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## AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Finland, His Excellency Mr. Urho Kekkonen.

2. President KEKKONEN: Mr. President, it is a pleasure indeed for me to speak from this rostrum under the Presidency of a representative of one of the Nordic States. Let me tell you that your election as President of this historic anniversary session of the General Assembly gave great satisfaction to the Finnish people. Such is the sense of unity prevailing among the Nordic nations that we in Finland took pride in your success as if it were our own.

3. I have come here, in order to reaffirm Finland's strong and active commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and to the United Nations Organization as the principal instrument available to nations for keeping peace in the world. It is natural for a country like Finland to look upon the United Nations primarily as an agency for the maintenance of international peace and security. Finland is a small neutral nation which seeks security, not by relying on military alliances, nor the protection of one power against others, but through a foreign policy designed to keep her outside international conflicts. It follows that we have a vital interest in making every effort to strengthen the univer-

sal collective security system provided for by the Charter of the United Nations.

4. It is true that nations have come to look to the United Nations for other purposes as well: as a forum of debate and negotiation, as an instrument for freeing the peoples still living under colonial rule, for the economic advancement of less developed nations or for the promotion of human rights. These are all important purposes. Each is an indispensable element in the intricate fabric of a peaceful international order. Yet, in the final analysis, the success or failure of the United Nations will be judged in history by its contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

5. We all know that the collective security system of the United Nations has not functioned as it was intended to function when it was created in 1945. No nation today can yet depend on the United Nations for its security. True, for 25 years there has been no world war, and this may be in part due to the existence of the United Nations. But the absence of world war, essential as it is for the very survival of civilization, is by itself not identical with international security—especially the security of smaller States.

6. In the global view, one or two local wars may be a tolerable condition. But for a small nation, as we have so often witnessed, local war may be as deadly as a wider conflict. Genuine international security can be built only upon universal respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter, enjoining States to refrain from the use or threat of force and from intervention in the internal affairs of others and to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of each other.

7. Governments act, not according to principle, but according to what they perceive to be the national interest, and throughout history the clash of national interests has been the source of tension, conflict and war. Yet national interests are not immutable. We have seen in recent years the two super Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, in spite of their continuing rivalry in many areas, moving toward some degree of co-operation in the interest of maintaining world peace. They are both aware, I am sure, of the universal hopes pinned on their talks on strategic arms limitation which are about to continue in Helsinki.

8. We have also seen in Europe a new trend of development which encourages me to believe that it will be possible, in the not too distant future, to base the security of the States of Europe, not on the balance of mutual fear between two armed blocs, but on mutual

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

trust and co-operation between all. Attitudes and modes of thought tend to lag behind the rapid changes of objective reality. But it seems that among European nations the realization is growing that in the world today the power of a nation no longer depends on territorial gain, security no longer can be assured by digging trenches along borders, and prosperity no longer can be achieved in isolation or at the expense of others. A firmer foundation for peace and security, and for prosperity, than the balance of terror, is the free commerce of goods and ideas, and the bond of mutual interest created by joint economic and cultural enterprises.

9. Not so long ago it was regarded as Utopian to believe that war between the French and the Germans would become unthinkable. Today it may no longer be Utopian to hope that war between the Germans and the Russians can be ruled out. And for all the nations of Europe confidence in the continuity of peaceful conditions is the best guarantee that each will be able to fulfil its national aspirations and to assert its national identity, not in defiance of others but in a spirit of mutual respect. Finland, which by virtue of its neutrality is able to maintain friendly ties with all the States concerned, will for its part continue to render the cause of European security and co-operation whatever services may be called for.

10. Thus, Europe, the source of the two world wars, may be seeing the beginning of a new era of security and prosperity without precedent in history. Yet, it would be short-sighted for us to believe that we could afford to withdraw into a citadel of peace and plenty, while the greater part of mankind sinks ever deeper into the miseries of underdevelopment and overpopulation.

11. The grim statistics illustrating the gap between rich and poor nations are familiar to all. It can be measured in many different ways: in terms of *per capita* income, life expectancy, illiteracy or infant mortality. In each case the gap is widening. Its dimensions are revealed by the terrifying fact that never before in history have there been so many illiterate and hungry people as today, and their number continues to grow. As much as half of the human race is doomed to live in conditions of poverty which to the rest are completely unacceptable.

12. The task of closing this gap may seem so overwhelming as to appear hopeless. Yet, there can be no question that the world community has the material resources for this task. Annual defence costs amount to a total of \$180 thousand million and continue to grow, while the total of public aid today remains at \$7 thousand million. The question is whether there is the will to use the resources available to meet the urgent needs of development. The United Nations can play a leading role in creating that will. The strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade is an important step in that direction. It is an expression of the emerging philosophy of international responsibility which recognizes that the concepts of social justice must have a universal application. The attainment of

the goals of the Decade must be regarded as being in the vital interest of all nations, developed and developing alike, linked as they are today in one global community. It is an equally vital common interest to make it clear that the world community cannot tolerate the persistence of systematic violations of human rights in southern Africa or anywhere else.

13. The commitment of the Finnish Government to the goals of the Development Decade has already been stated. I wish to add my personal conviction that the problems of development must be tackled with the same urgency as the issues of war and peace. The suffering and misery and the decay and destruction of human values caused by the lack of development may in the long run prove to be as vast and as terrible as any imaginable future war. Whatever we now do or leave undone will have a decisive effect on the world community of tomorrow. In this sense, future historians may well look back upon this age as a turning-point.

14. We of the older generation are, of course, aware of the need to take action now so as to prevent future disaster, but we shall not be here ourselves to experience the consequences of any failure to act in time. For young people, these consequences touch the very essence of their existence. It is therefore understandable that young people everywhere are questioning our traditional order of priorities. They instinctively understand the overriding necessity of creating a more balanced and just, and therefore more stable and peaceful, world community. We must not ignore or underrate the urgent voice of youth. In fact, I believe that ways and means should be found to enable the United Nations to keep in touch with the youth of the world. There must be some method by which the aspirations and needs of youth can be made known to those whose decisions will shape the future world.

15. The United Nations is plagued by public disappointment born of illusions and false expectations. As we now discuss what could be done to make this Organization more effective, let us beware of creating new illusions leading to more disappointment. At the same time let us not despair of progress. It should be possible at last to make the United Nations a truly universal organization by including the People's Republic of China and the other States which still remain outside. Member States have also begun to make better use of the services of this Organization for making peace and keeping the peace. The capacity of the United Nations to act effectively to maintain international peace and security, and to promote the other purposes of the Charter, can be further improved, not by revising the Charter or the structure of its institutions, but by adapting its methods and procedures in response to the demands of the times. It is up to Member States, and especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to make the United Nations what it was intended to be—the real focus of efforts to deal with the central political issues of international life. A modest first step in that direction was taken this week with the first periodic meeting of the Security Council. Only thus can the United Nations effectively

act, in the words of the Charter, as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of their common ends—peace, progress and justice.

16. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, His Excellency Mr. Ján Marko.

17. Mr. MARKO (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me, speaking personally and at the same time on behalf of the entire Czechoslovak delegation, to congratulate you on your election to the honourable and responsible post of President of the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your country is well known and much respected in my country. One of the great personalities of your nation at the beginning of this century courageously spoke up for the rights of peoples and against the oppression of nationalities under the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

18. We are confident that, working together under your leadership, we shall succeed in making this session one which will go down in the history of the United Nations not only because of its commemorative character but also, and above all, because of the results it achieves.

19. Allow me also, on the occasion of this solemn session, to express our appreciation and convey our greetings to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency U Thant, who has devoted so much energy and exceptional talent to his mission.

20. We have gathered at this solemn session, not only to mark the 25 years that have elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations and to celebrate this anniversary, but also to reaffirm jointly the force of the principles on which the United Nations was founded. This is also an appropriate occasion for considering how the United Nations has fulfilled the expectations of the world community and how it has applied the principles set forth in its Charter. We must therefore state clearly what should be done to fulfil the main task of this Organization, which is to ensure peace and security throughout the world.

