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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. EL-KHANI (Syria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to convey to you on this solemn occasion my most sincere congratulations upon your election to this high post. Your great personal, human and intellectual qualities have earned you the confidence, esteem and respect of all the Members of this Organization. We would like to express our esteem for you as one of the founders of this Organization and one of the promoters of its noble principles. We express the hope that under your leadership during this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly we shall find the success and progress for which we all hope.

2. When this Organization was born 25 years ago, my country, which took a very active part in the preparation of its Charter, was proud to range itself alongside those who placed their signature on the final document. Like them, my country hoped that an end had been finally put to war, that the reign of the Nazi and Fascist crimes had disappeared for ever and that man could finally live free, in a free society, and freely determine his own fate. There was much hope that the exploitation of small nations by big nations would finally disappear, that colonialism and imperialism belonged to the hideous past and that future society would be fashioned on the model of ideas which formed the basis of the Charter. The Charter promised happiness, peace and security to a world which had been torn for more than five years by a savage and devastating war.

3. On this great and memorable occasion when several Heads of State and statesmen will be meeting here to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, it is entirely natural to examine the successes and failures of the last quarter of a century.

4. I do not want to be pessimistic and to begin with failures. On the contrary I shall begin with successes

and shall try to be as optimistic as possible, for my country, in spite of everything, is still attached to the noble purposes of our Organization.

5. I shall try to be optimistic in spite of the tremendous misfortune that has just plunged the Arab world into mourning and consternation through the loss of its greatest leader and chief, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Everyone is aware of the place which President Abdel Nasser occupied in Syrian hearts, before the unity with Egypt, during that unity and after it. The United Arab Republic owes its name and colours to that unity. Syrians for their part know that Syria always occupied in the heart of President Abdel Nasser a privileged place. President Abdel Nasser could have, if he had wanted to, maintained that unity by force. But he said that unity which was based on the love and fraternity of two peoples should not be maintained by force of arms. President Nasser gained a great deal more than he lost by this magnanimous, noble and far-sighted attitude. Unity between the two regions, in spite of their official separation, was maintained by sentiment, by total understanding and co-operation, by the same struggle against imperialism and Zionism and, finally, by the love and veneration which the two peoples, Egyptian and Syrian, always had and will always have for President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

6. I should like to take this opportunity to recall a sentence uttered by the caliph Abou-Bakr after the death of the prophet Mohammed. Addressing the Moslems who were mourning the prophet, he said: "If you worship Mohammed, Mohammed is dead, but if you worship God, God exists. He is powerful and eternal."

7. The principles to which Abdel Nasser dedicated his whole life will remain and grow in our hearts. The great victories of Islam were accomplished after the death of the prophet, by his disciples and brothers. But, although President Nasser is dead, the Arab nation lives. That nation which produced Omar ibn el Khattab, Khaled ibn el-Walid, Moussa ibn Nousseir, Saladin and other leaders will produce other Abdel Nassers. Therefore, in spite of our mourning I shall try to be optimistic.

8. More than anyone else, the Secretary-General can enumerate in his annual report [A/8001 and Corr.1], with clear and precise examples, the successes of our Organization. To repeat that would be futile. To challenge it would be to fail in courtesy towards him. I admit, however, that the greatest success of our Organization lies in its survival. For it to continue to survive in spite of the many difficulties which have

confronted it and the disdain in which certain great Powers hold it is in itself an enormous success. However, we should admit that this Organization owes its survival to its Secretary-General, who, by his rare and exceptional qualities, his indefatigable work, his wisdom and faith, has managed to maintain the Organization's prestige, value and dignity. I hasten on this occasion to congratulate the Secretary-General for his efforts to facilitate the forthcoming admission of Bahrain to our Organization and Fiji's accession to independence. I would add that, by his assiduous efforts, this Organization has helped a great number of peoples to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism, to acquire independence and to become, by that very fact, Members of our Organization, thus effectively contributing to our work and bringing to our Organization their scientific, cultural and moral support.

9. We should note, however, that the most striking successes have been achieved by the specialized agencies in economic, social and cultural spheres. I should like to mention particularly UNESCO, which has done a great deal to assist the propagation of science and culture. I would, however, welcome the opportunity of hearing, here as in UNESCO, the ILO and FAO, that the Arab language has become an official language because it is a language already spoken in 14 countries and more than 100 million people understand and listen to it.

10. I should like also to pay a tribute to and express my appreciation of the juridical and humane work done by the International Law Commission, which has codified a series of laws and treaties constituting a vital and lasting contribution to the treasury of international law.

11. We hope that our Assembly will at its present session adopt the draft declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [A/8082, para. 8], a declaration that will lay the basis for a solid and durable peace.

12. I am very much afraid that the list of failures which I am about to enumerate and upon which the Secretary-General dwelt at some length in his annual report may be rather longer and more extensive than the list of successes. It is clear that some of these failures can still be retrieved. By this I mean the admission to membership of the United Nations of States which hitherto have been kept outside of our Organization. That is the case with the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the German Democratic Republic.

13. My delegation expresses the hope most sincerely that the United Nations will admit to membership immediately these States which, through their age-old civilizations and their human, scientific and cultural potential, could make a very valuable, very rich and very beneficial contribution to our Organization.

14. It is a challenge to civilized society and a "continuing affront to human dignity" to use the terms employed by the Secretary-General when he spoke of *apartheid* and of seeing racist, Zionist and colonialist States freely occupying seats in this Assembly, at the very time when the free States of which I have spoken remain outside the Organization. These racist States, against which several resolutions have been adopted could not have defied the United Nations if they had not previously been assured of the support of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists. The British Parliament not too long ago adopted a decision to supply arms to South Africa. A similar decision was taken two weeks ago by President Nixon who decided to provide arms to Israel in the amount of \$450 million. South Africa will use these weapons against the African people and Israel will use them against the Arabs.

15. Just a few days ago a most honourable and distinguished Foreign Minister of a great country spoke from this very rostrum of a return to the law of the jungle. I wonder how one could describe the sale of destructive weapons to South Africa. It seems to me that this distinguished Minister forgot that the law of the jungle was established by one of his illustrious predecessors more than 50 years ago when he promised a land which he did not own to a people which did not exist. He should have promised it a part of his own kingdom. That would have been much simpler and more logical and the world would not have suffered for more than half a century the troubles which have kept the constant threat of another world war hovering over our heads. For more than 30 years this law of the jungle was established and carried out by successive British Governments in Palestine. It continues now in the hands of the Zionists and racists by what they so insolently call collective punishment. These acts of pure barbarism were condemned by our General Assembly last year in resolution 2535 B (XXIV) which speaks of "collective punishment, arbitrary detention, curfews, destruction of homes and property, deportation and other repressive acts against the refugees and other inhabitants of the occupied territories". This is the law of the jungle which Great Britain established in Palestine and which the United States is protecting, encouraging and supporting today by every possible means.

16. If *apartheid* in South Africa is an affront to human dignity, discrimination in Israel is an abominable crime because it aims at the total annihilation of the Palestinian people by the Zionists, colonialists, imperialists and their agents.

17. These Palestinian peoples whom they want to liquidate by all possible means have been living for some 20 years in tents, in an inhuman atmosphere, in cruel and inhuman physical and social conditions. The only harvest has been death, privation and poverty, poverty which engenders hate, indignation and revolt against all institutions and in particular against our Organization because it was this Organization which was the source of these evils and the basis of the misfortunes of these people.

18. Twenty-two years ago the United Nations made its greatest mistake, and by this very fact it committed the greatest injustice in the history of mankind. After 22 years now the whole world has been reaping the bitter harvest of this injustice and is becoming more and more aware of the serious consequences of this mistake.

19. If during the course of history certain examples of *fait accompli* have been accepted, the artificial creation of Israel in Palestine will never be agreed to. It is a grafting operation which will have no success. Rejection is stronger and the patient who has been the subject of such grafting will die sooner or later.

20. The Palestinian people is aware today of its personality. As a nation it has become entirely *fedayeen*. Its struggle for the recovery of its usurped motherland is most just and noble. It is not alone in its struggle, it has the whole Arab people behind it. All the forces of freedom in the whole world are behind it. Even in the most reactionary and most capitalistic of countries the free masses are supporting the struggle of the Palestinians. It is no longer a refugee people who are living on the alms doled out by UNRWA. It is a people conscious of its rights and its future. It has been waiting in vain for 23 years to see the awakening of the human conscience of the world and the principles and the resolutions put into effect and the people responsible for the crime punished. But the days go by, misfortunes accumulate and the resolutions pile up. These resolutions recognize their inalienable rights but remain dead letters because that is the wish of the imperialists and the Zionists. Not having succeeded in recovering their legitimate rights from the United Nations, the Palestinian people will resort to all possible means to liberate their homeland.

21. I should like to take this opportunity to say how great, sublime, brave and magnanimous is the attitude of Mrs. Bandaranaike, a lady full of courage and dignity, or wisdom and humanity, when she so bravely corrected the mistake committed by the previous Government of Ceylon and withdrew recognition from the State of Israel.

22. How great and praiseworthy is the attitude of the countries which have refused to recognize this artificial creation and which have so bravely resisted all imperialist pressure to recognize Israel.

23. How great, estimable and praiseworthy is the attitude of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries which, after the Zionist act of aggression of 1967 against Arab countries, broke off diplomatic relations with Israel and are giving us all possible support and are at our side in condemning the acquisition by force of Arab territories, and which are demanding the total withdrawal of the forces of aggression from all occupied territories.

24. How great and praiseworthy is the attitude of the non-aligned countries which, in the Dar-es-Salaam Preparatory Conference and in the Summit Conference

in Lusaka,¹ recognized in unambiguous terms the inalienable right of the Palestinian people and called for their resettlement in their usurped motherland, and supported their national liberation struggle against colonialism and racism. The Lusaka Conference condemns in clear terms the flagrant policy of the continuous use of force as a means of exercising pressure and considers that it is inadmissible for Israel to continue to occupy the territories of three, sovereign non-aligned States.

25. I should not forget, either, the numerous resolutions adopted by the Commission on Human Rights, all of which recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and condemn most severely the Israeli refusal to apply the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of War.

26. I should not like to dwell further on the Palestine question because, however important and delicate a question it may be, it should not cause us to forget the other problems of the world for which the United Nations should find a solution.

