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CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 21:

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

Speech by Mr. Aldo Moro, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy	1
Speech by Mr. John M. Lynch, T.D., Prime Minister of Ireland	3
Speech by Mr. Maurice Schumann, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the French Republic	6
Speech by Mr. Samuel N. Odaka, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Uganda	8
Speech by Mr. Muhammad H. El-Farra, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Special Envoy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	11
Speech by Mr. Augusto Legnani, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Special Envoy of the President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay	12
Speech by Mr. Hilmar Baunsgaard, Prime Minister of Denmark	13
Statement by the representative of South Africa	16

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, His Excellency Mr. Aldo Moro.

2. Mr. MORO (*interpretation from French*): First I should like to say how pleased I am to see you, Mr. President, presiding over this Assembly at such an important time for our Organization, to which you have made such an outstanding contribution in terms of thought and action.

3. Mr. Colombo, the Council President of my country, who was prevented from attending this commemorative session, asked me to convey to you and to this Assembly his regrets that he was unable to attend. He asked me to convey his respects to you and to express his best wishes for our success.

4. This anniversary should be a time for stock-taking, with an increased sense of responsibility and a firm determination to participate in the results achieved by the United Nations with a view to adding to those

results by meeting the pressing requirements of the world situation.

5. The existence and development of our great Organization are a feature of our times and nourish the hopes of mankind. This Assembly is itself proof of what I have just said. It represents the people of most of the world. It concerns itself with all major political, economic, social and cultural problems and its debates proceed in complete freedom.

6. We must work to make the United Nations capable of living up to the expectations of our time. However, our system as an instrument designed to maintain peace is inadequate. This has been stressed from this rostrum on a number of occasions. Furthermore, today's international society does not yet reflect the great ideals of the Charter. Bloody conflicts and many sources of tension show that power politics, ideological struggles and racial hatred remain widespread. The gap between the wealthy and the poor countries is as wide as ever. Famine and poverty continue to beset entire populations, whereas enormous natural resources are devoted to the production of armaments. The pollution of natural resources is in the process of changing and even poisoning man's environment.

7. This celebration, then, should not be purely a token tribute to the great undertaking which was begun 25 years ago. It should be rather an opportunity to give a further practical impetus to the building of an international order more in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter. That, in the opinion of the Italian Government, is the real meaning of the twenty-fifth anniversary. It is not just a time to think about the past; it should be a time for building the future. We are here to outline future action rather than to celebrate an anniversary.

8. Of course the course to be followed continues to be set forth in the Charter, but no progress is possible if we do not accept the principles of the Charter in the firm conviction that they represent an important turning point in the development of international society. These principles introduce a new kind of relationship between States: prohibition of the use of force, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States without any political or ideological exceptions. These rules of conduct must be observed in all situations and circumstances for they have been dictated by the evolution of history and by the very logic of scientific and technological progress in today's world.

9. Controlled fission of the atom and the conquest of outer space have no doubt greatly increased man's

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

control over the physical world. Unfortunately they have also made available to political power an immense capacity to destroy. We are all aware that a widespread nuclear conflict would be a catastrophe for mankind, but not everyone seems to realize that at a time when the interdependence of people of the world is so widespread, any conflict may lead to a general conflagration. However limited its objectives, war will henceforth always involve a risk quite out of proportion to the advantages which it may bring to the victor. It is not a rational instrument in the service of politics. A realistic assessment of the situation proves that there are no valid alternatives to the permanent defence of peace.

10. I think those considerations shed considerable light on the importance of the documents which we will be adopting at the end of our commemorative session. They will point to the objectives to be pursued in constructing peace on a sound basis. They should convince us that, while *ad hoc* policies for peace are indispensable to preventing or resolving armed conflicts in that they make possible rapid and effective intervention, a structural policy is equally necessary to put an end to the profound causes of war. Such a policy must be based on disarmament, progress in the third world, decolonization, the fight against *apartheid*, respect on the part of all States for the principles of friendly coexistence, the development of technological means and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the protection of the human environment, co-operation in the peaceful uses of the atom, outer space and the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and, generally speaking, the gradual elimination of all political, economic, social and technological imbalances which only serve to disrupt international life.

11. The Italian Government has long supported those ideas and objectives. It has always emphasized that they must be included in an over-all plan designed to guide the activities of the United Nations in all sectors. And it is with those thoughts in mind that I should like to submit to the Assembly a few general considerations on the principles which should underly our action for peace.

12. First of all, I should like to stress that in our world, marked by the industrial revolution and technological progress, a world where the destiny of every country is closely linked to the destiny of others, a world in which no State can depend solely on its own resources, errors in forecasting and waste of energy must be held to a minimum. The building of peace requires organic planning. I would almost be so bold as to say that those objectives must, in so far as possible, be outlined and co-ordinated with the same precision that armies formerly used in planning their operations.

13. This planning is indispensable in the promotion of economic and social progress in the third world. We must recognize that the United Nations deserves credit for having based the preparation and implementation of the Second Development Decade on a global

development strategy, in which development is conceived as a process affecting all aspects of a society in a rapid and permanent state of change. I wish to stress that point, which we made last year [1783rd meeting], and I would emphasize that the countries of the third world can make an important contribution to the peaceful and orderly development of the international community, provided that all their energies are mobilized in a rational way, in the interests of co-operation and in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual respect.

14. An organic plan is therefore necessary, and the Italian Government has long advocated this in the hope that general and complete disarmament may be achieved under the guarantee of effective control systems. The twenty-fifth anniversary provides us with an opportunity to co-ordinate systematically the United Nations Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade, in such a way that the resources to be released as a result of agreements on reducing or limiting armaments can be devoted to the needs of the third world.

15. If there is this kind of co-ordination, an international development strategy can be prepared to combine national efforts with international co-operation in order to raise more swiftly the living standards of the developing countries.

16. Recent studies by the United Nations and the World Bank have set forth objectives to be achieved and measures to be taken. But the difficulties of bringing together the material and human resources of the industrialized countries and devoting them in an appropriate way to the needs of the third world have made the preparations of an organic programme impossible. While principal sectors to be studied have been identified, insufficient emphasis has been placed on unemployment or underemployment, which creates great social imbalances in every country.

17. International development strategy will succeed only if it is supported by political determination on the part of all States to adopt the measures proposed. Italy's participation in those efforts will not be found wanting and we will be guided by the following principles: assistance to be given to the developing countries must become increasingly multilateral; the amount of economic assistance must increase gradually and the conditions for such assistance must become more favourable; and public assistance must increase more than private assistance.

18. Secondly, we are profoundly convinced that peace must be built with man in mind. The new avenues opened up by science and technology, make us aware that we are witnessing the end of an era. We might even say that in the course of our brief existence we have lived through many eras. But one principle remains fundamental; it is as valid today as it was yesterday: there must be respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual and only then can we establish universal order. Peace can be built only with respect for spiritual values; it cannot prevail for long in an

international community which is not successful in eliminating all forms of oppression and discrimination, and by assuring always and everywhere the full development of the human person. That is why we are of the opinion that United Nations action must be pursued to the utmost to ensure the protection of human rights and, through peaceful and democratic means, to put an end to colonial régimes and *apartheid*.

19. Thirdly, a permanent system for peace is only conceivable today if it encompasses the entire world. The United Nations then must become truly universal if it is to extend its authority to all the people of the world and to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter on the part of everyone.

20. The creation of the kind of international order which we would like to see would require certain changes in the structure and methods of the United Nations, without upsetting the existing institutional framework. We must try to make our institutions more effective, but above all we must promise to eschew selfishness and accept a new discipline in international relations.

21. It is in this spirit that Italy is taking part in the building of a great political and economic community among the countries of Western Europe, a community open to co-operation with the rest of Europe and other continents, aware, as we are, of the aspirations of the less-favoured people of the world and, consequently, capable of representing a new source of balance and progress in international society. In this same spirit we believe that an easing of tensions may lead to more trusting relations among the countries of our continent and more fruitful contacts between them, in the general interests of peace.

22. In view of the encouraging prospects in Europe today, we may now conclude that the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary will prove to be the year of hope. At least in Europe, one may now catch a glimpse of political and psychological conditions which may make it possible to pursue what was started in San Francisco. Unfortunately, many problems remain even in Europe, and very serious crises jeopardize peace in a number of areas of the world, beginning with the Middle East.

23. While remaining within the context of this solemn celebration, I should like to dwell, for a moment, if I may, on the Arab-Israeli problem which, more than any other, has committed the prestige of the United Nations and its future.