21. The founding of the United Nations was the culmination of the victory of the forces of peace and progress over those which sought to plunge the world into darkness and despair. The victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the Second World War, as a result of which this Organization was born, was the beginning of a new era in the world's development. The fact that the lion's share in that victory belonged to the Soviet Union has been clearly reflected in the history of the intervening 25 years. That fact made it possible for the workers in a number of countries to take power into their own hands and to establish their own Governments.

22. When, on 9 May 1945, the last shots of the Second World War in Europe rang out in liberated Prague an epoch of freedom and creative work began for our people, an epoch which has found expression in the

construction of a socially just society and in the consistent implementation of a peaceful foreign policy that derives from the very essence of the socialist system.

23. Czechoslovakia, one of the first victims of fascism, a nation which fought at home and in nearly every theatre of war in the world for the liberation of nations, stood at the cradle of the United Nations.

24. After the frightful sufferings of the war the nations and their Governments called for the establishment of an international organization which would become a genuine guarantee of security and peace throughout the world.

25. Thus 25 years ago a new organization emerged which was based on a new concept and was completely different in content from the former League of Nations. The fundamental change in the concept of the new Organization was the principle of the special responsibility of the Powers for peace and security in the world. This new concept, together with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries, proved correct.

26. The years that have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations have not been easy ones. They have been years of confrontation between the forces of progress and peace and the forces of reaction and war. Even after 1945 the imperialist forces—the real cause of both world wars—did not renounce their objectives. What role has the United Nations played in this clash between the forces of peace and war, progress and reaction? At the beginning we witnessed the efforts of one group of States to seize full control, attempting to exploit for that purpose the automatic majority it had in the Organization. Thanks to the firm stand on principle and the unity of the socialist countries, and to the support of many countries of Asia and Africa, those efforts failed.

27. In a number of cases, however, such as those of Korea and the Congo, the United Nations was, in fact, exploited for the wrong ends. Efforts were also made to intervene in the internal affairs of socialist States.

28. Nevertheless, the United Nations survived that period of cold war. An important factor in the process whereby it returned to its task of implementing the purposes of the Charter was that the admission in the 1960s of a large number of new Member States, States which had freed themselves from colonial slavery and had gained their independence, altered the correlation of forces previously existing in the United Nations. As a result the United Nations began to acquire a new character. Its authority and prestige grew.

29. One of the main features of this new development in the world was the significant strengthening of the position of the countries of the socialist community, which led to fundamental changes in the world correlation of forces and prevented the outbreak of a new world war.

30. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic devoted considerable attention to the United Nations from the very outset. In the fields of politics and international law on the one hand and in the economic and social fields on the other, Czechoslovakia joined in sponsoring numerous plans and proposals. Indeed, at this commemorative twenty-fifth session the General Assembly has approved the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [A/8082, para. 8] the preparation of which was undertaken by the United Nations on our initiative. Czechoslovakia has always striven actively to ensure that this Organization would be what the peoples of the world wanted it to be at the time when it was established.

31. If at this commemorative session we are reviewing the entire development of the United Nations it is primarily in order to enable us to determine what direction its future activity is to take. In this connexion the Czechoslovak Government considers it particularly important that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly should focus the future activities of the Organization mainly on questions relating to the securing of a lasting peace. It is becoming increasingly clear that the United Nations will not be able to fulfil the hopes placed in it if it fails to direct its activity mainly towards achieving the basic aims of its Charter.

32. In our opinion the ideas set forth in the draft declaration on the strengthening of international security [A/C.1/L.513], which was submitted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, would enable the activities of the United Nations in the years ahead to move in the right direction. It is regrettable that it has not so far been possible to adopt this document, which would have been the most important of all those adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

33. Questions concerning the strengthening of international security should be the main concern of the United Nations particularly because it has not so far been possible to eliminate the dangerous hotbeds of war existing in the world.

34. In Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos a war is raging which was unleashed by the aggressive forces of imperialism, and the prospects of its coming to an end are, unfortunately, still remote. We believe that the road to a solution is indicated by the new proposals of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam which were put forward during the Paris talks on 17 September of this year. Czechoslovakia sees in these proposals a realistic and just solution which might be acceptable to both sides, and for that reason it fully supports them.

35. Another problem awaiting solution is that of eliminating the other dangerous hotbed of war that has developed in the Middle East as a result of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. In the summer of this year there was a glimmer of hope that a peaceful

solution of the conflict might be found. A three-month cease-fire was concluded and talks began.

36. However, the peaceful efforts of the United Arab Republic, other Arab countries and non-Arab countries too, are all constantly being thwarted by the stubborn opposition of Israel, supported by the United States and other Western Powers. We cannot but condemn Israel's violation of the cease-fire agreement, convincing evidence of which has been given in this forum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Riad, and its negative attitude towards the resumption of the activities of the Jarring mission.

37. On 22 November 1967 the Security Council adopted a resolution [242 (1967)] which the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic continues to regard as a suitable basis for the settlement of this crisis. We see no valid reason why all parties to the conflict, including Israel, cannot accept the terms of this resolution. The withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories and a just settlement of the Palestine problem constitute prerequisites for the permanent peaceful existence of all countries in that area.

38. A quarter of a century after the defeat of Japanese militarism and 17 years after the conclusion of the armistice in Korea the fires of war in the Far East are still smouldering in the latter country. The people of Korea are being prevented from achieving the peaceful reunification of their country without foreign intervention. This dangerous situation too must not be underestimated. The Czechoslovak delegation will have an opportunity to make a detailed statement of its views on this question during the relevant substantive debate. I wish to emphasize that it is to be regretted, particularly when reviewing the activities of the United Nations over the past 25 years, that the Organization has been unable to prevent the continuing misuse of its flag in such an unworthy manner.

39. While we must very frankly express our concern at the fact that there are still dangerous hotbeds of war in the world and acts of aggression are being committed, this does not mean that we fail to see or that we underestimate certain signs of a positive development in international relations which have recently become apparent.

40. If, for example, we look at Europe alone in 1970 we must recognize that developments in many directions are encouraging. There is a growing dialogue on the problems of European security and co-operation. A treaty has been concluded between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>1</sup> Czechoslovakia regards that treaty as a constructive response to the appeals of a peace-loving society for a settlement of outstanding questions in Europe, something which it had not been possible to achieve because of obstruction by the Western Powers throughout the past 25 years.

41. Czechoslovakia, too, is ready to begin talks with its western neighbour, the Federal Republic of Ger-

<sup>1</sup> Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

many, talks which might remove the obstacles to the normal development of relations between the two States. I should like to emphasize that the Czechoslovak Government, in its readiness to contribute to normalization of the atmosphere in Europe, attaches considerable importance to these talks. It is prepared to do everything it can to ensure that they produce positive results. By the same token, we expect that the other party will take a similar position.

42. We also note with satisfaction certain positive elements in the position of the Western Powers as they assess post-war realities in Europe, including the growing authority and prestige of the German Democratic Republic. The talks between representatives of the two German States at Erfurt and Kassel, and especially the fact that a growing number of States in the world are broadening their diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic, are the best proof of the total failure of the inglorious Hallstein doctrine.

43. In the interests of peace and security in Europe it is essential to secure full international recognition of the German Democratic Republic, which is consistently pursuing a peaceful policy and without whose participation—whether it pleases some people or not—it is impossible to solve fundamental political problems in Europe. For these reasons, too, the correct thing for the United Nations to do would be to admit the German Democratic Republic to membership together with the other German State, the Federal Republic of Germany.

44. When we speak of achieving security and co-operation in Europe, we cannot fail to take into account the connexion between regional and international security. They are, in fact, two faces of the same coin. Europe is one of the main centres of modern civilization and, as was recently observed by U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, it is also the political capital of the world.

45. Czechoslovakia and other socialist States are endeavouring to bring about a regularization of relations in Europe which would ensure the security of States and the development of mutual co-operation. Despite the degree of stability and the progress which have been achieved, peace on the continent of Europe is not firmly established. Czechoslovakia, bearing in mind the history of its own experience in the period preceding the Second World War, is deeply interested in the creation of a strong system of security. As we are aware, during the 1930s a persistent struggle was waged in Europe for the establishment of an effective system of security. In that struggle the proposals of Soviet diplomacy played an important part. The events which frustrated the policy aimed at the creation of a pre-war system of collective security in Europe are all too well known. In 1938 Czechoslovakia fell victim to the shameful Munich *diktat*.