27. The position of the Syrian Government with regard to those problems has been stated clearly at the Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries, and I would venture to state that position briefly here.

28. On the subject of Africa, the Syrian Government condemns racism and *apartheid* and demands that the South African Government cease its policy of separate development.

29. We also condemn the racist Government of that country for having imposed its colonial domination on the people of Namibia and call upon the United Nations to use all possible means available to it to give the people of Namibia their right to self-determination. It condemns the sale of arms to South Africa from whatever source.

30. The Syrian Government also condemns the racist minority of Southern Rhodesia and demands the use of force to oblige it to grant to the people of Zimbabwe the right of self-determination.

31. It condemns Portuguese colonization in South Africa and supports the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

32. In regard to Asia, the Syrian Government condemns the American war of aggression in Indo-China and demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all American imperialist forces and their allies from South Viet-Nam and the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government as the only representative of the people of South Viet-Nam.

33. It condemns American intervention in Laos and Cambodia and demands that the legal Government of President Norodom Sihanouk resume its seat in this Assembly.

¹ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

34. The Syrian Government demands the withdrawal of the United States troops and troops of all other foreign countries occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the unification of North and South Korea on the basis of free general elections.

35. In the Middle East, the Syrian Government condemns Zionist racist aggression and imperialist aggression against Arab countries. It demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Zionist occupation forces from all territories and all positions acquired after 5 June 1967, in order to prevent the aggressor from enjoying the fruits of his aggression. The question is not one of evacuating certain territories in order to maintain secure frontiers, because even the Atlantic Ocean in our day does not constitute a secure frontier.

36. The Syrian Government fully recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and supports it in its legitimate struggle to liberate its land from the neo-Nazi colonialist occupiers.

37. The will for peace mentioned by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/8001/Add. 1 and Corr. 1] is and remains the most ardent desire of my country and this has always been the case. Its attachment to peace, together with the generosity and hospitality which are very well known features of the Arabs, has earned us for many centuries the reward of foreign domination. There is a peace imposed by force and based upon the denial of rights, and this a fragile peace doomed to failure. The period between the two world wars was sufficient demonstration of this. There is also a peace based upon right and justice, and this is the peace which lasts. Yesterday, from this very rostrum [1854th meeting], the representative of the United States, speaking of peace in the Middle East, said that his Government is ready to renew its efforts for peace in this region.

38. With your permission, I shall explain to you how the American Congress understands those efforts and carries them out. Two days ago, 29 September 1970, there was an article in *The New York Times* from which I shall read certain extracts: it is entitled "Israelis get assurances from Congress that they can buy missiles and tanks as well as planes". The article reads:

"Israel received explicit assurances from Congress today that the arms she might buy on favourable credit terms in the United States would include missiles and tanks as well as aircraft.

"This clarification was contained in a House-Senate conference Committee's version of the \$19.9 billion military procurement bill, which was sent to the two chambers and is expected to win final approval later this week."

The article continues:

"With the bill imposing no cost or quantitative limits on Israeli credit purchases, the Administration

had the specific authority to grant Israel probably the most open-ended arms buying program in the world.

"Because of Israel's shortage of foreign exchange, she has been permitted under the bill to obtain military equipment here on credit terms not less favourable than those offered other countries.

"In the past, Israel paid in cash for most of her purchases. For the 50 Phantoms authorized in 1968, she paid two-thirds in cash, with one-third covered in short-term credit. In addition to the new credit arrangement, the Administration is preparing to re-finance earlier Israeli defense purchase debts.

"Today's action in Congress served to reassure the Israelis of easy access to American equipment as the Middle Eastern crisis deepened."²

39. The United States, then has offered Israel limitless funds and enormous facilities to acquire tremendous quantities of aggressive arms to be used against the Arabs. That is the American interpretation of the will to peace. Happily, in the free world peace is not viewed in the same way, and with your permission I shall also read an excerpt from an article by Mr. George Montaron published on 13 August 1970 in *Christian Witness*:

"Peace? But what peace? In 1947 a grave injustice was committed against the Palestinians. They were driven out of the towns and countryside where they had been born. They have to live in exile. This injustice must be redressed. These men and women have the right to live in their own homes if they so wish.

"Since 1947 hundreds of thousands of Israelis have been living as second-class citizens because they are Arabs, Moslems or Christians—because they are not Jews. This situation cannot continue. A growing number of Israelis are beginning to resent this fact, and their action should be supported.

"Since 1967 Arab people have been living under an occupation régime. They have been awaiting liberation, a legitimate demand because there can no longer be—and I quote Pope John XXIII—'people who dominate and people who are dominated'.

"It is these truths of which the Palestinian organizations ceaselessly remind us, and do so vigorously, even if it is a little annoying. How can they possibly be reproached for that? The super-Powers are ignoring the Palestinians, as they did in 1947 when they gave the Jews the land of Palestine as though it were uninhabited. Many Governments fear them because they are poor and free of any connexion with imperialists and because they have the revolutionary ideal that is a cause for anxiety for feudal systems. As to world public opinion, it is not too familiar with them because they have hardly presented themselves to the world yet.

² Quoted in English by the speaker.

“But they are the very root of the question in the Middle East.

“It is said that armed struggle is not the only way for them to make themselves heard and to recover their dignity. That may be true, but so far they have had no alternative. Do present political trends in the Middle East allow them to fight on the diplomatic and political plane? That is not certain. However, the Palestinian leaders have the duty to leave no stone unturned in seeking the best means of attaining their objective in the best possible conditions. Let them not forget that sometimes war is, despite appearances and the suffering of those who fall in battle, an easy way for leaders who lack imagination. Let them remember that in recent history peoples have struggled for their liberation and that they were able to use many different means. Revolutions are not to be copied. Freedom struggles are not always the same. It is for each to find its own way, and in this we can trust the Palestinian leaders because they are very closely connected with their own peoples.”

40. What, then, is the peace professed here by the Israeli Foreign Minister? Peace dictated by aggression? Peace based on annexation? The peace refused by Dayan, Begin and their colleagues? The peace of Deir Yassin and the other monstrous massacres? Peace based on the complete denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people? What peace? And what confidence can we have in the words of the Foreign Minister of Israel, which have been refuted by the threatening statements of his militarist colleagues?

41. If Israel really wants peace, let it negotiate with the Palestinian leaders. They are the ones most closely concerned in the matter. Let them begin by carrying out the innumerable resolutions of this Assembly that have remained dead letters in the archives. Actions and sincerity make us believe people, not fine words, rhetoric or dialectics.

42. The same Foreign Minister spoke of “the invasion of Jordan by regular armoured units of the Syrian army” [*1851st meeting, para. 122*]. I say this parenthetically, because he mentioned it; I shall not reply to his false allegations, but I would refer you to the report of a Reuters correspondent who is neither Syrian nor Palestinian; everyone knows that Reuters is a British agency. He was on the spot when the fighting was going on, and he categorically denied the participation of Syrian forces in the fighting.

43. When coming to this twenty-fifth anniversary session, we representatives asked ourselves whether this session was going to be as ineffective as previous ones or whether something more constructive was going to happen here.

44. I have no doubt that all representatives and delegates, like myself, have the desire to see this Organization become an effective instrument of peace and progress in the world, and to see its resolutions and decisions carried out and its prestige confirmed and enhanced.

45. To that end, it is necessary for the United States, which has welcomed the Organization on its territory, to cease looking upon the United Nations as an instrument for the pursuit of its imperialist policy. This Organization must serve noble principles and ideals, not the interests of any given party. It should pursue the purposes laid down at its creation. Otherwise, it will share the fate of the League of Nations.

46. When heads of State and statesmen met more than 25 years ago at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco to draw up the Charter of this Organization they had a shining image of a free and democratic America, the America of Lincoln, Jefferson and Roosevelt—America the liberator. They chose New York as the seat of this Organization in the hope that they would find here peace, security and freedom—freedom of expression, at least—because the Statue of Liberty which adorns New York harbour is bigger than the statue of Lincoln. Unfortunately, she has turned her back on the United States. And that is very significant, because after the 1939-1945 war the United States inherited European imperialism and colonialism. Of the glorious history of the United States there remains only the image of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the atrocious war of extermination in Viet-Nam, the military intervention in Laos and Cambodia, and massive arms assistance and unconditional support for Israel in its aggression against the Arab countries.

47. Freedom of expression is no longer guaranteed even within this sacred precinct of the United Nations, because at the very time one of our Arab colleagues was making a speech, just a few days ago, his mission was bombed. No one knows what may happen to any of us if his speech does not suit his American hosts. Our mission has often been sacked and occupied by reckless and irresponsible elements, and officials have been manhandled. Is that the freedom of thought representatives of States Members of this Organization should enjoy?

48. I leave it to you to answer that question.

49. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to extend to you sincere congratulations of the Liberian delegation and myself on your election as President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

50. You bring to this high office a richness in experience not easily matched, a store of knowledge not readily equalled, and a brilliant career rare in age and fullness. With the experience you have gained from the founding of this Organization, I think we are indeed fortunate to have such a capable and seasoned scholar, diplomat and statesman as you, Mr. President, to guide and direct the deliberations of this Assembly. In wishing you well, let me assure you, on behalf of the Liberian delegation, of our co-operation and support.

51. I should like to take advantage of this opportunity also to pay a deserved and justified tribute to your predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, of our own delegation who handled the deliberations of the twenty-

fourth session of the General Assembly so ably as to merit the admiration and praise very readily and willingly accorded by all.

52. The energy, efforts, sincerity and devotion in the service of the United Nations, as well as the constant dedication to the cause of international peace and co-operation, manifested by the Secretary-General, continue to command and merit the complete respect and approbation of all. As he leads the Organization into its second quarter of a century, the delegation of Liberia wishes to reassure him of its continued support in the difficult days ahead.

53. A pall has fallen over this Assembly because of the sudden passing of a great and outstanding African leader, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. This distinguished leader dedicated himself to the promotion of the interests of his people and worked untiringly for their advancement and development. He also lost himself in the cause of the Arab people. He was an affable and pragmatic person and he sought peace which unfortunately eluded him. The grief which his death has brought to his family and the Egyptian people is shared by all Africans and by people throughout the world. His untimely death is felt by us all. My delegation extends sincere sympathy to the delegation of the United Arab Republic.

