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**President:** Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK  
(Afghanistan).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)\*

1. Mr. JONSSON (Iceland): This being the first occasion on which my delegation has spoken at this twenty-first session of the General Assembly, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, my sincere felicitations on your unanimous election to your important post.

2. I should like further to take this opportunity to express our thanks to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for the outstanding service which he has performed during his term of office. His performance has been recognized by all Member States, and my Government wishes to associate itself with the unanimous appeal to him to remain in his position for another term.

3. The United Nations has been functioning for over twenty years with considerable positive results which it is not necessary to enumerate at this session. On the other hand, it has failed in some of its tasks or been unable to achieve the desired results. No individual is perfect and able to fulfil all his ambitions, and the same applies to groups and organizations. None of them can fully realize all its expectations. When evaluating performance, one should look first at the successes rather than the failures. One task successfully completed may suffice to justify the existence of the organization which carried it out. The evaluation of an organization such as the United Nations is often determined by emotional attitudes rather than practical performance, which latter, in my opinion, should be the decisive factor in making such an evaluation.

4. The tasks of the United Nations may be divided into two groups: current problems that require immediate solutions, and long-range questions. The current problems may vary greatly, but the most important consist of preventing armed conflict between nations, either by forestalling it or, if it has already begun, by halting it. The United Nations has faced problems of both kinds, some with success, others with failure. I believe the success to be so

important as to render the United Nations invaluable to mankind, in spite of the problems which it has so far been unable to solve.

5. Which, then, are the problems of the present moment? Viet-Nam; the tense international situation; the relations between Israel and the Arab States; Cyprus; Rhodesia; apartheid; the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; and assistance to newly independent nations.

6. The question of disarmament, and especially of the banning of nuclear weapons, will no doubt take a long time to solve and is not, therefore, exclusively a problem of the moment, although it is of supreme importance.

7. In short, it might be said that the solutions to these problems fall into two categories: first, prevention or de-escalation of armed conflict and, second, aid for the developing nations towards a better life—and this applies to all nations to a different degree. I shall not discuss these particular problems further. That has been done so well by speakers who have preceded me that I have little to add. We all wish that the war in Viet-Nam could stop; that world tension could diminish, that Arab-Israeli relations could improve; that apartheid could disappear; that the standard of living could be raised in both the developing and other countries. Indeed, the United Nations is constantly seeking solutions to these problems by means of such measures as seem most likely to succeed.

8. Although, as I said, I shall not discuss these questions in detail, I should like to comment on some of them.

9. We Icelanders have for centuries been an unarmed nation, maintaining no armed forces of our own. For this reason we have been unable to contribute troops to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Nevertheless, Iceland has shown its support of these activities by contributing money for this purpose. During the past year, for example, Iceland contributed the equivalent of almost half a United States dollar per inhabitant of our country. Peace-keeping is one of the most important activities of the United Nations and has brought results which indicate that, in many instances, it should be strengthened still further. In the opinion of the Government of Iceland, it must be regretted, therefore, that so far some States Members of the United Nations have been unwilling to participate in this activity by making appropriate financial contributions and have thus endangered the solvency of the Organization.

10. It would be preferable for the United Nations to have at its disposal a mobile military force which

\*Resumed from 1428th meeting.

could be sent wherever and whenever it might be needed to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. The financing of such a force should not be an insurmountable obstacle to 119 nations, since individual States maintain for themselves armies of scores of thousands or millions of men with the most modern equipment. Such a force probably could not prevent conflict between great Powers, but it should be able to forestall limited wars, which are always in danger of spreading and becoming confrontations of the great Powers, with the gravest of consequences.

11. The allocation of the cost of peace-keeping activities among individual States is, of course, a difficult task, yet not so difficult as to be impossible, as long as the will is not lacking.

12. Peace-keeping must always be the principal task of the United Nations because, without peace, everything else loses its purpose. If the peace is lost and war breaks out, United Nations endeavours for a better life are meaningless. Therefore, its primary aim must be the preservation of peace.

13. Second to this task is, indisputably, the so-called war against hunger. It has often been stated that a large part of the human race receives insufficient nourishment for maintaining life. Special attention has been called to the fact that certain vital food ingredients, such as protein, are seriously lacking. A great effort has been made to solve this problem, on the initiative of the United Nations, but without satisfactory results.

14. The reason why I mention this is that my country, Iceland, is a large producer of fish and thus a supplier of the food most needed. In this respect, two important facts have come to light: in the first place, a large percentage of the fish catches in many parts of the world is used for animal fodder instead of for direct human consumption. From discussions with Dr. Sen, Director-General of FAO—a specialized agency in the United Nations family which has done very useful work—I have learned that FAO is interested in changing this situation. For that purpose we must have technical and scientific research, and this must have our support, for the benefit of those who suffer from lack of protein. I have no doubt that this work will lead to great results if it is given sufficient support. The second fact, no less a cause of anxiety, is that the introduction of new and advanced technology in fishing has increased the danger that the fish-stocks can no longer withstand such exploitation. Already there are unmistakable signs of depletion, for example in the North Atlantic, where in many areas the catch per unit of fishing effort has diminished even if the total catch has grown, owing to greatly increased participation in the fishing. That is a real danger, if it is not forestalled. The United Nations has previously dealt with that problem and I should like to call attention to the fact that action may again become necessary if over-fishing is to be prevented.

15. One of the problems with which the United Nations has successfully dealt is that of the Law of the Sea. In that field a great deal of work has been done by the United Nations—in the Sixth Committee, in the International Law Commission and in United Nations-sponsored international conferences held at Rome

in 1955<sup>1/</sup> and at Geneva in 1958<sup>2/</sup> and 1960.<sup>3/</sup> When that work was started, coastal jurisdiction over fisheries was disastrously inadequate and, in the case of Iceland, for instance, depletion of fish-stocks was imminent. Through the work of the United Nations in that field, twelve-mile fishery limits became overwhelmingly recognized as a general rule and valuable coastal resources were saved, at least temporarily. The value of that work in the United Nations deserves mention. Although that is a fact, it must at the same time be realized and admitted that further work is required and that the existing methods and solutions must be further utilized and fortified.

16. In many areas of the oceans of the world intensified fishing and more effective fisheries techniques have resulted in diminishing yields per unit of effort. The development in some of the big fisheries in the North Atlantic gives rise to great concern. There has been a substantial increase in the fishing effort in the years since the war, but that has not been accompanied by a similar increase in the total catch and in several cases there has been a marked decrease in the total catch. That holds particularly true for the stocks of cod in the North Atlantic Ocean, which is the most important species of demersal fish in that area. The stocks of cod in the Barents Sea, Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland areas all show more or less clear signs of over-exploitation. The cod stock around Iceland can be taken as a typical example. Already in 1952 the first steps to protect that species and others were taken through the closure of several important nursery grounds and that area was extended in 1958. Those measures have been of undeniable value for several species, but, as far as the cod is concerned, the conclusion is inevitably that the measures taken were insufficient and came too late. Scientific investigations show that a substantial part of the present catch consists of small, immature fish taken outside the present fishery limits. Mesh regulations have not given sufficient protection for the stocks in the area, so the next step obviously must be to make arrangements for a further reduction of the fishing effort, particularly with regard to small immature fish. As far as international co-operation through the Atlantic Fisheries Commissions can save the situation, such action should be started without delay. All aspects of the problem and ways and means for solving it are now under study in my country. Experience has shown that these problems can be solved through international co-operation. At any rate, I would repeat that the record shows that the United Nations can count its work in that field among its constructive and valuable achievements.