46. If Czechoslovakia speaks of the urgent need for creating a system of European security and co-operation, that is not exclusively its own concern or the concern of other socialist countries. It is the con-

cern of, and in the vital interest of, all European States irrespective of social structure.

47. We are pleased to note that a political dialogue is developing in Europe at the present time which is no longer limited to a general approach but is gradually beginning to envisage the practical preparation of an all-European conference on these questions. In order to create the most favourable atmosphere possible for further constructive development the socialist States have gone a long way towards meeting the various proposals and initiatives of other European countries aimed at finding a solution to the problem of European security and co-operation, as is shown by the proposals adopted at the meetings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw treaty countries held at Prague in October 1969 and at Budapest in June of this year.

48. In the view of the Czechoslovak Government, the European States should not on any account neglect this favourable historic opportunity to take an important step towards the establishment of an effective system for achieving security and peace in Europe. The wide support given by Governments and the European public to the idea of convening an all-European conference attests to the growing desire of the peoples of our continent to solve the outstanding problems that have hitherto prevented the development of broad peaceful co-operation among European States so that Europe may truly become a continent of peace.

49. However, we cannot deny that it has caused us some concern to hear voices raised at this session again making the convening of a European conference conditional upon the achievement of progress on other questions. These pre-conditions delay the holding of such a conference and prevent the joint solution of problems without which the chances of success at the conference would be slight.

50. The favourable response throughout the world to the initiative of the socialist countries shows that non-European States too correctly understand that the successful convening of a conference on security and co-operation in Europe could serve as an example for other continents as well. We base ourselves on the premise that peace and security are indivisible and that the strengthening of peace and the establishment of a system of security in one part of the world will have a favourable influence on the course of international relations throughout the world.

51. The Government of Czechoslovakia, therefore, sincerely welcomes the emergence of certain positive trends in international relations today. We believe that it is precisely in this context that other tasks of the United Nations should also be considered if we wish the Organization to play a larger part, above all, in settling questions of peace and security throughout the world.

52. In speaking of the need for relaxing international tension we cannot, of course, fail to mention the subject of disarmament. There has never been any doubt that the achievement of progress in that field would greatly

strengthen international security and thus increase mankind's hopes for a lasting peace.

53. We welcome the fact that in March of this year the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] entered into force and we trust that all of its various provisions will be put into effect as soon as possible. It is, however, essential to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and bacteriological weapons.

54. We also consider the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed an important step towards securing a peaceful life for the peoples of the world.

55. Another of the major elements of security and stability in the world is the consistent implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination, the right to free and independent development without foreign domination. It is a matter for regret that tens of millions of people in colonial and dependent Territories are still being denied the right to an independent life and that in extensive areas of the African continent the shameful policy of *apartheid*, which we consider a crime against humanity, is still being applied. If the United Nations does not wish to forfeit the trust of the colonial peoples, who are appealing to it for help, it must resolutely concern itself with the immediate and complete achievement of the purposes of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the tenth anniversary of which we have just celebrated.

56. A world freed from war and from the heavy burden of armaments, colonial oppression and exploitation could become a world offering full scope to the creative forces of mankind, a world of genuine international co-operation in the interests of the social and economic development of all countries, including the developing countries. We are convinced that no development plans can be successfully carried out unless international peace and security are strengthened throughout the world. It is perfectly natural that in recent years the problems of the national, economic and social development of countries that only recently acquired their independence should have come to the fore here in the United Nations too. The momentum of development in those countries is not yet sufficient to enable them successfully to bridge the wide economic and social gap separating different parts of the world, especially as their development is being hampered by the neo-colonialist practices of the former metropolitan countries.

57. We must not forget that we are concerned here with the consequences of the policy of exploitation pursued by the colonial Powers, which were the cause of the economic backwardness of the developing countries, of their under-privileged position in the world division of labour, and of the structural deformation of their national economies. In our opinion, the only way to eliminate the consequences of that policy in what, from the standpoint of history, would be a comparatively short period is to take decisive steps

to abolish the social and economic structure of the past and create a new one which would make it possible to increase the social productivity of labour and would ensure higher rates of economic development.

58. The experience that the socialist countries have acquired in economic development entitles us to express the view that international economic co-operation and assistance as a means of stimulating the economic growth of individual countries can be particularly effective if, at the same time, each country's internal resources are mobilized and the social and economic reforms which their mobilization requires are carried out.

59. Therefore, on the basis of the position I have outlined, we support in principle the idea of drafting a programme of co-ordinated international action to assist developing countries. In the same spirit, we also support the idea of a Second United Nations Development Decade, although we have some serious political reservations as to the manner of its preparation and the sense in which it has been presented. Together with other socialist States we have expressed these views in a joint statement on the Second Development Decade, which has been distributed as a United Nations document [A/8074].

60. The experience gained from the activities of the United Nations over the past 25 years has convinced us that the Organization will—if it adheres consistently to the principles of its Charter—be able to fulfil the hopes placed in it by the peace-loving peoples of the whole world. Therefore the Czechoslovak delegation is resolutely opposed to any attempt to revise the Charter. In the 25 years of its existence the United Nations Charter has not become obsolete and its value has not been lessened by developments in the world. We have always been convinced that the failures or errors of the United Nations are to be attributed not to the supposed deficiencies in the Charter but to the fact that certain Member States have failed to respect and observe the Charter's provisions. The Charter is a purposeful document which allows scope for the creative development of its various provisions. The Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States is an example of this kind of creative approach to the Charter. The significance of the Declaration lies primarily in the fact that, when the Charter is strictly adhered to, the United Nations successfully develops its various provisions in accordance with the experience gained and correctly interprets them in conformity with the needs of the time.

61. If people are calling for more effective action by the United Nations, then it is high time that the principle of universality should be applied in our Organization and that all discrimination in this respect should be ended. The Members of the United Nations are not the only countries concerned with questions of peace and security; all countries of the world are vitally affected by them and are therefore fully entitled to participate in the activities of the United Nations.



62. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as a strong integral part of the socialist community, supports the principles of the United Nations and its Charter. In the existing circumstances, characterized by an unending confrontation between the forces of peace and progress and forces which, in their efforts to control the whole world do not shrink from the risks which their military adventures entail, the United Nations has an important role to play.

63. On behalf of the President and Government of my country I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and all the distinguished representatives attending this session, that Czechoslovakia is unswerving in its support for the forces of progress and peace and that it will participate in the work of this Organization just as actively as in previous years for universal peace, the equal right of all nations and the peaceful development of all mankind.

64. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Excellency the Right Honourable Edward Heath.

65. Mr. HEATH: This, Mr. President, is my first speech as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom outside my own country and I am honoured to make it at this commemorative session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

66. I am particularly pleased to speak under the presidency of Mr. Hambro. On behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election. We honour you as the representative of a country with which we have the closest and warmest ties. We have had many connexions over the centuries, but our common experiences in the Second World War forged a friendship which will always endure.

67. I wish also to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant. In all these 25 years there have been only three Secretaries-General. Each has made his own special contribution to the United Nations. None has had a more tumultuous period than U Thant, and all through it his modest, quiet, and watchful conduct of his office has inevitably made its mark.

68. This commemorative session is an occasion both for appraising the developments of the past quarter of a century and for looking forward to the next.

69. We recall the moment of inspiration in which this Organization was born: how the victorious Powers, horrified by the misery which another war would bring, came together at San Francisco; how they determined to establish procedures for settling disputes between States and for keeping the peace which would prevent a third and more devastating holocaust; how they determined also that peace alone was not enough, that there must at the same time be justice and social progress.

70. The foresight the Powers showed then was by any criteria remarkable. But, of course, they could

not foresee all the political and economic consequences which would follow from the Second World War.

71. We must ask ourselves now how far we have lived up to their ideals, how far we have met the challenges of the intervening years.