54. This important session of the General Assembly convenes at a time when the United Nations effectiveness seems to be creating doubt rather than certainty and when international peace and security seem to be giving way to unrest and confusion. The observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization is an ideal opportunity for reflection, stocktaking, re-examination and reappraisal.

55. In 1945, moved by the enormity of the destruction and the extent of human suffering of the Second World War, and stirred by prevailing world opinion stemming from the aspirations of millions of people, world statesmen attempted to build an organization, universal in character and general in scope to influence the destiny of man. Beginning with the Atlantic Charter in 1941, the Declaration by the United Nations in 1942, the Moscow Declaration in 1943, and the Dumbarton Oaks conversations and proposals in 1944 as well as the Yalta Conference in 1945, the United Nations Conference on International Organization was convened in San Francisco and the Charter was drafted in 1945.

56. The United Nations thus appeared to be the modern world's response to catastrophe, man's inexorable and eternal search for peace as well as for the general improvement of conditions for productive exchanges and interrelationships among nations and peoples.

57. The history of the United Nations, founded as an international organization of nations to maintain international peace, to promote international co-operation and to advance the general welfare of man, covers a period riddled with changes unparalleled in human history.

58. The outburst of scientific knowledge and inventions included, among other things, nuclear and thermonuclear discoveries and uses, outer space achievements including lunar expeditions and landings, the electronic use of satellites, and other advances.

59. Political development, too, has made tremendous strides during the last quarter of a century. In this period, much of the world consisting of hundreds of millions of people has thrown off the shackles of colonialism. Since the birth of the United Nations, some 59 of these former dependent Territories have become independent nations and have joined the Organization itself. In little over a week the Fiji Islands will be ushered into independence and my Government extends its best wishes to the people of that Territory.

60. Concurrent with these changes have been the eagerness and response of over a billion people inhabiting more than one fourth of the surface of the earth, clamouring in their demand for economic and social justice. Youth, too, more than ever is making demands for a share in the organization and administration of society.

61. Twenty-five years ago in San Francisco, hopes were high. A formula which would provide for a thenceforth peaceful world was expected by all—a world in which wealthy nations would be ready, willing and eager to assist in raising the living standards and aiding the development of millions of the downtrodden; a world in which enjoyment of fundamental human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as respect for the dignity and worth of the human person would be respectively shared and practised by all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

62. Unfortunately, however, the principal aims and objectives of the United Nations outlined in the Charter have not yet been met. It is particularly regrettable that the obligation to maintain international peace has not been kept. This disappointment does not seem to stem from any constitutional restriction, as the Charter has proved to be remarkably adaptable under changing conditions and in the face of unforeseen challenges.

63. Moreover, this apparent failure cannot be ascribed conveniently to administration. The records show that the Secretaries-General of the United Nations have exemplified exceptional foresight and boldness. They have shown great dedication to their onerous responsibilities but they have not had the unflinching support to which they have been entitled during this period especially from the big Powers.

64. With the euphoria surrounding the approaching victory of the allied forces in the Second World War, and the apparent co-operation among the big Powers, there was an underlying assumption at San Francisco that understanding and co-operation among the big Powers, which had ensured success in the war would continue in times of peace, and that big Power co-operation would prevent further wars. It was hoped that the Charter would be an instrument of justice and orderliness in international relations, a basis of respect

for fundamental human rights, human dignity and equal rights for all, a means by which social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom would be realized, a medium to promote tolerance and good neighbourliness, and the machinery which would preserve international peace and security.

65. Perhaps human thought and action must always be judged in the context of the related circumstances and pressures of the times, for in the thought and corresponding action at San Francisco at the formation of the Organization, based on the assumption of big Power unanimity, lay the most elementary fallacy.

66. No sooner had the Organization entered its infancy on that basic assumption than it became evident that the interests of the big Powers were different and sometimes opposed. Almost at once two super Powers emerged among the Big Five and developed into leaders in the cold war struggle, the result of which has had and continues to have an indelible effect on the United Nations.

67. One of the principal difficulties which affects the progress of the United Nations stems from the provision of the Charter giving the veto power to the five permanent members of the Security Council.

68. As I have already stated, post-war developments have demonstrated that the veto has been misused to the detriment of the international community. The granting of special rights to a few States Members of the United Nations is undemocratic and the exercise of such a right seems arbitrary. My Government therefore recommends the abolition of this special right and suggests that, as in the General Assembly, majority votes should control decisions in the Security Council.

69. The history of the United Nations over the past 25 years in relation to the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world expressed in the Charter leaves much to be desired.

70. Nevertheless, the test of success or failure of such an international organization co-ordinating and promoting international relations in the political, social, economic, technical, and cultural fields should not be measured by reverses in the political arena alone, for even here, there have been some successes. As already mentioned, several States now Members of this Organization doubtless obtained independence partly as a result of the efforts of the United Nations, and several conflicts have been avoided on account of the tactful and timely efforts of the United Nations.

71. It is mainly in the field of human activity involving measures to develop and improve economic, social and humanitarian co-operation that the work of the United Nations seems to be quietly but steadily progressing. Some effort has been made by the United Nations Development Programme and the activities of the specialized agencies, and the success in these fields can be verified by rather impressive figures drawn from the reports on their work.

72. The field of human rights provides another positive aspect of United Nations activities. For example, in December 1948 the General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*]. It was an important milestone setting an ideal for human rights throughout the world. Since then there has been a broad expansion of the United Nations programme in this field.

73. There is no doubt that, whilst we are still far from the ultimate attainment of the ideal, the human rights declaration has influenced laws and constitutions of some countries. But we tend too often to lose sight of the work of the United Nations in the social, economic and humanitarian fields, mainly because it is not very dramatic. Yet because of these positive achievements I feel that these activities should be increased, intensified and strengthened so that impressive technological developments can be harnessed to facilitate the improvement of man and his general welfare, rather than his destruction and the devastation of his environment. It is on that note that my delegation welcomes the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which is scheduled to take place two years hence in Stockholm.

74. Some of us think that there is a certain measure of security today because atomic and hydrogen bombs, and other weapons of mass destruction, maintain a balance of terror. But apart from the inherent fallacy of that argument, it is evident that in those parts of the world where the great Powers do not confront each other directly, wars have not ceased.

75. Indeed, there can be no real peace when people are suppressed, oppressed and treated with gross injustice.

76. There exist today serious crises which the United Nations has not solved. The diabolical policy of *apartheid* not only continues in South Africa but is being expanded; South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has not been ended; the illegal Ian Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia is being entrenched; the colonial Portuguese suppression in Africa remains unabated; divided countries pose problems that continue to increase tensions; and the Middle East crisis, with all its risks, awaits a peaceful solution. These are but a few.

77. Today the major industrial nations together have the technical and scientific means at their disposal to contribute to the eradication of conflict and to the creation of an efficient international system of order.

78. Again and again the delegation of Liberia has emphasized that world peace requires an extraordinary effort. The Government of Liberia is totally committed to universal peace, involving the maintenance of peace both at home and abroad. The following is a brief quotation from a recent restatement of President Tubman's foreign policy, declaring Liberia's commitment to universal peace:

"We shall seek to maintain cordial relations with all States, particularly Member States of the United

Nations and the Organization of African Unity. We shall continue to work for peace at home and contribute to universal peace to the maximum of our abilities. We shall not only seek peace but pursue it with all our might. We shall not only strive to be a peace-loving nation but we shall act upon that principle.

“We believe in the principles contained in the Treaty signed at Paris on 27 August 1928, commonly referred to as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, because it condemns recourse to war and renounces it as an instrument of national policy. While the United Nations Charter places an obligation on all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, and some believe that this represents an advance, we do not think it is enough. I think that an open and positive statement from the United Nations outlawing war is necessary.”

79. We continue to hold the view—even more strongly with the passage of time—that an open and positive commitment for peace would provide a sober and realistic basis for man’s future. In that perspective my Government welcomed as an important step worthy of emulation the recent Treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany³ both for its renunciation of force and its recognition of existing boundaries, and we hope that it will be strictly adhered to.

80. My delegation also welcomes the initiative of the Government of the United States of America in obtaining a cease-fire in the Middle East. The situation there calls for the establishment of mutual confidence and much self-discipline on all sides if the negotiations now sponsored by the United Nations are to achieve any success. And it is our hope that the willingness to silence the guns and negotiate will bring about success in the search for peace.

81. The threat to international peace which the situation in southern Africa poses has been steadily increasing. During the life of the United Nations with its aim, among others, “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”, the Organization has from its beginning been faced with and challenged by the problems in southern Africa.

82. The Government of South Africa has sought to make a virtue of its brutal and senseless policy of *apartheid* and continues to deny to the majority of the people of that country the basic human rights enshrined in the Charter. An important aspect of the ignominious practice of *apartheid* is its effect of undermining the efforts of the United Nations. The degree of challenge to the authority of the United Nations is to be measured by the assistance given to the Government of South Africa by many important Governments.

83. After a quarter of a century of dealing ineffectively with *apartheid* the United Nations must choose

between meeting the challenge effectively or permitting its own authority to wane correspondingly.

84. South Africa as a signatory of the Charter and a Member of the United Nations has pledged under Article 56 “to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55”. That Article requires us to promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”.

85. In violation of that legal commitment the South African Government continues not only to practise *apartheid* in South Africa but also to cultivate this heinous policy of racial discrimination in Namibia, a Mandated Territory which is now a United Nations responsibility as a result of the revocation of the Mandate.

86. The Government of South Africa continues to defy world opinion and its position is being helped by others largely because of economic considerations.

87. Those and other reasons have been advanced for the continued as well as the renewed sale of arms to South Africa. The potential sellers argue that the desire to resume sales is the result of a fifteen-year-old bilateral agreement, that the arms and ammunition would be sold solely for external defence and that this is a competitive world in which there are many sellers and where there is financial benefit to be obtained. Apart from the difficulty of clearly differentiating between defensive and offensive weapons, we do not think it helps to support such interests at all costs or at any price; nor do we think that international peace and security is fostered by introducing ideology in what all of us should consider a tragedy of great proportions.

88. A confrontation on racial lines is building up in southern Africa, and the South African Government is mainly to blame for it. Let it be remembered that it is in the interest of South Africa—indeed in the interest of the world which has suffered enough from bigotry, prejudice and hatred—for the Government of South Africa to abandon its policy of racial discrimination and to provide for the South African majority the common enjoyment of basic human rights.