24. I do not believe anyone has any doubts about the need to guarantee simultaneously the integrity and security of Arab States and Israel, which are all Members of this Organization. There is a fundamental Security Council resolution, which seems to us to meet the urgent need to restore peace in the Middle East on a sound basis.

25. This is not the time for polemics. Action is needed, and a way must be found to emerge from the

present impasse and to resume talks under the auspices of the representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring.

26. A prolongation of the cease-fire, which the parties are still observing, should make it possible equitably to resolve the problems of reciprocal charges, bearing clearly in mind that, if this is not done, peace sooner or later will be placed in jeopardy.

27. Impartial supervision of the cease-fire and the renunciation of further initiatives in the delivery of military equipment could restore adequate conditions for the initiation, through Ambassador Jarring, of a dialogue which will be as difficult as it is urgent and, in the final analysis, inevitable. For time is on no one's side, and any procrastination will serve only to jeopardize the prospects for peace which the acceptance of the Rogers Plan have created.

28. In this disturbing situation we fear that our hopes may become illusory if we do not demonstrate a firm determination to act. We must realize that there is no easy short-cut to the overhaul of international affairs, but we owe it to ourselves to do our best.

29. It is with this determination that the Italian Government has participated in the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of Ireland, His Excellency Mr. John M. Lynch, T.D.

31. Mr. LYNCH: Mr. President, I should like first to offer you my warm congratulations and good wishes on your election as President of this Assembly. We are fortunate that the wisdom, courage and understanding which you have shown in your services to your own country, and to the international community both here and at the International Court of Justice, are available to guide us in our proceedings at this the twenty-fifth anniversary session. Many people in Ireland remember with affection the name of your distinguished father who, as President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, was a wise and worthy champion of world understanding and peace.

32. Peace is what the peoples of the world demand and peace is what the world rarely gets. Erasmus said "the people found and develop towns, the folly of rulers destroys them".

33. People want to enjoy life, to enjoy the treasures and beauty of this world, to cultivate the riches of mind and spirit. They do not want to kill one another. Fear, hatred and greed lead to war—too often the fear, hatred and greed of rulers who cover evil things in fine words.

34. There are many small countries represented here which have in the past suffered conquest; there are many which have been turned into battle arenas by others; there are some not represented here yet because they are temporarily submerged. I say temporarily,

because no one can destroy a nation; no tyranny can extinguish man's instinct to be free.

35. Great countries are also represented here. They too have learnt what war means. Their peoples, who would prefer to visit one another as tourists or sing one another's songs, to copy one another's fashions or to compete in games, learn instead the brutal drudgery of slaughtering one another; their women and children victims of an insane game. When the victors gather round the prostrate body of their enemy they learn that his weakness does not increase their prosperity, that plague and famine and economic collapse spare neither victor nor vanquished, and that a battered and prostrate neighbour is but a sorrow and humiliation for the whole human race.

36. Now we hardly dare even think of the future; we cringe before the thought that another great war could burn the human race off the planet and that all other forms of life on earth will share in man's self-destruction. Will the nightmare prevent the reality? It may. In view of human history this could be a slight enough hope—but nations must learn that peaceful solutions can be found for differences between them. By peaceful solutions I do not mean silent acquiescence in subjugation—human nature is incapable of that.

37. If it takes two to make a fight it also takes two to find solutions, each taking account of the sacrifices of the other and both preferring always to have the innocent alive rather than the innocent dead. We all know this is not easy. It is not easy for individuals in personal differences to preserve always calm and equanimity. It is all the more difficult to do so among nations each of which contains currents of opinion and emotion impossible for governments completely to ignore.

38. Yet nations have solved serious differences peacefully or at least have resisted the temptation to embarrass or to seek advantage by force. In the last great world struggle, our powerful nearest neighbour respected Ireland's position despite strategic temptations.

39. In our lifetime we have seen great protagonists in European wars, and smaller countries which often bore the brunt of these wars, form a new community for the common good of their peoples.

40. The United Nations strives for a better world for mankind. It was born in the shadow of war. It has seen many changes. Its membership grew as new States rose where old empires passed away to join other vanished supremacies. It has seen the birth of a new world and, who can doubt, a better and more hopeful world, with a new respect for the dignity of all men—if we avoid nuclear disaster. To do this, to aid in this, we must ensure that the United Nations is representative of all the Powers which have a special role in this respect and we should not enshrine in our practice policies which lack realism.

41. The United Nations was the work of statesmen and bears the imperfections of man; but it is a creation

out of the dreams, out of the vision of prophets, which, in the end, guide man. Is not this Assembly inspired by what Mahatma Gandhi said? He said:

“A worthy end should have worthy means leading up to it. That seemed not only a good ethical doctrine but sound practical politics for the means that are not good often defeat the end in view and raise new problems and difficulties. And then it is so unbecoming, so degrading to the self-respect of an individual or a nation to submit to such means, to go through the mire. How can one escape being sullied by it? How can we march ahead swiftly and with dignity if we stoop or crawl?”

42. There is no need to stoop or crawl. In the United Nations the smaller States do not have to beg at the court of the great; they can appeal here openly to the conscience of humanity. The United Nations is in a special sense the Organization of the smaller States since, as Dag Hammarskjöld said, it is not the big Powers who need the United Nations for their protection, it is all the others. One must have trust in this and all must work to strengthen this.

43. We Irish have provided assistance to the United Nations when we were called upon. We supply peace-keeping forces in Cyprus and observers in the Middle East as we did in earlier such operations. We have taken initiatives—there is no need for me to detail them—which seemed to us to be in the interest of justice and progress as well as of peace. These things were done unselfishly; the reward finds itself in the collective advances made. We rededicate ourselves to greater efforts in the same directions.

44. If I now say something about a matter of particular concern to Ireland, I do so within the spirit of the United Nations Charter and of what I have just said. Mine is a country which has suffered much from war—repeated again and again through hundreds of years. There was no recognized Irish State when I was born, but there was an Irish nation which had survived a war of conquest forced upon it long ago by ambitious rulers of another State. Our country was regularly made into a cockpit of war and its life was warped by human misery.

45. The nature of the Anglo-Irish struggle was summed up in a phrase of a British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, who called it “a conflict carried on for centuries with varying success but with unvarying discredit”. The war of the strong against the weak is one which brings no credit to the strong, however valiant its warriors or lofty its stated aims; it can only be ended when the strong show moral strength as well and know that their own honour demands an end to futile conflict.

46. There have been serious difficulties in the North of Ireland in the past two years. The problem is not simply a quarrel with a neighbour. It is bound up with the past and with the fact that the intrusion of one country in another over long periods creates minority situations. An attempt was made—a mistaken attempt,

we knew—to solve that problem 50 years ago with a territorial division which was irrelevant to the real nature of the problem, which made no geographic, economic or cultural sense but which created a new minority problem and new petty tyrannies.

47. Britain retained responsibility for a small part of Ireland when it has retired from the rest, a small area where a local majority wished to remain united with Britain. We believe that one day that community—long since Irish as it knows itself to be—will see that its future lies with us, that we have a desire to persuade it for the good of all Ireland to see this, and no desire to destroy its values.

48. Long before the United Nations was conceived we renounced any intention of compelling their adhesion to us. We deplored their domination over that large part of the population in the north of Ireland which did not—and does not—want the division of Ireland. We resented the injustices perpetrated against that population and we sought to persuade the majority out of their error. We feared for the consequences because we know that human beings must eventually revolt against tyranny. It is a terrible thing when those who should be brothers are driven to hatred and destruction because rulers lacked the vision to govern justly.

49. Britain had a responsibility. We had a responsibility. We charged Britain with its responsibility when the northern society had broken down. Britain responded with a firm declaration made at Downing Street on 19 August last year and repeated in the Security Council [*1503rd meeting*], that human rights would be established and respected in the area of Ireland over which it claims jurisdiction.

50. We accepted that declaration as the true decision of a country which, despite many things in the past—and there comes a time to stop feeding on such things—a country we know to be itself a democratic and freedom-loving country with which Ireland has many ties of friendship and mutual interest.

51. We accepted the concurrent guarantees of the Northern Ireland Government that justice would be made to prevail, and I do not question the honesty of purpose of the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, nor of his predecessor. I do not question their dedication in the face of the petty intrigues and manoeuvres of lesser men.

52. We have inherited a historic problem. We are determined to solve it peacefully. We have asked those who have suffered to be patient. One of the greatest of our leaders, Terence MacSwiney, declared, "It is not they who can inflict most but they who can suffer most will conquer". Fifty years ago this week MacSwiney had endured to death itself.

53. We have said to those who have suffered from deprivation of human rights in the north of Ireland that Britain will keep its word. My Government has guaranteed this.

