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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHAWAK
(Afghanistan).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Members are aware that by a telegram of 19 September 1966 the Ambassador of Indonesia to the United States of America transmitted the following message to the Secretary-General:

"With reference to the letter of 20 January 1965 from the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and to your letter of 26 February 1965 in answer thereto, I hereby have the honour upon instruction of my Government to inform you that my Government has decided to resume full co-operation with the United Nations and to resume participation in its activities starting with the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. A delegation headed by the Foreign Minister will arrive to attend the Assembly".^{1/}

2. On 22 September 1966 the Presidium Minister for Political Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, conferred with the Secretary-General and with me and reiterated the decision of the Government of Indonesia to resume full participation in the activities of the United Nations, as stated in the telegram of 19 September 1966.

3. It will be recalled that by letter of 20 January 1965 the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia confirmed information orally given the Secretary-General on 31 December 1964 that:

"Indonesia has decided at this stage and under the present circumstances to withdraw from the United Nations".

The letter also stated, in answer to an earlier appeal by the Secretary-General not to adopt this course of action, that:

"Indonesia still upholds the lofty principles of international co-operation as enshrined in the United Nations Charter".^{2/}

Finally, it was requested that the Secretary-General make arrangements for the Indonesian Mission in New York to "maintain its official status" until 1 March 1965.

4. Upon receipt of the foregoing letter, the Secretary-General circulated it to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, these being the two bodies concerned with membership questions, and transmitted it directly to all Governments of Member States, as the Governments of the States parties to the Charter. He also held consultations with Members of the Organization—that is, members of the Security Council and heads of regional groups. Neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly took any formal action on the Indonesian letter.

5. After the consultations with Member States, the Secretary-General, on 26 February 1965, replied to the letter of 20 January 1965 from the Indonesian Foreign Minister. This reply, which is contained in documents recorded the administrative steps taken by the Secretary-General and continued, as follows:

"Your statement that 'Indonesia has decided at this stage and under the present circumstances to withdraw from the United Nations' and your assurance that 'Indonesia still upholds the lofty principles of international co-operation as enshrined in the United Nations Charter' have been noted.

"As you requested, arrangements have been made for the Indonesian Mission in New York to 'maintain its official status' until 1 March 1965.

"In conclusion, I wish to express both the profound regret which is widely felt in the United Nations that Indonesia has found it necessary to adopt the course of action outlined in your letter and the earnest hope that in due time it will resume full co-operation with the United Nations".^{3/}

6. On 1 March 1965, pursuant to the Secretary-General's instructions, the necessary "administrative actions" were taken by the Secretariat, *inter alia*, to remove the Indonesian name-plate and flag. Thereafter, Indonesia ceased to be listed as a Member of the Organization, or of United Nations principal and

^{1/} Ibid., Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, document S/6157.

^{2/} Ibid., document S/6202.

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7498.

subsidiary organs of which it had been a member solely by virtue of its membership in the United Nations itself. Furthermore, the name of Indonesia does not appear in resolution 2118 (XX) of 21 December 1965, whereby the Assembly fixed the scale of assessments of Member States for the financial years 1965, 1966 and 1967—nor is it assessed in the same resolution as a non-member for the expenses of certain organs in which non-members participate.

7. Members will recall that the telegram of 19 September 1966, which I read at the outset of my statement, refers to the decision of the Government of Indonesia "to resume full co-operation with the United Nations". It would therefore appear that the Government of Indonesia considers that its recent absence from the Organization was based not upon a withdrawal from the United Nations but upon a cessation of co-operation. The action so far taken by the United Nations on this matter would not appear to preclude this view. If this is also the general view of the membership, the Secretary-General would give instructions for the necessary administrative actions to be taken for Indonesia to participate again in the proceedings of the Organization. It may be assumed that, from the time that Indonesia resumes participation, it will meet in full its budgetary obligations. If it is the general view that the bond of membership has continued throughout the period of non-participation, it would be the intention of the Secretary-General to negotiate an appropriate payment with the representatives of Indonesia for that period and to report the outcome of his negotiations to the Fifth Committee for its consideration.

8. Unless I hear any objection, I would assume that it is the will of the membership that Indonesia should resume full participation in the activities of the United Nations and that the Secretary-General may proceed in the manner I have outlined.

9. There being no objection, I invite the members of the delegation of Indonesia to take their seats in the General Assembly.

The members of the delegation of Indonesia took their seats in the General Assembly.

10. I am sure that I speak for all of us assembled here when I express sincere appreciation of the decision of Indonesia to resume full participation in the activities of the United Nations. It is with the utmost pleasure that I welcome the Foreign Minister of Indonesia and his colleagues to this twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

11. I call on the Foreign Minister of Indonesia to make a statement.

12. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): Since the first day of this Assembly, last Tuesday, several representatives have referred to my country's resumption of activities in the United Nations and have expressed their warm welcome to my Government and delegation.

13. Permit me, Mr. President, to thank you for your words of welcome and for your co-operation in smoothing the way for our return to the United Nations. I also wish to express the gratitude of my delegation for the statements of the same nature made by representatives. My delegation is indeed deeply moved

by this expression of their confidence, and looks forward with enthusiasm to co-operation and collaboration with all delegations.

14. Finally, may I thank you, Mr. Secretary-General, for your assistance, and you and all the Secretariat for your and its advice and co-operation in making our reparticipation in the United Nations a smooth and happy one.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

15. Mr. VAZQUEZ SALAS (Peru) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, in the tense international situation of today, your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly is a cause for great satisfaction and for hope. Your judicious and distinguished work in the United Nations has been characterized by a high sense of responsibility, impartiality, dedication to peace and to harmony among nations, a profound knowledge of the Charter and the rules of procedure and a rare gift for finding ways of promoting understanding and reconciliation in moments of stress. These qualities are a guarantee of the success of this session as we confront the grave problems which you so aptly and frankly described in your opening words. It falls to you to continue the outstanding work performed by your predecessor, who conducted our proceedings with deep wisdom and exquisite courtesy during a crisis which appeared insurmountable, thus remaining true to the fine traditions of his great country.

16. I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General. For five years it has fallen to him to represent in his person the spirit and the aims of this Organization, and only my respect for his personal reasons prevents me from appealing to him to continue his work at this crucial time in the history of mankind; however, I am confident that his example and counsel will help the United Nations in meeting the immense responsibilities fate has laid upon it.

17. On behalf of the Government of Peru, I should like to welcome Guyana, and I trust that it will always actively co-operate in the defence of peace and international order.

18. Distinguished speakers before me have already commented on the great world issues, and I therefore feel that, speaking for the Government of Peru, I should devote this statement to, and place special emphasis on, one particular subject—namely, the review being made at the international level of the problem of under-development. This problem is one of major interest to the Government of Peru.

19. In 1964, one year after the beginning of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry's administration, we gave expression to the desire of the Peruvian people to combat, by legal and democratic means, the great and growing inequality which existed and still exists in my country between the haves and the have-nots. It was the vigorous and legitimate message of a people wishing to see democracy prevail in the economic sphere. We said then and we repeat today that there

*Resumed from the 1418th meeting.

has to be a strict correspondence between legal equality and economic equality, and between needs and the satisfaction of needs. These are the objectives towards which the efforts of my Government have been directed in recent years; we have been endeavouring to ensure that the legal order in force reflects with absolute accuracy the common interests of the majority, and the steps we have taken to this end are beginning to make themselves felt. There are various ways of changing social and economic structures, and Peru has its own ancient method, borrowed from the Incas, through which we are trying to set our whole economy in motion. This powerful instrument is the general, spontaneous mobilization of the people's energies, which we can now combine with the resources mobilized by State capital within a free enterprise system.

20. It was popular co-operation that made the Empire of the Incas great, and we are drawing on it today in organizing central depots of machinery, equipment and tools which are placed in the hands of people eager for work. Both in the past and now, it is thanks to a splendid collective effort that we have been able to construct local roads, aqueducts and school buildings, and to undertake many other public works. In these projects, the State provides only technical advice and materials. It would not have been possible to give so much to the community in such a short time. The record of achievements speaks for itself: of 7,000 projects begun under the programme of Popular Co-operation since 1963, more than 2,800 have been completed. The effects of the modest amounts of public funds invested in these projects have been multiplied three times and more, thanks to the voluntary efforts of the people. That is to say, an investment of only 165 million soles has made possible the completion of projects worth 500 million soles.