89. Measures taken by the United Nations with a view to ending the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia have been flouted and the minority régime seems to be even more firmly established now. Step by step the rebellious régime has been aided and allowed, directly and indirectly, to perpetuate its intransigence to the detriment of the African majority, thereby fostering a serious threat to peace.

90. The 1965 unilateral declaration of independence and subsequent illegal acts of the Smith régime have led to the March 1970 declaration of a republic which is equally illegal. In the face of those developments, the administering Power has remained conveniently unable to use the force necessary to assert its jurisdic-

³ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

tion. Judging from the past history of the United Kingdom one is left to wonder whether the excuse is more one of inability to meet its obligation to the people of Zimbabwe or one of unwillingness.

91. The strength or weakness of the United Nations must be measured against the respect and honour for its decisions, especially when they take the form of sanctions imposed by the Security Council to ensure international peace and security. The more violations of those decisions there are the weaker the Organization is likely to become.

92. We will have to choose between perpetuating and strengthening the United Nations or allowing surmountable disruptions to continue to undermine its efforts.

93. The same kinds of considerations apply to the persistent Portuguese colonial domination of millions of Africans whose hope for freedom has long been linked with the United Nations. The decolonization efforts of the United Nations met with much success during the past two decades, providing assistance in the birth of many new States. Unfortunately, the pace of this trend has been retarded. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples provide an appropriate opportunity for a prompt renewal of the United Nations efforts to end colonial domination if the United Nations is to grow and not dwindle in strength.

94. Hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars are still being poured into a gigantic arms race. It is unfortunate that so much of the world's resources and money has had to be spent for purposes other than productive necessities in view of the legitimate pressing need and urgent demand by over a thousand million people in the world for social and economic advancement.

95. Whilst we welcome the beginning of strategic arms limitation talks by the Soviet Union and the United States and wish that they will be successful, we are anxious to see progress in the disarmament discussions which have been going on in Geneva for the last eight years and we cherish the hope that the super-Powers will abandon purely selfish aims and recognize their responsibility to mankind as a whole. To continue to do otherwise would be to leave man's future to chance. We must have disarmament if we are to survive.

96. The sea-bed, the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction provide an opportunity for greater co-operation among all States through the United Nations. The General Assembly appointed a Committee⁴ to examine the question of reserving the area exclusively for peaceful purposes and exploiting its resources for the benefit of mankind.

97. The vastness of the sea-bed and ocean floor, the potential wealth of the area, the development of technology permitting gradual but effective exploitation of the resources of the area, the uncertainty relating to behaviour in the area and the potential danger and threat to international peace and security; all these and other factors gave prominence to consideration of this question. Accordingly the United Nations attached importance to the establishment of the sea-bed Committee as well as to the work which the Committee was expected to perform.

98. Regrettably, the failure of the Committee to reach agreement on the proposals to be submitted to this Assembly for consideration causes disappointment. On the other hand, it appears that it has succeeded in identifying the various positions on which compromise is evidently wanting. There can be no success in establishing a satisfactory basis for co-operation without a spirit of compromise, and we hope that the sea-bed Committee will assume the responsibility that has been imposed upon it.

99. As we enter the decade of the 1970s, it is not satisfactory to say that within this Organization there are nations which are struggling to survive on *per capita* incomes of less than \$100 while there are others abounding in affluence. We have said that too often. Despite the fact that the problems which plague the developing countries have been underscored and priorities laid down, the pace of efforts towards improving general living standards remains seriously frustrating.

100. While we recognize that the United Nations has made some progress in promoting the economic and social advancement of peoples of the developing countries, nevertheless we believe that some Member nations have not sufficiently demonstrated unselfish international goodwill.

101. This Organization is but a reflection of our collective will. Its shortcomings can be found only in the shortcomings of our national incapacities in adhering to the ideals we have set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

102. Today, and at the beginning of this decade, we find that man is still committed to his survival and therefore to the concept of peace. Despite the fragile nature of this peace, our only alternative is to strengthen it. To do this, man must reach out, beyond his family and nation, to other men and share that which by nature has become his material acquisition.

103. Nations must see their national interests only as they relate to the interests of mankind. In economic matters we must adopt a new approach to planning, for the developing countries are no longer prepared to accept the economic exploitation of the past. They are prepared to develop their economies only within a community of interest.

⁴ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

104. The Pearson report⁵ and the capacity study of the United Nations Development Programme⁶ have clearly analysed the situation. They drew upon the past and gave us a point from which we can move into an arena of greater international economic co-operation. The nature of international economics makes it imperative that we strive to strengthen our economic position in the world, working from sub-regional and regional premises.

105. Under the umbrella of the United Nations we have the opportunity not only to work together, but to work with others. This must be our commitment to the decade of the 1970s and this attitude must be reflected in the strategy which will guide our efforts during the second quarter of the century.

106. For both the developed and the developing countries, the concept of national will takes on greater meaning every day. During this session my Government would wish the decisions of the Assembly with regard to international economic co-operation to reflect this greater meaning in a positive way.

107. The hijacking of aircraft is creating considerable uneasiness throughout the world and if allowed to continue unchecked it could pose a dangerous threat to international peace and security.

108. We joined the Organization of African Unity in its resolution condemning the hijacking and sabotaging of civil aircraft, and we support the Security Council resolution [286 (1970)] calling upon all States to take measures to protect, and ensure the safety of those travelling by air. We call upon the United Nations to react positively to this question.

109. Secretary-General U Thant, who has dedicated himself to the principles of the Charter and to selfless service of this Organization, stated during his visit to Liberia last January that the decade of the 1970s should be the decade of the three Ds—decolonization, disarmament and development. My Government would derive much satisfaction if, as a tribute to this distinguished and dedicated international statesman, the United Nations pursued policies which would make this ideal a reality, especially as we enter the second quarter of a century of the Organization's life.

110. Mr. KIKHIA (Libya): Sir, allow me first to offer on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic and myself, our sincerest congratulations on your election as President of this important historic session. Your election is a recognition of your distinguished qualifications and vast experience. It is also a further indication of the international community's appreciation of the role of your friendly country and the other Scandinavian countries in promoting the efforts of the United Nations to achieve its noble goals.

111. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic takes this opportunity to laud and support the efforts

made by the Secretary-General in the service of the Organization and its principles, for the realization of peace and security in the world.

112. We wish to assure you, Mr. President, that the Libyan Arab Republic adheres sincerely to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the Organization. In fact, Libya's foreign policy is based on the principles of non-alignment and, at the same time, a constant search to obtain the friendship of all peace-loving countries and peoples on the basis of mutual respect.

113. In response to the wishes of the Libyan people to achieve their sovereignty, and in order to contribute to the reduction of international tension, the Revolutionary Government of the Libyan Arab Republic has eliminated the foreign bases imposed on its land in certain circumstances, and has succeeded in evacuating the last foreign troops from its soil. It was on the same basis that the Libyan Arab Republic participated in the non-aligned Conference held recently in Lusaka. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic takes this opportunity to commend the resolutions of that Conference, and considers their adoption an effective contribution on the part of the countries of the third world to the reduction of international tension and the promotion of world peace and security.

114. This historic session of the General Assembly is being held in a strained international atmosphere; tension dominates international relations and the major problems of the world still await rapid and just solutions. Thus, the future and prestige of the United Nations depend precisely on the ability of the international Organization to face up to those problems and seek solutions to them, particularly as the Organization remains the indispensable instrument designed for the purpose of preserving peace and security.

115. As we prepare to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of this international Organization, it is imperative to stop for a moment and review objectively the Organization's bright side as well as its dark side so that we may benefit from past errors and avoid repeating them, as well as evaluate the Organization's achievements in various domains. In so doing, we should candidly admit the Organization's errors and point out those responsible for their commission; at the same time, we should not disregard the Organization's achievements in the service of humanity.

116. Our Organization has at times been able peacefully to settle some regional conflicts and has indeed contributed to the preservation of peace in certain areas; it has also made progress in the process of decolonization, disarmament, and in the fields of human rights and social and economic development in the world.

117. However, it should be noted that the United Nations has failed to achieve the basic purpose for which it was originally founded: namely, to face up to aggression and prevent occupation and annexation

⁵ *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

⁶ *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.10).

of territory through war and usurpation. This failure is best illustrated by the Organization's negative and inert stand towards Israel's persistent aggression against the Arab countries, and its continued occupation of territories of three States Members of this Organization. Likewise, the United Nations has repeatedly failed to implement scores of resolutions and recommendations adopted in the past twenty-five years, concerning the rights of oppressed peoples, self-determination and the achievement of the goals of social justice, economic development and the protection of human rights.

118. It is unfortunate that during all these years the great Powers have sometimes used the United Nations for their own ends, having kept the *status quo* in the world and divided it into zones of influence. What is more alarming is the fact that in recent years a dangerous phenomenon has emerged: the great Powers, in trying to settle certain international conflicts, have done so outside the framework of the United Nations, depriving the smaller countries of the opportunity to express their views on important problems which deal with questions relating to security and stability in the world, and affecting the fate of peoples and nations. This has caused the Organization to grow weaker and its prestige to wane.

119. Therefore the time has come for everyone to make sincere efforts to rebuild the United Nations. We believe that the cause of the Organization's shortcomings lies less in the United Nations than in the failure of certain countries to honour their obligations under the Charter. If the United Nations is to recover its prestige and carry out its task of establishing international peace and security, it is essential for it to apply the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against any State which insists on disregarding the resolutions of the United Nations and on violating its Charter—in particular, to stop the aggressors from reaping the fruit of their aggression, and force them to withdraw their occupying forces from foreign lands. Furthermore, Member States should be requested to reaffirm their respect for the Charter and their strict and complete adherence to the principles which prohibit the use of force in the settlement of international conflicts, as well as interference in other countries' domestic affairs. Also, Member States should once again respect one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

120. We are now commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations under the motto of "Peace, justice and progress". The people of the Libyan Arab Republic, as well as all other peoples of the world, seek the establishment of international peace on the basis of justice. Progress, it should be said, is also the proper means to ensure welfare and prosperity for peoples, and to create a better world for all mankind.

