should function more effectively. All this is particularly urgent on the eve of the forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

101. In the interests of maintaining and strengthening general peace, it is urgently necessary that the main efforts should be concentrated on the adoption of effective measures to halt the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament. Nuclear weapons should be outlawed, a step which has long been overdue. It is the urgent duty of all States to make the jubilee year of the United Nations a turning point in the practical solution of the problem of banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons and all other means of mass destruction, and in the adoption of other measures in the sphere of disarmament.

102. The appeals recently published in my country on the occasion of the fifty-second anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution include the words:

“Peoples of the world! Demand the prohibition of all types of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons! Fight for general and complete disarmament and the strengthening of international security!”

103. The Soviet Government is also prepared to support efforts to ensure that the year 1970 will see the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and, in particular, the ending of the colonial domination of Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the liberation of Namibia and the elimination of the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

104. We are profoundly convinced that the preparation and celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary should be marked by the elaboration and adoption of possible measures aimed at the full implementation of the principle of the Organization's universality.

105. In so far as the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations at the national level is concerned, the Soviet Union plans appropriate actions devoted to the Jubilee, with the participation of various scientific and social organizations in the country.

106. The General Assembly has before it the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, which contains the relevant conclusions and recommendations [A/7690, paras. 27-47]. In our view, the Preparatory Committee adopted a sensible approach to the tasks entrusted to it in placing the major emphasis not on the festive and ceremonial aspects of the Jubilee but on the consideration of ways and means of improving the Organization's activities. It is rightly stated in the report that the celebration should be a stimulus for further efforts to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations and to expand political, economic and social co-operation among its Members on the basis of equal rights. The report contains a number of useful recommendations such as, for example, those on holding a commemorative session during the regular twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, on inviting Heads of State or Government to participate in the commemorative session, on an appeal by the General Assembly for the speediest possible ratification and entry into force of treaties and conventions, and a number of others. It must be noted with satisfaction that the Preparatory Committee was unanimous on most of the recommendations, although some delegations took a different view of some of the proposals submitted to the Committee.

107. The Soviet delegation would like to refer, in particular, to the question of convening a world youth assembly. The Soviet Union has no objection to the proposal to convene such an assembly, but it considers that careful preparations must be made. We believe that the assembly should examine what now needs to be done in youth's struggle for peace and social progress and its fight against imperialism and colonialism. In our view, democratic youth organizations should be invited to help prepare for and to participate in the assembly.

108. In conclusion, a draft resolution sponsored by a number of delegations has been submitted to us. The Soviet delegation considers that this proposal is satisfactory and intends to support it.

109. Mr. AYLWIN (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile has read with great interest the important report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [A/7690], which was presided over by our distinguished friend, Ambassador Richard Akwei. I have also listened with satisfaction to the explanations just given by the Rapporteur, Mr. Mario Franzini.

110. On this occasion I should like to make a few preliminary observations on the subject. Although I realize that the Charter of the United Nations obviously needs to be brought up to date, I now propose to discuss other specific steps that might be taken in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary.

111. An anniversary celebration inevitably has some joyful aspects and some sad aspects. It is a time to rejoice at the very fact of being alive, at the satisfactions that life offers and at the good things that have been achieved. But it is also a time to reflect on the accomplishment of the task we have set ourselves, to regret things left undone and to renew our resolutions for the future. The recommendations in the report of the Preparatory Committee attempt to reconcile the joyful with the thoughtful aspects, so that the prestige, influence and effectiveness of the Organization may be reinforced.

112. We believe that the theme of the anniversary has been well chosen. The concepts of “peace and progress” correspond to the greatest hopes of the peoples of the world. They are also concepts which are mutually complementary, since in our time there can be no peace without progress—which means development. As Secretary-General U Thant said in the introduction to his annual report:

“The collective experimentation and experience of the United Nations during twenty-five years has brought into sharp focus the fact that development is the long slow road to peace.” [A/7601/Add.1, para. 84.]

On the other hand, no one can disregard the fact that a climate of peace is essential if we are to further development and progress among peoples.

113. The draft resolution submitted to us [A/L.568/Rev.1] sets out in broad outline the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee in this respect. While the delegation of Chile supports this draft resolution, it also believes that, in the programme for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we should emphasize everything that will serve as a practical and concrete reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of the Charter on which the Organization is based.

114. As we have had occasion to point out in the general debate on international security in the First Committee, it is the, at times, glaring discrepancy between words and deeds that undermines the effectiveness of the United Nations and the peoples' faith in it. It is not enough to proclaim the principles of the equality of States, the prohibition of the threat of the use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, self-determination of peoples, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of any State and co-operation of States with one another and with the

Organization; they must be put into practice. It is not enough to talk of disarmament; it is necessary to disarm. It is not enough to talk of co-operation for development; there must be effective co-operation.