72. We have failed to achieve universal membership of our Organization. Nevertheless, the number of Members has grown from 51 States at the foundation to 127 today, and I am proud that of the new Members, no fewer than 27 are former dependencies of the United Kingdom which we have sponsored for membership of this Organization. I would like today particularly to welcome Fiji, the newest Member of all.

73. As it has grown, so the character of our Organization has inevitably changed.

74. We are still beset with the problems which divide East and West; but we are now also preoccupied with new challenges: the problems between North and South, the problems which lie in the way of trust and co-operation, and even of tolerance, between the races, and between the richer and the poorer nations.

75. Moreover, today we must recognize a new threat to the peace of nations, indeed to the very fabric of society. We have seen in the last few years the growth of a cult of political violence, preached and practised not so much between States as within them. It is a sombre thought, but it may be that in the 1970s, the decade ahead of us, civil war, rather than war between nations, will be the main danger which we will face.

76. We are ourselves experiencing this in the United Kingdom. The crucial division in Northern Ireland is not now between Protestant and Catholic or between right and left. It is between those who believe that constructive change is the only sound basis for peace, justice and progress, and those who reach at the first opportunity for the gun and the bomb. In this context I should like to thank the Prime Minister of Eire for what he said in this Assembly yesterday [1879th meeting] on this subject.

77. Sometimes the resort to violence is a legacy of past errors, the product of desperation and frustration at the failure of society to make room for legitimate aspirations. That does not excuse violence, though it throws a heavy responsibility on those who have the duty to rectify injustice.

78. But increasingly the use of violence has become not the last resort of the desperate, but the first resort of those whose simple, unconstructive aim is anarchy. That we must all surely resist. Anarchy is not a prescription for peace, justice and progress. It achieves nothing but the suffering of innocent men and women.

79. The truth is that the possibilities for peaceful change have never been so great throughout the world as they are today. Indeed, in our present conditions repressive régimes find it much easier to deal with violent attack which can be identified and then crushed,

rather than with the subtle and pervasive influences of trade, investment and the spread of knowledge.

80. Our Organization has in these circumstances a grave responsibility. If we are to be true to our ideals then we should do nothing to strengthen or encourage those who believe in violence as a political weapon. On the contrary, we should support all those who with patience and understanding are working for peaceful change. For I am convinced that this is the only path towards a safer and a saner world.

81. Confronted with violence and a series of seemingly insoluble problems, it is natural perhaps that nations and indeed continents should feel tempted to turn in on themselves. Let me say at once that I am in favour of regional development and regional co-operation. Indeed, throughout my whole political life, and never more strenuously than today, I have been working for a wider European unity. I should like to pay a tribute to the statesmen of France and Germany whose reconciliation has opened up this prospect. Theirs, I believe, is an example for other continents to follow.

82. But at the same time I have always rejected the idea of Europe as a closed continent, using its wealth and its relative stability only to insulate itself from the rest of the world. Regionalism has its dangers as well as its attractions.

83. If regionalism means prejudice and intolerance, exclusiveness and hostility towards others, then it is a poor thing. Our Organization has an absolute duty to stand above regional interests and prejudices. I hope that while we are here we can all benefit from the discipline, and indeed the inspiration, of looking afresh at a world which is one and, in many essential respects, indivisible.

84. I would suggest that there are three ways in which the United Nations should now respond to the challenge which faces it.

85. First of all, we must apply ourselves with far greater energy and realism to the problem of settling disputes by peaceful means, to the problem of creating an alternative to subversion, to violence and to war. We have the rules and the guidance we need in the Charter itself. To them is now to be added the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations which so many of us admire and which we are to adopt tomorrow.

86. But in spite of this, when there are fundamental disagreements between States, too often the United Nations appears to stand impotent. Merely to appeal, to exhort, to restate our attachment to peace serves little purpose. The United Nations, it is true, cannot by some stroke of magic change one nation's deeply held views.

87. Within this Assembly we inevitably have our differences of opinion and approach—on many of which,

of course, we shall feel strongly. It is natural and right that each of us should try to win over the other to our point of view. Yet, given the nature of our world it is likely that at the end of the day, when the processes of persuasion have been exhausted, the Governments for which we speak will sometimes still be far apart.

88. We have to accept this limitation on the work of the United Nations. We must not proceed from there to conclude that this Organization, or any other international grouping, must be meaningless or impotent.

89. It will, of course, be meaningless and ineffective if discussion and debate become the dialogue of the deaf, the ritual exchange of abuse or threats, or the attempt by lack of precision to conceal real and deep differences.

90. But it will be meaningful and effective if the discussion and the debate are genuine, if we use them to understand each other's point of view. Because, we want to persuade where possible, but we must also respect and accept the good faith of those who disagree. This requires mutual forbearance and compromise. It is only in this way that the pursuit of national interests can be harmonized with the pursuit of peace, justice and progress; and I would add, the pursuit of happiness for our people.

91. I speak today for a newly-elected British Government committed to vigorous policies in the interests of the security and prosperity of the British people. I make no apology for defining so plainly our objectives before this Assembly. For I am satisfied that the policies which we propose are fully in accord with our commitments under the Charter and our record as a Member of this Organization. We are determined to work for peace and for harmony between peoples, because it is only in these conditions that Britain, as part of the international community, can prosper.

92. Debates in this forum, if we can conduct them with more realism and sincerity, may lead to more disputes being settled by peaceful means. But this in itself will still not be enough.

93. As our second task we must make the role of the United Nations as peacekeeper mean what it says. We must accept that nations will sometimes use force in the belief, however misguided or mistaken, that this will solve their problems.

94. The United Nations Charter entrusted the Security Council with countering threats to peace. The intention was that the Security Council would act quickly and decisively, if necessary with force, on behalf of the international community.

95. But things have not worked out like that. The early hopes that the Security Council might be provided with an international force have not been realized. So often, when the world has its eyes on the Security Council and is waiting for the Council to act, nothing is done because Governments have no confidence that debate in the Council will lead to practical action.



96. The peacekeepers of the United Nations in their blue berets have served in many regions of the world. In some we have come to take their existence for granted. But behind the scenes, for six years, the members of our Peacekeeping Committee have been wrangling over the procedures by which these peacekeepers can be called into action and their vital operations can be financed. From the practical point of view this surely is a matter which should be settled once and for all in this twenty-fifth anniversary year.

97. I want to emphasize that the task of the peacekeepers should, of course, be a temporary one. Too often we take them for granted, as I have said, and little is done to deal with the problems that took them there. They are there to hold the ring while the peacemaking machinery of our Organization is brought into action to tackle the problem at its roots. The United Nations has had some success in this field, but we have not always used the peacemaking methods set out in the Charter. Their scope has not been fully explored. It would be a proper celebration of our anniversary if we could make the United Nations a more effective and credible instrument, not only for keeping the peace but also for resolving the conflicts which threaten it.

98. Our third task in the years ahead must be to promote economic and social development. This will come about mainly through the growth of international trade and aid, and I put them in that order of priority.

99. The relationships between the industrial and the developing nations will be determined, will be settled for years to come by the attitude which each one of us adopts to this question.

100. Tomorrow we shall proclaim the Second United Nations Development Decade and adopt the international development strategy for it. The United Kingdom Government, subject to what we have already said, accepts the strategy as an expression of the political will and the collective determination of all in this Organization to achieve true progress.

101. At the outset of the Decade, the developing countries have re-emphasized that it is they who bear the main responsibility for their own development.

102. The developed countries, for their part, have recognized how important it is for them to supplement the efforts of the developing countries and to do so by pursuing more favourable commercial policies and by providing increased financial resources whether they are private or whether they are governmental.

103. I myself had the privilege of leading my country's delegation to the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva in 1964. I was excited then, we all were, by the prospects for increased trade between the developed and developing countries. Nothing contributes more effectively to development than expanding trade. This is why at the first UNCTAD we so strongly supported the idea of generalized tariff preferences by the developed indus-

trial world for the developing countries. One of the things which gives me the greatest happiness in this Assembly is to know that after six years of very hard work this is now about to be realized.