121. The situation in the Middle East is deteriorating steadily as a result of Israel's persistent efforts since its creation to undermine any peace initiative in the area, for the simple reason that peace entails putting

an end to Israel's expansionist plans and its racial policy. The painful events we witness today in the Middle East are but the direct result of Israel's disregard for all United Nations resolutions calling for the return of the Palestinian people to their occupied homes, lands, property, and farms, or for compensation for those who do not wish to return. These tragic events are also the result of Israel's violations of all human rights in occupied Arab territories, and its disregard of United Nations resolutions regarding the status of the city of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, Israel seeks to erect barriers to all efforts made inside and outside the United Nations which may lead to a just and permanent settlement of the problem.

122. In fact, Israel's decision to withdraw from the discussions scheduled to start under the auspices of Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and its previous attempts to undermine the Four Power talks, are clear indications of Israel expansionist aims in the area. Furthermore, at a time when Israel openly declares its rejection of peace initiatives and prepares to launch a new aggression against the Arab countries, the United States of America, while pretending to be concerned about peace in the area, does everything to encourage Israel's attitude, shipping to that country Phantom and Skyhawk jets and large quantities of electronic equipment, and extending other types of assistance and support. The United States attitude can only be construed as an encouragement to Israel to pursue its aggressive policies, annex new territories, and continue its occupation of Arab lands. Such an attitude seriously imperils world peace and constitutes a breach by the United States of America of its special obligations as a great Power towards world peace and the United Nations.

123. As a result of United States support of Israel the Arab States are compelled to seek arms in self-defence and to devote for that purpose substantial funds which otherwise could have been used for development plans.

124. Allow me to point out briefly some facts pertaining to Zionism and Zionist aims in the area, in order that one may understand the crux of the problem in the Middle East, knowing full well that Zionism is an ideology dedicated to racism and expansionism.

125. First, Israel will accept as borders only those designated for "Greater Israel". The simple conclusion to be drawn here is that the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 barely constitute the minimum under the expansionist plans drawn by Zionist leaders.

126. Secondly, Israel was created by force and knows no other means of imposing its will and realizing its expansionist aims and racist policies. Consequently, it is not surprising that Israel continues to ignore world public opinion, and adamantly rejects the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and various international conferences.

127. Thirdly, both Israel and Zionism have not so far recognized the rights of the people of Palestine,

nor have they admitted that they have inflicted injustices on this people. Recently, Mrs. Meir was asked about the Palestinian people. "The Palestinians? Who are they?" she reportedly answered. "I have never heard of them before. . . ." The lady should be reminded that the Palestinians have lived in that country for thousands of years, long before she and others set foot in the land of Palestine. It is the Palestinians who opened their doors to receive the persecuted Jews, who later ungratefully denied that gesture, and plotted with the colonialist Powers to drive them out of their lands. It is the Palestinians who, for the past 25 years, have lived in persecution, misery and suffering, while awaiting justice at the hands of the international Organization and the international community, expecting it to aid them in recovering their legitimate rights.

128. It is those same Palestinians who are now struggling to establish a secular democratic State in Palestine where Jews, Christians and Moslems can live in peace and harmony, that being the most humanistic solution worthy of the support of this Organization as well as of all peace- and justice-loving peoples.

129. Thus, it was with the full knowledge of the United Nations that the most heinous crime of the century was committed with the creation of the State of Israel, resulting in the eviction of a whole people and consequently the deprivation of its basic human rights, its rights to its land and country, and its basic right to self-determination. Yet, the United Nations has recognized the injustice inflicted upon the Palestinian people, as it has repeatedly taken cognizance of Israel's aggression. Such acknowledgement is evident in the many resolutions that have consistently been adopted by the Organization since its inception until now, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

130. We believe that the only way to put an end to those violations of the Charter and to Israel's continued attempts to impose its will on the whole world is through the application of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, and by reconsidering Israel's membership in the United Nations, before its aggressive acts become a dangerous precedent for those countries which may be tempted to follow suit. Such a development would certainly undermine world peace and the world Organization, while threatening the future of all mankind.

131. As we celebrate the silver jubilee of the United Nations and commemorate the tenth anniversary of the historical Declaration on decolonization, it is unfortunate to note that many peoples are still under the yoke of colonialism and that man is still enslaved by his fellow men who avidly exploit his resources and deprive him of his basic human rights and his right to self-determination.

132. It is for this reason that a stronger stand is called for towards colonial Powers and imperialism. We should reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples—those who were evicted from their land, and those who are forced to live under foreign occupation. We should demand that all kinds of assistance should

be given to those peoples in order to enable them to exercise their right to self-determination.

133. The Libyan Arab Republic is deeply concerned about the military intervention of the United States of America in South-East Asia. We pay here a tribute to the heroic struggle of the peoples of that region for their freedom and independence, and we demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops so that those people can freely exercise their right to self-determination.

134. The Libyan Arab Republic supports the inalienable rights of the peoples of the African continent in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and also supports their struggle to rid themselves of foreign rules in order to fulfil their aspirations to freedom and independence.

135. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic condemns very strongly the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa, and condemns even more strongly those countries which extend military and economic assistance to the colonial racist régimes in the southern part of the African continent. Without such assistance, those régimes could never have been able to continue their hegemony in the area.

136. It is the opinion of our delegation that if the international Organization is fully to meet its responsibilities, its universality should be achieved by admitting to its membership the People's Republic of China, which includes over a fifth of the world population, thus creating efficient international co-operation and reducing international tension.

137. Regarding international social and economic conditions, we note with a measure of satisfaction the progress realized by the countries of the third world in the fields of economic and social development during the sixties, despite the many obstacles faced by those countries. Such optimistic impressions should not, however, hide the obvious and bitter fact, unacceptable to world conscience and represented in hundreds of millions of people still living below a standard befitting mankind, while only a minority reaps the benefits of modern science and technology. This condition requires us collectively to exercise concerted efforts to put the final touches to the draft of an international development strategy [A/7982, para. 16] which will be adopted during this session for the purpose of narrowing the gap between the rich north and the poor south, and of raising the standards of living of mankind in general and the peoples of developing countries in particular.

138. Regarding the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the Libyan delegation believes that it is of the utmost importance urgently to prepare the draft declaration regarding the formulation of comprehensive and balanced sets of principles governing the activities of States in this field, to be adopted by the General Assembly during this session. While the Libyan delegation is concerned about the delay in the work of the commit-

tee entrusted with the drafting of the project, it nevertheless pays a tribute to some of the positive aspects in the work of that committee.

139. The Libyan delegation considers also that the time is now appropriate to hold a third conference on the law of the sea, for the purpose of reviewing the régimes of the high seas, continental shelf, territorial waters, contiguous waters, marine resources, and the preservation of living resources in the high seas, so that a clear and internationally acceptable definition can be found for the area of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

140. In conclusion, permit me, Mr. President, to assure you that the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic is disposed to co-operate with you and with all other delegations, and takes this opportunity to offer its greetings to all the heads and members of delegations, hoping that this session will be crowned with success.

141. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): As my opening remark I should like—as many speakers have done before me—to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, for the able, distinguished and gracious manner in which she presided over our debates during the twenty-fourth session. She addressed wise words of counsel to us from the time she took her high office until the day she relinquished the Chair, and I feel, with many others in this hall, that the Assembly is indebted to her for her able guidance.

142. It is likewise a matter of profound pleasure and satisfaction to me to pay the respects of my Government and my delegation to you, Sir, upon your election by this august body to the Presidency of the present historic session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Preceding speakers have recalled that your family has a distinguished record covering half a century of service in the interest of international peace, security, progress and respect for international law and order. If I may be allowed to strike a more personal note, I should like to add my warmest personal congratulations to you as an old friend and resident of the Netherlands and as an eminent representative of Norway, a country with which we have always had close and friendly relations in war and in peace and with which we confidently expect soon to be even more intimately linked within the framework of an enlarged European Economic Community.

143. We feel that the enlargement of the Community is of the utmost importance not only to Western Europe but also—as a result of the ensuing strengthening of our continent—to the rest of the world. It has been the constant post-war policy of the Netherlands to help build a united Europe, and to us Europe means more than the Six. The nations now applying to become members of the Community are part and parcel of the economic, political and cultural fabric of our European commonwealth of nations which is only just becoming aware of its common heritage. I believe that we in Europe are now entering a complete new era which

is sure to be of the greatest benefit to all mankind. Indeed, an enlarged European Community will be far better placed to promote world trade and therefore to be of assistance to the efforts of the developing countries to strengthen their economies. We are naturally aware of the anxieties in many parts of the world about possible protectionist tendencies of the European Community; I wish to assure this Assembly that the Netherlands, in concord with other European countries, will continue to strive for better trade conditions on a world-wide scale by promoting a general system of trade preferences for the developing countries.

Mr. Kibinge (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

144. We realize that expanding trade is one aspect of overcoming the existing differences in economic development. Granting aid is another. At this time I do not wish to examine this subject, and the whole question of the Second United Nations Development Decade, at length. During the commemorative session the Netherlands Prime Minister will have the opportunity to elaborate on this subject, on which as a whole the Netherlands people, I feel proud to say, take a united, positive stand. My countrymen show this attitude in their many voluntary contributions to development projects, but as a member of the Government I should like to mention that in the budget presented to the Netherlands Parliament the goal to bring official development aid in 1971 up to 1 per cent of the national income has been attained.

145. In this session we are to celebrate the foundation of the United Nations 25 years ago. The Kingdom of the Netherlands, as one of the fighting members of the great alliance of the Second World War, was one of its founding fathers. The high hopes and great expectations we cherished at San Francisco in 1945 have not been realized. True, we have avoided a new world war, but time and again armed conflicts have broken out in various parts of the world. We have made big strides forward in the realization of independence and freedom for many peoples of the world, even if not for all, but at the same time the number of disputes, and often open conflicts, has increased. It seems to me that the voice of reason is frequently ignored. More often than not violence takes the upper hand, both inside our countries and on the international plane. Terrorism, air piracy, holding innocent people as hostages, kidnapping and killing diplomats, and other barbarous acts confront us with serious problems. In the past 25 years we in the United Nations have come to realize our common responsibility for the economic and social development of all mankind, but still the poor and the hungry form far too large a part of the world population. We may be grateful on the one hand that we have the United Nations as a common meeting place to discuss world problems, but on the other hand the past 25 years have shown that progress is too slow.

146. Peace and international security, our primary responsibility under the Charter, have almost constantly been in grave danger and, I might add, still are.