54. There is a fund of goodwill between Ireland and Britain, derived from a surer and deeper understanding of each other, reached through quiet diplomacy and personal conversation. I am satisfied that it is intended to restore peace with justice in Northern Ireland and to do this quickly and generously as the situation demands.

55. I am confident that, when this is accomplished, the Irish people, north and south, will themselves put an end to ignoble relics of ancient disagreements and create the conditions which will fully restore the Irish nation, in all its diversity and cultural richness.

56. In saying all this about a particular Irish problem a point I wish to make is that the approaches made by the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Hillery, to the United Nations last year on behalf of the Irish Government [*ibid.*] enabled us to express our serious concern in a critical situation. Britain responded.

57. The United Nations provides a place to talk, somewhere to argue, to reason, a place where the audience has no predisposition to be excited by national emotions. We all of us, great and small, have our own national feelings, our prejudices and beliefs, perhaps even myths. They mean more to those concerned than to anyone else and despite all our reason and logic we are all capable of yielding to them.

58. We all of us are inclined to think that there is some especial virtue in our own solutions, that history must develop into our predestined solution after which, as the Dutch historian, Geyl, remarked "there would be no more strife and practically no more history".

59. But civilization and culture are based on criticism, not on adulation of stereotypes; on evolution, not on maintenance of a status quo. The great can learn from the criticisms of the small. And the small too can learn. The search for perfection in human affairs requires patience as well as dedication, integrity as well as compassion. Evil is more certainly a by-product of interest than an end in itself. If we all remember this, in our suggestions and resolutions, then I believe that our work can be all the more fruitful. Let us all recognize and acknowledge that governments, like individuals, make mistakes. Virtue lies in refusing to become prisoners of our mistakes.

60. Our Secretary-General, U Thant, on the opening of the commemorative session, asked the leaders of this world to turn radically away from the errors of the past and to realize that understanding, love and tolerance are the highest form of interest on our small and interdependent planet. He asked governments to make a fresh start and to lift themselves again to the same high level, if not a higher level, of vision and determination as that of the authors of the Charter.

61. This is a challenge, in the first place, worthy of the man who offers it to us; by acknowledging the fallibility of our previous judgements and policies, we and our governments take the first step to meet the challenge and, in turn, our Assembly also becomes worthy of that challenge.

62. We are in the end one race, the human race. The problem of freedom and human dignity is the same in all our communities. Human dignity is affronted where 500 people, or 500,000 people, or 5 million people are subjected to discrimination, master-race régimes, *apartheid*. The more we get rid of fear, and the armaments which show our fear of one another, the more resources we shall have to do something better with this world. The sooner we learn to despise the evil game of war, to despise the mean domination of human beings, the sooner we shall be able to face the growing problems which scientific progress is creating for the environment we all share.

63. The world surely was not meant to be a garbage heap or a prison. It is too beautiful, too bounteous for that. But it has been made a prison for countless millions. It is a prison that we have made for ourselves. Whether we like it or not we must live with one another on this planet; we are nations united in the search for peace, justice and progress; we must not choke our earth with poisons either of the spirit or of the biosphere.

64. We are all of us representatives of independent States. Many of us have struggled hard to achieve independence, have thrown our whole energy into its achievement. But freedom is not enough. Independence is not enough. We cannot ignore our neighbours; only at our peril can we ignore their distress.

65. The rule of law and common sense demand the regulation of individual rights, or, I should say, rather, individual selfishness, through rational institutions.

66. And so it is with nations. We have the means at hand in the Charter of the United Nations. What is needed is the will to make it effective. Our task is no less than the justification of man.

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic and Special Envoy of the President of the French Republic, Mr. Maurice Schumann.

68. Mr. SCHUMANN (*interpretation from French*): United Nations, a country which has no enemies and wishes for none salutes you today. Twenty-five years ago, you were born of the common hope of nations and men to transform the victory won by force of arms—after indescribable suffering—into a universal order, based, of course, on justice and law. This hope, which we are all pledged to protect, is expressed in a Charter, our Charter, and in an Organization, our Organization.

69. Today, our Organization lives, and those who challenge it most question its imperfections or inadequacies rather than the need for its existence—as I myself did a month ago [1842nd meeting] when I set forth the principles on which the foreign policy of France rests, which makes it unnecessary for me to repeat that today.

70. But it is very true that an organization does not in itself suffice for the creation of an order. A charter

is of value only insofar as each member who subscribes to it conducts himself in accordance with the commitments he has freely and voluntarily undertaken, without guile, without mental reservations, without misinterpreting its words and principles.

71. We are an assembly of nations and that is already a reality; we are not yet an international society capable of providing for one and all, peace, independence and economic and social progress. In order to attain these goals which are set forth in the Charter and in accordance with what it prescribes, we have two kinds of duty to fulfil: towards ourselves and towards the United Nations as a whole.

72. France believes that it has fully discharged her own responsibility with respect to the goals stated in the Charter.

73. As I said at the outset, we do not wish to have, nor do we believe we have, any enemies. We have ended all our conflicts, near at hand or distant, sometimes at the cost of that hardest of victories, the victory—as Mr. Georges Pompidou, the President of the French Republic has said—and I speak on his behalf—the victory that one must win over oneself. Just as, at the beginning of the century, we put an end to the wars that had pitted France and Great Britain against one another for over 100 years by an *entente cordiale*—a definite and irreversible *entente cordiale*—the indispensability and vitality of which was demonstrated to Europe and the world during the most critical hours of this twentieth century, so France and the new Germany, overcoming their age-old hostility, have sealed a fruitful and special friendship.

74. Beyond these relations with other nations, we have sought patiently and steadily to build Europe, a Europe of which the European Economic Community is the first foundation; it is indispensable and beneficial to all and it remains open to all who wish to join it, and accept its rules and laws. The organization of this political, economic, cultural and human, united, peaceful and prosperous entity is not only necessary because of our concern to preserve the balance in the world, but because of our concern to enhance the values of civilization which touch all men.

75. The service of peace led General de Gaulle to undertake that policy of *détente* whose first fruits are beginning to appear today in the West and in the East. This is particularly worthy of note. So soon after the visit of the President of the Republic of France to the USSR and after the signing of the agreement renouncing the use of force, between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.¹

76. *Détente* means, of course, being against the idea of opposing camps in Europe, or in the world; it means instituting a system of security more real and more genuine than the balance of terror and the guarantees—even if they are temporarily necessary—provided by systems of military alliances; it also means

¹ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

creating lasting conditions for peace and, while respecting the social structures and the principles of political and economic organization that each nation must choose for itself, permitting the expression of national identity and the free circulation of ideas, goods and people—in short, it means creating through co-operation the possibility of a permanent and honest dialogue.

77. It is in that spirit that we look favourably upon a pan-European conference on security and trade with the participation of the United States and Canada, provided it is properly prepared for.

78. As my friend Mr. Aldo Moro so rightly said—and I wholeheartedly agree with the speech which we applauded a few minutes ago—the solidarity of Western Europe, the strengthening of the Common Market as well as the policy of *détente* and co-operation between East and West on the other, constitute an indivisible whole.

79. Need we stress that in order to help the new nations to solve the countless economic, social and cultural problems confronting them, and to foster their development, we felt that the solidarity incumbent on us should be expressed in effective co-operation?

80. I do not think that here in the United Nations there is any need for me to dwell at length on what we ourselves have attempted to do to apply Chapter I, Article 1, of the Charter, that is to say, to develop friendly relations among the nations based on respect for the principles of equality of rights of peoples and of their right to self-determination. The presence in the Assembly of 20 African, Asian and Malagasy States—whom I greet here—is a proof of it. Their independence, their dignity, the quality of their contribution to our international community, and lastly their friendship are a source of pride for us.

81. As I said in September, from this same rostrum, we are never deaf to the voices which come from Africa, to the appeals addressed to us from the developing world. And only yesterday, in Paris, you had proof of this.

82. Need we stress that, in order to help these new nations solve the countless problems confronting them we have our own effort to make, and we have constantly sustained that effort. We even agreed to enter the Common Market only on condition that the African and Malagasy States, to which we are bound by special ties, could be associated with it. For us co-operation is not only technical assistance, it is a state of mind. We are so convinced of the need to harness the goodwill of all States in the fight against underdevelopment that in our own national development plan, the sixth plan, we have included funds for development assistance to the third world amounting to over 1 per cent of our gross national product.

83. This is how we, for our part, have attempted to discharge our own responsibilities towards the goals set by the Charter. How does the United Nations stand with respect to these same problems?