104. It is also encouraging that more and more of the exports from developing countries are manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. We in Britain now import more and more of these goods from developing countries, even at much cost to our own industry. In the last two years, over a quarter of our imports from developing countries have been not raw materials but manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

105. These are all welcome developments, and I believe that the wider integration of Europe for which we are working will only affect them for the better. I would expect the entry of the United Kingdom into the European Economic Community, if we are successful in our negotiations, to accelerate our own economic growth. This in its turn should benefit the exports of the developing countries.

106. The fuel for development is finance. We know that many developing countries have a high degree of state direction in their economy; that is a matter for them. We quite understand, therefore, that they prefer to receive development finance direct from other Governments. But, at the same time, private enterprise plays a major role in the economies of most of the highly developed countries and the bulk of their capital available for export is in the form of private investment.

107. We have to recognize this difference in economic systems and we have to make sure that it in no way inhibits the flow of capital from developed to developing countries. In Britain we will encourage our firms to invest in the developing world. I believe that the Governments of developing countries need to recognize that in order to attract private investment, which is necessary to reach the target, they must welcome the foreign investor and not discriminate arbitrarily against him. If they can work in co-partnership then so much the better for both.

108. The British Government has contributed generously to development for many years. At home our Government is now committed to a substantial reduction in public expenditure. This is essential both for our own economic growth and for the control of inflation. But in spite of this, we are planning to increase our official aid programme for the next few years, and I reaffirm our acceptance of the 1 per cent target agreed at the second UNCTAD conference at New Delhi in 1968. In accordance with the strategy for the Second Decade we shall do our best to reach this target by 1975.

109. To sum up, my appeal has been for a new and more practical approach by our Organization to international problems.

110. It is always easier to criticize than to build. It is easier to condemn than to understand. It is easier to stand rigidly by our own particular demands, our

own doctrines, our own version of history, than to move forward onto ground where we may hope, through sensible compromise, to reach agreement with others. But the time has come in this Organization to resist these temptations. Let us resolve to improve our working methods. Let us cut out the waste of time and money. Let us look at the practical results of our actions on the lives of our fellow citizens. Let us agree that the United Nations should concentrate on its vital role as peacekeeper and peacemaker and as an effective contributor to world development.

111. I can assure you, Mr. President, and this Assembly that in these tasks the United Nations can rely on the full support both of Her Majesty's Government and of the British people.

112. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of India, Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

✓ 113. Mrs. GANDHI: I bring to the General Assembly and to the United Nations the greetings of one seventh of mankind, the people of India.

114. May I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your being elected to preside over this historic session? It is a tribute as much to Norway as to your own long and distinguished service as jurist and statesman to the world community.

115. The first Secretary-General of the United Nations also came from Norway and he rendered it devoted service at a difficult phase of its career. I should like also to recall the contribution towards the building of the United Nations made by another Scandinavian, Dag Hammarskjöld. Their example will inspire people in many countries to regard the world as their home.

116. On this occasion, may I express our esteem for you, Mr. Secretary-General, and for your untiring efforts to uphold the United Nations and the vision enshrined in its Charter. You have had to draw upon your inner reserves of faith, wisdom and patience. Your guide is the ancient counsel to "be a lamp unto oneself". It is our earnest hope that you will continue to lead this Organization for many more years.

117. We welcome the admission of Fiji to the United Nations earlier this month. We have ties of kinship with these beautiful South Pacific islands, and we are glad that one more colony has attained independence.

118. This jubilee celebration is tinged with anxiety and the mood is one of self-examination. The United Nations was born out of the experience of the Second World War, out of a desire "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to promote universal respect for fundamental human rights and international justice. Its founders were conscious of the attempt of a previous generation to build the League of Nations, and of the reasons for its collapse.

119. Franklin Roosevelt declared that the United Nations spelt "the end of the system of unilateral action

and exclusive alliance, and spheres of influence, and balance of power and all the other expedients which have been used for centuries and which have failed". "We propose", he went on to say, "to substitute for these a universal Organization which all peace-loving nations will have a chance to join."

120. Twenty-five years later, the principle of the universality of the United Nations membership still does not prevail. The system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances has not been disowned. Spheres of influence and balance of power continue to actuate the policies of many nations, even though they fail to produce the desired results.

121. Thus, the United Nations has been afflicted with the same malady as the League of Nations, that is, the attempt to direct and control its activities and to use it as an instrument for national ends. To the extent that it could be so used, it was applauded and when it did not serve this purpose, it was ignored.

122. The right of a people to choose their form of government is accepted in name only. In reality there is considerable interference in the internal affairs of many countries. The powerful make their presence felt in many ways, relentlessly attempting to enlarge their spheres of influence. The extension of their military commitments to new areas inevitably attracts counteraction by other Powers. The limited wars which we have witnessed in the last 25 years are the consequences of such policies.

123. Two such conflicts have dragged on for years, in the Middle East and in Viet-Nam. Our views have been reiterated here a few days ago [*1858th meeting*]. In the Middle East the relevant question is whether, in our age, we can allow the frontiers of States to be changed by force of arms. We feel that territories occupied by force must be vacated. That is why we support the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [*242 (1967)*]. Peace and security can come only with neighbourliness and understanding.

124. Recently one set of proposals was made by President Nixon on Viet-Nam, and another by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Some common ground must be found between the two proposals. We hope that they are not regarded as final by either side. Perhaps an agreement on the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, beginning with American forces, would lead to purposeful negotiations.

125. The United Nations has not been able to prevent these wars or bring about a settlement. But it has been the peacemaker in several conflicts. It has provided a useful mediating agency and meeting place where arrangements have been hammered out. Even those who feel that the United Nations has not fulfilled the original hopes for it do recognize that the world needs an international organization which will work for peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. If the United Nations were to disintegrate, would we not find it necessary to establish some other international organization for the same objectives? Let us therefore pre-

serve what we have, breathe new meaning and purpose into it, so that it can create an order where the use of force would defeat its own purpose.

126. Countries which, like us, have newly won their freedom, feel an attachment to this Organization and a special stake in its functioning. We are aware that old attitudes persist; at the same time there is some difference, however small. Recent events have shown that military power alone does not give full control of the situation on all occasions because other national wills, even of those of smaller nations, are also at work.

127. I have come here to reiterate my country's deep commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter. Ever since India became sovereign, the United Nations has occupied a pivotal position in her foreign policy. In his very first policy statement after India attained freedom, Jawaharlal Nehru declared:

"The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this one world that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another."

128. All these 25 years, we have striven to make the United Nations stronger, and to defend it from the corrosive effects of cynicism. We have borne burdens on its behalf, undertaking missions of peace to Korea, the Gaza Strip and the Congo. We have endeavoured to serve the cause of peace in Indo-China. We have sought to reconcile conflicting viewpoints in this forum. And we have resisted attempts to subordinate the United Nations to powerful national wills.

129. The recent Lusaka Conference of non-aligned countries,<sup>2</sup> in which nearly half the Members of the United Nations participated, reaffirmed the faith of non-aligned countries in this world Organization and resolved to strengthen it. We may not have technological power or nuclear arsenals, but our voice has to be heard. The United Nations should take full advantage of the support of these Governments, and also of the inmost desire for peace which exists in the peoples of all nations. That is what enabled the United Nations to survive the cold war. Its influence can be enhanced by keeping it above power politics.

130. The great revolutionary cycle which was set in motion by the struggles for independence, by the yearning for equality, by the search for a new meaning in life, is not yet complete. In Lusaka we pledged ourselves to complete the unfinished revolution of our times. Rekindling faith in itself, the United Nations must concern itself with this unfinished task. Vast political changes have taken place, but some countries still find themselves under the yoke of colonialism. The world Organization must work for their liberation. Where theories of racial superiority determine govern-

mental policies, the United Nations must work for racial equality. We cannot view with equanimity the supply of arms to South Africa. The total abolition of colonialism and racialism in every form is a prerequisite of a new world order.

131. Political freedom is incomplete if it does not lead to wider horizons of economic opportunity, and this is possible only with peace. Hence, apart from preventing suffering and dispelling fear and uncertainty, disarmament would make a decisive difference to development. India has always used such influence as she had to achieve the acceptance of total disarmament. Nearly 20 years ago, we were instrumental in bringing about a private meeting of the great Powers which ultimately led to the partial test ban treaty.<sup>3</sup> However, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*], which was formulated later, does not stop the production of nuclear weapons nor remove stockpiles, but perpetuates the division between nuclear Powers and others, thus creating yet another vested interest.