115. One of the main reasons for the climate of violence that pervades the world today and for the crisis of frustration and rebellion affecting young people in most countries of the world is the demoralizing effect of a reality that conflicts with the values and principles that are constantly being proclaimed. We believe that advantage should be taken of the solemn occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization to correct this image by means of declarations and specific actions that reflect the positive determination of the international community and lay down effective policies for achieving the objectives of the United Nations. In this connexion, we have been informed of certain suggestions that will be submitted by the delegation of Yugoslavia regarding decolonization, human rights, the principles of international law, development, disarmament and peace-keeping operations. Our delegation agrees with these suggestions and will make some others.

116. In the first place, it is essential that the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States should submit its final report, containing the specific formulation of those principles, so that, at the twenty-fifth session, the Assembly can solemnly proclaim them and declare them binding upon all. The frequent international developments with which the world is familiar and which threaten the peace make it absolutely necessary that such a proclamation be made and that all, both great and small, undertake to observe those principles in their conduct.

117. In view of the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade, the Second Decade must be marked by something better than vague declarations of intent. It is essential to draw up a very specific strategy for the Second Decade and, in addition to proclaiming it formally on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary, to give a clear indication of the precise obligations that it imposes.

118. With regard to disarmament, the striking failure of the efforts and work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva last year also makes it imperative to adopt a declaration. At the twenty-fifth session, the Assembly should take up the idea of Secretary-General U Thant and solemnly proclaim a disarmament decade laying special emphasis on nuclear disarmament and defining the strategy and the specific measures for its implementation. Such expressions of the political will of the international community are the best proof of the constructive spirit this Organization can offer to the peoples of the world as it approaches its twenty-fifth anniversary.

119. Lastly, I should like to refer to the world youth assembly which has been proposed. This excellent idea, which we owe to the delegation of Sweden, deserves our most enthusiastic support. We are in full agreement with the statement we have just heard on this subject by the representative of the United Kingdom. Youth is now in the majority in the world and this is particularly evident in Latin America. For various reasons, and without reference

to ideologies, political systems and geographical situations, young people are in revolt against the world they have inherited from their elders. We believe that the first objective of the assembly to be convened should be to hear the genuine, true opinion of world youth on the world they live in, and secondly to learn their views on life and the international organizations.

120. These are the comments that the delegation of Chile believed it necessary to make at this stage. The main idea behind them is that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations cannot succeed in strengthening the prestige and authority of the Organization throughout the world unless its celebration is accompanied by concrete acts, which will be living proof that its principles are receiving practical application.

121. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*translated from French*): Since it is very late, I shall be very brief. I wish to congratulate and thank the members of the Bureau of the Preparatory Committee, particularly its Chairman, the representative of Ghana, and the Rapporteur. As a member of the Preparatory Committee and as a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.568/Rev.1] concerning the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which was to be presented today to the General Assembly, the delegation of Canada wholeheartedly supports the proposals to celebrate this anniversary in the most fitting manner. Many Governments will doubtless celebrate this great event by organizing ceremonies in their own countries, and also by participating in international activities as States Members of the United Nations.

122. In view of the general explanations just provided by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, and particularly in view of the Rapporteur's comment concerning paragraph 33 of the report [A/7690], the delegation of Canada hopes it will not be necessary to prolong the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly in order to implement the proposals, thereby increasing the cost both for delegations and for the United Nations. If the majority of the Members are of the opinion that it would be inadvisable to extend the duration of the twenty-fifth session, we hope that the Preparatory Committee and the Secretary-General will make the necessary administrative arrangements for the commemoration to take place during the Assembly's regular session.

123. The theme of the anniversary, "Peace and progress", reaffirms our belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The delegation of Canada expects to celebrate the anniversary in the spirit of this theme and hopes that this spirit will be perpetuated in the years to come.

124. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*translated from French*): Madam President, my delegation welcomes the fact that this session of the General Assembly over which you are presiding is marked by the concern of the States to seek out ways of enlarging the part played by the United Nations in consolidating peace and international security and developing co-operation among nations. We believe that this concern is of the greatest moment for the future of our organization, especially because it goes hand in hand with the preparations to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations in 1970.