17. Fisheries may not seem a very serious problem on the world scene, yet they are an important element in the war against hunger, which must be one of the major tasks of the United Nations now and in the future. We are all occupied by the crises of the day which frequently are so difficult that the United Nations seems powerless to resolve them—or at least some

<sup>1/</sup> International Technical Conference on the Conservation of the Living Resources of the Sea, held from 18 April to 10 May 1955.

<sup>2/</sup> United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held from 24 February to 27 April 1958.

<sup>3/</sup> Second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held from 17 March to 26 April 1960.

of them. But some of the less pressing questions, with which the United Nations can deal much more effectively, may in the long run become great issues of our time.

18. I shall make no proposals at this time, but I do take the liberty of pointing out that the problem of conserving the resources of the sea does exist, and requires solution. The Icelanders have been a fishing nation for centuries. We have been able, in times of peace and in times of war, to provide others with abundant and nutritious food. But we have always followed the basic principle of not depleting the fish-stocks and protecting the young and growing fish in order to secure continued, natural fishing with increasing rather than decreasing yields. It seems to me that an international effort for that purpose is needed. I can see no organization more likely than the United Nations to take the initiative in the matter. The United Nations must again pay attention to this question, as it has done previously with good results.

19. We in Iceland feel very strongly that we can contribute most to the welfare of humanity by urging international co-operation for constructive exploitation of the riches of the oceans. We feel that the matter is urgent and important. For that reason I have taken the time of this Assembly to discuss it.

20. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): An important result of the twentieth session of the General Assembly was the adoption of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131 (XX)]. That Declaration, which had its origin in an initiative of the Soviet Union, has as its aim the removal of one of the main sources of aggravation of the international situation. It is gratifying to be able to state that this Declaration has been accorded warm approval by world public opinion.

21. The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, like other socialist countries, are guided by the interest of preserving and consolidating the peace and security of nations, have submitted for the consideration of the present session new proposals that seek to ensure the implementation of the Declaration and to develop further and elaborate the ideas contained in that important document. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation has proposed for consideration [see A/6397] an item entitled "Status of the implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty" [item 96], and the Government of Czechoslovakia has proposed for inscription on the agenda [see A/6393] an item entitled "Strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and of the right of peoples to self-determination" [item 92].

22. The Mongolian delegation considers that those proposals fully meet the imperative demands arising from the dangerous international situation obtaining at present. Indeed, the world is today witnessing more and more incidents of violation by imperialist Powers of universally accepted norms of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. Peace-loving peoples are shocked by the gross interference

of the imperialists in the internal affairs of other States, by the armed intervention boldly perpetrated against the freedom and independence of innocent peoples. The colonial war being waged by United States imperialists against the Viet-Nameese people constitutes the most dangerous and impudent example of such criminal acts of blatant aggression.

23. The United States, having flouted the Geneva Agreements of 1954, continues to escalate the destructive war in Viet-Nam and to whip up wanton aggression against a sovereign socialist State: the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The United States aggressors are resorting to the most barbaric methods of war. They do not hesitate to employ, or flinch from employing, horribly deadly and disfiguring napalm bombs and poisonous chemicals in their orgy of mass murder. The bombing of suburbs of the towns of Hanoi and Haiphong, the resort to tactics of systematic destruction of dams and irrigation systems of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, in order to cause widespread floods and drought, make still more sinister the inhumanity and savage brutality of the United States warmongers.

24. The Mongolian people have resolutely condemned the imperialist aggression of the United States in Viet-Nam. This aggression is indeed an act directed against the national liberation movements of the people of South-East Asia and constitutes a grave crime against peace and therefore against all humanity. The Mongolian people have firmly taken the side of the Viet-Nameese people and have been rendering to them all possible assistance and support from the first day of their just and heroic struggle in defence of their fatherland and for peace and national independence. That struggle is truly not for themselves alone, for the cause to which they are dedicated is the right of peoples to solve their own problems by and for themselves, without outside interference.

25. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, as has been indicated before, considers the well-known constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam as a good basis for a just settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem. The United States should heed the demands of peoples the world over and should cease immediately its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, should bring an end to the colonial war in South Viet-Nam, withdraw all its troops and the armed forces of its accomplices, and strictly observe the Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam. Any moves that fail to meet these requirements will certainly be rejected by the Viet-Nameese people, who are fighting for the integrity and freedom of their motherland against alien invaders.

26. The United States attempt to create the impression that it is seeking a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem will in no way mislead world public opinion. The irresponsible statements by high-ranking spokesmen of the United States about "peace initiatives" and "peace talks", which are always followed by a new escalation of aggressive actions, amount to nothing but a hypocritical device aimed at concealing their true intentions. The pious pronouncements are also an attempt to evade the condemnation

of peoples everywhere, including that of the American people. Take, for instance, the statement made at this session the other day by the representative of the United States, when he alleged that the United States Government was earnestly seeking a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam. It was the Saigon régime itself which the next day exposed the falsity of this manoeuvre by admitting that the statement contained nothing new and was meant only for public opinion. Certainly no one can know better than the Saigon puppets what their overseas bosses mean when they speak up on Viet-Nam. While on the bank of the East River the United States representative dwells on the peace intentions of the United States, the implications of a "big war" and the Viet-Nam war allocations for the year 1968—I repeat, 1968—are earnestly discussed in the White House.

27. In this context, it should be noted that the recent proposal by Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia to convene a so-called conference of Asian countries on Viet-Nam is nothing but an old Washington trick—in Asian dress, so to speak. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has certainly rejected this so-called initiative, which seeks the same end as that contemplated in the United States statements about peace talks—that is, to divert world public opinion from new criminal steps in escalation of the war in Viet-Nam. And that is the case not only with regard to Viet-Nam.

28. The facts show that the Viet-Nam war is part of a far-reaching plan of military and political adventure of the United States, directed against peace and against the freedom and independence of the peoples of South-East Asia and the Far East. The sovereign States of Laos and Cambodia have become objects of United States encroachments. Their territories are subjected to raids by the United States Air Force. These criminal acts of the United States imperialists constitute flagrant violations of the sovereignty and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.