84. The field of activities in which the Organization's achievements are least disputable and least disputed is undoubtedly the economic and social fields, and those of education and public health. The earth has shrunk. Our world no longer has anything in common with the individualistic society that existed in the nineteenth century. We have all become aware to a greater or lesser degree of what is called interdependence, the interdependence forced upon us by the extent and acceleration of scientific and technical progress, with all the possibilities it offers for the solution of the problems of hunger, sickness, poverty and ignorance. However, we are also aware of the dangers it presents and the new problems it creates.

85. The collective awareness of the need for solidarity has penetrated the specialized agencies, but the fact remains that the gap between the industrialized nations and the rest of the world is widening. Every year the rich grow richer and the poor poorer; but rich in what? This is the question being asked by young people who do not understand injustice—there is indeed no better definition of youth—and question the meaning of our civilization. What needs to be done, therefore, is to institute international co-operation proportionate to the needs. The time has come, and this is the purpose of the United Nations in launching the Second Development Decade, to mobilize technology and to mobilize minds so that all States take part, according to their means of course, but to the utmost limit of their possibilities in this immense enterprise of solidarity.

86. There were 51 of us in San Francisco, and we are now 127. What does this progress mean if not, firstly, that the after-effects of the Second World War have in part disappeared, that the signatories of the Charter have understood the meaning of the goal they set for themselves, and that they have complied with the principle of self-determination of peoples. But this appeal has not yet been heard everywhere, nor by all, and the Lusaka Manifesto,² presented to our Assembly last year by President Ahidjo [1780th meeting], is there to remind us, if that were necessary, that not all peoples throughout the world have yet the right freely to determine their destiny. Neither could we state that the universal Declaration of Human Rights has been implemented everywhere. But the rule of law does not apply only to relations between States. The progress of any society is measured, in many regards, by the growing respect for individual rights and freedoms. We are all concerned, under the very terms of our Charter, by any attack on "the fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". Solidarity is just as imperative if justice is to prevail as it is to promote economic and social well-being.

87. Accordingly, I now come to what was and what remains the primary task of our Organization, and what remains its *raison d'être*—peace.

88. By a strange paradox, at a time when the new order we seek cannot be only national or even con-

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

tinental, nor western or eastern, but must be universal, when we must achieve this co-operation through which manpower, raw materials, markets and spiritual resources will be better distributed, the division of the world persists and has even worsened. In spite of our name, we are not united.

89. The solemn character of this celebration should not keep us from mentioning these divisions that we feel like wounds in our flesh, and which are called war, war in Viet-Nam, war in Indo-China, war in the Middle East.

90. With the coming of this twenty-fifth anniversary we have all looked within ourselves and, so to speak, searched our consciences—a term I have already used from this rostrum. For our part, we have concluded that one of our weaknesses is the void caused by the absence from our midst of a quarter of mankind, and that none of the problems of peace, the halting of current conflicts, international security, disarmament, could be properly tackled or resolved unless this void were quickly filled. How can we organize a peaceful and prosperous international community without the participation of all nations and all peoples?

91. Also, how can one fail to realize that independently of all reforms of procedure and practice, however necessary, there is in our Charter one major requirement which is decisive for the effectiveness of any action for peace? I quote from Article 25: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." How can I quote Article 25 of the Charter, as I have just done, without thinking of the Middle East? I should like to say that I very much approve of what Mr. Moro said a few minutes ago on this subject. It is not possible, it is not conceivable, that the United Nations should abdicate its responsibilities in one of the fields in which it can act effectively. It is inconceivable in particular that the permanent members of the Security Council whose duty it is to justify their own responsibility, should fail to respond to the appeal of our Secretary-General who quite rightly emphasized, only recently, the obligation that each of us has to the international community.

92. In this respect, in the light of the lessons of the last 25 years, we welcome any rapprochement of the two major Powers, one of which, as I have already said here, the United States of America, is our oldest ally and the other, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which played such a difficult and decisive role in the victory at the United Nations in 1945, is bound to us by ties of co-operation and friendship. But the burden of the world is too great for one or two nations to bear. Peace is our common property, and all the Members of the United Nations, the permanent and non-permanent members of the Council and the United Nations itself, must face up to their own responsibilities. The challenge faces us; this is our chance to meet it.

93. In concluding, may I recall the opening words of our Charter. They are simple: "We the peoples of the United Nations . . .". If we wish our Organization to survive, over and above the United Nations itself, we must rely on the support of the peoples we represent.

94. At the time of San Francisco we had a chance to savour the faith, the enthusiasm, the impetus from which this Organization arose with the hopes which it continues to embody. As a great French writer, Saint-Exupéry, put it—and I should like to remind the Assembly that he felt the struggle against tyranny—"The traveller climbs a mountain taking his bearings by a star may, if he allows himself to be too absorbed by the problems of climbing, forget which star is guiding him."

95. Let no obstacle, no indifference, no resignation ever divert us from the mission which brought us together. Let no obstacle, no indifference, no resignation make us forget our star.

96. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Uganda, His Excellency Mr. Samuel N. Odaka.

97. Mr. ODAKA: Mr. President, once again I am happy to be able to address this Assembly. I offer you my congratulations, and my delegation pledges you its full co-operation during the term of your Presidency. I should like to take this opportunity to address a word of thanks to the outgoing President of the Assembly.

98. I also bring the greetings and good wishes of my President, the Honourable Dr. A Milton Obote, who would have liked to be here personally to address this Assembly but has been unable to come.

99. This session of the General Assembly marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization and the beginning of a new decade. Circumstances have thus combined to make it a very fitting occasion for a look at the world whose peace and stability the United Nations was created to preserve and promote. Our deliberations, therefore, should not be confined to the activities of the past year but to those of the entire 25 years. We should also endeavour to look forward and to project ourselves into the future—difficult as that may be—and see how we can make this Organization succeed in new areas and improve its performance in those where we failed.

100. The United Nations, as we all know, was created by the Powers who were victorious in the Second World War. The Charter was signed in 1945 in a world that had emerged from the most destructive of wars. Memory brings vividly to mind the disillusion, not so much as regards the world in general but as regards man himself, especially the danger that he could bring to himself and to other living creatures on earth.

101. As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations it is pertinent to ask ourselves what we are celebrating. What have we achieved in those years? What have been the failings and shortcomings of this Organization? And how can we improve on its performance? It is the realistic assessment and the answers to these questions which may provide strength, encouragement and inspiration for the future. The founding Members who signed the Charter in 1945 had certain aspirations. Their world was one which looked for peace, order, respect for man and peaceful settlement of disputes. In trying to evaluate the past we must find out to what extent the performance of this Organization has fulfilled the aspirations of its founders.

102. In the 25 years of its existence, the United Nations has gone some way to save mankind from war. It has provided a forum where nations meet and try to create an atmosphere of peace within which progress can be made. To a large extent, the United Nations has helped countries devastated during the Second World War in their task of economic reconstruction, rehabilitation and development.

103. In the non-independent world, with the passage of time, revolution and the cry for emancipation from colonial masters has gathered momentum. This body has provided an alliance with the developing countries and promoted through diplomacy the revolutionary struggle in the former colonial empires and domains. Noteworthy in this respect is General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 which embodies the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This Declaration will, in the view of my delegation, go down in history as probably the most fundamental achievement of the United Nations in its 25 years of existence. Thanks to the progressive forces which took the initiative in this area, colonialism, which was once invincible, began to crumble. The evidence can be seen in the rise in membership of former colonial countries which are now proud Members of this Assembly, and which represent more than half the total world population. Whereas at its inception there were barely 50 Members, today there are 127.

104. The greatest process of decolonization during this period took place in Africa. In a period of less than 10 years, the number of independent African States has swelled to over 40. This is no mean achievement which was made against the heavily entrenched forces of colonialism and imperialism, and we in Africa have never failed to recognize and appreciate the unflinching material and moral support which we received from the progressive forces during our hard struggle. There is no doubt that these achievements are a worthy testimony to the steadfastness and resilience of this Organization.

105. On the other hand, this Organization has been through trying periods and at times the faith which mankind has in it has been badly shaken. Indeed, some doubted, and continue to doubt, whether this body is for their good and well-being.

106. On the continent of Africa a small desperate minority of whites continue to sow terror and persecution in a peace-loving black majority. Colonialism continues unabated in many parts of Africa. The Government of Portugal continues to dominate and rule, with brutal force and without shame, countries in Africa which are 100 times its size and potentially much richer. The United Nations itself is paralysed and cannot make a move to give effect to its own decisions. South Africa continues to rule and exploit Namibia, in spite of clear resolutions of this Assembly terminating its mandate over that Territory. We are ashamed at seeing the resolutions which we arrive at in this body regarded as nothing. Is this a record of which to be proud? These are indeed bad marks against this Organization and cannot be white-washed, try as one may.

