

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



1863rd
PLENARY MEETING

*Tuesday, 13 October 1970,
at 10.30 a.m.*

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 65

**Question of Fiji: report of the Special Committee
on the Situation with regard to the Implementa-
tion of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**

1. The PRESIDENT: I would refer the Assembly to the letter from the Chairman of the Fourth Committee dated 8 October 1970 [A/8105], which informs the General Assembly that the Committee has concluded consideration of item 65 "by taking note with satisfaction that Fiji was about to achieve the goals laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and extending to the people of Fiji congratulations and best wishes for peace and prosperity in the future".

2. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the letter from the Chairman of the Fourth Committee and has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 65?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 100

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has unanimously recommended, in document A/8119, that the General Assembly should admit Fiji to membership of the United Nations. In this connexion a draft resolution has been submitted by 28 countries [A/L.595] for consideration by the General Assembly. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to accept the recommendation of the Security Council and to adopt this draft resolution by acclamation, admitting Fiji to membership of the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation (resolution 2622 (XXV)).

4. The PRESIDENT: I declare Fiji admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Fiji was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

5. The PRESIDENT: On the eve of our commemorative session, it is a special pleasure for me on behalf of the General Assembly to greet a new Member that has become independent under the sign of peace, a country of great beauty, where the old and the new, sea and mountain and many different races all live together in amity. We look forward to co-operating with representatives of Fiji and we have confidence that Fiji, drawing on a rich and varied national experience, will make important contributions to the work of our Organization.

6. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I have a most welcome task today. It has been the privilege of my delegation to join all the other Commonwealth delegations in co-sponsoring the draft resolution that the General Assembly has just adopted. It now gives me the greatest pleasure to be the first to congratulate the State of Fiji on its admission to membership of our Organization.

7. The delegation of Fiji, which is present with us now, can have no doubt of the warmth and sincerity of the good wishes and congratulations of the United Kingdom delegation.

8. When I spoke in the Security Council on Saturday last [1554th meeting] in sponsorship of Fiji's application for membership, I drew attention to the wisdom and statesmanship of the leaders of Fiji and to the lead they had given their people, which had transcended earlier differences among the main communities in the islands. Their action, which was wholly consonant with the overriding interest of all the people of Fiji, made possible a move to independence in a spirit of unity and harmony. I expressed my admiration for that spirit in my statement to the Security Council and I have no hesitation in expressing it again today to this wider audience.

9. The people of Fiji took the last steps to independence with a firm and confident stride and, it gives me pleasure to say, in the closest co-operation with the then administering Power, my own country. What could be a happier augury for the contribution which I feel sure Fiji will make to our Organization?

10. Finally, I should like to express again the warmest good wishes of my delegation to the Government and people of Fiji. This must be a proud and happy day for them. It certainly is for us.

11. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): For the New Zealand delegation it is a special pleasure to welcome Fiji most warmly to membership in the United Nations. Our relations with Fiji, a South Pacific country which is only two hours distant from New Zealand by air, are very close and friendly.

12. The successful outcome of the Fiji Constitutional Conference in London earlier this year and the agreement that Fiji would become independent on 10 October were greeted with particular pleasure by the New Zealand Government. A few days ago my Prime Minister was present in Suva for the independence celebrations. He took with him New Zealand's most sincere wishes for the future well-being of this emergent island nation which, as an independent State may be expected to play an even more significant role than hitherto in the development of the South Pacific. We are convinced that Fiji, with its dynamic people, will be a worthy new Member of this Organization.

13. Fiji has encountered in the past, and still faces, many difficult tasks in its nation-building. As a multi-racial society Fiji has had to seek for constitutional forms which would reflect the aspirations and rights of the various communities which make up its people. That it has succeeded is a great compliment to the co-operation and understanding of the leaders of political parties and communities in Fiji. They have shown their determination to move together in unity, in pursuit of their common goal of the progress and welfare of Fiji as a whole. The Prime Minister of Fiji stated at the Constitutional Conference earlier this year:

"In a multi-racial society trust, understanding, and tolerance are the cornerstones of peace and order. These qualities are nourished and developed by the traditions and culture of every race. Hence the provisions in the Constitution to safeguard the culture and interests of the various units which make up the multi-racial society of Fiji."

I am sure all will agree that this represents a solid basis for the future success of Fiji.

14. It is an added pleasure that Fiji is joining the membership of this Organization in its twenty-fifth anniversary year and in the tenth anniversary year of the Declaration on colonialism since it provides us with a happy example of a Territory emerging peacefully to independence in accordance with the wishes of the people.

15. New Zealand is fully conscious of its identity as a South Pacific country and we look forward to the strengthening and maturing of our present warm friendship, here at the United Nations, with our new close and sovereign neighbour, Fiji.

16. Mr. KURUBO (Nigeria): It is a great pleasure for my delegation to speak on this auspicious occasion

of the admission of the island of Fiji to membership of this Assembly. Fiji's qualifications for membership of the United Nations should leave no doubt in anyone's mind. In our opinion, no one can allege that Fiji has non-peaceful intentions, and we are convinced that the new State is willing and sufficiently able to discharge the obligations it has assumed under the Charter.

17. My delegation is therefore gratified that the Security Council was unanimous in recommending Fiji's application for endorsement by this Assembly. It was also right that, given the clear merit of this particular application and the shortness of time involved, the Security Council found it wise to deal expeditiously with the application and dispense with the relevant provisions of the Council's rules of procedure, which might grind too slowly in certain circumstances.

18. This morning the delegation of Nigeria felt honoured to lend support to Fiji's admission to this Organization—for two happy reasons. First, we joined in co-sponsoring with other Commonwealth members the draft resolution that has been adopted by the Assembly, for the approval of Fiji's application. My Government had no reservations in considering that the newest Commonwealth member fully qualifies for membership in this Organization. As partners in the Commonwealth, we believe that Fiji will bring valuable contributions to the work of the United Nations, in furthering the purposes of the Organization and the application of the principles of international relations for which the United Nations stands.

19. Secondly, I am privileged to be in the position of welcoming Fiji to membership of the United Nations this morning on behalf of the African group of Member States of which my delegation is Chairman during the current month, October 1970. As is well known, the group of countries on whose behalf I speak share a particularly unique experience in the post-war decolonization process in which it is acknowledged the United Nations has played a significant role. The African membership of this Organization has resulted, in large measure, from the achievement of the movements for national liberation which have characterized the histories of their respective countries in recent years. It is therefore a matter of common pride for us, on a felicitous occasion like this, to welcome the accession to sovereign independence of a country and people for so long subjected to dependent statehood.

20. But the joy we derive from this auspicious occasion should only remind us more vividly and forcibly of the unfinished business of decolonization that the United Nations still faces in other areas of the world, particularly in a large part of the African continent. The United Nations is committed to, and should press steadily on with, the task of securing the right to self-determination and independence of the millions of people languishing under the systems of colonization and racist oppression in southern Africa. It is of critical importance that the frontiers of freedom should be expanded to long-dominated areas of our continent and that the peoples concerned should have their human

dignity and the enjoyment of their fundamental freedoms restored to them.

21. It is perhaps an instructive coincidence that the administering Power, whose further achievement in the granting of independence to colonial countries we celebrate with the admission of Fiji to the community of sovereign nations, also has a significant responsibility for the enlargement of freedom in southern Africa.

22. The Nigerian delegation extends its heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the new State of Fiji. We wish the Government and people of that island nation every success in their political independence and prosperity for their future. We trust that the flavour of international life will gain enrichment with the independence of Fiji, the crossroads of the Pacific.