29. In escalating the aggressive war in Viet-Nam, the United States is dragging its puppets and certain of its allies deeper into that infamous war, while it increases the number of its troops in South Viet-Nam. For those who take a realistic view of matters, it should be clear that the United States aggression in South-East Asia constitutes an increasing threat to universal peace and international security. Therefore, the States which are genuinely interested in relaxing international tension should resolutely demand of the United States that it immediately bring to a halt the criminal war in Viet-Nam, withdraw all its troops and armaments from South Viet-Nam, and strictly observe the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.

30. The Mongolian People's Republic cannot but be concerned at the active proliferation of the aggressive designs of the United States of America in other parts of the Asian continent. The knocking together of a new military bloc—the so-called Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC)—in particular is yet another product of this rampant course of United States policy in the Far East. To conceal the aggressive nature of ASPAC, the United States and the participants in that bloc are trying to represent it as an organization for pure economic and cultural co-operation among countries

of Asia and Oceania. In fact, the true aim of this "holy" alliance is to strengthen the military and political positions of the United States and the anti-national reactionary régimes in the Far East and South-East Asia under the slogan of outspoken anti-communism. This military bloc, like the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Alliance of Australia, New Zealand and the United States (ANZUS), is meant to serve as a tool for the expansionist policy of the United States and is directed against the national liberation movements of Asian peoples. Some of the ASPAC members are openly rendering military assistance to the American imperialists by sending thousands of their troops to South Viet-Nam. Others abet them by offering their territories as a bridgehead or by supplying the American troops in Viet-Nam with war materials and other necessary equipment.

31. We cannot overlook the fact that the military circles of Japan—whose actions are utterly at variance with the national interests of the Japanese people, who desire to live in peace and friendship with other nations—are playing an active part in that military bloc.

32. The continued occupation by United States troops of South Korea is another fact which seriously endangers the international atmosphere in the Far East. The situation has been further aggravated by the fanatic participation of the Seoul régime in the United States colonial war in Viet-Nam. That régime, on orders from Washington, is engineering, together with other reactionary régimes, new plots against the peoples of Asia and the Far East. This all clearly demonstrates the intention of the United States to perpetuate the occupation of South Korea as a spring-board and a device for its aggressive schemes in this part of the continent. It is a matter for strong condemnation that such actions, completely inconsistent with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, are being practised under the flag of this very Organization. The withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops stationed in South Korea is a basic condition for the settlement of the Korean problem. This point is dealt with in the memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 21 July 1966 [see A/6370]. The constructive proposals contained in this memorandum fully reflect the genuine interests of the entire Korean people.

33. Our delegation has co-sponsored the inscription on the agenda [see A/6394] of an item entitled "Withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" [item 93] for consideration at the present session of the General Assembly. The adoption by this session of the General Assembly of a realistic and explicit decision on this question, in accordance with the interests and rights of the Korean people, would be an important contribution by the United Nations towards the solution of the Korean problem.

34. The granting of independence to peoples still under the colonial yoke is an urgent problem which is closely linked with the question of preserving and

consolidating world peace. My delegation has repeatedly stated from this rostrum the position of its Government on this question. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic unconditionally supports the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for self-determination, and is committed actively and resolutely to expose the plots of imperialist Powers directed against the revolutionary process of emancipation and social progress of nations.

35. The national liberation movement of peoples is expanding both in scope and magnitude and it affects ever more strongly the process of world developments. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South Arabia and other colonial territories are continuing their courageous struggle against alien domination. This year three more new States, namely, Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho, have emerged. More and more young States of Asia and Africa are gaining increasing success in their efforts to eliminate the remnants of the colonial past and to develop an independent national economy so as to frustrate the neo-colonialist encroachments of imperialist forces.

36. It should be noted, however, that, although the position of colonialism has been now completely and irrevocably weakened, the colonizers are still trying to hold on to what is left of this shameful system by resorting to force in the attempt to reverse the progressive pace of historic development. So it is that millions of people are still suffering under colonial oppression.

37. The situation grows still graver with the merging of colonialism with racism, the most abominable phenomenon in human history. The racist régimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have developed into the worst type of colonialism. The imposition by the racist régimes of the policy of apartheid on South West Africa and some other colonial territories is fraught with the danger of converting the southern part of the African continent into a breeding ground of colonialism under a new but no less cruel guise. For these régimes constitute serviceable military and economic footholds for the imperialists from which to move against the national liberation forces of the African peoples.

38. The United Nations, if it is to live up to its aims and principles, should take effective measures to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

39. The Mongolian delegation is of the opinion that the Security Council should deal frequently with the problems of colonial territories, since the situations obtaining there often present a threat to the peace and security of one or another area of the world. The Mongolian delegation pronounces itself in favour of the suggestion put forward here that an early date should be fixed for the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

40. The imperialist Powers, with the United States at their head, in pursuance of neo-colonialistic designs, are intensifying their subversive activities

against the independence and social progress of the young States of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They support anti-national and reactionary forces within and outside those countries and, in close co-operation with them, engineer plots and military coups d'état, thus nullifying the progressive gains of the peoples.

41. With this in view, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic would like to emphasize that military bases in foreign territories constitute one of the major obstacles to the strengthening of the independence of the newly emerged nations, and are permanent potential means for intervention in their internal affairs. The imperialist Powers very frequently use their military bases on foreign soil for armed suppression of the national liberation and revolutionary movements of peoples. One can readily cite numerous instances. For example, the military base at Guantanamo is being systematically used by the United States for aggression against the Republic of Cuba and the heroic Cuban people who, for the first time in the Western hemisphere, are successfully building a socialist society. The United States military bases installed on the islands of Oceania, as well as those stationed in Thailand and the Philippines, serve as bridgeheads for aggression against the peoples of Viet-Nam and the other countries of Asia. The presence of hundreds of United States military bases scattered over South-East Asia and Oceania, with more than a half million United States troops and large numbers of nuclear and other weapons, represents a direct threat to the security of the peoples in this part of the world. Besides, military bases of imperialist Powers exist to exert pressure on the States on whose territories they are installed. At present, when these bases are being increasingly equipped with rocket and nuclear weapons and when the use of these weapons in military adventures could easily lead not only to the unleashing of a world war but also to a total nuclear conflict, the question of the elimination of foreign military bases attains overriding importance.

42. Peoples all over the world cannot but come forward with determination—as does the people of my country—in support of the elimination of foreign military bases and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and arms from countries where they are stationed. In the opinion of my delegation, the current session would make a serious contribution to this end by adopting a positive decision on the question of the "Elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America", which has been inscribed on the agenda by the delegation of the Soviet Union [item 98]. In supporting this initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic acts on the conviction that the use of the territories of other countries for establishing military bases, in defiance of the will of the peoples concerned, should be resolutely condemned as an act of infringement of their national independence and sovereignty, as a violation of the norms of international law and of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is our considered view that the positive solution of the question of the elimination of foreign military bases in African, Asian and Latin American countries is in full harmony with the vital interest of safeguarding their indepen-

dence and sovereignty from neo-colonialist encroachments. It is the further view of my delegation that in a broader sense the elimination of foreign military bases undoubtedly would have great significance for the consolidation of peace and security, for this would constitute implementation of one of the important partial measures toward the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

43. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, in accordance with its attitude in the past, considers the realization of general and complete disarmament to be an objective and urgent necessity and raises its voice in support of the convening of a world disarmament conference, with the participation of all States concerned.