107. These very Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia, which have defied this Organization and continue to thrive, have opened up their economic potential to the investors of the United States and Western Europe in exchange for these countries' political support for their policies and practices. Investments and economic returns appear to weigh more than the freedom and justice which are enshrined in the Charter, the signing of which we are celebrating.

108. This brings me to another point of serious concern, which is the announcement by the British Government that it contemplates resuming the sale of arms to the Republic of South Africa in defiance of Security Council resolutions. What is even more perplexing is that the first act of foreign policy of the British Conservative Government should have been the eagerness of that Government to sell arms of repression to this racist régime which has continued to defy world opinion. Selling arms to South Africa has grave and far-reaching implications, some of which I must outline.

109. A decision by the British Government to sell arms to South Africa must of necessity carry the meaning that Britain is not concerned with the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa, and any arguments to divorce the internal policies of South Africa from the issue must be rejected and considered as part of a design to extend the hand of friendship to a Government which for several years past had begun to feel the impact of its own isolation.

110. To strengthen South Africa militarily, as is now proposed by the British Government, will lead South Africa not only to feel strong but also to be arrogantly able to counteract any liberating forces that may be directed against its racial policies. This will lead to an arms race in Africa and will heighten the racial tensions and conflicts in Southern Africa. The consequences will be very grave.

111. Any country which supplies arms of any description to South Africa not only strengthens the Republic of South Africa but also the racist régimes in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. In addition, arms supplied to South Africa will enable that country to

frustrate the prosecution of the sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

112. Uganda and other countries in East and Central Africa cannot take the British intentions lightly. The Government of South Africa is extremely hostile to the independent African Governments north of the Zambezi. The basic point of difference between South Africa and ourselves is that South Africa believes in white supremacy and the subjection of the black majority. It is that idea of supremacy that will now be strengthened should Britain sell arms to South Africa. The inevitable feeling in Pretoria will be one of joy, of victory and respectability.

113. Another inescapable interpretation of the British sale of arms to South Africa must therefore be that Britain does not believe in the liberation of the oppressed majorities in Southern Africa and would wish to strengthen the hands of the oppressors.

114. Another aspect of the same interpretation may be seen in the position of Namibia. British arms supplied to South Africa will greatly assist South Africa to entrench its illegal occupation of Namibia.

115. The argument that there are certain types of weapons that can be used for political purposes and others that cannot be so used does not lend itself to reason. It is equally absurd for Britain to argue that it is arming South Africa to counteract an imaginary Soviet emergence in the Indian Ocean and to protect British interests there. These arguments, needless to say, have no foundation and must also be rejected.

116. France should be condemned also for its policy of selling arms to South Africa in spite of the Security Council resolution. This policy is currently being used to strengthen Britain's claim to justify Britain intentions of resuming the sale of arms to South Africa. It is to be regretted that France which has over the last 10 years granted independence to most of its former colonies, as its Foreign Minister has just said, should through the sale of arms to South Africa render meaningless that same independence it willingly gave. France must be aware that the arms which it has been selling to the Republic of South Africa are being used to perpetuate dominance by a white minority over a black majority in that country. In the light of its history and traditions, France should be the last country to be associated with racial policies.

117. The meetings of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa³ and of the non-aligned countries in Lusaka last month⁴ condemned Britain for its intention to resume the sale of arms to South Africa, and also France for its continued sale of arms, in defiance of the resolution of this Assembly. The least that this Organization can do is to call on those countries to stop the sale of tools of oppression and destruction.

³ Seventh ordinary session held at Addis Ababa from 1 to 3 September 1970.

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

118. Before I leave the subjects of liberation, colonial domination and oppression, I should like to reiterate the commitment which Uganda has to the liberation movements. We are committed to give moral and material support to those organizations which are engaged in the struggle for independence. My delegation has noted with satisfaction the position which was registered in this Assembly during this session when most Members here gave their support to a programme of assistance to liberation movements so that the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples could be accelerated. To give this support is to be on the side of peace and security, for there can never be peace while a large part of the world still lives under oppression. Those who refuse to give or are reluctant to give support to this programme of action have registered a position of hostility to the liberation movements. To refuse to support this programme is to condone the continuation of colonialism and imperialism. That is decidedly against peace. My delegation has opted to be on the side of peace.

119. I should like to touch very briefly on the Middle East crisis. The tragic and most untimely death of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic has cast a dark shadow over the hopeful developments in this area which the 1970s had ushered in. The Organization of African Unity meeting held in Addis Ababa and the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lusaka last month were unanimous in support of any moves to arrive at a politically acceptable solution to the Middle East conflict under the aegis of the United Nations. We whole-heartedly support those resolutions and urge all the parties concerned to take effective measures to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

120. I turn now to the economic and social field. It is most important that this Organization should address itself to giving hope, a future and opportunity to a large part of the world which continues to live in poverty. They must be given an opportunity to attain a good standard of living and the ability to develop at an accelerated rate. The first United Nations Development Decade, which we have just completed, was, for most of the developing countries, a dismal failure. It was a period which this Organization failed to use for the advancement of developing countries. Definite measures should be taken to make the Second Development Decade produce concrete achievements. There must be a meaningful attempt to bring about hope and results rather than simple declarations of intent without practical implementation. We must have a policy which is geared to solving specific issues. Unfortunately, in our world today there is a big gap in levels of material existence, and this gap seems to be widening. In the meantime, the rich are scared because they are so few. We have always maintained that unless the developing countries get a fair share of the world's riches and progress, there are no prospects of real peace. We have maintained equally that there is an urgent need for the developed countries to liberalize trade so as to give those of us who are still developing the necessary tools and opportunities to sell more of our products and to have a bigger share

of the growing world markets. That is one of the ways of ensuring that the gap which exists is narrowed.

121. This Organization, which came into being at a time of great hope, has had significant successes in certain fields—indeed its continued existence is in itself a remarkable achievement. I should like to place on record the appreciation of my Government to those who have rendered selfless service in promoting the aims for which this Organization stands, namely, the promotion of peaceful coexistence and human development. Like any human organization, it has had its moments of doubts and fault and has at times failed to live up to its expectations. Decisions have been made and resolutions passed which have not yet been implemented.

122. As we celebrate this silver jubilee we should rededicate ourselves to giving this Organization a fresh mandate to continue with the noble aims which are enshrined in the Charter, mindful of the fact that in the success of this body lies the hope of the world and of mankind as a whole.

123. As I said on this rostrum last year [1771st meeting], Uganda is on the side of peace, progress and justice. I once again pledge our unfailing support of these aims. We shall go all the way with any nation and organization that sets these principles as its goals.

124. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Special Envoy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, His Excellency Mr. Muhammad H. El-Farra.

125. Mr. EL-FARRA: Mr. President, let me say at the very outset how happy I am to see you preside over our deliberations. This is an important session and I feel certain that your high qualities will contribute to its success. You, Sir, as a learned jurist and scholar have made a valuable contribution to international law and the best tribute Members can pay you is to rededicate themselves to the strict observance of the principles and provisions of law and equity. That would also help our Secretary-General carry out, with less difficulty, the task entrusted to him. This is an essential step since the United Nations consists of Member States which alone are responsible for its weakness or strength, failure or success.

126. The United Nations can be proud of its many achievements during the last 25 years. It has made progress in the fields of economic and social development. We realize that more is needed and should be achieved. We note with satisfaction the forthcoming proclamation of the Second United Nations Development Decade. We see a close link between this and the Disarmament Decade. Over \$200,000 million are spent on armaments every year. For us to succeed in our efforts in development we should find a basic solution to the armaments problem.

127. We can also mention with satisfaction the part the United Nations played in awakening dependent peoples and pressing the administering Powers to end

their colonial rule. Through awakening, struggle, and United Nations efforts, 76 newly independent countries encompassing more than a billion persons joined the family of nations as equal sovereign States. To those new Members the United Nations became the most important forum for explaining their problems and expressing their aspirations.

128. On the other hand, in other fields, particularly that of international peace and security, the United Nations has not been able to carry out its mission successfully. The continued occupation of almost half of Jordan offers a living example of the United Nations failures. Jordan has always given and continues to give strong support to the United Nations. Our gathering today would have been more significant to my country, Jordan, had the Organization taken positive action to help us to liquidate the consequences of Israeli aggression. Over one million of our people and a substantial part of Jordan and other Arab lands of the United Arab Republic and Syria continue, up to this very day, to be under Israeli occupation.