23. Mr. ABDULGANI (Indonesia): The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of this Organization and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples can be celebrated in no better way than by the admission of a new Member into our midst. Therefore, on behalf of my country, Indonesia, and the Indonesian delegation, I should like to say how happy we are to see Fiji obtain its independence and be admitted into the United Nations.

24. We in Indonesia have many reasons to be particularly happy with Fiji's independence and entry into the United Nations since, both geographically and culturally, the Indonesian and Fijian peoples have much in common. Indonesia is an archipelago on the crossroads of two great continents and two great oceans, and the islands of Fiji lie quite close to us, reaching out into the middle of the Pacific. We have historical, as well as geographical, ties with the Fijian peoples, many of whom, we are told by scholars, trace their origin to an arrival by sea from the West and speak a language belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian group. The title *ratu* of the Fijian Prime Minister, Ratu Kamisese K. T. Mara, sounds familiar to our ears, for we too have long used the word *ratu* to refer to nobility, not only nobility of standing, but nobility of spirit as well. These are some of the reasons why we cannot refrain from expressing our particular joy that our brothers and sisters in Fiji have once again regained control of their own destiny and are joining the world community here today.

25. We all know that the Pacific Ocean is not always a region blessed with peace, as its name would imply. In the recent past, as a result of conflicting power interests, we have seen its calm surface transformed into fearsome and destructive waves which swept across its entire length and breadth, affecting even those of us like Indonesia and the whole of South-East Asia located on its periphery. We know that if such a tempest were to arise again, it would most surely engulf South-East Asia as it did in 1942. We are pleased to see any step that may help to ensure that the Pacific possesses the characteristics that its name implies, and the independence of a new nation is an important factor in achieving the peace and calm which we all seek.

26. In earlier times, when we, too, were a colony of a European Power, our eyes were directed towards the West. But when the new nation of Indonesia was born in 1945, we began to look also to the East, realizing that our fate and future were inextricably linked to the region around us, including the Pacific. The search for modernization which is so often linked with westernization is, for Indonesia, no longer a looking to the west in the traditional sense, but rather a looking to the east, to those countries that surround the Pacific and are located in the centre of the Pacific.

27. Fiji, like Indonesia, is a nation which has arisen from the colonial system. We congratulate the Fijian people that they were not compelled to follow the bloody path of revolution to attain their independence. We are gratified that the metropolitan Power had the wisdom to heed the knock on the door, and to realize that if it were not heeded it would not cease, and that the door would be broken down by force. The independence of the Fijian Islands shows us that even the smallest nations will ultimately regain their freedom, that even though it is a small country economically and militarily, Fiji's independence was inevitable.

28. In witnessing the admission of Fiji into the United Nations, it is appropriate to note that it is on the basis of sovereignty and full equality, and that it is not open to bargaining. The small nations of the world belong in this Organization and it is timely to recall that it is in defence of their rights that the United Nations has its greatest obligation.

29. It is then in this spirit of brotherhood that the Indonesian delegation extends its welcome to the Fijian people and Government at this historic moment on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

30. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, since this is the first time my delegation is speaking from this rostrum during this twenty-fifth session, I wish to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election as President of this important session. We are fortunate that our proceedings are directed by such an eminent statesman and distinguished scholar. We can express our satisfaction at the work which you have already done and at the great ability you have shown thus far. We are confident that you will continue to guide this Assembly with wisdom and competence.

31. I should at the same time pay a well-deserved tribute to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph of Liberia, who so ably presided over our last session.

32. On behalf of Mauritius, I congratulate the newest Member of the United Nations, and look forward to welcoming among us in the near future its head of Government, Sir Kamisese Mara.

33. We rejoice at the birth of Fiji and its admission to the United Nations because, at a time when we are about formally to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we would like to

think that the process of decolonization has not stopped.

34. In this twenty-fifth anniversary session, we also greet Fiji's accession to independence as the achievement of one of the purposes of the Charter, that of Article 73 b regarding the dependent territories whereby the administering Powers are requested to "develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples..."

35. The particular circumstances of Fiji are similar to those of my country, although the two countries are situated in different parts of the world. Both Mauritius and Fiji are multi-racial countries which can show the lead in racial tolerance and prove to those who believe in racial separation that different races can live together and co-operate in full harmony and equality. We trust that under the leadership of Sir Kamisese Mara all the people of Fiji will unite to further the economic and social progress of their country. The people of Mauritius will follow with interest and sympathy the endeavours of the Fijian people.

36. On this occasion it is fitting to recall that Fiji's accession to sovereignty is the latest step in the remarkable march to independence which has taken place in a large number of those Territories which used to be under British administration. During the twenty-five years of existence of the United Nations, twenty-nine Territories formerly under British responsibility, all of them now represented in this Assembly, have become independent, sovereign States. In addition, the four Trust Territories for which Britain was responsible to the United Nations under Trusteeship Agreements have all attained independence. These thirty-three former British Territories have a total population of over 800 million.

37. This is, on all accounts, a remarkable record in the field of decolonization. But this record is somewhat marred by Britain's failure to bring freedom to the people of Zimbabwe in ensuring that majority rule prevails in that territory.

38. Once again, we welcome warmly the delegation of Fiji amongst us. We look forward to co-operating with them in a spirit of friendship and community of interests.

39. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): On behalf of the Latin-American group I wish to associate myself with the speakers who have preceded me in congratulating Fiji on the occasion of its accession to independence and its accession to membership in the United Nations. There is no greater pleasure for the Members of this Organization than to welcome a new country into the society of free nations. For Brazil, which has been consistently in favour of decolonization, the accession of a former colonial Territory to this world Organization is indeed a fitting commemoration of the tenth anniversary of General

Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We hope this trend will be encouraged and stimulated for it is in the field of decolonization that the United Nations finds its best area of achievement and of affirmation.

40. Auto-determination is one of the principles by which the United Nations has been ruled, one of the most important targets it has fought for, and it is particularly gratifying to have that goal attained through a peaceful process based on understanding and compromise between national political parties on the one hand and the collaboration and goodwill of the administering Power on the other.

41. We congratulate the leaders of Fiji on surmounting their early differences in favour of the national interest and we compliment the Government of the United Kingdom for the part it has played in the accession to independence of this new country.

42. We wish the people of Fiji a future of happiness and prosperity and we wholeheartedly welcome it as a Member of this Organization. We are certain, we are positive, that Fiji will make a valuable contribution to the cause of international peace and understanding.

43. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It is always very pleasant to receive into our Organization a State that has just acceded to independence. In the present case, the pleasure for Canada is all the greater because of the ties which bind us to Fiji, particularly as a member of the Commonwealth.

44. In offering our warmest wishes to the people of these islands bathed by the Pacific—just as are the shores of Canada—we would like to express our deep admiration to the Prime Minister of Fiji, the Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. M. Koya. Their spirit of understanding, their devotion to public service and their faith in their homeland will serve as an example to the people of whom they are the worthy and respected leaders.

45. Fiji and Canada have certain points in common which will help us to understand each other. We have both passed from British colonialism to independence while retaining the best of relations with the former metropolitan country. Our complex countries bring together two peoples whose mutual understanding is essential to a prosperous future. The people of Fiji are the heirs to a beautiful country, to the development of which Canada contributes by giving its support to the University of the South Pacific. This collaboration, which is just in the initial stages, heralds other broader, fruitful exchanges. My delegation is convinced that Fiji is a peace-loving State able and willing to comply with the provisions of the Charter. Therefore, we unhesitatingly supported Fiji's application for membership. Moreover, we were convinced that it would meet with the unanimous approval of the Organization.

46. Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): On behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian SSR, Czecho-

slovakia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I should like to congratulate most warmly the people and Government of Fiji on the proclamation of that country's independence and on the admission of Fiji among the full Members of the United Nations.

47. The attainment of independence by the people of the Fiji Islands is clear evidence of the irresistible force of the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples and represents one more step towards the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism.

48. The States whose delegations have asked me to express congratulations to Fiji are defending the just cause of eliminating the evil of colonialism from the face of the earth, both in the United Nations and outside it, together with the other freedom-loving and progressive forces of the world. In particular, they have consistently spoken in defence of the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of Fiji towards freedom and national independence. That is why the delegations of the Byelorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union are especially gratified, during these days of rejoicing for the people of Fiji, to express to it their best wishes for prosperity and progress along the road of independent development and for every success in building a new life and co-operating constructively with the other countries of the world.

49. We also welcome the delegation of Fiji, wish it success in its work in various United Nations organs, and hereby express our willingness to co-operate closely with it.

50. Mr. Surendra Pal SINGH (India): For the past 25 years we have on an average welcomed three new Members to this Organization each year, and yet in this special year of resolve and research we did not have a single application for membership. Fortunately three days ago Fiji became independent and immediately asked for admission to the United Nations. We are gratified, therefore, that Fiji has fulfilled one of our needs.

51. But that is not the only reason for our pleasure. Fiji is not far from India and we Indians have many special and intimate links with that country. India maintained the only foreign Commission in Fiji for years before its independence and on the day of its independence the Speaker of our Parliament attended the celebrations and we established diplomatic relations the same day.

52. Many Fijians are of Indian origin. But today all of them—all the citizens of Fiji—irrespective of their origin, are Fijians first, Fijians last and Fijians always. This process of integration has not been smooth nor has it been fully completed but it gives us great satisfaction that the leaders and the people of Fiji have united in freedom to serve the needs and ideals of their new nation.

53. Whenever a country becomes independent its jubilation, its hopes and its fears cannot but be shared

by us. We ourselves went through the process not very long ago, and we are anxious that all colonial Territories—large or small—should achieve their independence and join the United Nations. We have been working for that over the years and the success of Fiji is a significant milestone on the hard road to the total emancipation of the peoples still under colonial rule. We welcome it.

54. Fiji is in Asia and we are Asians. And all Asia must rejoice today when yet another country of that continent achieves independence and becomes a Member of the United Nations.

55. For those reasons we have been pleased, privileged and honoured to co-sponsor the draft resolution for Fiji's admission to the United Nations. Sceptics or men of small faith and smaller confidence have recently developed a habit of denigrating the importance and usefulness of the United Nations. We deplore it and Fiji's application disproves it. In our view, the United Nations is the best and most imaginative Organization mankind has yet devised for its survival in peace, justice and progress. We are proud to open its doors to Fiji.

56. A country does not become independent by merely wishing for it or by simply waiting for a favourable turn in the affairs of men. The people of Fiji have deserved it and earned it through their leadership, through their unity and through their sacrifices. We must pay a tribute to them, particularly to the leaders of the different political parties. A few months ago the Prime Minister—then Chief Minister—of Fiji, Sir Kamisese Mara, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. M. Koya, visited the United Nations and explained with clarity, courtesy and conviction the situation in their country. We accepted their analysis and welcomed their initiative, and today we see the fulfilment of their dreams and the reward of their wisdom.

57. In this task of bringing Fiji to independence the Government of the United Kingdom has done its share, and we appreciate its efforts. We hope that it will soon terminate the colonial status of many other Territories under its control and that the other colonial Powers, notably Portugal and South Africa, will draw timely lessons from history even if they are not sensitive to the sufferings of the people of Africa they hold in servitude and contempt.

58. Much has been said about the natural beauty of Fiji and its economic resources. But patriotism transcends these facts. We love our countries not because they are rich or poor, not because they are like gardens or like deserts, but because they are our own, because we belong to them and they make us what we are. Patriotism becomes almost synonymous with self-respect.

59. In the years ahead Fiji will, we are confident, grow in strength and wealth and just pride, and will contribute effectively to the world's welfare and to its civilization. They will face difficulties like all the

newly independent countries, but they will overcome them through their work and devotion, skill and co-operation.

60. The people and the Government of India will cherish and strengthen their friendship with the people and Government of Fiji in all possible ways for the mutual benefit of our countries. Fiji's natural assets, tourist trade and economic development not only promise great advantages to it but will contribute effectively to stability in that part of Asia. We look forward to a great future for Fiji.

61. In welcoming Fiji to the membership of the United Nations I should like, on behalf of my country and my delegation, to extend our warmest felicitations to the Government and the people of Fiji and to convey to them our best wishes for their independent future and our deepest admiration for their achievement.

62. We are gratified, therefore, that the Assembly has accepted Fiji's application with total unity and full acclaim.

63. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf it gives me great pleasure to extend a very warm welcome to Fiji as the 127th Member of the United Nations. I am confident that, under the leadership of its Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, whose personal participation in our anniversary celebration we look forward to, Fiji will make many substantial contributions to the work of our Organization.

64. In the view of my delegation, Fiji fully meets the requirements of becoming a Member of this Organization as laid down in Article 4 of the Charter. As an associate member of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and as a full member of the Asian Development Bank, Fiji has demonstrated its ability to contribute to the work of international organizations.

65. On behalf of the Government and the people of Japan I wish to extend our heartfelt congratulations to Fiji on its independence. It gives us particular pleasure to welcome Fiji as a newly independent country of the Asian and the Pacific region to which Japan also belongs. As evidence of our feelings of close relationship with Fiji, a special representative of my Government has been participating in its independence celebrations.

66. We have some trade with Fiji and every year some 200 Japanese fishing boats visit the Port of Levuka.

67. Now that the independence of Fiji has been attained and Fiji has become a Member of the United Nations, Japan sincerely hopes that the relations between our two countries will become even closer—within the United Nations as well as outside it.

68. Mr. RAVNE (Norway): It is with particular pleasure that I offer my congratulations to the Govern-

ment and the people of Fiji on their country's recent accession to independence and on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

69. For some time I have had the special responsibility, as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Fiji of the Special Committee and as a member of the Special Committee, to follow the last stages of Fiji's march towards independence. Allow me to say that I have been deeply impressed by the skill and magnanimity which the leaders of the people of Fiji demonstrated in overcoming internal divisions and in negotiating with the former administering Power—qualities that have already been demonstrated in organs of the United Nations. The history of Fiji's emancipation is a lesson in statesmanship from which we may all benefit.

70. On behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Sweden as well as my own, I have the honour of extending a warm welcome to the delegation of Fiji as it joins us in this Assembly. We look forward to working with the representatives of Fiji in common endeavours for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter.

71. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is happy to have this occasion today to salute the birth of the new State of Fiji and to welcome its delegation to the United Nations. The accession of Fiji to independence after having thrown off the centuries-old colonial yoke is further evidence that nothing can halt the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence and that all the efforts of the colonial or imperialist Powers to prolong the exploitation and occupation of peoples are doomed to fail. My delegation is convinced that the people of Fiji will go forward in their struggle to uproot the last vestiges of colonialism in their country, to strengthen its independence and to build a prosperous and happy life.

72. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): The Australian delegation has had great pleasure in co-sponsoring the resolution by which the Assembly has approved the application of Fiji for membership of this Organization. The occasion is a most important as well as a happy one. For more than 20 years, Fiji has been the subject of discussion in the Assembly as a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Therefore, the Assembly today witnesses the coming to fruition of the process of political and economic development in Fiji, which has culminated in the ending of the former relationship between Fiji and the United Kingdom and the assumption of independence.