44. In the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, the Soviet Union, other socialist States and non-aligned countries, have exerted every effort over the past four years to bring about the adoption of concrete measures in the field of disarmament. However, owing to the negative attitude of the Committee's Western members, the four years' work of this Committee has not yielded any tangible results.

45. The Mongolian delegation, as in the past, considers that general and complete disarmament should start with nuclear disarmament at the very outset. One of the important steps in this direction would be the conclusion of an international agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The main condition for the conclusion of such an agreement should be strict observance of the provision of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), to the effect that the treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form.

46. The non-dissemination of nuclear weapons is recognized as one of the most imperative needs of today, because the increase in the number of countries possessing such weapons, and more especially access to them by the Bonn revenge-seekers—who are now actively engaged in preparation for equipping their armed forces with rocket and nuclear weapons—could lead to tragic consequences for humanity. With these considerations in mind, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are bending their efforts to reaching the solution of the non-proliferation problem, and they continue to search for ways and means that would facilitate agreement on this matter. The initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, which has submitted to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Renunciation by States of actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" [agenda item 97] is yet another fresh manifestation of this earnest desire of the socialist countries. In the view of my delegation, the value of this proposal lies in the possibility of creating an international climate in which, until the agreement on non-proliferation is reached, steps would not be taken which might lead, directly or indirectly, to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

47. The question of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons is closely linked with that of the creation of zones free of such weapons, and with the question

of the complete prohibition of nuclear tests. With regard to the question of the prohibition of underground tests, my delegation holds the view that, at the present stage of the progress of science and technology, national means of detection are abundantly sufficient to control the implementation of an agreement on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests. Indeed, everyday experience amply proves the validity of such an opinion.

48. In pressing for so-called on-site inspection, the United States and its followers are prompted by considerations which not only hamper the solution of this question, but also give room for mistrust between States.

49. The question of nuclear-free zones, as we see it, is of particular importance to Europe, in view of the tension introduced by the aggressive courses taken by the military and political alliance of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. In the opinion of my delegation, the proposals submitted by the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic on this matter have prepared a favourable ground for fruitful discussion and the consequent adoption of a positive decision on this problem, which is of such vital importance for the peoples of Europe.

50. We are certainly not going to assert that with the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe the whole problem relevant to the consolidation of the security of peoples of that continent would be solved. The dangerous development of events in Europe, brought about by the revenge-seeking policy of the military circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, makes the problem of ensuring collective security in Europe an especially pressing issue. In this connexion, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches special importance to the Bucharest Declaration.<sup>4/</sup> In adopting this Declaration, member States of the Warsaw Pact came forward with a new constructive programme on normalization of the situation and the strengthening of peace and security in that part of the world.

51. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the crux of the question of ensuring European security lies in the peaceful settlement of the problem of Germany. The Mongolian People's Republic, like other socialist countries, considers that the peaceful settlement of the problem of Germany should be based on the inviolability of the existing borders in Europe, on the exclusion of any possible means of access for the military and revanchist forces of Western Germany to nuclear weapons, and on the unconditional recognition of the fact of the existence of two sovereign States on German soil—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

52. A peace-loving German State, the German Democratic Republic, is playing an important part in the cause of safeguarding peace and security in Europe. The foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic is focused on the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation among European countries

<sup>4/</sup> Declaration on strengthening peace and security in Europe, 5 July 1966.



and at preventing the outbreak of a new war from German soil. The German Democratic Republic comes out with constructive proposals aimed at the normalization of relations between all European States, including the Federal Republic of Germany. The Government of the German Democratic Republic maintains extensive international ties. Its policies are firmly based on the norms of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. These facts testify that the German Democratic Republic fully complies with all the requirements set forth in the United Nations Charter for its membership. The request of the German Democratic Republic for admission to the United Nations itself eloquently attests that it is a true advocate of peace and international co-operation. My delegation, on the instructions of its Government, declares that the request of the German Democratic Republic should be satisfied in full.

53. It has always been the view of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic that the development of broad international co-operation in economic, commercial, cultural and other fields, based on equality and mutual benefit, constitutes the prime condition for the strengthening of mutual understanding and confidence among States and peoples, and for the elimination of the increasing gap between the developed and developing nations in their economic progress. It is very often said here that the economic disparity between the developed and developing nations serves as the main source of the instability of the world situation. It is true in respect of the discriminative and selfish policy pursued by certain Western Powers in their international economic and trade relations, a policy whose aim is to dominate the lesser developed countries. With respect to the socialist States and the newly emerged countries, they are not seeking unilateral gains at the cost of others, but are striving to see to it that these relations are based on the principles of equality and mutual benefits for all the parties involved and on regard for the interests of the economically backward countries and peoples in their efforts for accelerated development. While most of the nations are engaged in the search for normalization of their economic relations, certain imperialist Powers, striving to perpetuate obsolete practices in international economic relations, hamper in every way the realization of the principles endorsed by the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964.

54. The United Nations should take decisive steps to abolish the abnormal conditions still existing in international economic life—conditions which are alien to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter—and should bring about measures for the implementation of its previous major decisions adopted in the economic and social fields.

55. The complicated world situation of today requires most imperatively an increase in the role of the United Nations and of its effectiveness as an instrument called upon to secure world peace. This Organization can deal successfully with the tasks facing it only through the strict observance of its Charter, which has embodied the major principles of international relations.

56. My delegation notes with regret that the principles of the United Nations Charter, including that of the universality of this Organization, have frequently been violated by certain Member States in their selfish interests. The fact that the United Nations has for years put up with the flagrant discrimination against the People's Republic of China is a situation which is no longer tolerable. The Mongolian delegation considers that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China should be restored immediately. The representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique must be expelled from all organs of the Organization.

57. In our opinion, the principle of universality should also be applied to the question of admitting observers to the United Nations. Unfortunately, here again we witness a half-way policy, and even cases of direct discrimination, wherein the United States has a hand by abusing the advantage of being the host country to the United Nations Headquarters.

58. My delegation wishes to emphasize here that concerted and positive actions by the newly independent States, which now constitute a sizable majority in the United Nations, would contribute to a great extent to the increasing of the effectiveness of this world body as an instrument of peace and international co-operation.

59. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, guided by the principles of the peace-loving foreign policy of its Government, declares itself willing to support every measure and decision that has for its aim the ensuring of world peace and international security, and the developing of friendly relations among nations, in compliance with the United Nations Charter. My delegation will do its utmost to promote the success of the work of the present session.