132. The world has become accustomed to nuclear arsenals, and insensitive to their evil, perhaps even unable to comprehend the sheer magnitude of the fear-some destruction they hold. There is a helpless acceptance of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as part of our daily lives. Our preoccupation with smaller day-to-day problems clouds a careful examination of the assumptions and policies which have led to the arms race. Ironically enough, neither those who possess the stockpiles, nor those who seek to be protected, feel secure. Power undermines itself from within and turns into impotence. As the Buddha said, "Iron turns to rust and rust devours iron". Even a small reduction in the production of armaments would release vast material and technological resources for human welfare and would help the narrowing of economic disparities. So far as we the independent developing nations are concerned, economic development has only just begun. We have our failings. We allowed our growth to be inhibited by structural and other difficulties—an outmoded social system and attitudes of mind, an administrative machine which had been devised by foreign rulers for their own purposes. Many other difficulties are inherent in underdevelopment. But our biggest impediment has been the attitudes of the strong nations, the kind of terms which they have set for financial outflows to the developing countries and the manner in which the poor nations are shut out from their markets. It is difficult for our endeavour to succeed so long as technological neo-colonialism persists.

133. Tomorrow, at our commemorative session when the Second United Nations Development Decade will be proclaimed, we shall formally adopt the international development strategy which has already been endorsed by the General Assembly and which moves forward from the archaic donor-donee relationship between developed and developing countries to the concept of partnership. Full support to measures out-

<sup>2</sup> Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

lined in the strategy by all Member States of the United Nations can make a material contribution to the objectives enshrined in the Charter and revive faith in international economic co-operation. However, whether the strategy succeeds or not, the developing countries should not remain passive spectators. It is imperative for us to intensify our own efforts vigorously to the maximum extent possible in our countries and to develop trade and economic co-operation with one another. We can be effective if we are united, but we must plan further than one decade. In the coming 25 years we should evolve a concept of a larger freedom for man.

134. Let it not be thought that I consider the affluent Powers alone at fault. We are no more virtuous than they—only our weakness makes it appear so. Sometimes our own attitudes and conditions encourage their moves. I am acutely conscious that we ourselves have been content, unimaginatively, to follow the beaten track and have offered no alternative vision. Even movements which questioned the concept of an acquisitive society have, in the course of time, drifted into the same patterns.

135. International organizations tend to use as a basis for discussion and decision certain yardsticks of progress in economic functioning and so on which have been evolved in a few countries in circumstances entirely different from those in the developing countries. Some nations use men, money and propaganda to impose their economic philosophy on others. The United Nations and its agencies should not accept such premises automatically and elevate them to universal dogmas. Each problem must be viewed in its own setting. No nation should be uprooted from its special heritage, and the programmes for its progress must grow out of its own experience. In India we should like to build a distinctive design of life by re-examining the sources of our history and by separating the perennial from the transitory in our tradition.

136. Our top priority is economic and social development, but we often ask ourselves: development for what and for whom? There is a growing awareness in the world that technology and intensive specialization do not necessarily enrich the human dimension. The urgent need is for a unified view of the world's resources and the world's experience, and of man's powers of invention. We are one of the species on this planet, earth. Have we the right to squander its resources, to pollute water and air, to extinguish animal and plant life, to upset the delicate balance in nature and mar its beauty? Cannot an organization such as the United Nations direct our thinking in terms of the larger well-being?

137. Much has been said about the population increase and the advance of science and technology. But the more significant explosion of our times is the awakening of human consciousness on a global scale. Seers have for long thought of mankind as one family—*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*, as ancient sages in my country called it. Modern technology has brought all countries close, and has provided visual proof of

this unity. What man saw with his inward eye, science has made possible to see with the outward eye. Science, technology and art are reaching across national frontiers. So are the yearnings of peoples. From a fragmentary interpretation of human civilization, we are moving to the threshold of a universal history of man. The theories which have dominated our age seem hardly relevant, for neither appears to provide true answers to our questions.

138. For centuries, vast numbers in the countries under colonial rule were apathetic and resigned. Their awakening is accompanied by expectation and impatience. These have sometimes led to the growth of populism, encouraging fascism on the one hand, and the destructive exuberance of the extreme left on the other, seeking short cuts and easy ways. We see this in several countries, including my own. An addiction to violence has grown, seeking by destruction to obliterate all that was and is. But history cannot be changed; it can be used. Neither for the weak nor for the strong is there an easy way. We believe that wrong means often distort the ends; and violence for a purpose often deteriorates to violence for its own sake. Violence is evil, but what is even worse is that it breeds contempt and callousness at a time when all our senses must be especially sensitive and attuned to every nuance of the swift movements of change. Mere condemnation of discontent can lead to acts of desperation. The answer is to seek to understand and remove the causes, by initiating the process of peaceful change. Rebels and nonconformists are often the pioneers and designers of change.

139. The unfinished revolution is not confined to the poorer, developing countries. The advanced countries also have their unfinished revolution. We find it in the movement for women's liberation, in the revolt of young people, the ferment in the universities and the assertion of black and brown power. Why do these movements remain on the periphery of the nations' activities? It is not for lack of courage or sincerity, or depth of feeling but because each group deals with only a small part of the problem and does not view it in its entirety. If these groups were to see the larger perspective, they would soon realize that it is not they alone who have been denied emancipation in a world of free men, but that the vast majority of people are themselves prisoners of old conceptions, politics, economics and of social attitudes and functions. If their present restlessness can be harnessed to creative purposes, they can set the pace for history and give a new direction to mankind. The change we desire—the change which must come—is not of pace, quantity or manner but of basic quality—of what man is, of what man can be.

140. The concepts of freedom, democracy and justice have not remained fixed but have evolved and changed over the years. Peoples rightly look for greater content in them and seek greater participation for themselves. Each individual wants his true self to be understood, his worth to be realized.

141. The coming 25 years, in which we must lay the foundations for a larger freedom for man, will make

many demands on the leaders and the peoples of all nations and on the administrators of the United Nations and its agencies. They have done good work in difficult conditions. It must now be considered whether the organizational structure and procedures and the definition of goals and duties need reappraisal. Many suggestions have been made for the better implementation of the Articles of the United Nations Charter and of its resolutions. It is obvious that there should be a recommitment by Member States to the ideals of the United Nations, but it is equally important to draw up essential new programmes which might help to avoid the mistakes of the old world.

142. Our independence coincided with a remarkable acceleration of communications. So, from the very beginning our foreign policy was based on the premise that in a shrinking world there could be no place for war as an instrument of policy. The responsibility to help more than 500 million people to fulfil their aspirations gives us a compelling interest in peace, especially with our neighbours. We have always affirmed that the way of the world should be not power but peace, not confrontation but co-operation. The world is not for destruction; it is for development. Governments and statesmen of the world—indeed, citizens of all nations—need to make earnest and well-considered efforts to submerge national ambitions and rivalries in the wider interest of the preservation of civilization and the survival of humanity.

143. Time, space, matter, life—all the old certainties are under question. The exploration of outer space and the research into the nature of life are placing new responsibility in man's hands. Many countries are turning their attention towards the sea-bed and its treasures. The United Nations should ensure that the resources born of all these explorations are used not merely for the aggrandizement of individual nations but for the welfare of the family of man.

144. The irony is that we have the means and we see the vision, but we lack the will and the trust to take the one big step forward. As the *Maitri Upanishad* says: "The mind is the source of all bondage, and also the source of liberation." It is by breaking through the cages of constraint that man can go forward.

145. In the years to come let the United Nations strive to bring about an era of international transformation by consent, a new era of justice and of peace.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Nicaragua, His Excellency General Anastasio Somoza.

147. President SOMOZA (*interpretation from Spanish*): Nicaragua, whose destinies the sovereign will of its people have entrusted to me, is one of the countries that signed the guiding Charter of our Organization on 26 June 1945. It is also one of the 26 countries that on 1 January 1942 signed the Declaration of the United Nations, a document that refers to the common programme of the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and which

in turn stated that once the war was over the signatories hoped to establish peace which should give all nations an opportunity to live in security and their inhabitants the chance to live free from fear and want.