21. Popular co-operation still represents only a beginning in the creation of the vast machinery Peru needs for its development, but we are sure that it will gain momentum as the State gradually acquires more resources to speed the work.

22. The new roads represent the first step towards bringing about the physical integration of Peru. For a long time we Peruvians were, in a sense, a people with a Mediterranean mentality. Our principal cities were established, following the Spanish conquest, in the narrow, fertile valleys lying along a desert coast. It was a peripheral country, whose people had forgotten that across the sea from its arid coast there were other peoples and continents and that behind them on the far side of the majestic range of the Andes, itself a treasury of minerals of all kinds, lay the real storehouse with which nature had so generously endowed us. Communications were needed and are still needed to give access to this area, and the Government of my country, bearing in mind the needs of the present and of the immediate future, and preparing us for the irreversible and inevitable process of Latin American integration, is giving priority attention to that matter. In the Peruvian forest region there are other, natural means of communication—the rivers of the Amazon basin—which will have to play a major part in bringing about Latin American integration.

23. Another aspect of our economic and social development to which particular importance is attached by the Government is the strengthening of the agricultural sector. Fifty-one per cent of the population of Peru is engaged in agriculture; it is a high percentage, but it contributes only 17.4 per cent to the national economy. The pressure of population growth, proceeding at an annual rate of 3.02 per cent, exceeds the 2.8 per cent increase in agricultural production. The low man-land ratio in a country with more than 12 million inhabitants and only 2,180,000 hectares of cultivated land is one of the most acute and pressing problems before us. With a view to attacking this problem at its very root and in its many facets, particularly through increasing productivity in the cultivated areas and bringing new land under cultivation, the democratic process of countrywide land reform was begun three years ago. We believe in the efficacy of the means and methods used, for they reflect a new spirit and rely on three factors: a realistic programme, the co-operation of the top strata of society, and the determination of the Peruvian people to carry out this reform. In speaking of the co-operation of the top strata of society, I would point out that the legislation in force in my country provides full guarantees for Peruvian and foreign investors. This principle is upheld today more than ever. Nevertheless, we consider that it is necessary and urgent to introduce reforms in the fields of commercial enterprise and taxation; we have begun to carry out such reforms, without any encroachment on rights or violation of principles, and the results have definitely been positive.

24. In view of the desirability and feasibility of multilateral co-operation to promote a fairer land tenure system in Latin America, the Peruvian Government has, at a number of international gatherings, supported the proposal for international underwriting of bonds issued by States as part of national land reform campaigns. We are counting on the support of other countries and trust that the international financial institutions will continue to devote attention to this proposal.

25. The policies of the Government which I represent in this world body, in promoting economic and social progress, can thus be considered satisfactory. The increase in the national income in 1965 was 8.5 per cent, placing Peru at the head of the Latin American countries. In the domestic sphere, the real gross national product increased by 4.3 per cent, and in the external sphere the foreign currency reserves rose appreciably. The increase in both public and private investment exceeded the previous year's level by 30 per cent, rising to 25 per cent of the gross national product, and the financial policy of my country achieved the objectives of maintaining and protecting the stability of the currency, creating full employment and increasing the sources of production. In spite of all this, however, where international trade is concerned we are not yet satisfied. We continue to battle against under-development, and it is clear that the functioning of our economic structure in the fields of production, exports and trade still retains the basic features of instability and dependence common to the under-developed countries of the world. In 1965, for example, the value of

our exports showed an increase of only 1 per cent, less than the average rate for the period 1960-1964, mainly owing to the fall in the international prices of some of our principal export products. This is the tragedy of a mineral-producing country whose primary product economy is subject to the fluctuations of foreign prices and markets and the recurrent deterioration in the terms of trade.

26. In order to avoid such dislocations, Peru has embarked on the process of industrialization. In a free enterprise system, this process takes time, because it is conditional on the requirements and the planning of private enterprise, but in the long run it brings unquestionable rewards. Peru's industrial growth rate in 1965 was 7 per cent, or almost the same as in the two preceding years.

27. We are becoming increasingly convinced, however, that international trade will have to play a preponderant role, particularly if it is aimed at achieving an equitable distribution of the wealth created at the international level. Hence the importance of the efforts of regional organizations and, above all, of the United Nations, and of their declarations, enunciations of principles and programmes of economic, scientific and technical assistance. If, in the past, international trade brought no benefits to most of the developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, it was because the highly industrialized countries converted them into mere suppliers of industrial raw materials. A dispassionate analysis of the achievements during that portion of the United Nations Development Decade which has already gone by reveals very modest progress. The gap between industrialized and developing countries, or between rich and poor, continues to widen because of the delay in making trade an instrument for development, a goal proclaimed at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964. Under-development is still winning the battle, and the great Powers are maintaining the rate of militarization of their economies and diverting to that purpose vast resources which could be devoted to the rapid and systematic development of depressed areas. My Government believes that the World Conference to which I have just referred, besides providing the occasion for a statement of will which is reflected in the principles, declarations and resolutions adopted, was the most important event of this decade, along with the establishment of the United Nations International Development Organization. We trust that the Trade and Development Board, to which we will give our warm support, will begin its work by finding rational formulas which will help us to avoid a confrontation between want and abundance and facilitate the achievement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

28. Peru's position as regards the reorganization of world trade in the interests of development is and has always been clear. It shares the aspirations of the bloc of under-developed countries of Asia and Africa, and, as to methods, it is in agreement with the other Latin American countries. The Bogotá Act, the Punta del Este Charter, the Alta Gracia Charter and the conclusions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, all documents in whose

formulation Peru co-operated actively, reflect the goals of our endeavours at the international level in the fields of international trade and economic integration, and that is why we stress and will continue to stress the urgent need to harmonize the action of the United Nations with that of the organs of the American regional system.

29. Fully conscious of the absolute necessity for the establishment of an autonomous organ for the promotion of industrial development, my Government was one of those which fought most vigorously for the setting up of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).

30. The Latin American countries took the initiative at the last session of the Assembly, and, with the support of the other developing countries and the sympathy of the industrialized countries, particularly the United States, a formula was found making possible the establishment of UNIDO, which will be one of the principal instruments of world economic development.

31. Now that five years have elapsed since the Alliance for Progress was set in motion, on the basis of the principles formulated at Punta del Este, it can be seen, from analyses and assessments emanating from various sources, that the programme begun as a result of President Kennedy's generous initiative has failed to acquire the necessary solidity, vigour, and unity of purpose and action to give Latin America that strong impetus for social and economic progress which its development requires.

32. It is argued with good reason, on the one hand, that the assistance received by the Latin American countries is not large enough nor granted under sufficiently flexible conditions taking into account the interests of the recipients. On the other hand, it is also frequently stated that there is not enough determination on the part of Latin American leaders to reform economic and social structures.

33. Without going into a detailed analysis of that last assertion, I would say that it has a very relative degree of truth and is not generally applicable; moreover, it basically begs the question, since it is quite clear that it would be difficult to make a complete transformation of structures without first having adequate assistance and, even more, without fair treatment in fields outside the competence of the Alliance for Progress which are more related to the existing terms of foreign trade in the world. These and other related matters will be dealt with at the meeting of Heads of State of the countries of the Pan-American system, which will be a meeting of the utmost significance.

34. We are aware of the limitations which the principles of the Charter impose on this Organization. The principle of sovereignty emphasizes the fact that no one is entitled to interfere in matters within the exclusive competence of States. The principle of equality rules out any type of action which might have an unfavourable effect on the international personality of any State. All this means that United Nations decisions represent positions the strength of which is the result of the weight of opinion supporting them.

35. I have therefore been charged by my Government to express to this Assembly its renewed faith in the destinies of the United Nations and in the Principles and Purposes on which the Charter is based and which we constantly practise.

36. In the world of today there are political anxieties which are striving to find expression. They relate, primarily, to the need to defend and confirm the value of the human person at every opportunity. Towards this end there is now a juridical movement aimed at giving form and practical content to the protection of human rights. The culmination of this process will mean the settlement of an old dispute between schools of thought and the establishment of man as a social unit in his rightful place.

37. A part of this creative process has already been achieved. The Paris Declaration of 1948 was supplemented by the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man^{4/} of the same year, although in fact the American document preceded the other chronologically. The States of the European union have achieved even more tangible progress with the establishment of an international protective jurisdiction. Similar progress is being made within the United Nations and the Organization of American States. All this means that we can view the future with optimism. For the time being, the stage reached in the studies and the specific projects which have been approved shows that the old idea that there were insurmountable obstacles preventing Governments from acting together in such matters, which traditionally lay within their domestic competence, has already been rejected.