125. The cause of such failures as the United Nations has experienced should be sought, not in any shortcomings of the purposes and principles of the Charter, but rather in the deviations from, even violations of, the fundamental standards on which the operation of the world organization is based. My observations are confirmed by the fact that those of its actions and measures that have exerted some positive influence on international affairs have complied strictly with the provisions of the Charter. In our opinion, the strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument for peace and co-operation among States and for the promotion of standards of legality and law in contemporary international relations is closely linked to strict observance, by all Member States without exception, of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

126. That is why we wholeheartedly share the view that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should not be restricted to a mere commemoration of this body, which has such a great part to play in the world today but so greatly needs the active support of all States to enable it to do so. In this connexion we should all be grateful to Secretary-General U Thant for the lead he gave last year in calling the attention of States to the need to make of the 1970 anniversary an occasion to renew our efforts to promote the cause of international understanding and rededicate ourselves to the principles of international order and morality set out in the Charter.<sup>8</sup>

127. This anniversary in fact should be a chance to strengthen the Organization and make it more effective by proclaiming once more the faith of Governments and peoples in the purposes and principles set forth in its Charter and by intensifying our efforts to maintain international peace and security, to develop between nations friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equality of rights among peoples and for their right to self-determination, and to achieve international co-operation by solving economic, social, cultural or humanitarian world problems, by developing and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion.

128. This is the spirit in which the Government of Romania proposed, in its reply to the Preparatory Committee [see A/7690, annex I], that the General Assembly should adopt in 1970 a broad declaration solemnly reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter, defining the basic objectives of the United Nations for the years to come—such as the elimination of under-development, the implementation of practical measures of disarmament, the observance of human rights, the liquidation of colonialism and the encouragement of multilateral co-operation between States—and prescribing measures for improving the work and functioning of the United Nations and for making it truly universal in order to strengthen its role in promoting peace and co-operation between nations.

129. In the opinion of the Government of Romania, the General Assembly should also adopt at its twenty-fifth session a declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among

States in accordance with the Charter. Such a measure would be a major contribution to the development of relations among all States upon the solid foundation of international law, and to the solution of international problems through exclusively peaceful measures. In order that this declaration may be adopted next year, we have suggested that the General Assembly should forthwith address an appeal to the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States to redouble its efforts and to fulfil its mandate at latest in the first half of 1970.

130. The documents to be adopted by the General Assembly upon the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary will obviously carry most international authority if they are approved in the presence of Heads of State or Government. The Romanian Government shares the hope that as great a number as possible of Heads of State or Government will participate in the General Assembly's commemorative session in 1970.

131. As a European country we cannot fail to express our satisfaction at the attention accorded in the Preparatory Committee's report to the public events which will take place in Europe, at Geneva, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. The Romanian Government feels that the initiation in 1970, twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War, of actions for peace, co-operation and European security will go far to relax tension in Europe and throughout the world. These actions, which could be organized both at the governmental and at the non-governmental level, could be so designed as to emphasize the desire of European peoples to coexist peacefully and to develop good-neighbourliness, understanding, co-operation and friendship.

132. The delegation of Romania feels that the attainment of universality is one of the prerequisites for the reinforcement of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and international co-operation. Our common desire to make real progress in disarmament and in settling the major problems of our age calls for prompt reinstatement of the People's Republic of China in its lawful rights in the United Nations, and also the admission to the Organization of other States not yet represented here. In our opinion the Members of this Assembly would show the highest wisdom if they took such action that, on the twenty-fifth anniversary, the United Nations had the standing and scope of the really universal organization designed in the Charter.

133. We wish to take this opportunity of voicing our satisfaction that one of the most important public events of the twenty-fifth anniversary is to be a world youth assembly. The delegation of Romania has particular reason for statification because by a happy coincidence that assembly will also mark the fifth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly [resolution 2037 (XX)], at the instance of Romania, of the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples. There is no doubt that a world assembly bringing together the representatives of youth from all countries in the world would be an extremely important step towards executing the principles of that Declaration, developing co-operation and understanding among peoples, and increasing the influence and

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 1A* (A/7201/Add.1), para. 205.

effectiveness of the United Nations. We trust that the somewhat obscure drafting of paragraph 8 of the draft resolution before us [*A/L.568/Rev.1*] is not intended to prevent the participation of representatives of youth from countries that are not Members or are still barred from membership of this Organization. At this moment in history when we are suffering the full consequences of the fact that the United Nations is not yet universal, and when the achievement of universality has become an essential condition for strengthening its role in international life, it would be incomprehensible and even harmful to burden the younger generation, which will soon be called upon to take responsibility, with the mistakes committed by some of their predecessors during the sad years of the cold war.

134. At the national level, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations will be marked in Romania by a varied programme of activities and public events, lectures, meetings, scientific symposia, exhibitions, documentary films, philatelic displays, publication of a volume of the basic United Nations documents in order to disseminate information about the United Nations and the part played by Romania in the international organizations' work. This programme will be devised and executed by a national committee for the celebration in Romania of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, consisting of the representatives of the Romanian Association for the United Nations and other national institutions and civic organizations participating in the activities of the United Nations and its agencies.