During this session the Assembly will discuss the subject thoroughly, but let me sound a warning that more than mere words is expected at this time. So long as there is no concrete progress towards international security, my country, for one, feels obliged to spend energy and money for its defences in order to remain free and independent and to be able to settle its own affairs in its own way. We know that to build adequate defences by ourselves would tax our resources too highly and we remain therefore convinced of the necessity of a strong alliance with our European, American and Canadian friends.

147. Building up military defences, however, is not the only nor the best way to preserve peace and liberty. We in the Netherlands have always been strongly convinced of the necessity to meet each other, to talk over differences and to try to find a common basis for peaceful solutions. This does not mean dissolving existing alliances. It has been demonstrated that our own alliance, NATO, can and does play a most useful role for the promotion of *détente* in Europe. Our actions are concerted ones; the commitments of one ally are backed by the others and thus gain greater weight.

148. In this connexion the Netherlands Government welcomes the important understanding reached by the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. I realize that this understanding is only a first step, although an important one. We are now awaiting developments in Berlin which will ease the unhappy situation in this tragically divided city.

149. The new approach is East-West relations, to which the Secretary-General alluded in the valuable introduction to his annual report [A/8001/Add. 1 and Corr. 1] and of which I found many proofs in my contacts with many Eastern European colleagues, will, I am confident, be of great value in paving the way to a further relaxation of tension in Europe, possibly leading to a European security conference. In our view, a European security conference is an enterprise of such political significance that it can only be held when success seems reasonably assured. If not, the new developments in East-West relations might well be seriously damaged; therefore, I consider thorough preparation for such a conference a necessary and perhaps essential prerequisite.

150. But there is more to it. A thorough preparation of all the subjects to be discussed and an assurance of progress is one thing, but the political climate is another. This climate is at present conditioned mainly by three factors. The first one is, as I said a moment ago, a substantial change in the situation in Berlin. For all of us in Western Europe the Berlin Wall is the most abject symbol of the cold war. Changes in the political climate in Berlin and improvements in the access system of the four-Power city are necessary not only for the success of the German-Soviet Treaty, but also for paving the way to a European security conference.

151. The second factor is progress in the strategic armaments limitation talks, the so-called SALT talks.

Later on I will have something to say about disarmament and arms control in general, but in connexion with the European security conference, I must stress the importance of these American-Soviet negotiations. Their outcome will be of very great importance for the world as a whole, but especially for the European confrontation area.

152. The third factor is the development of the crisis in the Middle East. It was, I am sure, a great relief to everybody when the fighting in Jordan stopped and when the hostages were freed. Maybe now a new possibility will arise for talks between the Arab States and Israel under the patient guidance of Ambassador Jarring. However, the role of the Soviet Union and the United States of America in promoting peace in the region is—as you all will agree—truly a paramount one. All of us should refrain from rendering more difficult the present delicate situation. In this respect I earnestly hope that the cease-fire between Israel and some of its Arab neighbours will be prolonged after 5 November next.

153. The development of the crisis in the Middle East will likewise have its impact on the possibilities of a *détente* in Europe and on a European security conference. The Middle East is a region whose stability remains of prime importance to Europe.

154. In enumerating Berlin, SALT and the Middle East as having a great impact on the possibility of convening a European security conference and for the success of the Soviet-German Treaty, I only want to be realistic. I have dwelt at some length on the European political situation and I am confident that the Assembly will not misunderstand the emphasis I have given to these problems. I have been encouraged to do so by a recent remark of our Secretary-General when he stated that, in his view, Europe is the political capital of the world.

155. Turning now to the problems of arms control and disarmament, I know that the General Assembly will no doubt, as it has done throughout the years, devote considerable attention to these problems. Although the Assembly is still faced with staggering difficulties in this field, I believe there is reason for hope since some real progress has been made during recent years. To a significant extent this was due to the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. This Conference has proven its value as the central organ for negotiations on matters of arms control and disarmament. For a year now my country has had the opportunity of participating in the deliberations of that body, and we are gratified at the constructive spirit in which its work is generally done.

156. Speaking of recent progress in the field of arms control, I think in the first place of the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] in July 1968 and particularly its entry into force in March of this year, which represents an important landmark in the search for a more secure world. Since then meaningful progress has been made in preparing the ground for the

negotiation of safeguards agreements, provided for in the Treaty, in particular through a special safeguards committee advising the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. I am convinced that safeguards arrangements can and will be worked out which will enable IAEA adequately to discharge its responsibility of ensuring in all non-nuclear-weapon countries parties to the non-proliferation Treaty that nuclear material is not diverted for the production of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. It goes without saying that the international safeguards system to be established under the non-proliferation Treaty must be effective and credible.

157. In order to make the non-proliferation Treaty fully successful, it is vital that all potential nuclear-weapon countries accede to the Treaty. For its part, the Netherlands Government will, wherever possible, promote the ratification of the Treaty by the non-nuclear-weapon countries which are members of EURATOM. I have said more than once, and I repeat today, that ultimately the success of the non-proliferation Treaty is largely dependent on the attitude of the present nuclear-weapon Powers. If the vertical proliferation of nuclear arsenals is not curbed, I fear that all arms control will in the long run be frustrated.

158. In the field of nuclear arms control, I note with gratification the agreement reached within the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on a draft treaty banning the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor.⁷

159. Without diminishing the urgency of measures of arms control with regard to weapons of mass destruction, I feel bound to voice concern about the dangers arising from the build-up and proliferation of conventional armaments. As the Secretary-General has rightly pointed out, "the conventional arms race. . . absorbs by far the largest portion of all military expenditure" [*A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1, para. 20*]. That deplorable race is as much a cause as a consequence of political tensions in many parts of the world. Therefore, all competent organs of the United Nations should keep this problem constantly in mind. In order to seek effective and non-discriminatory measures to counter the competition and the trade in conventional armaments, it might be useful first to concentrate on the collection of data and on studies of the factual situation.

160. At the same time, where appropriate, possibilities for regional arrangements could be explored. In this context I may remind the Assembly of the initiative of members of the North Atlantic Alliance calling upon the Warsaw Pact countries to join in the exploration of these possibilities in Europe.

161. Before concluding my remarks on arms control and disarmament, I should like briefly to go into the matter of chemical and biological warfare, a matter which has received considerable attention at previous

sessions of the Assembly. During the present year the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva devoted a major part of its time to this issue. That Committee should certainly be encouraged to continue its study of ways and means to strengthen the existing ban on those methods of warfare.

162. One of the points of controversy has been the question whether such agents as tear gases and herbicides fall within the scope of the ban on the use of chemical methods of warfare. I do not intend to discuss here the legal aspects of that question. Instead I want to clarify my Government's position with regard to the desirability of a prohibition of the use in war of those chemical agents. My Government shares the concern that destruction of crops by chemical means for military purposes usually means great suffering for the civilian population. Moreover we are seriously concerned that large-scale use of herbicides and defoliants for military purposes might have ecological long-term effects of an unpredictable nature on man's environment. Therefore we think it necessary to establish a clear rule for the future which would exclude the use of those agents for warlike purposes.

163. As to tear gases and similar irritants, we recognize that their use in warfare can in certain cases serve humanitarian purposes. However, in the framework of international negotiations the Netherlands Government is ready to take account of a majority opinion in the United Nations: to wit, the use of all biological and chemical agents of warfare—including tear gases—should be prohibited. My Government will try to promote a consensus along those lines in order to ensure maximum effectiveness of the ban on chemical and biological warfare.

164. In our general debate there have always been some subjects which do not fit into the general pattern of a speech. They do fit, however, into the general concept of national views and as such they seem important enough to be mentioned before this august Assembly, although they may seem repetitious to those representatives who have listened to my speeches in the last twenty years—a modest remark.

165. The first subject to which the Netherlands Government attaches great importance is the idea of creating the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, originally brought forward by the delegation of Costa Rica at the twentieth session of this Assembly.⁸ My delegation is aware that the progress in the field of standard-setting with regard to universal respect for human rights made in the existing bodies of the United Nations has been important. I feel, however, that when these bodies try to ensure implementation of the formulated standards, their discussions sometimes tend to degenerate into rather vehement debates on a purely political issue. A High Commissioner for Human Rights, on the other hand, would have the advantage of working outside the immediate attention of public opinion, thus being able to avoid political issues while giving quiet advice and assistance,

⁷ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970, document DC/233, annex A.*

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 98, document A/5963.*

aimed at promoting respect for human rights around the globe.

166. Because of a combination of factors, the industrialization process in my country has gained great momentum in the last 25 years. Primarily this has been achieved through the unremitting efforts of the Netherlands working population and partly as a result of the favourable geographical location of my country. A huge concentration of German industries along the Ruhr and Rhine Rivers as a welcome "hinterland" to my country makes it clear why Holland, and in particular Rotterdam, the greatest harbour in the world, is called the "gateway of Europe".

167. Reaping the benefits of a high level of industrialization, which places my country relatively speaking in a privileged position, has made us realize that the single-minded pursuit of material well-being through a relentless development of our natural and human resources has resulted in a serious disruption of harmonious relations between man and nature. We find ourselves confronted with an air, land and water pollution problem.

168. May I in this respect refer to the penetrating statement which the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Philippe de Seynes, made last week in the Second Committee of this Assembly [1310th meeting]? I fully agree with Mr. de Seynes that the pollution problem must be seen in its right perspective. Highly industrialized countries, struggling with this problem, tend perhaps to overestimate its impact in the world at large. For the great majority of the world population it is, I may say fortunately, not even a marginal problem, but at the same time this majority of the world population is deprived of the benefits of the technological revolution.

169. Being fully aware of this reality, there is nevertheless reason for this Organization to cope with pollution. Measures must be taken on an international level to prevent the spread of water and air pollution. My Government, for one, is hopeful that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment⁹ will lead to a comprehensive environmental policy. The Netherlands, as a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference, will spare no effort to promote an agreement on reaching those objectives.

170. By way of change, I wish to refer briefly to a problem that has been solved. The agenda of the twenty-fourth session included the only problem still outstanding between the Netherlands and Indonesia: the question of West Irian. That problem is now solved and therefore no longer appears on the Assembly's agenda. The Netherlands and Indonesia, both free and independent nations, are building up a new relationship—I venture to say a new friendship. The state visit of President Suharto of Indonesia was one proof of this most gratifying development.