38. As is well known, side by side with the formulation and reaffirmation of principles there are certain problems that influence the behaviour of Governments and direct or determine their international conduct. What the keynote of such problems is will determine whether there will be greater or lesser understanding in the management of affairs of State. It can be said that a characteristic of our age is the threat of crisis, or the periodic crises which impair international relations and create an atmosphere of general insecurity. If we bear in mind the interdependence of modern life, we may conclude that any threat or unlawful action in any part of the world will inevitably have an unbalancing or disturbing effect in other areas, both because of the wider dissemination of universal ideas and because of the economic consequences that result from their being put into practice.

39. At this point, therefore, I must express our most sincere hope, that the desire of the German people for unity will be realized within the legal framework established by the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

40. There are no problems of broader scope or greater urgency than those affecting peace and security. Included among them are the problems of the economic and social development of the vast under-developed areas of the world, which are the seed from which the worst conflicts spring, because

collective security is made up of a whole complex of situations requiring a total solution based on a unitary concept of legal, economic and social security.

41. However, we are still far from such a concept of international order. The unitary concept of peace is jeopardized by the existence of many conflicts to which are applied partial solutions—barely satisfactory even for each specific case—without any universal criterion and without any consideration of the factors of interdependence which make the physical separation of States something relative, or a kind of provisional satisfaction of local needs.

42. I should like to say that the Peruvian Government enthusiastically welcomed the appeal of His Holiness the Pope for the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam, an appeal which has just been repeated in a most impressive way. The Government of my country is always ready to co-operate to achieve this humanitarian goal.

43. There are still serious problems which are symptoms of the organic disturbance of our age. One of them even affects the future of the human race. I refer specifically to disarmament and the use and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This is a dilemma which is of concern to the whole civilized world. While United Nations efforts are redoubled, certain political factors continue to influence the conduct of the Governments concerned and so far have nullified any decision on nuclear disarmament. Any favourable attitude has to be political; it has to be the result, or the consequence, of an atmosphere of confidence brought about by positive steps to meet the problems dividing the great Powers.

44. My Government and people reject the use of nuclear energy for warlike purposes. This is true of all the Latin American countries which at this very moment are working to bring about an agreement, guaranteed by the major Powers concerned in the use of nuclear energy, to ensure the de-nuclearization of Latin America through the establishment of appropriate machinery.

45. From what I have said, it is clear that there are great dangers lying in wait for civilization and peace. To eliminate them is the most constructive thing that statesmen can do and policies should be directed toward this end if we consider that it is policies that regulate the ethics of nations. But these are not the only dangers. I am not thinking only of a mental attitude to counter those dangers which loom largest. There are other dangers which threaten nations just as much. There are indirect factors at work creating political anarchy and subversion in areas where all efforts should be directed toward promoting work and welfare. There have recently been some painful manifestations of the dangers of subversive infiltration, particularly for the peoples of the Americas. For this reason we have defended and we shall defend the principle of non-intervention, which is not, as one writer has observed, a position of isolation but one of security. This position has been one of the great American achievements and is today the keystone of its regional system of law.

46. The American Republics therefore consider it an outstanding triumph of their legal tradition that the

^{4/} Final Act, Ninth International Conference of American States, signed at Bogotá on 2 May 1948.

formula of non-intervention adopted by this Assembly last year is in line with the broader scope that they give to this principle.

47. Now that this principle is part of positive international law, the sovereignty of States can be maintained within the proper limits of authority. This means that we must recognize that the political independence of States is the first aim of international solidarity, and therefore that the primary restriction that law imposes on States is to refrain from exerting any authority in the territory of another State. It follows that military occupation may not be imposed unilaterally, by the authority of one State, on the territory of another State. All emergency international action must be strictly limited, under the authority of the competent international bodies, in both duration and scope, by the needs which gave rise to it. This concept of respect for the personality of States, and the right of States to develop freely without the intervention or control of any other State, has a special significance at present: the claim that we, the Latin American States, are making for the principle of self-determination and for the right to assistance to counter foreign political activity aimed at disrupting or disturbing the life of our peoples and their idea of competence and authority in domestic affairs.

48. This is a phenomenon which our age has developed to the full as a reflection of the crisis that exists in political and social philosophy. The danger at present resides in the struggle for zones of influence or for the development of a capricious policy of winning over States to particular political and economic doctrines. In view of the methods that are used in this matter, the Governments affected are obliged to increase their vigilance, strengthen their means of defence and, if necessary, resolutely oppose any policy of interference in their domestic affairs.

49. Peru has given its firmest support to the principle of non-intervention and will unswervingly continue to defend world legal order, based on respect for the personality of States—as formed by the self-determination of peoples—and on faithful compliance with the obligations flowing from international treaties, an unalterable legal order which is laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and supported by the Organization of American States. Peru takes pride in the fact that its territory comprises not an inch more than was included in its original Constitution, a sacred and inviolable achievement of the emancipation movement.

50. I should like to place special emphasis on the rightful value which is now being placed in international circles on science and technology as factors with a basic effect on the progress of the developing countries.

51. I should stress the advisability of ensuring that the developing countries receive the benefits of the continued and astounding advances of science and technology, not individually but as groups of countries, associated regionally or sub-regionally, due regard being paid, in addition, to the sectoral criteria relating to their application.

52. It is obvious that, both regionally and sub-regionally, groups of countries offer the best

opportunities both for the establishment of joint institutions and for the planned interchange of scientists and technicians, many of whom at present emigrate to highly developed countries. Moreover, the application of science and technology often encounters serious obstacles when methods appropriate to highly developed regions are adapted for economically and socially depressed areas.

53. In this way groups or sub-groups of countries could have vast opportunities available to them, ranging from the field of pure research—which is inseparable from balanced scientific progress—to the most specialized of technological fields.

54. All this is of particular significance for Latin America, a region in which the exploitation of natural resources offers enormous prospects but also requires a corresponding amount of properly co-ordinated effort to carry out the necessary evaluation and study of those resources.

55. I have in mind in this connexion the case of South America, which has chosen to set up its development nuclei on its periphery, still leaving the centre of the subcontinent insufficiently developed, an area which comprises most of the eastern slopes of the Andes, which has vast resources and a dry tropical climate, and which is one of the areas with the greatest future in the world.

56. There is one other thing which is worthy of mention. The bodies of what is called the Pan-American system are always speaking in favour of the integration of the Latin American countries, a process which would require appropriate scientific and technological assistance.

57. There are two groups of countries in Latin America which are carrying out separate forms of integration, which can of course be harmonized, and both groups have attained sufficient maturity to be able to make constructive use of the scientific and technological assistance they need.

58. All the goals I have described will be achieved only to the extent that nations have enough vision and imagination to do what has to be done in close co-operation. It is to be hoped that international organizations will play the predominant role in bringing this about, particularly in the scientific and technological fields.

59. The constant growth and ever-increasing complexity of international organizations makes it advisable to review the existing means of co-ordinating their activities and thus preventing duplication of effort and the wastage of resources which are so scanty compared with the needs of a world which is overwhelmed by the problems of the developing countries.

60. There are difficult problems which require solutions proportionate to their size, such as the creation of new bodies, the increase in the activities and programmes of existing bodies, the proposed reorganization of the field services of some specialized agencies, together with the budgetary problems of regional offices and other similar problems that this entails.

61. The efficiency and the efforts of the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies in carrying out the directives of both the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council are well known, but perhaps the time has come to provide a more centralized and more comprehensive institutional framework with greater powers for the bodies which are responsible for co-ordination.

62. This should not be confined to improving co-ordination among the various organs and bodies of the United Nations system. It is necessary to improve co-ordination with international bodies outside the system, especially with such regional bodies as the Organization of American States.

63. In connexion with this question of co-ordination, I should like to recall the eloquent appeal made a few months ago by the Director-General of UNESCO that the assistance given by certain countries to others should be brought more into line with the programmes undertaken in similar fields by the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

64. I shall conclude by stating in this Assembly that my Government is certain that the United Nations will continue to fulfil its lofty purposes. This is the best wish that we can express. It is the hope of our peoples as expressed in the public forum of international opinion. The Government of Peru resolutely maintains its support for the Charter of the United Nations and is a standard bearer for the policy of international peace and harmony. Here, in the organs of the United Nations, the representatives of my country have always struck a note of solidarity and conciliation in the heated discussions. We have always supported the rule of justice, for we consider it the supreme factor in any scale of human values. Whatever crises the United Nations may have to pass through should be viewed as so many steps along the long road still to be travelled towards the distant goals which are sought for the sake of all mankind.