73. Secondly, Fiji is the first island community in the vast Pacific Ocean to become a Member of this Organization. Australia, a country of the South Pacific, naturally takes a deep interest in the growth and development of the various island groups and peoples which are scattered throughout that greatest of oceans. From very tentative beginnings, dating from the time when Australia itself was a series of separate and scattered colonies, there have been in recent years growing and important ties between the people of Fiji and my country.

74. We are therefore most pleased, having joined with the Fijians three days ago in the celebration of their independence, to extend now, as a Member of the United Nations, the hand of friendship to a new Member of this world community. We are sure that the voice of a new independent nation in the South Pacific will add needed experience and wisdom to the deliberations of this Organization about the future of small island communities, particularly those in the Pacific.

75. Finally, my delegation would like to pay special tribute to the spirit in which the negotiations for Fiji's independence were carried out this year between representatives of Fiji and representatives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Some of us today were privileged to hear the then Chief Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and the leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. M. Koya, when they made an appearance before the General Assembly's Special Committee on 12 May 1970 [742nd meeting]. The occasion was remarkable for the clarity and the precision with which the problems of Fiji were explained to us.

76. My delegation would like to join in a respectful salutation to the leaders of Fiji and extend to them our heartiest good wishes and congratulations.

77. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The United States is pleased indeed to join in bidding a warm and cordial welcome to Fiji, the newest Member of the family of nations. By admitting Fiji to membership, the General Assembly confirms its conviction that this new State is, in the language of the Charter, "peace-loving" and "able and willing to carry out" the obligations contained in the Charter. This conclusion is well justified.

78. Fiji's population of half a million people is the largest of any island group in the South Pacific. Its economy is vigorous and its political development is well advanced. Its accession to independence has come about through a peaceful evolution which reflects great credit on all concerned and which attests to the peaceful character of the people of Fiji and their leaders.

79. The United States extends hearty congratulations to the Fijian leaders, especially their Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and to the United Kingdom as the former administering Power. Thus, the principle of national self-determination enshrined in the Charter has reached fulfilment for still another nation. Yet, the entrance of that new nation into membership in this body is also an act of interdependence, a recognition by the people of Fiji and by the General Assembly that, in very truth, no man is an island and no island is really remote from the world.

80. Fiji, within its national realm, has already learned well the lesson of human interdependence. Fiji is composed of three different racial and cultural groups which have earned the right to be called a nation by their determination to live and prosper together. As Sir Kamisese Mara said last May to the Special Committee [ibid.], speaking both for himself and for the leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. M. Koya:

"We considered that the first priority of need for our people was understanding. We know this from bitter experience. Without this understanding we cannot tolerate one another, and without tolerance we cannot create goodwill.

"...

"We know we must build one nation. We must build strong and we must build it to last."

The wisdom of those words by Fiji's Prime Minister augurs well for the future of the Fijian nation and for what it may yet contribute to peace, understanding and tolerance in the world. We rejoice, therefore, that Fiji has become a fellow Member of this Organization whose very life blood is the spirit of tolerance and understanding.

81. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): The attainment of independence by Fiji on 10 October 1970 marks another step in the achievement of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. This historic event in the evolution of Fiji into a sovereign and independent State also coincides with the year in which the General Assembly will be celebrating the tenth anniversary of that historic Declaration.

82. On this happy and auspicious occasion, my delegation wishes to express our sincere congratulations to the Government and the people of Fiji for their well-deserved independence. The successful negotiations which resulted in this happy occasion reflect the earnest and inherent determination of the people of Fiji to shape their own future destiny, as well as the willingness of the administering Power to reflect this inherent right of the people of Fiji. My delegation congratulates the parties concerned.

83. The people of Fiji and the people of Malaysia are no strangers to each other. Close links of friendship and mutual co-operation have existed between our two countries for a long time. Malaysian leaders have had the privilege on several occasions to meet and exchange views with the Prime Minister of Fiji, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, under whose wise leadership Fiji has attained independence.

84. I am happy to state here that the friendship that has existed between the Government and people of Malaysia and the Government and people of Fiji is further strengthened by the constant exchange of visits between the leaders of both our countries. My delegation looks forward to further strengthening this warm and cordial relationship. It is with great pleasure and honour that the delegation of Malaysia has joined with other Commonwealth countries in co-sponsoring the admission of Fiji as a full Member of the United Nations.

85. Mr. MARMARA (Malta): Mr. President, since this is the first time my delegation has spoken at this session, I wish to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

86. On behalf of my Government I wish to extend warm congratulations to Fiji on its attainment of independence on 10 October. We are glad to welcome this island nation to membership of the United Nations, and we look forward to the constructive contribution Fiji will make to the Organization's work.

87. It was with great pleasure that Malta co-sponsored the admission of Fiji with all the rights and duties attached thereto. We are convinced that Fiji is able and willing to fulfil its obligations under the Charter, and it is with great pleasure that my Government extends to the people and the Government of Fiji its warm welcome on its accession to membership of this world Organization.

88. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): I should like to associate myself with the other speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum in extending our warmest welcome to Fiji as a Member of the United Nations. My Foreign Minister, in his address to the General Assembly on 24 September during the general debate [1849th meeting] expressed the great satisfaction that Turkey feels on the accession of Fiji to independence and pointed to the fact that the membership of this country in our Organization would constitute another constructive step in extending freedom and independence to peoples still under colonial rule and also would enhance the principle of the universality of the United Nations.

89. On behalf of my country and my delegation, I should like to reiterate to the delegation of Fiji our warmest congratulations and good wishes on this auspicious occasion and to wish the friendly people of Fiji great prosperity and progress.

90. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): On behalf of the Asian group, as well as of the Government of Thailand, I should like to extend our very best wishes and congratulations to Fiji and its representatives present here on its achievement of independence on 10 October. The Asian group nations welcome Fiji to our august Assembly and are confident that, as a new Member of the United Nations, it will play an active role in furthering the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and in strengthening the United Nations in its important task of promoting peace, justice and progress all over the world.

91. The negotiations which culminated in Fiji's gaining its independence reflect credit both on the communities of Fiji and on the Government of the United Kingdom. They all deserve our praise and gratitude.

92. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on Fiji for the attention and interest it devoted to this matter during the past few years. The unstinting efforts have now borne fruits as Fiji has gained its independence and is in the process of being admitted to membership of the United Nations.

93. The Fijian people have had a long, proud history of civilization and self-government even before the col-

onial period. They possess a noble tradition and a distinguished history. Thus, I have every confidence that Fiji's future contribution to this world Organization will be an important and significant one.

94. The Asian group welcomes Fiji whole-heartedly and we all look forward to working with its representatives for the common benefit of us all.

95. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): On behalf of the Government and the delegation of Pakistan, I should like to extend our best congratulations to the Government and the people of Fiji on their peaceful accession to independence and admission to membership of the United Nations.

96. In Prime Minister Sir Kamisese Mara, Fiji has an outstanding leader, whose participation in the past in the activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization qualifies his Government for playing a constructive role in this Organization.

97. With the admission of Fiji the United Nations has taken another step towards the goal of universality. Pakistan has particular reason to rejoice in Fiji's membership of the international community as a sovereign, independent State, because many of the kindred of the people of Pakistan are citizens of the new State and have been contributing to its remarkable development. Indeed, the spirit of communal harmony, religious toleration and multi-racial co-operation which the people of Fiji have shown is an example to the world.

98. Finally, I should like to congratulate the United Kingdom for enabling the people of Fiji to emerge peacefully into independence as the twenty-ninth member of the Commonwealth and the 127th Member of the United Nations.

99. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I should like to extend our most sincere congratulations to the people and the Government of Fiji on the happy occasion of the assumption of independence by the State of Fiji. We join whole-heartedly in welcoming Fiji to the United Nations.

100. With the independence of Fiji and its admission to membership of the United Nations we are witnessing the further development of the process of decolonization which, we are sure, will continue to the final end—the ultimate liquidation of all forms of colonial rule in all parts of the world.

101. The people of my country have always supported the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom and full independence. We join also in their efforts for economic and social development in order to complement their political independence with their economic emancipation.

102. We are also ready to co-operate with the people and the Government of Fiji in the United Nations and in bilateral relations.

103. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation welcomes the accession of Fiji to independence and its admission as a Member of the United Nations. It is one more step towards the independence of all peoples in accordance with our resolution of 1960 [1514 (XV)] and with universal participation in the Organization. We heartily salute and welcome the delegation of Fiji to the United Nations and to this Assembly and extend to it and to the Government and people of Fiji the warmest congratulations of the Government and people of Cyprus.

104. Mr. MUNTASER (Libya): On behalf of my delegation and all Arab delegations, it gives me great pleasure to welcome the new State of Fiji to membership of the United Nations. We whole-heartedly welcome and extend our warmest congratulations to its people and Government on the occasion of their independence and admission to the United Nations. We look forward to the liquidation of all colonial rule in other parts of the world.

105. Mr. WOLTE (Austria): On behalf of the Austrian delegation I should like to extend a most friendly and sincere welcome to the delegation of Fiji in the United Nations. May I congratulate Fiji on its accession to independence and full sovereignty and on the peaceful evolution which has led to this joyful event. May I combine this expression of welcome with the best wishes of the Austrian Government and people for a happy and prosperous future for the Government and people of the one hundred and twenty-seventh Member of the United Nations.

106. Mr. EILAN (Israel): Israel has always welcomed the achievement of independence by peoples under colonial tutelage. We have special reason to express our pleasure at seeing Fiji entering the family of independent nations because of the exemplary way in which the process of decolonization was accomplished in this former Pacific colonial dependency. In this context the United Kingdom is to be congratulated for the manner in which it has guided Fiji through all the intermediary stages to final sovereignty and independence. The fact that this process was peaceful and orderly and that Fiji enters upon its independence as a country steeped in the traditions of democratic freedoms and parliamentary rule augurs well, in the opinion of my delegation, for Fiji's ability to contribute fully to the work of the United Nations in all of its many ramifications. We are all looking forward to seeing the representative of the Government of Fiji taking his rightful place here in our midst. To him, to his Government and his people, Israel extends its best wishes for a happy and peaceful future.

107. Mr. BLANC (France) (*interpretation from French*): Three days ago my delegation had the opportunity to mark its pleasure at Fiji's accession to independence and to give its support to Security Council resolution 287 (1970) recommending the admission of the new State to the United Nations. Today this admission is a fait accompli and we are glad to see Fiji seated in this Assembly and, thanks to the fortunate workings of the alphabetical order, we have it practi-

cally as our neighbour. The process at the culmination of which the problems that some time ago still impeded the exercise of full sovereignty by Fiji were solved demonstrates both the will of the former administering Power successfully to bring about, complete decolonization, and the sense of understanding and conciliation of the national leaders. We wish them the utmost success.

108. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting His Excellency Mr. Semesa K. Sikiyou, the Permanent Representative Designate of Fiji, to address the General Assembly.

109. Mr. SIKIVOU (Fiji): May I first express the regret of my Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, that he is unable to be with us here today on the historic occasion of Fiji's admission to the United Nations. He is still host to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who is representing Her Majesty the Queen at the independence celebrations in Fiji. He will, however, be in New York later this week and will, I understand, have the opportunity of speaking in this Assembly early next week.

110. May I, therefore, on his behalf and on behalf of all the people of Fiji express to you, Mr. President, and to all the representatives most cordial thanks for the admission of Fiji to the United Nations? My special thanks go to those Member States which have so generously sponsored and co-sponsored our application for membership. I am also pleased to acknowledge the warm welcome Fiji has received from Members of the United Nations in taking its place in the comity of nations as an independent sovereign State.

111. Although I represent a small country far away in the Pacific, my Government and people warmly cherish the principles and ideals which led to the foundation of the United Nations and which have made this great Assembly, in its 25 years of existence, one of the main hopes for the future of mankind. And we are fully resolved to play our part, however humble, in helping to maintain and foster the high purpose for which this Assembly was established—the brotherhood of mankind.

112. Fiji differs from many colonial territories in that we were not conquered or annexed. Our Chiefs freely and unreservedly ceded our country to Queen Victoria in 1874. This was an act of faith which has brought many benefits, not only to the original people of Fiji but also to those of other races who have come after and have contributed so notably to our country's progress.

113. It is in that same spirit that Great Britain has readily and unreservedly granted Fiji independence on 10 October of this year, exactly 96 years after cession. It would, therefore, be ungenerous were I not to pay tribute to the United Kingdom for all it had done for my country over the years and for the generous spirit in which it has forwarded our progress to independence.

114. However, no country, however benevolent, can provide a government from the outside which will meet the aspirations of a people in the same way as government from the inside. It is only when a people assumes responsibility for its own destinies through its own elected representatives that it can achieve a full realization of its own nationhood and its own potential, within the framework of its own history, culture and tradition.

115. As our frail canoe embarks on this voyage, with all its reefs and shoals, with its challenges and difficulties, it is a comfort to know that we shall be sailing in convoy, and that there will be friends ready to show us the guide lights and beacons to avoid the major hazards and to enable us to choose a course that will make our independence meaningful for ourselves and, we hope, of benefit to others.

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

116. The PRESIDENT: We shall now continue discussion of the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [A/8103 and Corr. 1] on the preparation of the final document for the commemorative session. Before I call on the first speaker I should like to remind Members of the suggestion made yesterday that the proposed amendments should be dealt with chiefly by the Committee itself. I should also like to make the suggestion that no further amendments be accepted after the end of this morning's meeting. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to make the end of this meeting the deadline for the acceptance of amendments?

It was so decided.

117. Mr. THOMPSON (Guyana): My delegation's first duty, in intervening in this debate on the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary on the general declaration [*ibid.*, annex] submitted to this Assembly for approval, is to put on record our sincere appreciation of the patient, courteous and untiring efforts of our Chairman, Mr. Akwei of Ghana, under whom I was very pleased to serve as one of the Committee's three Vice-Chairmen. It is largely as a result of Mr. Akwei's untiring and good-humoured skill as a chairman that the Committee is able to present a document at all to the General Assembly for its consideration. We should like to include in the tribute we pay to those who worked selflessly in the Committee's interests our Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo of Italy, as well as Mr. Akashi, the devoted Assistant Secretary of the Committee.

118. The delegation of Guyana readily concedes that the document that has emerged from the consensus arrived at with considerable difficulty in the Committee is an imperfect one. My own delegation is far from being completely happy with it, since we find it weak in some parts and vague in others. In particular, my delegation, coming as it does from a small, developing country which numbers itself among the non-aligned group of States, would be less than frank if we did

not register our disappointment with the eventually agreed wording of paragraphs 6, 7 and 9 of the declaration, those dealing with colonialism, *apartheid* and development respectively. In our view, the wording of those paragraphs should have been stronger and less equivocal, and we sympathize with the views of those delegations that have expressed their disappointment at the way in which they have been worded. In particular, we would again draw the Assembly's attention to the stipulation in the last sentence of paragraph 2 of the Rapporteur's report in so far as it relates to an understanding that the last sentence of paragraph 9 of the declaration, in its present form, will be re-examined in the light of the discussions now proceeding with respect to the Second United Nations Development Decade.