129. We would have liked to see this Organization, the hope of the peoples of the United Nations, act with determination effectively to impose its will to prevent the flouting of its resolutions. Indeed, how can the peoples of the United Nations react when our long debates on issues of peace and security end in recommendations or decisions that, because of power politics or political expediency, are never implemented?

130. It is the failure of the United Nations to act effectively and forcefully on questions such as occupation, expansion and *apartheid* which has motivated peoples in many parts of the world to resort to armed struggle to assert their right to country, to freedom, to dignity and self-determination. People resort to arms because peaceful means embodied in the Charter are neglected. Some big Powers, not freedom fighters, are responsible for that. It is for that reason also that the Security Council, which has been designated as the primary organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, fails to prevent acts of aggression and occupation. The continued occupation of territories of three States Members of the United Nations poses a challenge to and open defiance of this body. It shows why this world Organization is not living up to the expectations of its founders. It emphasizes the need for a more effective approach.

131. Even more tragic is the fact that while Israel occupies Arab territories and denies the people of Palestine their fundamental human rights, such aggressive action is accommodated, helped and encouraged by the United States, which continues to deliver to Israel American Phantom jets, Skyhawks, modern electronic equipment and other advanced offensive weapons. And in order to relieve Israel of the burdens and costs of its occupation, the United States offers it more and more aid.

132. Thus, the United Nations today is facing a situation where acts of lawlessness are committed by a

Member, Israel, and made possible by a big Power, the United States, which, while assuming special responsibility under the Charter, has by its acts, deeds and behaviour rejected that responsibility. This has adversely affected the authority of the United Nations and led to the deterioration of its image. It has also undermined and indeed crippled the mission of Ambassador Jarring.

133. Only yesterday Mrs. Golda Meir spoke from this rostrum [1876th meeting] about flouted agreements. Is it not common knowledge by now that it is Israel which has flouted every single resolution or agreement that did not meet its expansionist designs? I hereby reiterate my Government's position that we still abide by all United Nations agreements and resolutions. All we ask is that Israel should meet this challenge by declaring its willingness to honour and implement all United Nations undertakings, past and present. Our people believe in the lofty principles of the United Nations, but until the United Nations succeeds in establishing a just peace in our area, our people will continue their struggle to achieve this goal.

134. To attain a just peace through the United Nations, the Palestinians have been waiting for 22 years and thus have demonstrated by any standard that they are a model of moderation, perseverance and self-restraint. Is it strange if after all these years they feel abandoned by the international community? They, in our opinion, are left no other choice but to protect the integrity of the very law that did not protect them. If title is to be determined not by law but by naked force, the Palestinians certainly reserve the right to use force in support of the law. That being the case, they will continue to fight the usurpers, the oppressors and all the enemies of justice. Our people realize that the cost of liberation is always high. They are paying it so that their children may live in peace and security. The history of the Palestinians shows no surrender nor submission. It shows determination and dedication.

135. Attempts to liquidate the Palestine problem through all kinds of inducements and other political motivations have failed. Many schemes, plans and projects, economic and political, have been offered during the last 22 years, but rejected by the people. They have been rejected because—to quote the words used by the Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. Lynch, at this same meeting: "... no one can destroy a nation; no tyranny can extinguish man's instinct to be free" [see para. 34 above].

136. The schemes, plans and projects have failed because they are repugnant to human values, because they defy the conscience and dignity of man, because they are based on deliberate deception that does not fit the spirit of the day. They have failed because the will of a people that is determined to struggle for justice is stronger than all the evils of American-Israeli scheming in the Middle East.

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the Permanent Representative of Uruguay to the United Nations and Special Envoy of

the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Augusto Legnani.

138. Mr. LEGNANI (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For many reasons Uruguay had an obligation to attend this commemorative session of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

139. Uruguay is a founding Member of this Organization and has unswervingly supported its principles and goals.

140. Whatever reservations or criticisms one may have with regard to the United Nations, it is only fair to say that it has many achievements to its credit in the economic, cultural, social and health fields; and, without failing to realize that it has not eliminated all the difficulties and all the causes of partial disruption of international peace and security, it must be admitted that it was responsible for effective intervention and the settlement of numerous armed conflicts and has had undeniable influence in preventing a further world conflagration which could—and indeed would—threaten the existence of the human race.

141. While the legal framework of this distinguished Organization, its legal architecture, as it were, could, like any other human undertaking, be improved or perfected, the Government of Uruguay believes that it is only fair to say that the principles of international morality and justice enshrined in the United Nations Charter are today as valid and relevant as ever and, indeed, are likely to assert themselves with greater vigour in the future as the necessary basis for peace, justice and progress, and for solutions to problems which arise in the international community where people live increasingly as neighbours in greater interdependence.

142. For those reasons, among others, set forth very briefly, the President of the Republic of Uruguay, don Jorge Pacheco Areco, interpreting the opinion and the feelings of the people of Uruguay, felt that it was his duty to convey the following message to the General Assembly:

"While celebrating the first quarter of a century of the United Nations Charter, it is fitting that we assess the accomplishments of this period of time and that we judge the essential aspects of this historic document of our time.

"The Charter does not confine itself to creating the most advanced international Organization on a world-wide scale which States could conceive for their purposes, endowed with a complex system of principal and subsidiary organs. Above all, the Charter sets forth and imposes on States a series of rules of conduct which they must observe in their international relations; principally, the duty not to intervene in the internal affairs of other States, respect for the principle of the sovereign equality of rights and the self-determination of peoples, the obligation to refrain from the threat or the use of force, and to settle all disputes through peaceful means, in accordance with international justice and law.

"When in a critical assessment of the accomplishments of this past quarter of a century it is asserted that in certain serious conflicts the United Nations has been disregarded, it is true with regard to the organs created by the Charter; but this is no reflection on the norms of conduct which the Charter contains.

"The fact is that it is impossible to disregard the United Nations Charter or its rules of conduct which must preside over and inspire the settlement of international problems, whether that settlement is sought through the United Nations organs or through bodies outside the Organization and independent of it.

"One of the guiding principles of the Charter which over the next quarter of a century deserves special attention is the duty of Member States to live together as good neighbours and to co-operate internationally in their search for solutions to economic, social and commercial problems.

"International peace, which we all desire so ardently, is impossible without social peace. The economy of the world must be established on a just basis. Co-operation and trade among the peoples of the world must be in accordance with sound principles and conducted fairly so that the least favoured nations will not be dangerously dissatisfied with their living standards, a state of affairs which is responsible for social strife, rebellions and wars.

"These objectives are the supreme challenge of our generation, the most valuable legacy we can bequeath to succeeding generations, not only because they are essential for peace, but because they are the only foundation upon which peace can be built without resorting to mere expedients. For peace must endure, as indeed must the spiritual values of our civilization which have attended man in his never ending quest for physical and moral transcendence."

143. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of Denmark, His Excellency Mr. Hilmar Baunsgaard.

144. Mr. BAUNSGAARD: Mr. President, it gives me a particular pleasure to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency. No country stands closer to the heart of my country than yours. Ties which go back centuries, indeed to the very beginning of our history as nations, and which embrace all aspects of human thought and activity, bind us together. To the office you bring the qualities of your nation and family, developed through personal experiences, manifold and varied, but always closely connected with the United Nations.

145. This commemorative session provides a useful occasion for taking stock of the achievements and the prospects of the United Nations. And though our thoughts should naturally be directed mainly towards the future, we cannot escape speaking about past experience.

146. The general appraisals have shown a marked trend towards growing pessimism, gloom or even despair about the ability of the United Nations to contribute to a solution of the problems confronting the international community.

147. Nobody can deny that there is some truth in this self-criticism. We have no need for comforting optimism on this occasion. Nor should we, however, succumb to frustration and despair. The performance of the United Nations may from time to time have fallen short of our hopes and expectations. That it remains indispensable, however, seems to us beyond doubt.

148. An important feature of the Organization has been its remarkable adaptability to changes in the international environment. The United Nations has managed to retain its relevance in a world radically different from that in which the Organization was born. The flexibility demonstrated by the United Nations over a lifespan marked by greater changes than any other period in history has proved the vitality of the Organization. Notwithstanding its shortcomings it lends substance to our hopes in the continued relevance of the Organization in the coming decades. During these we shall in all probability witness an even greater acceleration in changes in human condition, in the rapid development of modern science and technology and corresponding challenges to the United Nations. There will be tremendous challenges both with respect to tasks outlined in the Charter and new tasks.

149. Woodrow Wilson once characterized the Assembly of the League of Nations in the following terms:

"It is the forum of opinion; . . . It is the body where the thought of the little nation along with the thought of the big nation is brought to bear upon those matters which affect the good understanding of and between the nations upon which the peace of the world depends; where the stifled voice of humanity is at last to be heard, . . . where the moral judgement of mankind can sway the opinion of the world."