65. Mr. COUVE DE MURVILLE (France) (translated from French): Mr. President, at the very beginning of its contribution to the general discussion, the French delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at seeing the General Assembly meet under your distinguished leadership. France has been on friendly terms with Afghanistan for too long not to be pleased that its representative has assumed so high an office. Moreover, your personality, your experience, and your objectivity are so well known to all—and to us in particular—that we cannot but be assured that you will exercise your mandate in the best possible way.

66. Thus, by a seemingly symbolic coincidence, Asia becomes the keynote of our Assembly, which is opening in circumstances very different—less complicated and, at the same time, more dramatic—from those in which it found itself last year.

67. At that time we were just emerging from an operational crisis, apparently due to the Organization's financial difficulties, but in fact due to differences of opinion among many Members, including the big Powers, on the interpretation or application of the basic provisions of the Charter dealing with the powers of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Matters came to such a pass that, in effect,

there was no General Assembly in 1964. In 1965, however, we came together in an atmosphere of rediscovery, and, consequently, we made the issues which had given rise to the crisis the principal items for discussion.

68. The passage of time has enabled us to place these issues in their true perspective, and that is why the foreground is now dominated by different problems which are normally our primary concern. I refer to those which arise from the international situation.

69. Of course, we cannot claim that everything dealt with in the General Assembly's stopgap resolution of 1 September 1965 [1331st meeting] has now been finally settled. We know that the financing of peace-keeping operations is still highly controversial and that the recent attempts to reach a conclusion, if only provisional, in the Committee of Thirty-Three^{5/} have been totally unsuccessful. We are aware also that the United Nations balance-sheet still shows a deficit, although the present figures are considerably lower than those submitted not too long ago. But while we all attach importance to these two questions, while we realize that certain friendly delegations—I am thinking mainly of Canada and Ireland—are set on resolving the first of them, we are fully aware that no one wishes to augment the number of peace-keeping operations and that, in reality, no new intervention is now being contemplated and will not be, I hope, for a long time to come. We expect, furthermore, that by holding a discussion as soon as possible, in a spirit of general goodwill, of the report of the Committee of Fourteen^{6/} we shall be able to obtain new funds and to take the necessary decisions for the more efficient management, in future, of the administrative and financial affairs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. France considers that the two parts of the report are interdependent; with this reservation we are ready to discuss it and to participate, with all the other delegations, in the necessary measures.

70. May I add in this connexion that we French cannot fail to take very seriously everything which concerns the use of the French language in this great international forum. In view of the decisions taken on this subject from the very beginning, in view of the increase in the number of French-speaking nations, we regard the present situation as completely unsatisfactory. Even if some progress has recently been made, at the persistent urging of the delegations concerned, much remains to be done to restore the situation to normal. The necessary effort must be forthcoming.

71. As I said before, administrative and financial problems are not our main concern this year. A striking example of this is the dismay created within this Organization by the Secretary-General's announcement that he would not accept an extension of his term of office. It is obvious that such dismay springs not only from our esteem—shall I say our affection?—for Mr. Thant, but also from a painful

^{5/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

^{6/} *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

awareness of his motives. His stand is a carefully reasoned one. If it is possible for him to charge it, no one would be happier than the French delegation. But, since it is a personal question and a matter of conscience, we can only respect his final decision, whatever it may be.

72. As I pointed out at the beginning, the fact that both our President and our Secretary-General come from Asia will be reflected in our feelings and reactions. Asia, even more so today than in the past, is the object of our gravest fears. It is in Asia, more precisely in South-East Asia, that the war, which, already last year, was expanding as more and more military equipment was brought in, has reached the point where, should it go on—and, unfortunately, all signs point to this frightening possibility—it could jeopardize much more than the peace of this illfated region of the globe.

73. Admittedly, the United Nations does not have the authority to intervene in this tragedy through the formal channels provided by the Charter. Only one of the parties to the conflict is represented here. Neither Viet-Nam nor China has yet been given a seat. Hence, resolutions or recommendations would lack both a legal basis and practical effectiveness. Moreover, legally speaking, the Geneva Agreements, though not actually in force, are still valid and therefore applicable. The problem is still everyone's concern, and that is why, during this general discussion, successive speakers have felt compelled to voice their fears, their distress, their suggestions, if not their hopes. The French delegation will certainly do likewise. Thus, perhaps, at the conclusion of this debate, there will emerge from the multitude of reactions one international public opinion which all of us represent; indeed, one of the greatest advantages of the General Assembly is that it permits such a universal opinion to emerge, openly and solemnly expressed. This, in our opinion, is the limit of our capabilities. But who would dare argue that such a sincere and unequivocal expression of our collective sentiments will not carry great weight?

74. In considering this vital issue, the French delegation cannot help thinking and saying that, as this cruel war continues to escalate, the question we must ask is no longer: why are they fighting, what are the aims of each side? It is rather: are not the very survival of the Viet-Nameese people and its future as a nation at stake? The destruction of property and the loss of human life are proceeding at such a pace that this question arises above all others in the minds of every objective observer. In the face of this material and human tragedy, what is the importance of ideology, political scheming, and the manoeuvrings of the great Powers? If, when the fighting is ended, Viet-Nam is nothing more than a land of ruin and death—and this is already true to a certain extent—what is the purpose of these battles and of these interventions, whatever their source? For us at the United Nations there is no idea more important than the idea that the destruction of a nation is inconceivable.

75. Viet-Nam has been racked by violence and war for a quarter of a century. Together with its neighbours, Laos and Cambodia, Viet-Nam might have believed twelve years ago that its sufferings had been

ended by the Geneva Agreements, whose aim was to establish throughout former Indo-China a permanent cease-fire and an international control system which would ensure the independence of the four States, provided that they remained neutral and that outside Powers did not intervene in their internal affairs. In Cambodia an enlightened and courageous Government has wisely rejected all foreign interference; hence it has not been touched by the war and has preserved its national unity. Viet-Nam and Laos have not been so fortunate—or perhaps so meritorious. As a result, in Laos, there is a virtual state of war; in South Viet-Nam, for years, there has been a very real war which for the last eighteen months has been extended to North Viet-Nam.

76. For years France has been arguing that there is only one way to break the present military deadlock, for one cannot conceive either that United States power will be defeated or that a people who desire their independence, regardless of their ordeals and suffering, will yield. Since only a political solution is conceivable—and that has been universally recognized—we must, by common consent, enter into negotiations aimed at reviving the Geneva Agreements. This means agreeing to evacuate all foreign troops and to prohibit their return and forbidding any outside interference whatsoever in the affairs of Viet-Nam, which will undertake to maintain in future a policy of strict neutrality. These directives would be embodied in an international treaty which would be signed by—and hence would be binding upon—all the great Powers and other countries directly involved. It also means—provided that the above conditions are fulfilled—leaving the Viet-Nameese, both North and South, the former to manage, the latter to continue to manage their own affairs in complete liberty and on their own responsibility, under whatever form of government they may choose. The question of reunification would be recognized as a purely Viet-Nameese problem, to be settled, when the time comes, in full independence between the parties concerned.

77. Is the execution of such a programme, which presupposes the opening and successful conclusion of negotiations of the highest importance, conceivable in the face of continuing escalation and the irreconcilable character of the United States and Viet-Nameese positions? This war is shrouded in a gloomy fatalism which constantly prevents the adversaries from declaring their readiness to negotiate.

78. This is not at all surprising if we observe that, from the moment a military solution is excluded and hence when weapons are no longer considered to be the deciding factor, the negotiation of a political solution is conceivable only if both sides realize and admit what such a solution must involve. And this solution, in our opinion, cannot be other than the one I have just outlined.

79. With the escalation continuing, how could such an overture conceivably come from anyone but the great Power directly involved, whose intervention has been one of the basic contributing factors and which is, therefore, the only party in a position to make the move which will open up all possibilities and, first of all, that of peace? As was said in the

General Assembly a few days ago, the greater the power and influence, the greater the responsibility.

80. Less than a month ago at Phnom Penh, General de Gaulle stated:

"The possibility and, *a fortiori*, the actual opening of such extensive and difficult negotiations would obviously depend on the decision and the commitment which the United States would first have to make to withdraw its forces by a suitable and predetermined date."