171. Among the many subjects remaining on our agenda are one or two I should like to refer to briefly.

One is the representation of China. More than 20 years ago, in March 1950, the Netherlands recognized the People's Republic of China. It is therefore logical and understandable that we should like to see the People's Republic take China's seat in the United Nations. We consider that the United Nations is crippled by the absence of the People's Republic of China and that a number of important matters cannot be dealt with satisfactorily in one world organization until this state of affairs is rectified. On the other hand, there is the undeniable fact of the existence of an effective Government exercising authority over more than 12 million people in Taiwan. That Government has for decades made a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations, and we see no reason why it or any other Government represented here should be summarily expelled from these halls.

172. Finally, I come to the question of how the United Nations asserts itself in world affairs. In the Netherlands Parliament, and in other public discussions in my country, the question is frequently asked: "Why does the United Nations not act? How can we strengthen the United Nations?" All of us in this hall are aware that unfortunately the answer cannot be found in amendments to the Charter and that the primary question is how faithfully Members are prepared to conform to the spirit of the Charter. After 25 years, I respectfully submit, words will no longer suffice. It has rightly been said that our Organization is in grave danger of drowning in a sea of words. If the United Nations is to fire the imagination of succeeding generations, as it should, we the Members must change our attitude towards it, and change it now. We are living in disturbing times. Even while this Assembly was in session violence erupted, international peace and security was endangered—broken, even—and as a result human blood was shed.

173. Can it be said with any degree of sincerity that full use has been made of the existing United Nations machinery to prevent or stop those deplorable events, or even to prevent their disastrous recurrence?

174. Are we, the representatives of the Member States, not too inclined to focus our attention primarily on aptly turned phrases in this magnificent hall instead of acting upon feelings of anguish, shame, anger and grief over lost lives, ruined homes and the inevitable set-back and stagnation in economic and social development? I include myself in that indictment.

175. These, in the view of the Netherlands delegation, are some of the questions that should be considered at this twenty-fifth session of our Assembly. I am confident that many of my fellow delegates feel as I do, and, although I am well aware that our expectations with regard to the United Nations must always be closely geared to the political realities of the moment, it seems to me important to get a process of political soul-searching started in the hope that it may lead us in due course, and under the indispensable guidance of the Almighty, to a more responsible, more meaningful performance in the United Nations.

⁹ To be held in Sweden in June 1972.

176. Mr. HARMEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): No doubt each of us, before coming up to this rostrum, wonders about the usefulness or futility of the speech. Must we still speak when our voices are drowned out by the mournful cries of so many victims of the world's disorders? Our reply is yes, provided that, in listening to each other, we become more deeply convinced of our responsibilities. For our part, we shall not extol the successes of the United Nations, nor shall we allow ourselves to be discouraged by its failures. A world-wide order of peace and justice cannot be built in 25 years.

177. Is it not important in itself that our Organization, conceived in a very different moment of history, has withstood the changes wrought by a single quarter-century?

178. In 1970, no one doubts that the United Nations is necessary. On the contrary, people want it to be effective.

179. It seems to us that one thing should encourage us all. It is the fact that in our countries, in mine as in many others, the great principles of the Charter are impressing themselves more and more on consciences and especially on the consciences of the young. On the one hand we see that in most of our countries many convictions are crumbling, but on the other hand we find stronger support than existed 25 years ago for the five choices made by our States in 1945. Indeed there is, and particularly among the younger members of our population, an immediate response to the duty to organize collective security; the duty to disarm; the duty to ensure the equitable distribution of goods among all peoples; respect for human rights; and the settlement by arbitration or judicial process of legal disputes between States.

180. All these aims, in our country and in many others, are becoming more and more sacred, imperative and urgent: the failure to observe these principles grows more shocking, and we are therefore urged to hasten the time when these principles and duties will be fulfilled throughout the world.

181. Our response to this expectation is two-fold; as we see it, the aims of the United Nations must be tackled on all fronts and, whenever possible, at several levels—not only by the central institutions of the United Nations, but also by numerous regional actions.

182. We do not propose the establishment of new institutions, but rather the adaptation and enhancement of those we already have.

183. First of all we wish—and I am saying first of all—to strengthen the central institutions of the United Nations, especially for the purpose of achieving two of their main purposes: security and development.

184. Whatever contributes towards making the Security Council more effective will have our support. My country was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on international security, submitted in the First

Committee, which, *inter alia*, contains specific proposals for strengthening the authority of the Council. But I fully realize that these proposals will not achieve their purpose unless, beforehand, all States Members of our Organization reaffirm their political will to accept and implement the decisions of the Council, in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter.

185. Furthermore, in specific, limited fields, the Charter delegates to the Security Council real powers, and this, as we see it, foreshadows a world executive in a way. But here, should not the General Assembly support the Council? To that end, we would be in favour of the General Assembly, within the context of Article 12 of the Charter, pronouncing itself on the action of the Security Council, and hence of its closely studying the annual report of the Council.

186. We also wish to emphasize the importance of the meeting of the Security Council provided for in paragraph 2 of Article 28 of the Charter, which should be held in the course of the work of the present session of the General Assembly. We have strongly supported that action in previous years and now reaffirm our support.

187. So much for the field of security. The same holds true with regard to development. We believe that the time is coming when a certain power of decision will have to be vested in a world executive. It is no longer sufficient for the Economic and Social Council or the General Assembly simply to set development targets; some poverty will not be avoided unless, in specific cases, some authority can enforce the necessary action in time. For the purpose of restoring peace, does not the Charter confer such powers on the Security Council? And sometimes the Council exercises them. The same need exists where hunger or underdevelopment are involved.

188. Accordingly, we believe that we are faced with the problem of the exercise of the central authority of the United Nations and of strengthening this Organization.

189. Of course, the question of strengthening the authority of the United Nations also embraces the question of its universality. We welcome the fact that in a quarter of a century the sovereignty of so many formerly dependent territories has been recognized and their admission to membership in the United Nations guarantees it. Such is the irreversible trend of decolonization. But the problem of universality presents itself in another way. Some peoples are represented here only in part or not at all. Their absence is not conducive to peace or to peaceful relations between States. The time is not very far off, we believe, when we will be able to adopt an attitude more consistent with our principles. To achieve this, we must overcome the difficulties which still persist, especially with regard to China.

190. In this particular case, my country has consistently urged, for five years, a solution that would enable the representatives of the Government of the People's

Republic of China—a State which we recognize—to occupy the seat which belongs to China in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. This solution cannot jeopardize the right of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of Taiwan to continue to enjoy the protection of our Charter, and therefore to participate in the work of the United Nations. This is, we believe, the only possibility, until a peaceful settlement enables the dispute between these two Chinese Governments to be composed. We also believe that the peaceful settlement of that dispute would thereby be facilitated.

191. My country regrets that a large number of States have informed us that they do not yet share our view, and we therefore did not wish to express it this year in the form of a draft resolution. But, on the other hand, so far, no one has convinced us that any other attitude would be both more just and more consistent with the Charter. We shall continue our consultations with other Governments in seeking the urgent solution which this important problem demands.

192. We therefore attach the greatest importance to strengthening the central power of the United Nations and to its universality; but we hold it to be equally true that the purposes of the Charter can be successfully achieved, although in part, by means of regional arrangements or organizations, deriving from the spontaneous action of countries grouped together in a given area—one action does not exclude the other, one action adding to the other, the one aiding the other.

193. The idea is hardly revolutionary. It is suggested in many parts of the Charter and it has already been put into effect in part—but in our opinion, at this time in history, it deserves further reflection and a new impetus. The reasons for this effort can, we think, be formulated in a few proposals.

194. Let us make use of this need, which has become evident and is relatively recent: which compels most States to have recourse to inter-State organizations in order to solve their economic, social, communications, supply, market, cultural, scientific and defence problems, which today separate nations can as a rule no longer master by themselves.

195. This necessity for interdependence—which is relatively recent, I repeat—has created the need today for new regional links of solidarity. These are natural; they are becoming more and more closely knit; each is formed differently by a complex of historical and geographical factors, similarities of human environment, identical needs and aspirations, related political régimes and philosophies. We believe that we must make use of this natural movement.

196. We must therefore imbue these new institutions with the spirit of the Charter and, in each case, examine whether they cannot constitute, in turn, an initial framework which encompasses the purposes of the United Nations and tries to achieve them first in a regional context. Perhaps some obstacles which impede the power of decision of the Security Council might now be offset by this method.

197. The regional organizations, too, will, of course, remain incomplete and partly prevented from fulfilling their objectives.

198. But if the purposes of the United Nations are thus pursued from the ground to the top and from top to bottom, if the complementarity of action is ensured and, if, of course, the world bodies still have the last word in the event of conflicting policies, then we can hope for a greater measure of over-all success in pursuing the purposes of the Charter.

199. Those are the reasons which, in the light of experience, prompt us to co-operate eagerly—I am speaking of Belgium—in the world organizations and in their decentralized activities and also to participate actively in our region, Europe, in promoting links of regional solidarity and interdependence.

200. That will provide a better understanding of some of the attitudes adopted by my country with regard to the present items and, first of all, I turn to the problems of security.

201. The more than 30 States which share the territory of Europe cannot forget that in the past 100 years they have unleashed more wars than the other continents, and that two of them have set the world on fire. As if this were not enough, a cold war has been dividing them for the past quarter of a century. Why has this new situation of conflict not led to a third world war? Because, we believe, very soon and very fortunately bonds of solidarity and interdependence began to create balanced situations: certain transnational groupings in Europe which, due to the cohesion they have acquired and that will be developed further, make possible today the efforts gradually to reduce tensions and then to foster understanding.

202. We have therefore asked ourselves whether, some day, security arrangements of the kind provided for in Article 52 of the Charter might bring about and guarantee harmony in the territories of the whole of Europe through the establishment of rules and instruments of agreement, conciliation and arbitration of disputes. Here it must be made quite clear that such arrangements can be no substitute for our existing economic solidarity—and I am referring to the European Economic Communities—or for the existing defence organizations—that is, the Atlantic Alliance—but they should supplement them. Similarly, if a security agreement for the whole of Europe were to be concluded some day, nor would it replace the task of the Security Council, but would remain subordinated to it through the links provided for in Article 54 of the Charter.