150. We all recognize how far the United Nations is from this idealized picture of an international organization. The debate in this forum has not been free from propaganda and narrow national interests to the detriment of a constructive exchange of thoughts.

151. It is gratifying, however, that the use of the United Nations as a debating forum has also often succeeded in formulating common aspirations of mankind that have been brought to bear upon the development of the international community. In a few days we shall witness the approval of the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, manifesting one way in which the United Nations is setting standards for international behaviour. By focusing upon concepts such as the inadmissibility

of aggression, respect for certain basic rights of the individual, the legitimacy of aspirations for national independence and economic development, to mention but some; new standards for the internal and external behaviour of governments are crystallizing. Statesmen must now expect to see their policies judged by these standards in international forums.

152. It is my hope that the debate in the United Nations will be increasingly oriented towards creating codes of peaceful international conduct.

153. The principal task of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. To my Government, the basic elements solemnly proclaimed in the Charter are just as valid today as they were when the Charter was framed. The Charter establishes: first, the principle of the sovereign equality of all States; secondly, the principle of settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; and thirdly, the duty of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

154. The continued outbreaks of war and armed conflict in many parts of the world, however, soon eroded the faith of Member States that they could base their security on the world Organization.

155. The system foreseen in the Charter, relying on the mobilization of collective action to deter or quell aggression, was never truly put into effect because the congruence of great Power interests upon which the functioning of the system depends has yet to be achieved.

156. By a constructive development of the potentialities of the United Nations, Member States and the Secretariat have managed, however, to enable the Organization to act as an intermediary, employing means ranging from fact-finding, good offices and conciliation to separation of combatants and prevention of outside interference. Whenever the great Powers, tacitly or explicitly, have supported such United Nations action it has worked.

157. The Danish Government will, as it always has done, support any effort to strengthen the peace-keeping and peace-making capabilities of the United Nations, including the activation of machinery for peaceful settlement provided for in the Charter, with the ultimate aim of the creation of a reliable collective security system.

158. Recognition of the right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent China in the United Nations is of overriding importance for the creation, in the long term, of a stable international order. It is being increasingly recognized that the long isolation of China has been an unfortunate factor in the post-war years, and that opportunities should be provided for full participation by the world's most populous state in international co-operation.

159. The past year, unfortunately, brought no peace to South-East Asia. The Danish Government welcomes

the successive withdrawals of United States troops, and I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to urge that the policy of withdrawals be pursued with vigour. At the same time I express the hope that all parties to the Viet-Nam conflict will intensify their efforts to reach a negotiated solution.

160. Progress in the field of disarmament is most essential to all mankind. We should do our utmost to meet the expectations of all human beings so that international co-operation and solidarity will no longer be jeopardized by armed conflicts and confrontations. By steady, careful work many important results have been achieved: the partial test-ban treaty,⁵ the treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space [resolution 2222 (XXI)], the Latin American nuclear-free zone treaty⁶ and, last but not least, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. This positive trend has been continued by the agreement reached in Geneva this year on a draft treaty for denuclearization of the sea-bed.⁷ Encouraging is also the continuation in the near future of the strategic arms limitation talks. The need for curbing the accelerated strategic arms race, for which a special responsibility lies with the great Powers, is most urgent; and this responsibility covers the development as well as the deployment of both offensive and defensive weapons.

161. During the past 25 years the situation in Europe has been discussed only occasionally in the United Nations. I find it natural, however, to make some observations on developments in Europe, primarily because the frozen fronts of the post-war period now seem to have been set in motion. In East-West relations the *détente* which, despite setbacks, characterized developments during the 1960s is reflected in the Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970. It is our hope that this treaty will be the start of a process to normalize the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe. There is to us no doubt that such a development would help immensely to promote the establishment in Europe of a *modus vivendi*, based on tolerance and increased mutual trust. The same applies to the resumed four-Power talks on Berlin. We hope that these developments will render it possible to convene a conference on European security and co-operation, aimed at a general strengthening of the stability on the European continent.

162. As regards the Middle East problem, we remain convinced that the Security Council resolution [242 (1967)] of 22 November 1967 forms the only realistic basis for a just and lasting peace, and that the Jarring mission established in pursuance of that resolution will best be able to prepare the ground for a peaceful settlement. We consider it necessary that such settlement should be in the form of an over-all solution taking

⁵ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

⁶ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, opened for signature on 14 February 1967.

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

due account of the legitimate claims of all parties to a secure existence. We must all hope that the parties involved in the Middle East conflict will show the realism and moderation without which there will be no chance of achieving a just and durable peaceful settlement.

163. In the lifetime of the United Nations we have seen many new States created; more often than not in understanding between these new nations and the former administering Powers, and their former relationship has been transformed into co-operation in many fields. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted by a great majority and in a fruitful spirit of co-operation, has further accelerated the process of decolonization. This development towards self-determination and equality for all peoples has not, however, been allowed to take hold in southern Africa, where reactionary forces are trying to halt and reverse this trend. Conditions in southern Africa continue to give rise to grave concern. Régimes are flouting decisions taken by the competent organs of the United Nations and disregarding the otherwise universally recognized right of self-determination. More generally, in our continued search for ways and means to bring the inhuman conditions in southern Africa to an end we must aim at solutions that would command the widest possible support among Member States and notably, of course, those which have considerable economic relations with the area.

164. Today, by far the largest proportion of the United Nations resources is devoted to activities which aim at assisting the third world in its struggle for economic and social progress. The scope and intensity of the joint development efforts undertaken within the United Nations system—highlighted by such events as the launching of the first United Nations Development Decade and the creating of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development—are evidence of a growing feeling that economic and social progress is a common and shared responsibility of the entire international community. Inspired by the concept of aid, which has developed through the United Nations system, countries like my own with no traditional links to developing countries have also set up programmes for international co-operation.

Mr. Alcívar (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

165. The first Development Decade did not only see incipient world-wide solidarity, but also some encouraging results of the development efforts. By the end of the decade the growth rates of national income of many countries of the third world have reached levels which are almost unprecedented in economic history. And, for all its limitations, the "green revolution" is offering hopes that in the future famines can be avoided and nutrition improved.

166. Yet the problems facing the developing countries today are in many ways as immense as ever. Thus, poverty, undernourishment and lack of educational

facilities are still characteristic of many parts of the world.

167. These are the challenges we face when launching the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

168. I am happy that the launching of the Development Decade is taking place in a manner which is likely to attract world attention and arouse the interest and imagination of the peoples of our countries.

169. The strategy is not solely the result of this session or of the work of the Preparatory Committee or any other particular body, but the outcome of continuous and constructive international co-operation over a quarter of a century, a common effort which may not have fulfilled all dreams or satisfied all hopes, but which the world would not otherwise have been in a position to accept.

170. The strategy is an expression of the determination of all peoples and governments to apply their efforts to promote the economic and social progress of developing countries, and it forms a framework for concrete and concerted action by developing and developed countries. I assure you, Mr. President, that my country is prepared to participate to the best of its ability in this process.

171. In the Charter the protection of human rights was rightly given a prominent place. Life has since been given to the words of the Charter through the adoption of the Declaration and the International Covenants on Human Rights. And thanks to the constant activities of the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, we have started creating the framework for the protection of the individual and his fundamental rights.

172. What is needed now is the full realization of these rights and the implementation at the international level of measures to control that they are being observed. The creation of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would, in our opinion, be an important step in this direction.

173. In his statement to the World Youth Assembly in New York last summer⁸ the Secretary-General said that man was too often the forgotten element, and the Secretary-General expressed the hope that, in the years to come, the place of the human individual in the scheme of things would be given the priority that it has so often failed to have in the past. The Danish Government can wholeheartedly endorse these wise remarks.

174. I cannot make these remarks on human rights without paying a tribute to the tireless efforts on the part of the humanitarian agencies within the United Nations family to secure a better lot for men, women and children all over the world. We often tend to take the activities of these organizations for granted, and yet few programmes are more practical in terms of

⁸ Held at Headquarters from 9 to 17 July 1970.

the daily lives of most people than the care for public health under WHO, and the regulation of labour relations within the ILO or cultural relations within UNESCO.

175. There are many other examples of humanitarian activities within the United Nations, but I should like in particular to mention the valuable work performed by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

176. The Danish Government finds that every effort should be made to alleviate the hardship of refugees and, in our view, it is most essential that training and education should be given priority in order to prepare the refugees for integration into their communities. On a proposal from my Government, the Danish Parliament has approved considerable increases in our contributions to these programmes.