The President of the French Republic added:

"France says this on the basis of its experience and disinterestedness. It says this by reason of the task it has performed in that part of Asia, the ties it has maintained there and the interest which it still has in the peoples living there—an interest which it knows to be reciprocated. It speaks in the name of its unique and 200-year-old friendship for the United States and the idea it has so far had of that country, seeing it—as the United States sees itself—as a country which upholds the view that peoples must be allowed to determine their own destiny in their own way."

81. May I recall that, not so long ago, France itself was involved, although for quite different reasons and in a quite different situation, in a war that likewise could only continue fruitlessly so long as a political solution was not forthcoming? Although the French forces unquestionably had the upper hand, France opened the doors to negotiation by declaring, of its own accord, Algeria's right to self-determination and thus putting independence within its reach. That initiative made it possible to open negotiations, while at the same time defining the basic objective of the agreements to be concluded. Who, at that time, sincerely thought that by so doing France was compromising its interests, weakening its position or jeopardizing its prestige? On the contrary, what an impact that memorable decision had! What an audience we gained in the world as a result of the ensuing agreements and the ending of the cruel fighting that could no longer lead to anything!

82. The United States needs neither support nor advice, even though it told us, through its eminent representative, who knows the friendly esteem in which the French delegation holds him, that it wanted discussions. We know its power and its determination; and we know too how generous are its sentiments and how firm its belief in its ideals. I think I need say no more.

83. Pending the new developments which the world anxiously awaits, each month that passes can only increase the tension and the risks of a widening of the conflict. Should we be surprised, then, if the Viet-Nam issue gradually draws us back into an era which we thought belonged to the past, provoking a new flare-up of the cold war which we thought, not so long ago, was about to become a part of history? That is the scene we are witnessing right here in the General Assembly, as we hear, day after day, all these divergent speeches and proposals. Could we really have expected otherwise?

84. I would like to think that nothing is irrevocably jeopardized; but there is a total blockage or hold-up on the path which would lead to a relaxation of tension, to co-operation and, finally, to understanding.

85. It will not be today or tomorrow that the United Nations will be in a position to settle the problem of China and to give that vast country, whatever its attitudes, its rightful say in the discussion of major problems, and above all those of Asia, to bring into this Organization an element of realism that is sorely lacking and, in short, to pave the way towards what must one day—saving a world conflict beyond the bounds of human imagination—be the new concert of nations.

86. It will not be today or tomorrow that any progress will become possible in the field of disarmament and, primarily, of course, nuclear disarmament. Non-dissemination itself is meeting unexpected obstacles, even though there seems to be nothing opposing it when one looks at the well-defined policy of the nuclear Powers and the general goodwill of the non-nuclear Powers.

87. It will not be today nor tomorrow that we shall be able to expect a meeting of Western and socialist Powers to plan a concerted and effective policy towards the less developed countries, whether in the matter of financial aid, increased sales of primary commodities at fair prices, or simply technical assistance.

88. In this dark picture, I should like, however, to point out a few bright spots which offer some hope for the future. I am thinking especially of Europe. There too no lasting solutions have been found, in particular with regard to the future of Germany. We know full well that there will be no lasting and truly peaceful settlement in our part of the world so long as this major problem remains without a solution achieved in peace, that is, with the agreement of all concerned and, in the first place, the Germans themselves. Doubtless, as in the case of the other European questions, this solution will be found only at the end of a long and difficult process. But it is perhaps not out of the question to think that this process is, in a way, already mapped out. For some years now Europe has been free of the crises which, so long after the war was over, continued to divide it in the rigid and inhuman way that we remember only too well. The iron curtain and the ideological and military bloc are beginning to give way before the general desire to normalize relations and affirm national identities. France is happy, for its part, to contribute to the full extent of its powers to a movement which is healthy because it marks the return to normality and to old ties broken by the cold war and because it paves the way towards the future. France is happy to see that in Western Europe, as in Eastern Europe, it is meeting with approval and encouragement. It has good reason to hope that, if no outside cataclysm occurs—a cataclysm which would inevitably affect our old continent once it became world-wide—the movement thus started will be continued and extended. Thus, the conditions would gradually be created for a general opening up of Europe from the inside, for a broad development of political, economic, human and cultural exchanges, and for a constructive discussion of all the major problems facing the European Powers,

foremost among them as always being that of Germany. If no outside factor interrupts the incipient course of this development, we have reason to feel reasonably optimistic, and I am sure that the General Assembly welcomes the fact as much as we do.

89. This year again, Africa is a major preoccupation. Some of the important issues there are already or doubtless soon will be included in our agenda. They are all rooted in the same cause, namely, the fact that there are still some parts of that vast continent which are still untouched by the great movement of liberation, or decolonization if you prefer, which has entirely reshaped that continent over the past fifteen years and brought into our Organization so many new sovereign independent States. The basic principle of this emancipation has been the recognition of the right of peoples—of all peoples—to self-determination. In a certain number of cases, this right has not been recognized, or else, if recognized, confined to a minority by virtue of a racial discrimination which is contrary to all our convictions and to the very principles of the United Nations Charter.

90. These anomalies or anachronisms, which are in such flagrant contradiction with the general current of events and of mankind, have created local situations which are or which are liable to become tragic and have given rise throughout Africa to understandable feelings of distress which time will not assuage. France is too firmly committed everywhere, and especially where its responsibilities are concerned, to respect for man's right to self-determination, not to share those feelings. It is in this spirit that we shall take part in the forthcoming discussions, aware of the need to make our positions clear beyond any possibility of doubt and aware too that, above and beyond those positions, we must strive to determine what will be useful, practical and effective, within the framework of our principles and in accordance with the rules of our Charter.

91. With these words on the African problems, which are by no means of secondary importance, I have completed the survey of the major international issues facing us at this time. There are, I know, for many, still other sources of concern. At least three quarters of the Organization's members are faced, each in its own way, by the major problem of their own development. This is, moreover, their primary responsibility, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to the international community, if they want to be in a position to play in it their rightful role. Just now I was somewhat pessimistic about the prospects for co-operation in this field between the major Powers in the present circumstances. But that does not mean that the duty of those Powers is any the less imperative. To help their less fortunate comrades to the full extent of their capacity and in every possible form still remains an essential obligation. The results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva in 1964 have been far from satisfactory. No one regrets that more than France. None is more firmly resolved to continue studies and discussions in a desire for progress and success. Evidence of this may be found in my country's achievements in its own co-operation with the developing countries,

starting with those for which it was formerly responsible, and in the volume of resources which it has devoted, is devoting and will continue to devote to such work. However, as always in this field, the way of doing a thing is almost as important as the thing itself. I said from this very rostrum last year, with regard to the policy of co-operation:

"We also believe that such a policy must be subordinated to the express condition that we refrain from linking aid, whatever form it may take, to any political condition whatever, and that we refrain from any intervention, in that connexion, in the affairs of our partners." [1341st meeting, para. 109.]

It is clear that strict respect for such a rule of conduct is closely dependent on the international situation. If the cold war rages, it is bound to make its effect felt everywhere, even in relations between the major Powers and the developing countries. The latter cannot conceivably avoid being regarded by the major Powers as a stake in their rivalries, rather than as the object of their generous and unselfish concern.

92. All things in our universe are inevitably interdependent and this interdependence has increased with our technical progress and our growing feeling of solidarity evidenced, among other things, by the development of international institutions such as this. For that reason, beyond all legitimately national concerns, beyond individual views or interests, beyond regional and continental viewpoints, beyond our pre-occupations as individuals or groups of individuals, there is a good common to all, which belongs to no one in particular because it is universal, which imposes a standard of behaviour and certain obligations on each of us, a common good which must, in the nature of things, find its primary expression in an assembly such as ours and which is called the peace and progress of mankind.

93. For France, peace and progress are the supreme objective of its international policy. It is with a view to peace and progress that France makes its judgments on major issues and endeavours to direct its action. These principles are its sole concern when it speaks of Europe, Africa or development assistance. And similarly when it speaks of Viet-Nam it has no other aim. It is world peace that is at stake wherever fighting is going on; it is world peace that is at stake wherever there is poverty and hunger. Let us all strive together to make that peace a universal reality.

94. Mr. COOMARASWAMY (Singapore): Mr. President, first of all, allow me the pleasant duty of felicitating you on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. Your unanimous election is without doubt due to the esteem in which you are regarded by the representatives at the United Nations, as also by the Member States and, above all, to your capacity for mediation which you have amply demonstrated in the past in the United Nations. It is also a great honour for Afghanistan.