148. With that background Nicaragua comes now to participate in the commemoration of the establishment of the United Nations and is happy to state, through me, its full support for the future of the Organization.

149. On 24 October 1945 the United Nations Charter came into force. A new Organization was born amid applause, questions and hopes. It rose from the ruins of the war, bearing the commitment to maintain international peace and security.

150. I wonder what would have happened in the world had the United Nations not existed. Let us therefore strengthen what cost so much sacrifice to create. Let us be untiring in our search for peace. Let us be understanding to realize that it must be based on justice. Let us build peace, devoid of prejudice and ambitions, a peace filled with understanding and good faith, because peace must be the result of a collective effort under the rule of good faith.

151. It has been written in history that peace is less dramatic than war and that peacemakers are less outstanding than soldiers. But let us disregard that belief so that peacemakers and soldiers shall earn the same consideration, since we are all convinced that peacemakers are the soldiers of peace.

*Mr. Odero-Jowi (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

152. Aware as we are that what we enjoy today is to a large extent a result of the work of those who placed their ideals above their lives, Nicaragua pays tribute to all those heroic men of all nationalities who, representing the United Nations, offered up their lives in the defence of peace and mankind. For them I would ask for a moment's silence.

*The Members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.*

153. On behalf of Nicaragua, I am happy to congratulate our President on his well deserved election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. We, his friends, have been gratified because we know that, by that act, we have paid a new tribute to his noble nation.

154. I wish also most cordially to extend greetings to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, who presided over the General Assembly last year with all the ability and discretion which have been the hallmark of that noble lady from the Republic of Liberia.

155. I address to our worthy Secretary-General our repeated appreciation of the magnificent services which he has given to our Organization in the high post that he occupies. His endeavours to maintain the

prestige of this world Organization have indeed enrolled him on the honour list of the citizens of the world.

156. Nicaragua reiterates and renews its faith in the United Nations. Nicaragua, a country that loves peace, that respects the rights of others, applies norms of international conduct in conformity with the law, and is proud to follow a policy that complies with the Charter of this world Organization. In keeping with these principles, we have peacefully settled our conflicts in the past and scrupulously complied with the decisions of the International Court of Justice. In accordance with the fundamental principles of our political constitution, we have established respect for human rights and for the principle of the self-determination of peoples, and we have proscribed war as an instrument of justice.

157. Nicaragua emerged into independent life in 1821. Its privileged geographical location between two oceans has made it the object of attention of more experienced nations. The world witnessed part of the territory of our country being turned into the protectorate of an empire. It also saw ill-applied free enterprise which endeavoured to turn a people into slaves to serve the economic interests of the time. But we waged our struggle against slavery in order to repel foreign invasion. The brotherhood of race, of religion and of culture united the peoples of Central America in that war, that was not national because it was waged in Nicaragua, but was national in the sense that it brought back together the five sister nations in a crusade that would free the land which would one day be the sole heritage of our descendants.

158. Our liberal revolution of 1843 wrote into the letter of our Constitution and into the practice of our laws the concerns of mankind of the period and the most advanced principles of liberalism, and restored to our sovereignty the Protectorate of Mosquitia. During the present century, Nicaragua has continued its struggle to reaffirm its sovereignty. To crown our efforts, my Government is proud that, through diplomatic channels, on 14 July of this year the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty was abrogated. This outstanding act reaffirmed the sovereignty of Nicaragua and marked the beginning of a new historic stage in the relations between the United States of America and Latin America. This fact has convinced the Nicaraguan people that the Government of the United States neither underrates nor undermines the importance of the American continent.

159. All the efforts of my country have been directed towards obtaining for our people a position of worthy sovereignty, progress that will be reflected in welfare for all the inhabitants of Nicaragua, and a political and economic stability that will permit us to continue with our development through free enterprise. We are a people dedicated to work, to achieving progress in our own way, and through our own philosophy, and we uphold a revolutionary principle closely linked to the aspirations of free people.

160. During the last 20 years my country has achieved a rate of economic growth which has been accompanied

by outstanding financial stability. This growth has been encouraged by policies directed towards the dynamic diversification of our products, which has considerably increased our exports. The mechanization of our agriculture has been carried to levels unprecedented in subtropical regions. We possess more than 180,000 farms which, for a population such as ours, means one unit per ten inhabitants. This still leaves 40 per cent of the surface of Nicaragua as State land, which has allowed us to keep up food production that is sufficient to meet the needs of our people and our neighbours.

161. We encourage the growth of the industrial sector as well as that of services, especially those connected with our natural resources, and we are in the throes of an educational revolution to prepare a more efficient youthful population to assist the entire community.

162. Nicaragua has succeeded in putting a stop to its inflationary spiral. We have been forced to make extraordinary efforts, but the unity of the citizenry in their quest for that common goal has been maintained in a way of which we are proud. The co-ordination of the fiscal and monetary policies, the determined efficiency with which public funds of national or international sources have been managed have all made of Nicaragua a nation that enjoys one of the most stable freely convertible currencies in the world, and also a State where, due to adequate laws of protection and justice for the investor and the worker, foreign investors have been able to make a significant contribution to the national development. It is only when we realize that the foreign investor needs the same safeguards as the national investor that our countries, lacking capital as they do, can invite foreign capital to give us the assistance that in truth we need. It is this moral and economic solvency that has encouraged the agencies of this Organization to lend their aid to the development of our people and that has also permitted us efficiently to combine our efforts with those of international co-operation.

163. It is the unwavering determination of Nicaragua to consolidate the economic integration of Central America and to have it fully encompassed in a juridical framework of equity. We have followed through in this endeavour despite the sacrifices called for from our people.

*Mr. Hambro (Norway) resumed the Chair.*

164. During the recent arms confrontation between two of our sister republics, Nicaragua offered its friendly co-operation to achieve the restoration of peace by means of the juridical instruments embodied in the inter-American system.

165. Together with other countries of America and of other continents, Nicaragua has not escaped the threats to the peace and security of persons from those who try to disturb tranquility, progress and democracy. Nicaragua faces these situations with decisive faith in representative democracy, in the functional freedom of its institutions and in the free play of the forces that compose the political parties.



166. It is within the framework of civic realism that our youth is being prepared to cope with the great tasks that await it in the future. Youth is the incalculable treasury of our people which, because of its idealism, is today being made the victim of those who, caring nothing for the future of mankind, set the footsteps of youth along the path of violence, when all that it really needs are the peace and calm of schoolrooms. There is yet time to salvage that human capital by seeking solutions to counteract the insidious international campaign to replace humane training by terrorist activities. Nicaragua is a firm believer in youth, and we are sure of its future. We believe that youth should share in the responsibilities and problems of the country, because the Republic needs its creative capacity. Our electoral laws set the voting age at 18 so that youth will be able to make good use of its political rights and through its vote assume the responsibilities of its own destiny. We must strive to make youth understand that the traditional enemies—hunger, want, misery, disease and ignorance—must be eradicated from the face of the earth by peaceful means.

167. The United Nations is man's greatest effort to emerge from a state of violence and enter the new era of civilization through reason. As a member of the Security Council, Nicaragua reaffirms its unshakable determination to continue to contribute to the maintenance of peace. We have assumed our responsibilities in the Security Council with the moral support of the American continent—a support which we appreciate warmly and we are indeed proud to represent a group of nations possessing a vigorous culture, whose destiny is also our own, the destiny of freedom.

168. We are fully aware of what takes place in our world. We understand how ideological conceptions pit men against one another, and how the effort to solve differences by force has led mankind to the shedding of blood and to the very brink of nuclear war. Our America also lives these upheavals. With the unwise granting of refuge to airplane hijackers, mankind is threatened; with the kidnapping and murder of diplomats and other persons, the most fundamental rights of man are violated; with the abuse of the right of asylum, the substance of a humanitarian American institution is distorted; and with mass exiling, political imprisonment and firing squads, the despair of peoples is increased. Until these activities are no longer indulged in, there can be no real peace in the world.