60. In conclusion, we should like to associate ourselves with those who have highly commended the activities of our Secretary-General, U Thant. We too want to express the hope that the Secretary-General will accede to the request of many Governments and agree to serve for another term.

61. Mr. LYG (Norway): At this stage of the debate, I shall confine my remarks to two major issues.

62. The first concerns the tragic conflict in Viet-Nam. The second is of a more general character. It deals with some essential elements in the work of the United Nations and concerns our long-term efforts to create a lasting basis for universal, peaceful coexistence.

63. Several previous speakers have given an evaluation of the developments in Viet-Nam. Some have also passed judgement on the policies pursued by several of the parties involved. I shall not myself engage in a similar judgement on the past. What is now of paramount importance is to turn our attention to the future prospects and the future possibilities of finding a solution to the conflict.

64. The general debate has revealed a consensus that a military solution is not possible, and that, in any case, such a solution could never be satisfactory and lasting. What then are the chances of reaching a negotiated solution? And a still more pressing question is, how can a way be found to start such negotiations?

65. Even those countries which, like my own, have remained outside this conflict are keenly interested in finding a clear answer to the following two questions: first, which are the requirements of the respective parties for agreeing to meet at the conference table? Secondly, what long-term aims have the various parties to the conflict set forth as their final objectives?

66. It seems to me that, Mr. Goldberg, in his statement [1412th meeting], contributed to a certain clarification of the United States position with regard to these two questions. I have the impression that some of the subsequent speakers have tended to regard his presentation as a sort of verbal camouflage for the real intentions of the United States. I do not find it justified to reject in this way a further discussion of the basis for a solution which has been presented by the United States. The United States representative has actually invited the Members of this Assembly to comment upon his statement, to express criticism, and in general to present their own points of view. Why should we not accept that invitation? Why not subject the United States conditions and objectives to a careful analysis and to searching criticism?

67. With respect to the conditions for initiating negotiations, it seems to me that the position of the United States is the following.

68. The United States has declared its readiness to come to the conference table without stipulating any preconditions as to the course of the negotiations and their final outcome. As to the status of the National Liberation Front in these negotiations, Mr. Goldberg used expressions which seem to imply a readiness to accept the participation of its representatives and their right to express their points of view.

69. Mr. Goldberg also dealt with the key question of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. He stated that an end to the bombing would be tied to an assurance of a corresponding de-escalation by the other side.

70. But statements by official United States representatives, including Mr. Goldberg, indicate a certain flexibility in the United States position. Mr. Goldberg's statement left me with the impression that a cessation of the bombing might be effected if and when there are any indications of a possible approach from the other side. If this impression is correct, we might be right in assuming that the United States position is now approaching the opinion expressed on various occasions by our respected Secretary-General in the form of a three-point programme. This raises the important question of whether these two positions are still so far apart that they cannot be bridged.

71. The clarification given by Mr. Goldberg of the long-term United States objectives in Viet-Nam also deserves careful study, and I think a searching analysis. Without going into detail, there is reason to emphasize the declaration by the United States that it seeks no permanent military bases, no permanent establishment of troops, no permanent alliances and no permanent United States presence of any kind in South Viet-Nam. This formulation of the main objectives is by necessity of a rather general character. This should not, however, discourage anyone, I think, from entering into negotiations.

72. I now turn to the position of North Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front on the same two questions, and particularly the question of their conditions for opening negotiations. We fully understand the difficulties inherent in obtaining precise clarifications from Hanoi and the National Liberation Front. There are, however, in this Assembly many Members who are in a position to assist in the communication of viewpoints between the parties. These Members have, I think, the particularly important task now of assisting in seeking further clarification of the position of North Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front.

73. Leaving the subject of this tragic conflict, I shall now turn to some of the long-term tasks of the United Nations, the tasks aiming at the creation of a lasting basis for peaceful co-existence. These objectives can be reached only by seeking patiently to remove potential controversies which might provoke future crises.

74. First and foremost, we should try to obtain an increasing control over, and a reduction of, armaments. Secondly, we should furnish the United Nations with adequate means under the Charter to play an active role in alleviating friction between States and thereby neutralizing latent conflicts.

75. As regards arms control, it is the conviction of my Government that the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons must be given top priority. In their statements the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union [1413th meeting] and of Czechoslovakia [1416th meeting] touched upon the particular problems which arise within alliances when some of the members possess nuclear weapons while others do not. They addressed themselves particularly to one of the defence alliances. In the opinion of the Norwegian Government, the principle of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should also apply to existing and future alliances. Members of a defence alliance must, of course, consult each other regarding basic principles, including strategic questions. However, such consultations can take place without any transfer of the control of nuclear weapons within the alliance. I agree with the Foreign Minister of Canada when he states [1413th meeting] that on the central issue of the definition of proliferation, the formula must prevent nuclear weapons from passing into the control of additional States or groups of countries, and that this should be combined with legitimate measures of collective defense.

76. In accordance with the basic views I have outlined above, the Norwegian delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution presented by the Soviet Union, requesting States to refrain from actions which might hamper the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and asking them to take all necessary steps for the earliest possible conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [see A/6398]. This draft resolution has also been sponsored by the United States of America.

77. I will not attempt a detailed analysis of the various efforts to arrive at effective methods of preventing further proliferation of nuclear weapons. To reach concurrent agreements on non-proliferation and a comprehensive test ban would, of course, be the ideal solution. This would satisfy the nuclear



Powers as well as States which are at the threshold of mastering the technology for producing nuclear weapons, and those States which are far from that stage. I fear, however, that it will not now be possible to combine these two basic elements of arms control in one single stage, and that the most realistic procedure is to accept partial solutions.

78. During the tenth session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, held at Vienna from 21 to 28 September 1966, the Norwegian Government raised a question of a more limited character. The idea was that States which do not possess atomic weapons might voluntarily place all their peaceful nuclear activities under the safeguards system of the Agency. This would obviously be a very limited measure which should in no way be seen as competing with more comprehensive solutions. Such a step might, however, lead to more comprehensive arrangements. We are considering ways of following up the idea presented at Vienna. The Norwegian Government would be ready to place its own nuclear activities under the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

79. In concluding this part of my statement, I would like to emphasize my Government's warm support for the idea presented by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1] that the time has come for an appropriate body of the United Nations to explore and weigh the impact and implications of all aspects of nuclear weapons.

80. Parallel with, and as a supplement to, its efforts towards disarmament, the United Nations should utilize all adequate means under the Charter to prevent international friction and to settle disputes which might otherwise lead to a breach of the peace. In this field of peace-keeping operations the United Nations has proved itself useful and viable.