119. Having said all that, my delegation feels bound to add, especially in the light of our work on the Committee, that we really do not believe that, if we are to proceed on the basis of consensus, it is possible within the time available to us to achieve any really material improvements on the present draft. Imperfect though it may be, it reflects the political realities of the situation in the United Nations in its twenty-fifth anniversary year and it illustrates the well-known process of reduction to lowest common denominators which, in the absence of a harmonized ideological outlook or an agreed political will, is the fate reserved for deeply contentious questions which are to be solved by consensus within the United Nations system.

120. My delegation suggests that the fundamental question for this Assembly is whether it wishes to achieve a solemn declaration adopted by consensus or to have a simple General Assembly resolution adopted by voting in the normal manner or to have no general document at all. The preference of my own delegation is quite clear: we believe that there should be a solemn declaration of a general character adopted in this Assembly by consensus and without voting. We feel that the best way of achieving this objective would be for delegations to refrain, as far as is practicable, from submitting formal amendments and to content themselves instead with setting out their reservations in formal statements in plenary meetings for the record.

121. Of course we do not—indeed we cannot—challenge the sovereign right of delegations to submit formal amendments, if they are so minded.

122. Indeed, we know that already more than one delegation has chosen this course of action. While my own delegation, given its basic preference, remains willing to work in the Committee, or in its working group, as appropriate, to see whether such amendments as are submitted can be speedily and harmoniously incorporated into our present text, we feel obliged to say that that can be the case only if such amendments are reasonably short and relatively non-controversial, within the context of the well-known minimum positions of one or other member of the Committee, positions which all of us who have served on the Committee will recognize as being depressingly

familiar. In this context, it seems to us that amendments of the kind introduced in this hall yesterday by Ambassador Piñera of Chile [1862nd meeting]—and we do not rule out the possibility of others being introduced in a similar spirit—stand some chance of sympathetic consideration by a large cross-section of the Committee and may thus be thought of as being capable of commanding a consensus there, perhaps with some modifications which can be discussed with the Chilean delegation or other delegations.

123. Unfortunately, there are other amendments, also submitted yesterday, which, however much we may sympathize with them in principle—and we do—in our judgement stand little or no chance of being able to command a consensus in the Committee. We hope that the sponsors of all such amendments, whether already submitted or still to come, will be prepared, in the interests of expediting the adoption of a solemn declaration in the plenary Assembly, to withdraw such amendments once it becomes clear, as it must already be to those who have served actively on the Committee, that they are unable to command a consensus in the Committee.

124. If delegations could agree to abide by this broad working procedure it might still be possible, even at this late stage, to strengthen the document in marginal ways that will make it more acceptable to a wider cross-section of delegations while retaining intact the bulk of the present painfully negotiated text.

125. The alternative, as we see it, is to vote on contentious alternative amendments, thus breaking the concept of consensus which the Committee has worked so hard to preserve, or else run the risk of ending up with no general declaration at all. In my delegation's view, either of the latter alternatives would not only be unfortunate and unhelpful in itself but would be a distinctly unhappy augury for the work still before us in the rest of this anniversary session. We urge all delegations to choose the positive path of reason, of moderation and of mutual accommodation leading to an agreed declaration rather than the negative road of self-destructive extremism. My own delegation remains willing to build rather than to destroy.

126. Mr. ENE (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to set forth the views of my delegation on the draft resolution [A/8103 and Corr.1, annex] which, thanks to the laborious efforts of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, is now before the General Assembly.

127. We are gratified that the idea suggested last year by several Governments including my own concerning the adoption of a solemn declaration at this session has been accepted and that it is now about to become a reality.

128. Indeed, we would have preferred the draft text to have been submitted to the plenary Assembly at the beginning of this session to permit a thorough study of it with the participation of all Member States in order to arrive at a document the scope and significance

of which would indeed correspond with the hopes this anniversary session of the United Nations has aroused.

129. Our stressing the importance attached to the adoption of the declaration at this session does not mean that we are in favour of just any kind of declaration. We feel that such a declaration should reiterate in clear, precise terms the purposes and principles of the Charter and should lay down the major objectives of the States Members of the United Nations in the various areas of activity during the coming period and set forth ways of improving the effectiveness of the Organization's activities and of strengthening the United Nations role in the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of broad co-operation among all the countries of the world. From that standpoint we must observe that the draft before us contains certain gaps and deficiencies which we feel should be brought to the attention of the Assembly.

130. First of all we should like to point out that the draft does not proclaim the determination of Member States to abide strictly by the principles of the Charter, principles that have lost nothing of their timeliness, validity and importance. On the contrary: as the general discussion has shown, the strict observance and maintenance of those principles constitute the paramount indispensable prerequisite for the safeguarding of international peace and security and the promotion of good relations among all States.

131. In the light of those considerations, my delegation feels it is essential that in paragraph 1 some mention be made of the faithful adherence of Member States to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Similarly, we feel it is important that the determination to uphold all those principles governing international relations among States should be clearly and explicitly mentioned in this paragraph. That is all the more necessary since paragraph 2 deals only with certain principles which might raise some question concerning the attitude of Member States with respect to yet other principles. Now, the principles of the Charter, which are not subject to compromise, constitute an indivisible whole and should be reflected as such in the body of the declaration and for that reason we suggest that at the end of paragraph 1 the following words should be added: "and to uphold the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States". Thus the entire paragraph would read as follows:

"In furtherance of the anniversary objectives of peace, justice and progress, we reaffirm our dedication to the Charter of the United Nations and our will to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter and to uphold the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States."¹

132. Secondly, we are extremely surprised to see that paragraph 3 mentions the development of friendly rela-

¹ The Romanian amendments were subsequently circulated as document A/L.596 and Corr.1

tions and co-operation without specifying amongst whom such relations would be established.

133. In all logic, when one speaks of any relations whatsoever, one must not omit the key element, namely the parties involved. But this is not only a matter of logic. This concerns primarily the need to observe the provisions of the Charter. Those provisions, as we all know, have always dealt with relations among States as the subject of international law.

134. In order to remedy this situation, we suggest rewording the first sentence of paragraph 3 as follows:

“In conformity with the purposes of the Charter, we shall undertake maximum efforts to develop among all States, regardless of their political, economic and social systems, friendly and co-operative relations in all areas, based on the principles of international law.”

135. Thirdly, we must observe that although paragraph 4 refers *inter alia* to armed conflict, it does not make any reference to the duty of all Member States, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. In our view, this gap should be filled. When we read in the third sentence of the paragraph that all Member States are invited, we ask why they are invited and not urged to resort more often to the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts. Then we are led to ask why a formulation is used which is different from that of the Charter, which specifies that the settlement of international disputes exclusively by peaceful means is an obligation for all Member States.

136. Therefore, we feel that, rather than progress this wording marks a certain withdrawal from the explicit provisions of the Charter. Our delegation feels that this declaration should not and cannot represent a step backward with respect to the norms and principles of the Charter. On the contrary, it should contribute to the strengthening of these norms and principles.

137. On the strength of the foregoing, we suggest that the last sentence of paragraph 4 should be drafted as follows:

“We urge all Member States, in accordance with the Charter, to abide by their obligations to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force either against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State or in any other manner incompatible with the purposes of the United Nations and to settle their international disputes and conflicts by peaceful means as prescribed in the Charter, particularly by means of negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement, making use as appropriate of the relevant organs of the United Nations, as well as resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice.”