95. I should also like to take this occasion to express our warm greetings to the Foreign Minister of Italy, His Excellency Amintore Fanfani, the outgoing President. We have pleasant recollections of his leadership in the last session, and it was during his

term of office that Singapore was admitted to the United Nations.

96. It is also my pleasant duty to congratulate Guyana on its admission to the United Nations. We join wholeheartedly with all Member nations in welcoming the new and promising State of Guyana to the world community of nations. Like Guyana, we are a small country with a multiracial population. We therefore feel a special solidarity with Guyana in terms of our aspirations and hopes as newly emerging nations forging our statehood in this tumultuous world.

97. We cannot help but notice the Asian triumvirate on the podium, namely, the President, the Secretary-General and his Chef de Cabinet—all three from the Asian region. The last time that the composition on the podium was Asian in character was during the seventeenth session, presided over by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan from Pakistan. It will be recalled that it was that session which saw the eventual election of U Thant as Secretary-General. That session was beclouded by many crucial problems and, in fact, met under the threat of a thermonuclear war caused by the Cuban crisis in October 1962. But the United Nations survived that crisis and has weathered many storms since then.

98. My delegation would like to take the occasion to join the chorus of appreciation of the Secretary-General's leadership and service in the cause of the United Nations. We, in concert with other nations represented in this body, cannot adequately express our disappointment at his recent decision not to accept appointment for another full term as Secretary-General. U Thant has admirably endeavoured to steer the United Nations on a course which would lead to the ultimate objective of the United Nations, namely, world peace. It is very clear that one of the stumbling blocks to this objective has been the failure of the Member States, in particular the major Powers, to reach a détente which would increase the efficiency of the United Nations as an instrument for peace-keeping.

99. With regard to the peace-keeping role, my delegation is indeed disheartened by the failure of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in its efforts to resolve the constitutional and financial controversies of peace-keeping operations. As a small nation, Singapore looks to the United Nations to come to the aid of smaller countries if and when they are attacked by larger and bellicose ones. For this reason, the peace-keeping function of the United Nations is essential to our interests and we hope that efforts will not be relaxed on the part of the major Powers to reach an effective solution to this problem.

100. An overriding factor which has influenced the decision of U Thant is no doubt the Viet-Nam war, to which he has time and again referred as one of the most barbarous in history. Singapore deplores the fighting in Viet-Nam and maintains the position that there should be an early end to this senseless killing through a negotiated settlement. An honourable and early settlement of the conflict can be achieved if the 1954 Geneva Agreement is reactivated and strictly adhered to by the parties concerned. It is also necessary to seek the assurance of the big

Powers that a neutralized zone be created in South-East Asia as a means of reducing tension between the power blocs now in conflict in the region.

101. Singapore welcomes the position taken by the Governments of Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines that Asian problems should be solved by Asians. With regard to the admirable proposal for an Asian Peace Conference, which has been initiated by the leaders of the Association of Southeast Asia, the Government of Singapore would like to reiterate its firm support for any practical steps which would lead to resolving a conflict so clearly fraught with danger to peace and stability in South-East Asia, and indeed the entire world.

102. However, in order to ensure an honourable and early settlement of the conflict, Singapore has expressed the view that any Asian peace conference must have the support of a significant majority, if not all, of the Asian nations. In addition, it is essential that all parties involved in the conflict should adopt a less intransigent frame of mind in regard to their adversary's position than that maintained by them today. This conviction is not dissimilar to one of the three proposals of the Secretary-General, namely, that all parties to the conflict should be invited to the peace conference.

103. On the question of membership of the United Nations, Singapore feels that without representation of the People's Republic of China, the United Nations will continue to lack universality of representation in its membership. It is an undeniable fact that the People's Republic of China, with its mammoth population of about 700 million, represents more than one fifth of humanity. It is therefore unrealistic that the United Nations should continue to bar it from membership. An immediate effect of this policy of exclusion is the impasse reached in the Viet-Nam crisis. Ideological unanimity cannot be achieved here. However, whatever ideological differences may exist between the People's Republic of China and other countries, the cold fact remains that that country has emerged and is advancing as a nuclear Power. As such, it is totally unrealistic to think in terms of such questions as disarmament, and even the prohibition of nuclear proliferation, when China is excluded from membership. It is thus apparent that in order for the United Nations to become an effective instrument for the solution of world problems it is necessary to ensure the universality of membership essential to such a universal body. The People's Republic of China should therefore, and without delay, be admitted to the United Nations.

104. With regard to the economic sphere, I wish to refer to the concept of the United Nations Development Decade which was launched in 1961. Singapore, together with all developing nations, had placed the highest hopes in the aim of the Development Decade to achieve a rate of growth of 5 per cent per year in developing countries by 1970, and an annual transfer of development capital to the developing countries, equivalent to 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries. The disappointment at the slow fulfilment in the implementation of this effort has been voiced in the Economic and Social Council at its recent forty-first session. More energetic and

concerted international action, as well as more determined domestic effort, is required to enable us to come anywhere close to the objectives of the Development Decade. It will be necessary for developing nations to co-operate in a concerted effort to raise their present level of economy to reach these goals in the remainder of the Decade. We have passed the halfway point in the Decade and time is running out. The United Nations should find ways and means of impressing upon the developed nations the desirability, and indeed the necessity, of creating an appropriate climate to assist the developing countries to progress in this direction. It is Singapore's hope that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will play a significant part leading to more tangible results. Singapore is a nation with development potential and we seek the fulfilment of that potential.

105. We believe that much can be achieved through regional co-operation in the economic field. Towards this end, we welcome the economic regional organizations which have been evolved as a result of the initiatives taken by our regional economic organ in Asia, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. We welcome the addition of the latest regional institution, the Asian Development Bank, of which we shall be a founding member. This institution represents a major Asian effort designed to foster regional economic growth and co-operation. We hope that it will contribute significantly to the acceleration of the process of economic development of Asian countries.

106. Another regional institution in which we have been participating actively is the Asian Institute of Economic Development and Planning. With these and other regional efforts at economic co-operation, combined with more intense exertions by Governments and peoples of the region, some progress towards the objectives of improved standards of living may be achieved.

107. The Singapore delegation whole-heartedly agrees with U Thant in his assessment that the importance of the ideological conflict engaging the major Powers is less important than the fight against endemic poverty in large areas of the world and the widening gap between the rich and poor nations. The developed nations have become richer and the under-developed countries poorer. This is the irony of this decade, christened some six years ago in this Assembly as the United Nations Development Decade.

108. My delegation would like to reaffirm what we brought to the attention of this Assembly at the last session, namely, that we seek a welfare state, not a warfare state. We treasure our independence and sovereignty and will maintain our nationhood by devoting our resources to meeting the welfare of our people and in combating the forces of poverty and ignorance.

109. My statement would not be complete if I did not refer to the aspirations of our African colleagues in their fight for freedom and independence of African peoples throughout Africa. The decision of the International Court of Justice in rejecting the complaint of Ethiopia and Liberia against the imposition of apartheid on South West Africa, on a bare technicality of doubtful validity, has rightly caused consternation

and anguish. My delegation does not believe that this decision of the Court has enhanced its reputation as an institution served by wise and just men, for the Judgement of the Court on this issue is neither wise nor just, nor is it even in accordance with the dictates of common sense. We should like to assert our whole-hearted support of any just proposals put forward by the African nations in their righteous fight against colonialism and racial injustice. This support is based on our passionate belief in the dignity of man and our abhorrence of the abominable racist policies and practices of white régimes of southern Africa.

110. We are also deeply concerned by the forcible suppression of the people of Southern Rhodesia—the people of Zimbabwe—resulting from the illegal seizure of power by the racist régime of Ian Smith. This régime has as its aim the denial of the elementary human rights of over 4 million Africans. The illegal racist Government of Ian Smith is an outrage against the conscience of all right-thinking people and should be brought down by whatever means are necessary to achieve this objective, including, if necessary, the ultimate resort to armed force.

111. We need not add that our unequivocal support of the aims and aspirations of the suppressed peoples of territories in Africa is also extended, in equal measure, to those of the territories outside Africa.