81. In our view, the peace-keeping functions of the Organization should be further improved in accordance with the proposal advanced by the Secretary-General in 1964.<sup>5/</sup> This proposal aims at a study of the various preparatory measures of national and international character that are desirable if the United Nations is to act swiftly and effectively to preserve peace. We are aware that serious misgivings have been voiced with regard to this aspect of the Organization's activity. With due respect to this view, we nevertheless have some difficulty in understanding these apprehensions. There is every reason to believe that we shall also in the future have to rely on the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations. We should not continue to rely on improvisations in this field. We can only regret that the efforts to improve the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations have, for political reasons, come to a standstill. We do hope, however, that it will be possible to overcome the obstacles and reach a satisfactory solution. I associate myself in this respect with the points of view expressed so clearly and comprehensively by the Canadian Foreign Minister [1413th meeting].

<sup>5/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/5801/Add.1), p. 9.

82. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the Norwegian Government's attitude towards the United Nations and how we view the future of the Organization. Ever since the Organization was founded, the United Nations has been one of the cornerstones in our foreign policy. We feel convinced that the United Nations, in spite of its weaknesses, has a great potential for influencing future international developments and promoting world peace.

83. Our serious concern about the future of the United Nations has motivated the Norwegian Government's urgent requests to the Secretary-General to continue in his office. I repeat this appeal, combining it, however, with another appeal addressed to the members of this Assembly. It is up to each and every one of us to give the Secretary-General the necessary tools to enable him to fulfil the mandate conferred upon him. It is up to us, through our policies, to assist him in reaching the high objectives which he has set forth for our Organization. The Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people will do their utmost to this end. We are fully aware that our effort can only be a very modest one. But there are other Members here in a position to play a more important role in this respect.

84. Mr. TONCIC-SORINJ (Austria): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you upon your election to the Presidency of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. The overwhelming support which you have received testifies to the high esteem in which you are held. We are fortunate in having as our presiding officer one of the most experienced diplomats of the United Nations who has served his country for many years and who on numerous occasions has demonstrated his diplomatic skill and personal devotion to the lofty aims of the United Nations. I have, therefore, great pleasure in greeting in you the distinguished representative of a country with which Austria maintains close and friendly relations.

85. I should like to take this opportunity to welcome Guyana as a new member of the United Nations family and to express the hope that Guyana will be followed shortly by other independent nations, a process which represents a significant step towards universality and a clear demonstration of faith on the part of the newly independent countries in the role and aims of the United Nations. In this connexion I should like to express my satisfaction that Indonesia, one of the largest and most populous countries in the world, has resumed its full participation in the activities of the Organization, an occurrence which will be to the benefit of all of us.

86. The twenty-first session of the General Assembly commences in an atmosphere of tension. The world is beset with troubles which have their origin in the pursuance of political ideologies; in the economic, social and educational disparity between rich and poor nations; in the unresolved issues regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and in the denial of human rights.

87. The fact that at this very moment our Secretary-General has informed us that he does not offer himself

for a second term of office creates among the Member States of this Organization a feeling of anxiety and insecurity. May I express on this occasion the deep appreciation of my Government for the outstanding services which U Thant has rendered to this Organization and to the cause of peace. We admire his unbending devotion to the aims and principles of the Charter, as well as his objectivity and patience in the discharge of his difficult task. The resounding appeals from all quarters which have been addressed to him during the past weeks are a vivid testimony to the high esteem in which he is held and to the confidence placed in him. My delegation joins with others in expressing the hope that U Thant will find it possible to change his mind so that we may not have to forgo his experience, devotion and wisdom, which have guided us in the past.

88. The fact that this Organization has not been able to solve many of the problems with which it has been confronted since its inception should not, in our opinion, detract from the potential role which the United Nations can and must fulfil in order to secure peace and achieve substantive progress for the betterment of mankind. We must, however, realize that the United Nations can only serve its purpose if the States Members of the Organization are willing to operate within the framework of the Charter. The great Powers, which so decisively contributed to the establishment of this Organization in 1945, have, by virtue of the Charter which they adopted, a heavy responsibility for the future of the United Nations. The nature of the problems which face this Organization requires to an every-increasing degree the concurrent support of all countries.

89. I should like now to address myself to some of the major problems with which we are confronted at the present time.

90. The war in Viet-Nam has become a matter of deep concern to all Governments and moral authorities in the world. Apart from the tragic human sufferings which this war inflicts on the people of Viet-Nam, it represents a serious danger to international peace. It is therefore indispensable that we seek a solution in the political field before it is too late and before the steadily increasing commitments of power and prestige preclude all possibilities for negotiations. It is of utmost importance that a further escalation and extension of the conflict be avoided and that all efforts be undertaken in order to bring about an end to the fighting and a solution which takes into account the legitimate interests of all parties concerned and corresponds to the wishes of the Viet-Namese people.

91. There exist other unresolved problems in the world which disturb the peace in various regions and represent a potential threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is therefore of vital importance to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping activities. We regret that the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, which in 1965 so effectively contributed to the settlement of one of the most serious crises of the United Nations, was unable to achieve further progress. At present a small number of Member States have to carry the heavy burden of peace-keeping operations. The example of Cyprus proves how difficult, if not impossible, it is to terminate

such commitments. My country has in the past constantly supported the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, both financially and through its active participation in these operations. Austria maintains a medical and a police contingent in Cyprus. In order to strengthen the mechanism of peace-keeping operations, the Austrian Parliament has passed a law to the effect that military units may be put at the disposal of international organizations or the International Red Cross. As much as we are prepared to continue lending our support to the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, we have to stress the urgent need for a satisfactory settlement of this important question. Being a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, we know the difficulties which have arisen in this connexion and we are therefore convinced that only a realistic, cautious, and at the same time pragmatic approach to this problem can help to overcome the obstacles still existing. In this connexion, my Government favours an approach which takes into account the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly and one which is based on the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States.

92. There can be no doubt that the primary responsibility for international peace and security rests with the Security Council, as laid down in Article 24 of the Charter. When the Charter was drawn up it was understood that decisions concerning international peace and security should be taken by the Security Council and be based on the unanimity of its permanent members. The basic consideration was that peace-keeping operations could be undertaken only if the permanent members agreed to such undertakings or at least did not object. While stressing the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, I wish to make it clear that we fully support the residual functions of the General Assembly as provided for in Articles 10 to 17 of the Charter. In view of the still unresolved problem, we feel that we should proceed with the greatest possible caution. Attempts to force the issue could only deepen the already existing division of views and should therefore be avoided. This does not mean that we should give up trying to find a workable solution for future peace-keeping operations. In this effort we should be guided by what is desirable and at the same time feasible.

93. Closely related to the problem of peace-keeping is the question of the financial solvency of the United Nations. In this connexion my Government welcomes the initiative of France in proposing an investigation of the administrative and financial aspects of the Organization's activities. We trust that the study undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies will provide a basis for the final settlement of the financial difficulties of the Organization.