177. We must also face the necessity of dealing with the direct threat to human survival posed by the deterioration in human environment.

178. In the industrialized part of the world there is an increasing realization that economic growth and practical application of advanced technology have also adverse effects which, in the end, may destroy mankind. Pollution does not respect national frontiers. Neither does it respect the boundaries between military alliances or the gap between rich and poor. The protection of human environment is the concern of all nations, be it in the industrialized or in the developing part of the world. This task is indeed most urgent in the highly developed countries. On the other hand, it is imperative that the countries which today are in the process of industrialization should not inherit our mistakes. We must face it that pollution is one of the most important global problems of today.

179. Fortunately, there seems to be a growing realization that the struggle against pollution and for a healthy environment demands concerted action at the international level. Indeed, one of the most constructive things our Organization could do would be to consider the creation of a global authority reinforced by regional agencies. It should deal with the problems of environment and in particular become the co-ordinating and expediting body for international standards and guidelines for control of contamination of the environment and use of its resources. In our view, such an agency should have real authority. It should, therefore, be considered to empower the agency to make certain decisions mandatory on Member Governments.

180. If we are to have any prospects of success in the endeavours to master the modern world we shall have to go to the roots of the problem. The concept of economic efficiency must be given a new dimension. We must take into account the wider consequences of any given project upon the environment and conditions of life. The need for such a redefinition applies equally to all economic systems. A wider concept of social efficiency should, therefore, be added to the concept of economic efficiency.

181. A threat to human survival may also be man himself. In this troubled age of ours with growing violence between and within nations we must not only fight against any form of violence, but also try to eliminate the causes. We must endeavour to resist erosion of values and any tendency to destroy the concept of democratic government and the idea of a rational debate. This is the true challenge to all generations. Young and old should unite in shaping a fuller and more meaningful life for all.

182. Each year since 1945 has given proof of continuing tensions among and within nations. Each year has seen its tragic succession of crises and conflicts. 1970 is not different.

183. To this are added the new complexities and anxieties of modern society. This heightens and enlarges our responsibility if we are to succeed in laying a solid foundation for the life and endeavours of the coming generation. To this dual task of building a better society within national frontiers and of strengthening justice and peace among nations, this Assembly must pledge itself.

184. My country, for its part, commits itself to full and active participation in such an endeavour.

185. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of South Africa to exercise his right of reply.

186. Mr. VON HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me this opportunity to reply to some of the statements we have heard in the debate in this commemorative session concerning South Africa.

187. I shall not deal with all the issues raised in these statements. To do so would take up too much of the Assembly's time. I shall deal only with the more serious misconceptions or misrepresentations of our policies in South Africa.

188. The Assembly will recall that my Prime Minister recently offered to conclude non-aggression pacts with African States. The President of Tanzania in his statement last week [*1867th meeting*] described talk of a non-aggression pact with South Africa as nonsense. He suggested that no African State could be expected to sign such a pact with South Africa in view of our internal policies. But our internal policies have nothing whatever to do with this issue. Certainly, the offer of a non-aggression pact was not made to meet criticism of our internal policies. It was made in response to the fears which the African States professed to have had that South Africa intended to commit aggression against them. The offer of a non-aggression pact to remove such fears is a time-honoured and internationally accepted course of action. Why should this course of action be objectionable in the case of South Africa? Why should it be wrong for South Africa to attempt to allay their fears on a matter as vital to them as their security?

189. We have always maintained that their fears were unfounded but our assurances in this respect were simply dismissed. The offer of a non-aggression pact was a genuine attempt on our part to give those assurances further credibility and substance. We know of no better method of doing this. The Charter enjoins Member States to seek to settle their differences by peaceful means, by negotiation, by resort to regional arrangements, or by other peaceful means of their own choice. This is precisely what we are attempting to do. We regret very much that our gesture has been spurned by some. Where is the spirit of the Lusaka Manifesto⁹ about which we have heard so much? Does it really exist?

190. The only conclusion we can come to in the light of the statements, such as that by the President of Tanzania, is that the expressions of fear and concern about our intentions and designs are not genuine. If they were genuine, the reaction of the African States must surely have been otherwise. So I hope that they will now stop accusing South Africa of aggressive designs, for as my Foreign Minister said in his statement in the general debate on 1 October [1857th meeting], continued accusation of this sort cannot be reconciled with a rejection of our offer of a non-aggression pact.

191. While South Africa has not been directly and openly accused of harbouring aggressive intentions towards other African States in the course of this debate, we have been accused of aggression against our own peoples within South Africa, whatever this might mean, and of an intention to impose white domination in South Africa for all time. This can only be described as a malicious distortion of our policies. I say malicious advisedly for it was only three weeks ago that my Foreign Minister, in his statement in the general debate, reported to the General Assembly on a pronouncement which the South African Prime Minister had made in Parliament on 15 September of this year.

192. On that occasion, my Prime Minister stated categorically and unequivocally that the different black nations of South Africa had an inalienable right to self-determination and independence. He said that any of the black nations was at liberty to approach the South African Parliament and to say that the time had arrived for it to go its own way and his Government or any other Government that might be in power would deliberate and negotiate with that nation. He said further that although he would prefer these negotiations to be deferred until greater development had taken place in the black territories, he would not make it a condition that they must be viable before they had the right to approach the Government and ask for their independence. That, he emphasized, was their inalienable right which they could exercise tomorrow if they so desired.

193. All this is contained in my Foreign Minister's statement in the general debate on 1 October. Yet the

President of Zambia describes our aims as white supremacy for ever. He describes as white supremacy for ever a policy aimed at bringing all the black nations of South Africa to full independence. My Foreign Minister, in his statement in the general debate, envisaged this political programme as leading to a commonwealth of independent peoples and States living side by side on a basis of sovereign equality. The President of Zambia describes this as white domination and dismisses the programme as no more than "the establishment of satellite States with Pretoria as capital" [1872nd meeting, para. 27].

194. The President of Tanzania said in his statement that national leaders do not like it when their sincerity is called into question. This is a consideration which applies equally to national leaders in South Africa. They do not like their sincerity to be called into question either. It therefore ill behoves critics of our policies to interpret South African Government pronouncements on such a vital issue as the future of the black nations of South Africa in a manner obviously irreconcilable with the facts. Do they not want the black nations to acquire independence? Do they deny those nations the right to a separate independent existence? If they concede that States Members of this Organization, which were formerly jointly administered as a single unit, have a right today to a separate existence as independent and sovereign States, why do they not want to concede the same right to a separate existence as independent and sovereign States to over three and a half million Xhosas, to three and a half million Zulus, to almost three million North and South Sothos, to one and a half million Tswanas and to the others?

195. We are concerned in South Africa with the future of 15 million people. They have a standard of living higher than anywhere else in the continent of Africa. They are receiving technical assistance, administrative support and experience in the art of government. They know they are on the road to self-determination and independence, and they welcome it. States in this Organization which plead for assistance to the so-called liberation movements and for peoples vaguely described as peoples struggling for independence, are deluding themselves if they believe that they are speaking on behalf of the masses in South Africa. In practical terms, they are speaking on behalf of no more than a small handful of extremists committed to violence and subversion, totally unrepresentative of the masses they profess to represent, often owing allegiance to outside interests. Included in their ranks are many who are forced to fight against their will, and many who have been enticed into their midst by promises of educational and training opportunities, only to find themselves committed to taking up arms against South Africa, also against their will.

196. There is proof of this in United Nations documents. It is not a figment of someone's imagination. If the rank and file of these movements could learn in some way or other what our true objectives in South Africa are, and if they could be given a choice, we have no doubt that many would opt for participation

⁹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

in the orderly and constitutional advancement of their nations to sovereignty and independence, rather than for the continuation of an existence leading only to bloodshed, destruction and misery.

197. Peace is the great preoccupation of this Organization and of this time. Peace is indivisible. Where violence is advocated, peace is already fractured. No representative of a Member State can, with credibility, stand on this podium and extol the virtues of peace in one breath and in the next rationalize the use of violence and subversion against another Member State.

198. We much regret that some of the statements we have heard here in the course of this debate have been statements of violence. I need not identify them, they identify themselves. At this time we should be thinking

of building up, not breaking down, of establishing peace, security and prosperity for all. This session is in the process of adopting an international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. It has been described by speakers in the Assembly as one of the most historic and significant documents ever to have been adopted by the United Nations because of the hope it spells out for the advancement of developing nations. Let us devote our energies to the pursuit of this goal. South Africa, with its scientific and technological resources, stands ready to contribute to the best of its capacity to the advancement of all nations of southern Africa and beyond, in keeping with the spirit of the new development strategy.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.