112. We welcome the process of decolonization and hope that the United Nations will accelerate its activities in this area, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), adopted at the fifteenth session of the Assembly, on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

113. The Government of Singapore wishes to take this opportunity to reiterate its foreign policy, which is one of non-alignment. All we want is to be left without interference to advance and develop ourselves by our own exertions towards a fuller life for our own citizens. Singapore continues to follow a friendly policy towards all countries on the basis of respect for their independence, neutrality and territorial integrity, and it hopes that this respect will be reciprocated.

114. It is our fervent hope that peace will soon return to South-East Asia. We believe that it is the right of Asians to guarantee their own independence and sovereignty through mutual agreement with friendly countries to coexist regardless of ideologies. Peace and stability in Asia can be attained if more attention is given to economic progress and advance, and less to the irrelevancy of political and other forms of posturing. It is hoped that eventually it would be possible to achieve some degree of regional economic integration in South-East Asia, including some form of a common market, as a means of accelerating economic growth in all countries of the region.

115. Singapore's independence is the fruit of our people's struggle against British colonialists over many years. We are a multiracial society in which there is tolerance and mutual respect between the different ethnic, cultural and linguistic elements which make up our State. If we may be permitted to make a comparison, and give expression to something of which we are very proud, Singapore may be regarded as a United Nations in miniature.

116. Finally, it is our ardent hope that the present conditions obstructing the effectiveness of the United Nations as a peace-keeping machinery will be improved through constructive and realistic co-operation between the major Powers. This would enable us all to concentrate our respective efforts on striving for a better world for the people, a world in which there will be no place for poverty, disease, hatred, bigotry and ignorance.

117. Mr. COSTA MENDEZ (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, let me begin by congratulating you on your unanimous election to the office of President and by wishing you every success in your conduct of the debates at this important session of the General Assembly.

118. Argentina is attending the present session of the United Nations General Assembly at a very crucial juncture in its history. A nation which is unswervingly dedicated to peace and liberty has decided to become the master of its own destiny. This means the modernization of its institutions and a firm determination to avail itself of the most up-to-date facilities in order to achieve a high level of technological development and the greatest possible economic efficiency. It also requires a profound social sense which will enable all Argentinians to share in the material well-being and in the benefits of knowledge and culture. This genuinely revolutionary process epitomizes the will of a people which is prepared to change the present in order to build a more prosperous and befitting future.

119. For many long years we beheld our homeland threatened with prostration as the legitimate hopes of many of its children were being frustrated. Meanwhile, around us, by contrast other nations were successfully healing their wounds, forging ahead or vigorously attaining their independence. The sole reason for the Argentine revolution—and its sole purpose—is to raise our country to a level of development commensurate with its responsibilities and with the opportunities that the contemporary world has to offer, to reaffirm the principle of authority, to restore order, to establish an efficient, modern and dynamic administration and, above all, to ensure that all the inhabitants of its territory enjoy the benefits of freedom and security.

120. The Government which sent me here is well aware that public institutions must be the genuine product of the society which they are intended to govern. The more truly rooted they are in the nation's life, the more lasting they will be and the more capable of upholding and consolidating civil liberty.

121. My country, as an integral part of the western world, is determined to defend the values of a civilization based on respect for man as a being whose liberty is inalienable. The defence of this principle will always unite us with those countries which, within their own frontiers and in the world at large, are striving to create conditions which will ensure that liberty and respect for the human person, regardless of race or creed, do not remain empty words but become an every-day reality.

122. The different human communities must be independent if our civilization is to be sound. This independence finds expression, at the individual level,

in man's freedom, and also in the free play of intermediate communities and of families within the State, and, at the international level, in national self-determination. That is why Argentina reaffirms once again its freedom to determine its own foreign policy as a sovereign and autonomous nation. It also believes that the world Organization must recognize the existence of intermediate groupings of States, such as the regional associations in which the nations directly concerned may try to find solutions to regional problems as countries sharing common features and linked by special historical and cultural bonds of long standing. Any action in this regard, however, clearly must be carried out under the United Nations Charter.

123. These principles of liberty and international solidarity faithfully reflect the concerns and beliefs of our people. They are clearly proclaimed and recognized in the United Nations Charter. The Argentine Government reaffirms its allegiance to them and is convinced that if they are properly applied they can serve as a basis for closer international co-operation and the maintenance of a sure and lasting peace.

124. International peace and security are the prime objectives of the United Nations, but peace will not come from weakness or cowardice but from strength and courage in defending the principles which make it possible.

125. I now wish to refer to some of the questions on which the interest and attention of this session of the General Assembly are focused.

126. But before doing so, I wish, on behalf of my country, to welcome a new State which has recently become a Member of the United Nations: Guyana. This is a particular pleasure for me since Argentina had the honour to co-sponsor, in the Security Council, the resolution recommending the entry of this American country.

127. This session will have to deal with the serious problem created by the fact that the end of the Secretary-General's term of office is drawing nigh. U Thant recently made public his views on this matter, especially in his statement of 1 September. My Government sincerely hopes that our Secretary-General, who has given ample proof of his skill in guiding this complex international Organization, will remain in his post. He deserves the unconditional endorsement of all Member States. We trust that such manifest and express support will have a favourable effect on his final decision.

128. Argentina is awestruck by the course that the armed conflict in South-East Asia is taking. This tragic conflagration, kindled by ambitions which are opposed to the emergence of a society based on respect for human dignity and freedom, constitutes a dangerous threat to international peace. It is therefore a particular pleasure for my country to welcome the urgent appeal made by His Holiness Pope Paul VI in a recent Encyclical which brings him into our midst here once again. The Encyclical *Christi Matri Rosarii* has clearly shown how very pressing is the moral obligation incumbent upon Governments to maintain the peace and security of the human family.

129. In this Assembly we have already heard voices raised in response to this appeal from Rome. Because of the role played by his country in the conflict, we attribute particular importance to the statement made by the representative of the United States, Ambassador Goldberg, putting forward very specific proposals in the search for peace. Countries which, like mine, anxiously hope for the solution of this problem, consider these proposals to be a definite step forward.

130. We hope that in the course of the present debate we will hear many other constructive opinions and proposals, especially from those Governments which bear prime responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and from the countries of the region for which the peaceful settlement of the present dispute is a matter of life and death. The Argentine Government, for its part, accepts this responsibility and is prepared to contribute to this great endeavour which is one of the most urgent confronting mankind at the present time.

131. The international situation, which the Secretary-General describes so accurately and dramatically in the introduction to his annual report [A/6301/Add.1], prompts us to reaffirm our conviction that it is the duty of the United Nations to make a very definite contribution towards the maintenance of international peace and security.

132. To attain this aim, we need a strong Organization, supported by all Member States, efficient in its work and respectful of the San Francisco Charter, which, in spite of the passage of time, is as much in force today as it was in 1945.

133. Many international problems have changed since then, but there is one which has been with us for two decades and which I cannot fail to mention: the existence of a divided Germany. We support the right of the Federal Republic of Germany to represent the entire German people as an indivisible nation.

134. There is one subject to which my country attributes cardinal and decisive importance: the Malvinas Islands. And this is the proper time to express our gratitude for the massive support given in the United Nations to the Argentine position on this matter.

135. The report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples^{2/} was adopted by General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) without a dissenting vote. The same thing happened at the twentieth plenary session of the General Assembly with the adoption of resolution 2065 (XX) which, on the basis of resolution 1514 (XV), reaffirms the aim of "bringing to an end everywhere colonialism in all its forms, one of which covers the case of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)".

136. The General Assembly, noting the existence of a dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the said islands, invited the Government of both countries to proceed with

negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem.

137. The visit paid by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Mr. Michael Stewart, to my country this year provided an opportunity for the formal opening of talks. On that occasion it was agreed to proceed immediately with the negotiations, using either the diplomatic channel or any other methods to be agreed upon in order to fulfil this important purpose.

138. During the month of July the negotiations continued through the diplomatic channel, and during these negotiations my Government submitted to the United Kingdom a note claiming that this territory should be returned and placing on record our earnest desire to guarantee and protect the interests of the inhabitants of the islands by affording them particularly favourable conditions for their future.

139. The notes submitted by Argentina [A/6261 and Add.1] and the United Kingdom [A/6262 and Add.1] to the Secretary-General describe these talks and indicate that it is intended to continue them in October of this year.

140. My country is confident that this dispute will be definitively settled in the shortest possible time and that we can soon inform the General Assembly that the peaceful and permanent solution called for in resolution 2065 (XX) has been reached. The question of the Malvinas Islands is of a substantive nature for Argentina because it involves its sovereignty over part of its territory, and this explains certain individual attitudes which have repercussions in the media of information. But despite this Argentina, faithful to its historic tradition, is endeavouring to solve the problem by peaceful means and through negotiations.

141. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continues to be progressively implemented and the results already achieved, or to be achieved in the immediate future, constitute one of the most constructive accomplishments of the United Nations. The work in this field is of a continuing nature; sometimes it consists of assisting new countries to attain independence, at other times of setting forth the problems on the road to independence, and at still other times of promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes or claims over territories under colonial rule. In this regard, we would like to recall resolution 2070 (XX) on Gibraltar because of the close bonds that unite my country with Spain, whose causes are our causes and whose legitimate rights we therefore support.

142. Argentina reaffirms its support of the process of decolonization on which the United Nations has embarked and is ready to offer its contribution for its complete success. We wish, however, to point out our hope that careful attention will be given to certain elementary conditions for the effective existence of these new nations.

143. World organizations are devoting increasing attention to economic matters. All aspects of international economic co-operation are particularly important to Argentina. And this is so for two main reasons. The first is that our country is situated in

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to item 23 of the agenda (A/6000/Rev.1).

the temperate zone of the southern hemisphere and its great capacity to produce the items peculiar to that climate make it particularly vulnerable to anything which disturbs the smooth operation of the buying and selling markets. The second is the fact that we are in the midst of an industrialization process which we must continue, consolidate and raise to a high level of efficiency so that we can integrate our economy and participate more fully in international trade in manufactured goods.

144. It must be borne in mind that every process of international collaboration and co-operation in this field—and, moreover, every attempt at economic integration among States—should be undertaken in such a way as not to interfere with the attainment of each nation's own goals, which are inalienable.

145. There are four aspects which demand special attention: reform of the international monetary system, financial assistance to the developing countries, international trade, and food aid.

146. Argentina is in favour of an immediate increase in the number of experts who are now engaged in discussing the reform of the international monetary system. It is urgently necessary to ensure that countries in the same position as Argentina participate in meetings of concern to them as members of the monetary system now in force. We are gratified to note that this view is shared by the International Monetary Fund and, very recently, by some developed countries.

147. We also deem it essential, as regards financial assistance to the developing countries, to accelerate and increase the flow of long-term public and private investment capital. It is noteworthy that the coefficients of investment have remained at a standstill, as compared with those of previous years, and that they have declined in relation to the levels of the period 1955-1961.

148. The third subject—international trade—is certainly of major importance if genuine and fruitful international economic co-operation is to become a reality.

149. In spite of the effort involved in the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, we cannot fail to note and recognize that the objectives originally set up for the Conference have not been fulfilled.

150. It will be for this session of the General Assembly to determine the date and place of the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. This will be a further attempt to find solutions, a new opportunity to put to test the political will of States to take practical and constructive steps.

151. In undertaking this new responsibility, it is essential to make sure that the preparations and programme for the Conference are focused on a limited number of questions so that the practical solutions which we earnestly desire may be forthcoming.

152. The result of the second Conference will depend on the effort devoted to this preparatory work. If this work is not done properly, the Argentine Government doubts whether the conclusions that may be

reached will be of any value and, indeed, whether there will be any point in convening the Conference.

153. Again with respect to this question of trade relations at the international level, brief reference should be made to other equally important aspects of the problem.

154. The series of trade negotiations conducted under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—GATT—the so-called "Kennedy Round"—has entered its last lap. Argentina in playing an active part in this meeting, believes it to be highly important and hopes to become a full member of GATT.

155. We note with alarm the strong protectionist trend which is becoming more marked in the industrialized countries, especially as regards the agricultural sector. This—and let it be clearly understood—does not imply that we are questioning the right of every country to look after its own interests. What we advocate is that an effort should be directed towards combining these interests with those of other countries.

156. We will spare no effort to initiate a fruitful phase of negotiations with the industrialized countries in general, and with the European Economic Community in particular, so that all interests at stake can be taken into account and suitable co-ordination achieved.

157. This analysis of the main aspects of international economic co-operation would not be complete if I omitted to mention the fact, in connexion with the World Food Programme, that it was Argentina which proposed, at the appropriate time, the establishment of a World Food Fund. This initiative of ours led to recommendation A.II.6 of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and subsequently to General Assembly resolution 2096 (XX). The latter provides for the preparation of a report on multilateral food aid which, as the Secretary-General pointed out at the forty-first session of the Economic and Social Council, is certainly one of the most expedient and challenging mandates ever assigned to him by the Organization. The problem of hunger in the world distresses Argentina as it distresses other countries and, being aware of our responsibility, we intend to do our utmost to find a solution.

158. We trust that these subjects will lead to studies and decisions that are free from the prejudices which have hitherto seriously impeded multilateral action and that, when the time comes to take specific action, the international community can count on the firm resolve of its members to find constructive solutions to the increasingly pressing problems of hunger in the world. The Argentine Republic looks forward to the time when it can gear its enormous food production capacity to meet the needs of the hungry areas under a system which guarantees adequate incentives.

159. Argentina has a legal tradition of long standing which dates back to the early years of its independence. The fight for the organization of our nation may be construed as the search for a juridical structure consonant with our country's needs.

160. This faith in the law has spread beyond our frontiers into the world at large. Argentine jurists

like Amancio Alcorta, Luis María Drago and Carlos Calvo, have, through their knowledge and intelligence, helped to establish the rule of law in our continent and have formulated doctrines and principles which have guided the international relations of our peoples.

161. Argentina strongly supports the United Kingdom initiative on the peaceful settlement of disputes on the basis of the fundamental principles of international law.

162. Argentina has every confidence and will lend its support to any effort to maintain peace through law. We have faith in the triumph of intelligence because we have faith in man. All our efforts to progress technologically and to harness nature rationally will be meaningless if we forget man, with all his limitations but with all the spiritual wealth he naturally enjoys as an ontologically free being, as the all-important being, capable of overcoming the circumstances of his environment and of thus determining his own destiny.

163. We open our doors to all the triumphs of technology, because we know that the harnessing of nature, the continuing process of "humanizing" it, is a *sine qua non* of modern living. But we also try not to be the victims of a depersonalized technology, in which the means become the end. And just as, in the case of man, no radical distinction can be made between the purely material and the purely spiritual because each human being has both his intelligence and his senses, we are also convinced that no lasting form of culture can exist unless the use it makes of material things has a spiritual basis.

164. We Argentinians believe that we have shown ourselves to be a nation with a deep sense of spiritual values, a nation whose conduct therefore has always been characterized by friendly co-operation, the desire for peaceful and harmonious relations with all peoples of the globe. We wish faithfully to fulfil our nation's need to promote the well-being and greatness of the human family and to make available to it the benefits of our peace, of our technical and scientific progress, and of a culture which has enriched mankind.

165. It could be said that the Argentina of today, to quote the words of Tacitus, is "res olim dissociabiles miscuit principatum ad libertatem".^{8/}

^{8/} Tacitus, *Life of Agricola*.

166. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of the United States of America in the exercise of his right of reply.

167. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): In briefly replying to the elegant address of the distinguished French Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Couve de Murville, I should like at the outset to acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude the expression of personal friendship on the part of the French delegation, an expression which I fully reciprocate, both with respect to the distinguished Foreign Minister and the French delegation, headed by my friend and colleague, Ambassador Seydoux, and also to the French Government, its leaders and its people.

168. In reply, I have three very simple observations to make. First, I reaffirm what I said to the General Assembly last Thursday [1412th meeting]. We are not inflexible in our position. We recognize that there are, and we are prepared to consider, other proposals and views for a settlement in South-East Asia. We welcome the several expressions which have been made on this Assembly floor, and there is no doubt that there will be many others, considering the importance of the question; we welcome in particular those made by the distinguished Foreign Minister of France, a country which, we always remember, is our oldest friend and ally. We remain convinced, however, that whatever approach will bring success, it will not be one which simply appeals to one side to stop, while addressing no similar appeal to the other side. Second, the offers made by my Government to break out of the tragic impasse in Viet-Nam are even-handed, genuine and sincere, and should be tested by exploring our willingness to take action to match our words. Third, I would conclude by expressing the hope that all Members of the United Nations, and particularly those Members with interests in the area, historical or otherwise, will accord to the offers we have advanced and the fair proposals we have made no less consideration and scrutiny than, according to accounts published by reputable news agencies, they seem to be receiving from the parties most directly concerned.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.