94. The experience gained by this Organization in the course of the past twenty years clearly demonstrates that peace-keeping operations do not remove the causes of the conflict to which they apply. In many cases we have been able to contain the fighting, but have not succeeded in eliminating the roots of the

problems and thus bringing about a lasting and just solution both in the interest of the parties concerned and in the interest of the international community. It appears, therefore, to be desirable to study the possibilities for a peaceful settlement of disputes by a more practical implementation of the means provided in the Charter.

95. A number of speakers have referred to disarmament as the most urgent question of our time. I fully share that view. As in previous years, the issues of disarmament have been fully debated by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the twentieth session of the General Assembly [resolutions 2028 (XX) and 2032 (XX)], concentrated its efforts on the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons and the banning of underground nuclear weapon tests. We have followed the Geneva negotiations closely and have also listened carefully to the discussions which took place at the recent General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. Despite the hopes which were attached to the negotiations in Geneva, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament did not achieve any concrete results. There is, however, a widespread feeling that the issues have been clarified and defined to the point that agreement could be quickly achieved on either non-proliferation or a comprehensive test ban, or both, if the nuclear Powers were prepared to take the necessary political decisions.

96. Time is running short, however, a fact which is particularly true for the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation. As much as I share the views of those delegations which maintain that a non-proliferation treaty would be operationally and politically weak without an agreement on the cut-off of fissionable material and a ban on all or part of underground nuclear weapon tests, it is my conviction that we should not delay the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation by insisting on too many conditions of a technical or political nature. If we do not succeed in halting the spread of nuclear weapons we may be faced before long with a new round in the armaments race, involving both offensive and defensive weapons systems which would be detrimental to progress in economic and social fields.

97. With regard to the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on nuclear weapon tests, my Government appreciates the efforts of the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which open a number of possibilities for an immediate or successive banning of all underground nuclear weapon tests. In this connexion, I support the interesting approach of the Swedish delegation and I should like to express the hope that it will be possible to reach a satisfactory compromise in the near future.

98. As in the field of disarmament, my Government has on many occasions insisted that we should not lag behind in the tremendous technological progress achieved in the exploration and use of outer space, and that we should endeavour to adopt in time the necessary legal and political solutions in order to prevent the armaments race from gaining a new dimension through the exploitation of outer space technology. The concrete proposals submitted by the United States [see A/6392] and the Soviet Union [see A/6341] which

aim at the conclusion, through the United Nations, of an international treaty governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies [see items 89 and 91], undoubtedly represent a significant and constructive step towards the elaboration and adoption of internationally binding legal principles. These proposals are designed to provide for a special régime in outer space which would, in advance, eliminate the most likely causes of political friction amongst space Powers and would create a vast and theoretically unlimited zone of activity specifically reserved for the benefit of all mankind. We note with satisfaction the agreement already reached on a number of key provisions of such a treaty. Some questions, however, are still unresolved and I should like to express my sincere hope that it will be possible to overcome the remaining difficulties during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. I therefore trust that political wisdom will prevail, and that the scientific and technical progress in the field of outer space will be matched in the legal and political domain, thus creating a vast realm of peace which might—as we all hope—have a direct impact on other fields of action and in particular on general and complete disarmament.

99. In this connexion, I should like to welcome the recent unanimous decision of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which recommends the convening of an international conference on the peaceful uses of outer space in September 1967 [see A/6431, para. 12]. My Government is convinced that the manifold possibilities of the application of outer space research offer encouraging prospects for space Powers and non-space Powers alike. Artificial satellites for the purpose of communication, meteorology and navigation may only be used effectively if deployed on a global, world-wide scale. This is a field which demands by its very nature extensive international collaboration. Austria has therefore gladly extended an invitation to hold the proposed conference at Vienna and I can assure you that my Government will do its utmost to make it a success.

100. The situation in southern Africa raises a number of human, social, political and legal issues which are not only of vital importance to the group of African nations, but which appeal to the conscience of all the nations of the world. Austria, which has signed the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and which has, in advance, recognized the competence and jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights, demands that we should, without further delay, undertake all efforts in order to secure the full realization of the high ideas and principles embodied in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights all over the world and in particular in the area of southern Africa.

101. My Government has refused to recognize the unilateral declaration of independence by the minority régime in Rhodesia and continues to regard South West Africa as a Non-Self-Governing Territory to which the principle of self-determination fully applies. We therefore follow the debate on South West Africa with special attention and we trust that it will be possible to find a solution which corresponds to the international obliga-

tions regarding that Territory and in particular to the wishes of its people.

102. With regard to the political problems which still exist in Europe, I should like to reiterate the determination of the Austrian Government to do its utmost in order to contribute to the stabilization of peace in that region and to work incessantly for the further improvement of good-neighbourly relations with all countries, irrespective of their political or social systems. Austria is a permanently neutral country on the demarcation line between the two great military alliances of the East and the West. It is a neutral country, but I would like to emphasize that it belongs, by its history and culture, and above all, by the clearly and often expressed will of its people, to the family of West European democracies. With our many neighbours adhering to different social and political systems, we share hundreds of miles of common frontiers. To establish, to maintain, to continuously improve our good-neighbourly relations with all of them, regardless of their social or political systems, is the essence of our foreign policy. It is therefore with deep satisfaction that we register an encouraging trend towards greater political stability in Europe. Nevertheless, complete stability in Europe can only be achieved when the German problem has found a peaceful solution.

103. I should now like to report to the General Assembly on the efforts which have been undertaken for many years in order to settle the dispute between Austria and Italy regarding the implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946,<sup>9/</sup> concerning South Tyrol. The historical background of the Paris agreement has been discussed in every detail before the General Assembly, in 1960 and 1961. The object of the dispute concerns the implementation of the relevant provisions of the above-mentioned agreement, according to which the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province of Bolzano and of the neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento Province will be assured, under General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV), of "... complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, within the framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element".

104. The General Assembly has, by its resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960, concerning the status of the German-speaking element in the Province of Bolzano, urged both Austria and Italy to resume negotiations with a view to finding a solution for all differences. The Assembly, by its resolution 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961, noted with satisfaction the negotiations which were taking place between the two parties concerned, and confirmed the resolution of 1960 on this subject.

105. The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, last year, was in a position to report to the twentieth session of the General Assembly from this rostrum [1358th meeting] that the negotiations undertaken in pursuance of the above-mentioned resolutions had brought about a gradual diminution of the controversial points, so that the chances for a final settlement of the dispute seemed, especially towards the end of 1964, to be promising.

106. The negotiations this year have been focussed on a settlement of remaining open points with a view to establishing an effective and internationally guaranteed autonomy for the minority. Considerable progress has been achieved; nevertheless, some substantial issues still need clarification.

107. I would be particularly pleased if I were in a position to inform the General Assembly that a satisfactory settlement had been reached which as a result would also deepen the mutual confidence between both ethnical groups, and if I were in a position to state that the mandate given to Austria and Italy in the above-mentioned resolutions had been fulfilled.