135. To conclude, I assure you that Romania is resolved to take a very active part in the public events to be organized on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, internationally in New York and also in Europe.

136. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): The report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*A/7690*] bears the stamp of thorough work and represents a commendable effort for which I feel that our thanks and appreciation are due. Allow me, in particular, to thank the Chairman of the Committee, the representative of Ghana, who has once again given proof of his able and firm leadership. I wish to also thank the sponsors of the draft resolution [*A/L.568/Rev.1*] before the Assembly for their initiative in presenting to us a useful basis on which to carry on the preparation of the twenty-fifth anniversary. We shall support that draft resolution.

137. According to the report, it was the generally shared feeling in the Preparatory Committee that the anniversary should be an occasion to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective by reaffirming our faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter, to renew our endeavours to maintain international peace and security, and to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

138. The delegation of Denmark is in agreement with those basic principles. They correspond not only to the observations made by my Government in reply to the request earlier this year by the Preparatory Committee to Member States, but also, and not least, to my country's

concept of the principles and rules which must be maintained in order to ensure peaceful developments in international affairs. The very fact that the United Nations has been in existence for twenty-five years will not in itself of course, produce the solution of any problem. But it certainly would be an important achievement if the international community could address itself to the fundamental principles and goals so rightly underscored by the Preparatory Committee, if it could speak with one voice, the voice of reason, and insist that oppression and violence must cease not only because they are evil, but also because they will ultimately solve no problem but will only create new ones and sometimes spread the disease of unrest and strife; in short, that it is always better to use the word than the sword.

139. We are therefore satisfied that the Preparatory Committee is of the opinion that the commemoration should include the highlighting of substantive matters before the United Nations and that emphasis should be placed upon the present and future tasks of the Organization, with due attention being given to its past record. The Government of Denmark has suggested that the General Assembly should adopt a solemn declaration, taking stock of the past accomplishments of the United Nations, pointing to major problems that remain unsolved, and expressing the firm resolve of Member States to seek solutions to those problems and to reinforce the position of the United Nations as an international Organization for peace, security and progress for all mankind.

140. In making those suggestions we have taken into consideration the fact that there is more to peace than the absence of war or armed conflict. Real peace can be achieved only in a context of stability where all countries and all peoples receive their fair share of the economic and technological achievements of humanity and where the rights of the individual are respected. In these matters it must be taken into account that the United Nations will be celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary on the eve of the Second United Nations Development Decade, and that there is still an urgent need for efforts to promote and secure respect for individual human rights.

141. Obviously, declarations on the most important elements in international and human relations will be useful only if they are based upon the broadest possible support of the entire membership, including those Governments which bear a special responsibility for the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. Dissension and disagreement of any consequence with respect to one or more such declarations would run counter to their very purpose and jeopardize their usefulness. At the same time, we must be imbued with what Lord Caradon has just so aptly described as a determination to do better in the future than in the past.

142. The Preparatory Committee received a number of suggestions about the various fields which could be covered in such declarations. The list contained in paragraph 34 of the report of the Committee might well prove too ambitious, and the draft resolution [*A/L.568/Rev.1*] before us is also not very clear in this respect. In practical terms, I believe that the draft resolution, in its paragraph 6, points to the only way forward: to leave it to the

committee for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which is expected to be created at the conclusion of this debate, to establish an order of priority and to draft the texts to be submitted to the commemorative session. In doing so, members of the committee will, no doubt, wish to draw not only upon the assistance of the Secretary-General, who has throughout the whole debate and deliberations on this matter shown such an active and constructive interest, but also upon the co-operation of other Member States, and to have in mind the relative importance of the problems at issue and the likelihood of achieving that broad agreement which is a prerequisite for the usefulness of the whole endeavour.

143. The Government of Denmark has repeatedly stressed the importance of bringing the young generation and the United Nations closer to each other. We consider that national authorities should do their utmost to disseminate information among youth about the United Nations, its principles, its purposes and its achievements. That should be combined with efforts to engage young people actively

and constructively in the strengthening of the dedication to the ideals and purposes for which our Organization stands.

144. In my own country, a national committee for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary has been set up under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister and a broad range of potential activities is being discussed. I shall not go into details but shall only mention that the main emphasis is precisely on information and youth.

145. The national committee, as well as the Danish Government, intends to follow closely the work of the committee for the twenty-fifth anniversary. We are convinced that there will be much inspiration to be derived from the efforts of the committee and, when called upon, we shall do our best to co-operate with it with a view to achieving the best possible results of the commemoration so that we may hope to turn a ceremonial occasion into constructive and substantive achievements.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*