138. Paragraph 5 concerning disarmament is also rather weak, if we bear in mind the importance of this

problem to mankind as a whole and the particular place it has among the activities of the United Nations. We note that its wording is less strong and less precise than the provisions contained in many resolutions of the General Assembly and in international agreements that have been prepared with the assistance or under the auspices of the United Nations. Furthermore, rather than reiterating and highlighting the political will of States to embark on the road to disarmament, it refers to the fact that this involves a long and difficult undertaking. In the view of my delegation, improvement should also be made to that paragraph so as to take account of the importance of this problem.

139. With respect to paragraph 11, it is highly regrettable that the present text does not reflect the concern that has been expressed ever more clearly for the need to achieve universality of our Organization. We feel that we cannot confine ourselves to expressing a simple hope in this respect, since it concerns an essential prerequisite to ensure the effective operation and strengthening of the role of United Nations in international life. Furthermore, we must create all the necessary prerequisites so that all States may participate in the activities of the Organization. We should therefore like to see this paragraph improved along these lines.

140. I have just given the substance of our views concerning the draft declaration which is now before the General Assembly. We are convinced that the proposed suggestions that we have just made will improve the text and will make it a document which will truly meet the legitimate aspirations of peoples and bring about the necessary conditions for their free and independent development in a world of peace and security.

141. Naturally these observations do not mean that we see only flaws in this draft that was prepared by the Committee. On the contrary, the Committee has carried out useful work which will facilitate the task of the General Assembly.

142. However, in the view of our delegation, every effort must be made so that on the basis of the draft before us we can prepare, bearing in mind the various amendments and proposals already submitted or which may be submitted during this discussion, a declaration which would fully meet the purposes and principles of the Charter and the requirements of present-day reality and which would achieve a consensus among all Member States.

143. With respect to the suggestion made by the representative of Saudi Arabia to refer the proposals and amendments to the Committee, we agree with that proposal, it being understood that not only those delegations represented in the Committee, but all delegations having submitted amendments would participate in the discussions of the Committee.

144. Mr. SPACIL (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): Twenty-five years have passed since the peoples which joined together in the struggle against the Hitlerite coalition decided to establish a new inter-

national organization and to vest in it the hope that succeeding generations would be spared the horrors of war.

145. The Charter of the United Nations became the expression of the experience and conclusions reached at the cost of much bloodshed by the victors over fascism, that monstrous foe of humanity and progress. Hardly anyone would wish to assert that the post-war world, particularly in its first decade, has reflected the principles of the Charter. We remember times when both the blue flag of the United Nations and the forum of the Organization were being abused for purposes of crude interference in the domestic affairs of certain countries.

146. Still, our Organization cannot be denied its rightful place as one of the most important instruments for safeguarding, and solving the problems of peace and security. The Charter remains one of the most important documents in contemporary international relations. Moreover, it is generally recognized that whenever the Charter and its principles have been violated in the course of the activities of the United Nations, this has harmed primarily the Organization itself.

147. Without wishing to ignore certain negative aspects of our Organization's activities, we think it essential at this time to stress its generally constructive role in the modern world. The United Nations has performed and continues to perform its task with regard to the principal goal of mankind, that of preventing the outbreak of a world atomic war. In recent years, it has definitely promoted the emergence of new States, whose peoples have attained freedom and independence. The concept of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social structures is steadily gaining ground here, in our Organization.

148. The world of today is different from what it was 25 years ago, but the foundations on which our Organization and its Charter were built are stable and have their own strength; there is no need to change them in any way. The maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security are and will remain the constant task of the United Nations.

149. These, in brief, are the few general ideas by which we have been and are still being guided in the discussion of those basic documents which will be the result of our commemorative session, namely, the declaration on the strengthening of international security, the resolution adopting the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the programme of activities for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

150. It is with these same thoughts in mind that we approach the draft declaration which is the subject of our discussions at today's meeting. Our evaluation of the work of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth

Anniversary of the United Nations is favourable and we advocate the adoption of the document submitted to us by the Committee [A/8103 and Corr. 1, annex], although, like other delegations present here, we are aware of a number of serious shortcomings in this text.

151. Moreover, we would naturally have preferred the ideas submitted in the draft declaration originally proposed by the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria to be reflected to a greater extent than they are in the present text. In this connexion, we support the initiative of the Bulgarian delegation which, in yesterday's statement by Mr. Tarabanov, submitted an amendment to paragraph 5 [A/L. 593] in an attempt to improve the text.

152. In any case, it would be desirable for our document to state more specifically, as the distinguished representative of Nigeria has proposed [1862nd meeting], its support of the peoples of colonial and dependent territories as a whole, especially of the peoples of southern Africa, which are waging a legitimate struggle for their independence. We also agree with his view that our document should clearly condemn the policy of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity.

153. Even though we have been unable to make the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations coincide with the complete elimination of colonialism throughout the world, this idea of the urgent and complete achievement of the goal of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be reflected more specifically in the declaration of the commemorative part of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

154. We are aware that there are forces in the world which are hampering such a development and are placing obstacles in the way of a more generally acceptable formulation of our declaration. This reflects the actual situation, which must be taken into account and from which the necessary conclusions must be drawn. We must therefore do our utmost to strengthen the peaceful, anti-imperialist people's front, here in the forum of this Organization, so that we may solve the most important problems of modern international relations: strengthening international security, halting the armaments race, achieving general and complete disarmament, completely eliminating the colonial system, eradicating racism and all forms of inequality, and achieving international economic, scientific and technical and cultural co-operation without any discrimination and on the basis of equal rights for all members of the international community.

155. Of course, the desire to incorporate all these ideas in the document which will be adopted by our meeting and to make it as comprehensive as possible is perfectly understandable. In our opinion, the amendments of the Chilean delegation [A/L. 592 and Corr. 1] also contain some interesting ideas. There can be no doubt, moreover, that other delegations, too, may submit many other additions and ideas.

156. But for all our desire to achieve the maximum, we must be realistic and weigh all the possibilities. Naturally, every effort must be made to improve the text. But if it becomes evident that there is no longer time for the Special Committee to make another attempt to agree on a new text, then the only alternative will obviously be, to use the Latin expression, a *restitutio in integrum*, a return to the original text, so ably introduced here by the Rapporteur and Chairman of the Committee, that is, if we really want the document for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations to be adopted. So far as our delegation is concerned, we hope that will be the case.

157. Mr. VON HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): South Africa is a founder Member of the United Nations. We would very much have wished, therefore, to have been in a position to associate ourselves with a declaration commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of its birth.

158. The draft declaration before us, however, has been so drafted—deliberately I regret to say—as to make this impossible. Paragraph 7 refers to our internal policies which are the concern of no one other than ourselves. We reject this paragraph not only because it constitutes direct interference in our domestic affairs in contravention of the Charter, but also because it is based on a complete misconception of what we are attempting to achieve in South Africa.

159. Paragraph 6 is equally unacceptable. It insinuates that our objectives in the Territory of South West Africa constitute a denial of the rights of the indigenous peoples to self-determination and independence. That is an absolute distortion of our aims in South West Africa, as any representative who has given only the most cursory attention to our numerous explanations of South African policy on South West Africa over the years must conclude if he is at all objective.

160. Principally because of the inclusion of these two paragraphs in the draft declaration we regret that we must dissociate ourselves from it, and if a vote were to be taken on the text we would be obliged to cast a negative vote. If separate votes on paragraphs are to be taken we would request a separate vote on paragraph 7 to enable us to register by a negative vote our objections to that paragraph.

161. Our regret is the greater for the reason that we are otherwise generally in sympathy with the draft declaration. We endorse particularly the reaffirmation in the fourth paragraph of the need to take concrete steps to fulfil the central task of the United Nations, namely, the preservation of international peace and security.