203. Finally, let us say it, a regional organization for the security of the whole of Europe cannot be achieved so long as there is no political agreement on Berlin, no rules accepted by all on the real equality of States, and so long as the principle of non-interference in the affairs of others is not upheld in practice. Events of only too recent memory show that transitional steps are necessary to temper power politics by establishing collective security. It is therefore necessary, in our

opinion, to seek to have such regional security agreements for Europe, not as an immediately obtainable objective, but as an ultimate end to be reached only step by step.

204. It is on the road to European regional security that the time is coming when efforts must be made to endeavour to achieve the first intermediate objectives which would in themselves have far-reaching implications. Let the bilateral agreements on economic and social co-operation between countries with different systems become multilateral; let us seek to have the covenants renouncing the use of force, such as the one recently signed by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, apply to Europe as a whole.

205. But for such intermediary agreements to be really credible, the negotiations themselves should at the same time make it possible to establish at least the principles and general outlines of a gradual and parallel reduction in regional armaments in Europe, both those stationed there and national armaments. And that leads us to the second problem: disarmament.

206. What purpose does it really serve to declare solemnly that we renounce the use of force, if we continue to pile up the instruments of force? It follows that the renunciation of force and the reduction of armaments are two indivisible elements.

207. Certainly the problem of disarmament has already been raised at the world level, but since we want the coming decade to be that of disarmament, it would be worth while to pursue this aim at several levels: the negotiations of the 25 at Geneva have borne some fruit; the bilateral so-called SALT negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union do not seem to be ineffective.

208. But what can and should Europe do, Europe which harbours so many tactical and conventional means of destruction? Should it take regional steps to disarm? For a long time now Belgium has strongly believed that it should, and is prepared to participate in such negotiations, in which the United States and Canada would of necessity have to be parties too. We hope that such negotiations will be possible as soon as the practical and well-known conditions for the ratification in Bonn of the German-Soviet Treaty have been met, and provided nothing else transpires to darken this horizon. Then the active preparation of initial conferences on European security could be organized. We will contribute, as in the past, to this first approach to regional security.

209. The second area in which central and regional actions can be combined without being merged, but complement each other, is development.

210. We have spoken about the Disarmament Decade. It will also be the Development Decade. The two are not unrelated. The strategy for the Second Development Decade has already been discussed at length and formulated, and in this context the volume

and terms of the financial aid for development are particularly noteworthy.

211. That is why Belgium is happy to be able to announce that its total aid will exceed 1 per cent of its gross national product in 1970, as in previous years. Moreover, it wishes to stress that its public aid rose 10 per cent in 1968, and 12 per cent in 1969, which placed it fourth among the industrialized countries. This public aid will further increase in 1971, by 18 per cent.

212. Lastly, and above all, the Belgian Government, mindful of the needs and hopes of the developing countries, decided on 24 September 1970, a few days ago, to place before Parliament a programme under which public aid would in 1975 reach the figure of 0.70 per cent of that year's gross national product. This decision is a milestone in our policy, but its scope will be very limited unless it forms part of a joint effort by the industrialized countries.

213. As we know very well, a common effort should not be focused only on the financing of development. It should encompass trade policy, a commodities price policy and support for the developing country's own efforts in all areas, especially that of regional co-operation and integration. This will in all likelihood require revision and adaptation of the process of world discussion.

214. We believe furthermore that here again regional initiatives can, through individual arrangements with certain developing countries, add a dimension and a form of particularly effective mutual co-operation. I am thinking of the European communities which, through the Yaoundé Convention¹⁰ and the Arusha Declaration of January 1970 and through aid to associated European countries, make a contribution which, in some fields, supplements and increases the effects of bilateral assistance.

215. As regards Latin America, we view with sympathy the efforts at progressive integration of the States of that part of the world, and we particularly welcome the spirit which, at the last meeting of the Special Commission for Latin American co-ordination in July, motivated the Buenos Aires Declaration on the problems of relations with the European Economic Communities.

216. In turn Belgium hopes that the European Communities, as they develop and expand, will be able to give Western Europe a new image. It will not be one of hegemony, it cannot be one of neutrality, it will not be one of dependency. What, then, would be the attitude of Europe, in the process of unification, to the world? None other than one of intensive co-operation in the development of the southern hemisphere.

217. Today we must make provision for the economic and social restoration and rehabilitation of the regions

¹⁰ Convention of association with the European Economic Community adopted on 28 March 1961 by the Conference of African and Malagasy States, and renewed on 6 July 1969.

affected by the conflict in the Middle East. In that particular case my country is well aware that no real solution will be forthcoming as long as the Palestinian refugees have no home nor the economic means for their development.

218. Belgium announces that it will participate in any European plan for rehabilitating the devastated areas which will enable those refugees to settle in a stable and happy environment. We have submitted to the European agencies the plan drawn up for this purpose by a Committee headed by the President of the Belgian Senate. Once formulated, a programme of European co-operation would help the parties to the conflict in their search for peace.

219. On a more immediate and completely bilateral level, in swift response to the moving appeal of our President and of the Secretary-General, the Belgian Government immediately decided, a few days ago, to make a very substantial contribution in aid for the many victims of the recent events in Jordan.

220. More generally, I cannot speak of the conflict in the Middle East without once again reaffirming the Belgian Government's whole-hearted support for all diplomatic efforts aimed at ensuring the swift and full implementation of the Security Council's resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)]. Unfortunately, three years have already gone by since the essential conditions for a political settlement of the Middle East question were laid down. We venture to hope that both the spirit and the letter of the cease-fire agreement of 12 August last, which we welcomed as a happy event, will be respected by the parties concerned. We are anxious to see the early resumption of the talks initiated by Ambassador Jarring.

221. We have just dealt with subjects of collective security, disarmament and co-operation for development, and we noted that the convergence of actions at the world level and of regional initiatives could bring closer the time when the purposes of our Charter will be more effectively fulfilled.

222. Similar thoughts come to mind too in connexion with human rights, economic and social co-operation and international justice.

223. True, when we speak about the protection of the human person, it would be impossible to guarantee safety from certain evil practices only through international agreements or regulations, and I have in mind here particularly the present crimes of hijacking and the detention or execution of diplomats. In regard to the former, my country will put forward its suggestions at the diplomatic conference to be held in December at The Hague and, for the international protection of diplomats, consuls and ministers, it advocates the urgent convening of an *ad hoc* diplomatic conference.

224. But when we envisage a more general approach to the question of respect for human rights, here again we find an example of cases where regional action can supplement that of our General Assembly. We recall that in 1948 we drew up here, for the whole world, a Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

225. But we can go further in the definition and protection of human rights when regional communities of States allow themselves to be motivated by a stable democratic conscience which is expressed therein. Eighteen European countries did so in 1950, by drawing up the European Charter of Human Rights¹¹ and, in addition, by setting up a European court on human rights to which individuals can have recourse when their rights are challenged. Several States, including Belgium, in the past already felt it an honour to amend their national legislation at the request of the Court to bring it into line with the decisions of that Court.

226. The same will apply to economic and social co-operation. The United Nations already has instruments of regional co-operation. It is in the regional economic commissions that the ideas of integration were born, which took shape in Latin America and are striving to emerge in Africa. It was on their initiative that development banks were founded; it was they who launched numerous projects in the most varied fields from industry to agriculture, and from natural resources to transportation.

227. Nevertheless, we would like those commissions henceforth to play an even greater role, so as to achieve the goals of the Second Development Decade, especially in the formulation of plans and the evaluation of progress.

228. As far as the Economic Commission for Europe is concerned, it already plays a leading role in coordinating the efforts made "with a view to improving good-neighbourly relations among European States" as we read in resolution 2129 (XX). In this context or elsewhere, we think that in Europe the time has come to embark on a frank and thorough review of relations between the groupings of the market-economy countries and the State-economy countries.

229. The last subject in regard to central action and regional action is that of international justice. Indeed, in that field we also see that in some cases regional initiative or action are possible: that is described in Article 33 of the Charter which advocates the settlement of disputes between States by way of good offices, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. That Article provides that those actions can be carried out by regional agencies. The Organization of African Unity has established this type of machinery under the Charter, and we believe this to be a good thing.

230. True, the International Court of Justice, the supreme tribunal in legal disputes and must, in the final analysis, guarantee the universality of international law. However, here again we cannot forget that States parties to regional legal disputes may, by virtue of the Statutes of the Court itself, Article 26, paragraph 2, ask that chambers be formed for dealing with a particular case. For such cases, and if the question of reactivating the International Court of Justice is looked into further, as requested by the United States, Belgium will submit to it the question whether, in particular

¹¹ Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed at Rome on 4 November 1950.

cases and on very precisely determined occasions, regional *ad hoc* chambers could be formed, while at the same time upholding the universal character of the United Nations and the universality of international law.

231. My country has not been developing an abstract thesis today nor has it claimed that regional initiatives are some kind of panacea for the world. We are merely convinced that the spirit of the Charter can and must manifest itself in many places, and that we must not expect everything from initiatives at the world level; nor of course can we expect everything from regional initiatives; however, if they supplement one another, we may find herein a source of progress or initiatives which are being taken in different places.

232. We have noted that the past 25 years—especially in Europe but also in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East—have been characterized by the emergence of numerous regional bodies and firm multilateral ties. To be sound and lasting, these must always be spontaneous and leave each people free to be associated with them; to be excellent, they must draw their inspiration from the principles of the Charter and seek, within that context also, to further their progress. By adding that dimension to our efforts, we have noted, it is possible to increase the opportunities for collective

security, disarmament, co-operation for development, respect for human rights, economic and social understanding and international justice.

233. Allow me, Mr. President, to ask you to convey to Mr. Hambro the tribute which my country wishes to extend to him. My delegation is extremely gratified to see the eminent representative of Norway presiding over our deliberations. Norway and Belgium already participate in many enterprises which I earlier called intermediate. Several Western and European ties of solidarity already bind us, and you know how happy we should be if the accession of Norway to the European Communities were to bring us even closer together. We congratulate the President for having brought to the highest office of the United Nations not only the virtues of his people, but also his own personal qualities of erudition, experience and authority.

234. I would not wish to conclude without expressing again our great regard for the Secretary-General of our Organization which, on behalf of my country, I have already had the honour to convey many times before from this rostrum. I wish to end my statement by once again assuring him of our highest esteem.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.