169. Since we love peace, we condemn any philosophy that imposes by violence political systems that are opposed to the equality of opportunity, which is a right of the human person. Therefore, we advocate an end to racist policies, the liquidation of all colonialism and all religious discrimination.

170. We live in a world divided by conventional frontiers, but we know that each day we need one another more. Interdependence is a reality that we cannot elude and as the head of an independent country, I make an appeal to the noble nations represented here that, based on this reality of interdependence, we complement and strengthen our work for the benefit of mankind.

171. We are now entering the Second United Nations Development Decade. The balance sheet of the first Decade shows us that we still have much to do. And yet it is encouraging to note that, even despite our differences, we can unite to seek a common happiness. There are values in our civilization that show that human solidarity is not unattainable. But we cannot deny that the greatest lesson that the first Development Decade taught us is the awareness of the mistakes we made. The first Decade was planned in order to place nations on a relatively equal footing for their development. Experience has shown, however, that differences between the development of peoples became more acute. The dangers in this to mankind are obvious to the most cursory observer, and it is our hope—it is the hope of the world—that the results of the second decade shall be the effective development that the world expects and needs.

172. The productive trade and financial structures that exist in the world today, nullify the efforts of the developing countries to achieve full and up-to-date economic development. We must stress the fact that these established structures, when elevated to the category of the untouchable systems of international trade relations, constitute the main hurdle to the total development of our world. If it be true that the changing of this process requires sacrifices and a fundamental revision of the institutions of the peoples that aspire to development, it is no less true that it requires the more developed countries to contribute some of the many advantages that the present system confers upon them and that they radically alter their attitudes and direct them towards world-wide development for which man and his dignity are the ultimate aim. It is high time for the advanced countries—those that exploit the natural resources and expand their markets in the developing countries—to concern themselves with integrating their capital, their science and their technology with the developing countries, thus encouraging productivity so that each people will have equal opportunities.

173. Means of communication, which have awakened increasing hopes in our world, must also be used to bring peoples into modern life as effective agents of production and also to incorporate them in the creative process of the human genius.

174. If 30 years ago, with much lower levels of production than they enjoy today, the developed countries were able to earmark enormous resources for a world war, it is incomprehensible that, 25 years after that war ended they still do not even devote 1 per cent of their gross national product to the universal war against poverty, disease and ignorance, which constitute the main threats to world peace and stability.

175. The domestic tensions among the less wealthy sectors of the populations that beset the highly industrialized countries and that call for a greater share in economic progress, give us an inkling of the upheavals that might afflict the world if equal opportunities are not granted to that immense majority of the world population that today lacks them. Free world trade on an

equal footing must be encouraged. While some Members of this Organization grant preferential customs and tariff treatment to some—which logically is discriminatory against others—the existing differences can only widen.

176. The present leaders of countries—and those that will follow us—are in duty bound to change the way of thinking of our peoples to rescue them from the attitudes they inherited from an obsolete world order that no longer meets the interests of mankind of today. During the next 25 years the United Nations will have to cease to be an arena for the political confrontation of the great Powers, and become the centre for co-operation between the developed world and that world that aspires to development.

177. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity, on behalf of the people of Nicaragua, to congratulate the United States of America on its truce proposal for the Middle East. May I also address the congratulations of my country to President Richard Nixon for his cease-fire proposal for Indo-China, to allow its peoples to exercise self-determination in the search for their own destiny? Both proposals are linked to the purposes and requirements of this Organization, and since Nicaragua is a country that seeks the rule of peace and justice in the world, we cannot but feel gratified that the responsible leaders of the world of today should seek the road that will lead mankind to that world of peace we all desire.

178. May I take advantage of this opportunity also, on behalf of my country, to pay a grateful tribute to all the nations represented here, to the specialized agencies of the United Nations and to their officials, for the constant co-operation they have shown Nicaragua through this Organization? As a member of the Security Council, Nicaragua wishes to assure this Assembly of its unwavering determination to contribute to the maintenance of peace and to the avoidance of war. We reiterate our faith in man and that the fate of man is ordered peace, justice and progress.

179. At this solemn moment and in keeping with the mission and vocation of the United Nations, nothing could be more appropriate than to invoke the memory of our national hero, and the ode to Bolívar written by Reubén Darío:

“Yes: a thousand times cursed  
 “He, who disturbing the peace of an honest people,  
 “Cries out: war  
 “And taking away the plow  
 “Gives them a dagger covered with gore.”

180. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister of Norway, His Excellency Mr. Per Borten.

181. Mr. BORTEN: Norway is a small nation. Our existence depends upon the peaceful development of an organized international society. Therefore we have seen it as our national interest to strengthen the United Nations. Our Organization must be capable of formulating common policies which are genuinely inter-

national. They should not be only the lowest common denominator of separate national policies.

182. A quarter of a century has passed since the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. All our hopes for the safeguarding of international peace and security have not been fulfilled. The world has changed, and our own views with it. We must work to regain the confidence of the peoples of the world, and prove to them that through the United Nations we will be able to solve the problems that we are faced with.

183. During its 25 years of existence the United Nations has reflected the development of the international community as a whole. That community is today more complex and exposed to greater dangers than when the Charter was drafted. Yet the Charter remains basically unchanged. It has proved flexible enough to adapt to changing needs without revision. The capacity of the Organization to act is defined only by the will of the Member States.

184. My country believes that the need for concerted action is greater today than at any other time in history. Our most important task is to reach agreement on positions and procedures which will prevent political conflict from leading to war and nuclear holocaust. We were therefore encouraged when the Security Council, two days ago [1555th meeting], confirmed the blueprint for settling the grave conflict in the Middle East, in a special meeting of a most authoritative character. We hope that the principles laid down by the Council will inspire the debate in this Assembly, and lead us to a solution which safeguards the interests of all the peoples in that area, including the unfortunate Palestinians.

185. The demands that are made of the United Nations at this stage in history are manifold, and have various origins. The progress of technology over a quarter of a century has been enormous. Man has learned to dominate vast new areas and to make a more intensive use of his traditional domain. The exploration of outer space, the use of the sea-bed and the ocean above it, advances in fields such as electronics and communications are examples of our gains. But progress has brought problems which can only be solved through new forms of international action.

186. Some of the tasks which face us now call for special attention. There is a pressing need for reduction and control of armaments. The defence of our environment confronts us with urgent problems. The large majority of the peoples of the world do not get a fair and full share of the benefits of progress. Colonial domination has not been fully brought to an end. The problems of southern Africa are a source of continuing concern. Norway's views in this respect are well known and have recently been restated from this rostrum.

187. Human rights are protected under international law, and States can no longer claim that grave violations of these rights are exclusively within their domestic jurisdiction. Nevertheless, there is a deplorable gap

between national practices and international standards. Political conflict and division constantly interfere in our efforts to deal with these problems.

188. How can the United Nations find ways and means to respond to this many-sided challenge in a rational and effective way? The machinery of our Organization must be functional and the Organization must be truly universal. Therefore, it is essential that the most populous State in the world, the People's Republic of China, should be represented here in the way the Charter prescribes. We must adapt our decision-making processes to new situations that are international in scope. We have already given up some of our sovereignty to the United Nations. The Organization must be given even greater authority to act for its Members, in new and expanding fields of activity. Finally, an effective organization depends on sound financing. The United Nations will require increased funds to take on new duties and to carry out traditional ones more efficiently.

189. Let us strengthen the framework of our Organization and let us profit by the experience of its 25

years. We know that, together, we can produce results that go beyond the sum of each individual Member's contribution. In this joint effort, all nations, big and small, rich and poor, have a role to play. The great Powers hold special responsibilities. This is reflected in the Charter. The lesser Powers also have their responsibilities. Our contributions are complementary and should not allow for influential minorities or massive majorities to dominate. It is an equal obligation for all Members to seek, in mutual respect, joint and agreed solutions to those problems which will face our Organization in the years to come.

190. We will be called upon to increase the powers of the world Organization in many fields. My country stands ready to work with others to expand the competence and the authority of the United Nations. This Organization must develop its full potential if mankind is to go forward. We are confident that we will go forward together.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*