108. Under no circumstances can this problem be solved by means of violence, which Austria continues to condemn resolutely. Austria is indeed very interested in maintaining friendly relations with all other countries. We therefore appreciate the fact that the present dispute was thoroughly discussed at the fifteenth and sixteenth sessions of the General Assembly. Its settlement would also fulfil the desire of the General Assembly to prevent the situation created by the dispute from impairing the friendly relations between the two countries—a desire expressed in its resolution 1497 (XV). Our partner in the negotiations has repeatedly expressed its goodwill. I am therefore confident that all efforts will be undertaken also on its part in order to overcome the last existing difficulties. Under those circumstances we may reasonably trust that the present dispute could be settled in the near future, thus giving the minority the feeling of security which accords with the lofty ideals and aims of this world-wide Organization.

109. At this stage I should like to say a few words in my capacity as President of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

110. I had much pleasure indeed in welcoming last May the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Council of Europe, where he delivered a most impressive speech to the Consultative Assembly of that body. U Thant found the right words to make that assembly of European parliamentarians conscious of the new responsibility of Europe in a rapidly evolving world full of dangers and problems which call for concerted action. I am happy to say that his visit was a resounding success and that it will help the Council of Europe to direct its activities in such a way that they represent an increasingly effective contribution towards the goals of the United Nations.

111. Our distinguished Secretary-General expressed, before the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, the opinion that regional organizations have in recent years come to be regarded as complementary institutions to the world Organization rather than as substitutes, and said that he was looking forward to the time when these regional organizations would become the pillars upon which the larger structure of world order could be firmly established.

112. I was very pleased that U Thant repeated those views in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, where he suggested that a study be undertaken with regard to the functioning of regional organizations in terms of their respective

<sup>9/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

charters. I am glad to support that suggestion, as I am convinced that such a study, which should include the whole range of activities of regional organizations, might lead to a more rational pattern of international co-operation and to a more practical relationship between regional organizations, the United Nations and the specialized agencies. In so far as the Council of Europe is concerned, such a study would certainly be welcome.

113. It is in that spirit that my Government welcomes the activity of the regional organizations in Africa, Latin America and Asia, which undoubtedly help to achieve the purposes contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

114. In order to reach these goals, we need the co-operation of all States, regardless of their political or social system. It is on the basis of these considerations that we support the principle of universality within the United Nations. The idea of universality will, however, become a reality only if accomplished in accordance with the basic principles of the Charter.

115. In a world which is becoming smaller the feeling of interdependency is growing, and not only because of the danger threatening us all; it is also because of the common tasks facing us that we feel that a better world, a peaceful world, cannot be built in the future unless all nations unite in an irresistible impetus of solidarity; the rich nations should help the poor to overcome the increasing imbalance in the world's economic situation. There can be no slackening in the efforts of the world community to assist the economic development of the newly emerging nations.

116. Austria, within its limited resources, is prepared to make another effort in that respect and is ready to pledge a substantial increase of its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme. In the same spirit, we welcomed the establishment of the Asian Development Bank, to which Austria has also made its contribution.

117. Yet financial aid is not all that the developing countries need. What are needed are new ideas and fresh initiatives and a strong will to find means of strengthening and expanding genuine international co-operation. It is in that context that the United Nations Development Decade, which unfortunately is still falling short of its objectives, has stimulated further efforts by the United Nations to equip itself with more effective machinery: the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development.

118. During the past two years, since the establishment of UNCTAD, we have in our own country laid the foundation for the implementation of the aims and goals of the Conference. We have created real understanding, interest and a sense of responsibility vis-à-vis the problems of developing countries, which is essential for a democratic government in order to take the necessary legislative action and the practical steps required. While the difficulties confronting the developing countries had, of course, been realized even before the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened, the extensive

ventilation of these questions in that forum has undoubtedly given the impulse and the stimulus called for in the efforts towards the solution of those complex problems. Discussions concerning the situation and requirements of developing countries are no longer confined to a small circle of government officials or persons having responsibility for the problems involved, but are now also taking place in academic, economic and commercial circles. In presenting his Government's programme to Parliament on 20 April 1966, the Austrian Federal Chancellor, Mr. Josef Klaus, made special reference to development problems in alluding to Austria's willingness—repeatedly expressed in international organizations—to contribute, in proportion to its economic strength, to the solution of the important questions involved.

119. Austria has in recent years undertaken a series of important measures designed to facilitate trade and to increase its financial aid to developing countries. Faced with the immense task of the economic and social development of a great number of the countries of the world, all actions taken individually or collectively may, however, seem inadequate and insufficient. But have we not passed in the course of only two or three years from the stage of mere ideas and vague conceptions to the formulation of practical lines of action? Have we not created in UNCTAD a firm institutional framework for our efforts and erected a secretariat capable of tackling effectively the many difficult problems of trade and development?

120. We are at this juncture only at the beginning of the last but crucial stage of synchronized action on the part of industrialized and developing countries, action which will be required for achieving positive results. The second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, scheduled for next year, with its declared aim of concentration on a few—but most important—issues, will set the pace and provide the guidelines for our future work. Austria looks forward to that Conference with optimism and pledges its full co-operation.

121. United Nations actions in the field of industrial development are also of particular interest to my country. We are fully aware of the fact that industrialization is an essential factor in any programme for economic development. My country therefore supported General Assembly resolution 2089 (XX) establishing the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development and is prepared to make every effort to contribute to the success of this new activity.

122. Experience within the framework of the United Nations clearly shows that neutral States are welcome partners for the developing countries, not only in providing experts or technical assistance, but also by acting as a centre for international conferences and seminars. In view of this experience and the sincere desire of my country to contribute to the great tasks of development, the Austrian Government has decided to offer Vienna as a possible site for the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development, provided that a majority of Member States wishes to establish the permanent secretariat of that organization outside United Nations Headquarters.

123. In my address to the General Assembly, I have tried to demonstrate that the solution to the many problems of world peace, of economic and social justice, is not just a matter of political or legal decisions but is, above all, a matter of high ethical responsibility on the part of all Governments and other moral authorities.

124. I therefore consider it fitting to recall to the members of this General Assembly the visit of His Holiness Pope Paul VI to the twentieth session of the Assembly, by which he expressed his unrestricted confidence and faith in the United Nations, an Organization which may not be the best of conceivable institutions but which has in the past proved to be an irreplaceable instrument in the service of international peace and the attainment of economic and social progress.

125. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to suggest that the list of speakers in the

general debate be closed at 1 o'clock on Friday afternoon, 7 October. I would also inform the Members of the General Assembly that their much appreciated cooperation has enabled the Chair to bring to their attention the intention to conclude the general debate on Tuesday, 18 October.

126. I propose therefore to close the list of speakers on Friday, 7 October, at 1 p.m. and conclude the general debate with the afternoon meeting of Tuesday, 18 October. May I urge the representatives who have not yet inscribed their names on the list please to do so as soon as convenient.

127. If there is no objection to this proposal, I take it that the General Assembly is in agreement.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*