162. We endorse also the invitation to Member States to resort to peaceful means of resolving international disputes in accordance with the Charter.

163. We ourselves are fully committed to these as well as the other objectives of the Organization which are laid down in the Charter and expressed in the draft

declaration. We shall continue to play our part in promoting their realization in future, notwithstanding our inability to subscribe to the draft declaration as a whole.

164. Mr. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): In a few days we shall be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which came into being as the result of the victory won by the peoples in the struggle for liberation from fascism.

165. The United Nations has made a valuable contribution to the implementation of the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter. It has helped to settle a number of acute international crises. We regard such a record as a definite achievement of the peace-loving forces of our planet.

166. Where the Byelorussian SSR is concerned, we want the United Nations to be effective and authoritative, directing its efforts towards the maintenance of peace and international security, in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the equal rights of nations large and small, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, or humanitarian character and to implement the lofty purposes and principles solemnly proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

167. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has taken part in the activities of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, which has done a great deal of work in disseminating information about the United Nations and its purposes and principles, preparing and conducting the World Youth Assembly, preparing the commemorative session of the United Nations and drafting the final document. As a result of this, the present plenary meeting has before it the text of the final document [*A/8103 and Corr. 1, annex*], which is the outcome of lengthy and, I would say, difficult deliberations in the Committee. Although there were many arguments, many different points of view were advanced at the Committee's meetings, the spirit of its work was constructive.

168. Accordingly, one of the most important provisions of the document before us is the expression of the determination of States Members of the United Nations to implement the purposes of peace, justice and progress connected with this anniversary and to reaffirm their faith in the United Nations Charter and their willingness to carry out the obligations laid down in that instrument.

169. Nevertheless, voices advocating the revision of the Charter are often heard, at meetings of the Committee, in the plenary Assembly, in the Main Committees and especially in the corridors. We know perfectly well what forces are inspiring the raising of such questions.

170. In this connexion, the Byelorussian delegation considers that the effectiveness of the United Nations

in maintaining international peace should be improved, not by revising the United Nations Charter, but by strictly and faithfully observing its fundamental provisions.

171. Furthermore, the draft declaration under discussion, many parts of which are the result of mutual concessions and of accommodation of the views of all or most delegations, expresses certain important ideas. These are the need to exert the "utmost efforts to develop friendly relations and co-operation in all fields on the basis of the principles of international law, irrespective of political, economic and social systems", the appeal to "take concrete steps to fulfil the central task of the United Nations—the preservation of international peace and security", the proposal "to resort more often to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts by the means provided for in the Charter", and the hope for the early conclusion of further agreements on disarmament problems and for "moving forward from arms limitation to reduction of armaments and disarmament everywhere, particularly in the nuclear field, with the participation of all nuclear Powers".

172. In this connexion, our aspirations coincide fully with the following appeal which appears in the text of the final document:

"We call on all Governments to renew their determination to make concrete progress towards the elimination of the arms race and achievement of the final goal—general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

173. The document also provides for measures to promote the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter relating to promoting respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. At the proposal of the Byelorussian delegation, formulae condemning nazism side by side with racism and racial discrimination were submitted and were adopted unanimously. We resolutely support those provisions of the document which reaffirm the need for the early implementation of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. We also endorse the need for wider international co-operation in the utilization of scientific and technical achievements.

174. When the text of the final document was discussed in the Committee, many delegations, in their desire to complete the preparation of this text as quickly as possible, made a considerable number of concessions. Consequently, some of the provisions of the final document are neither consistent nor exhaustive. This applies most particularly to the provisions of the document which relate to decolonization and the condemnation of the policy of *apartheid*.

175. The delegations of certain Western countries are quite unable to understand that, during the period that has elapsed since the United Nations was founded, the peoples of a considerable number of colonial territories have achieved independence, have become Members of this Organization and are now playing an

important part in the international arena. This is an outstanding achievement of mankind. These particular delegations and some others will not accept the fact that all colonial peoples, large and small, have an inalienable right to independence; the need to take immediate and effective measures for the full implementation of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples also does not accord with their aspirations. The legitimacy of the struggle, including the armed struggle, of colonial peoples for their independence, arouses the indignation of these delegations. They are opposed to the idea that the Governments and peoples of all States and the international organizations should provide to the peoples struggling against colonial and racist régimes all the necessary moral and material assistance and support they need. For example, the proposal to include in the final document provisions describing *apartheid* as a crime against humanity aroused a storm of protest on their part. We are not satisfied with the wording now used on this subject in the document under discussion. Moreover, it in no way supersedes, for instance, resolution 2506 B (XXIV) of 21 November 1969, in which the General Assembly "Reiterates its condemnation of the policies of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa as a crime against humanity."

176. That is why the provisions of the document which relate to the questions of the elimination of colonialism and *apartheid* should be examined in the light of earlier decisions of the General Assembly and of the special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted yesterday by the General Assembly [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*].

177. Furthermore, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR notes with regret that, during the preparation of the text of the final document, certain delegations did not always adopt an attitude of understanding with regard to our position on the Second United Nations Development Decade, which is set out in the joint statement of the socialist countries of 21 September 1970 [*A/8074*] and constitutes a broad programme of progressive political, social and economic measures, designed to be taken at the national and international levels for the solution of the most acute social and economic problems.

178. The Byelorussian SSR will continue to use the position set out in this statement as its basic premise and supports the document on the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*A/7982, para. 16*] in so far as it corresponds to this position of ours.

179. In the light of the above considerations, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the amendment submitted yesterday by the representative of Bulgaria [*A/L.593*] considerably improves paragraph 5 and that the amendments of the representatives of Algeria, Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, the People's Republic of

the Congo, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda and Zambia [A/L.594] improve paragraphs 6 and 7. We also have some other ideas which we think would improve the text of the final document. We consider that some of the Chilean delegation's amendments [A/L.592 and Corr.1] deserve consideration, while some of its other amendments do not improve the wording of the relevant paragraphs. Many amendments which were submitted today deserve attention, and a number of noteworthy proposals may yet be introduced.

180. But none of all these amendments is new to the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. That is why we share Mr. Baroody's view that the final document can be adopted, if we agree with the text submitted by the Committee. The most rational course would seem to be for all those who have submitted amendments to withdraw them, for then we could adopt the final document. Otherwise, in view of the time factor and of the polarization of the ideas contained in the amendments, we shall be overwhelmed by proposals and shall be unable to adopt a document.

181. At the time of the solemn commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic reaffirms its resolve and calls upon all other States to bend all their efforts to ensure a lasting peace on earth and to observe unremittingly the purposes and principles laid down in the United Nations Charter. It expresses its firm conviction that the activities of the United Nations will promote the advance of human society along the road to peace, democracy and social progress.

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

183. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): I should like to inform members of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations that in accordance with the decision which you, Mr. President, so wisely guided the Assembly into taking yesterday [1862nd meeting], at the conclusion of the debates in the Assembly this afternoon, hopefully, I propose that the Committee might meet to consider the various proposals or amendments which have been made during the course of the debate.

184. I make this announcement in order to inform the members of the Committee who may have made other arrangements for this afternoon that they should make adequate adjustments to be able to attend the meeting of the Committee.

185. The PRESIDENT: There are still 10 speakers on our list for this item this afternoon. We will continue discussing this item during the first part of the afternoon meeting, and if there should not be a great number of additional speakers, it should be possible to terminate that item in time for the Committee to meet in accordance with the wish just expressed by Ambassador Akwei. It should be possible then to deal with the two other items on our agenda before the conclusion of the meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.