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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. HARMEL (Belgium) (translated from French):
Mr. President, your name has been closely linked to many of our Organization's activities and we know how hard you have worked to enable the General Assembly to resume its normal operations and to help the United Nations to overcome the constitutional and financial crisis which threatened its existence in 1964. In recalling your important contribution to the life of this Organization, to which we are all so steadfastly devoted, I should like to pay a sincere and deserved tribute to you as you take over the heavy burden of the distinguished statesman, my colleague and friend, Mr. Fanfani, who guided the debates of the twentieth General Assembly with so much dignity and tact. Mr. President, I wish you every success in this important task.

2. To you, Mr. Secretary-General, I wish to express Belgium's appreciation for all that you have accomplished and also our hope of overcoming, if possible, your reluctance to remain in office. I know that your conscience rather than our appeals will dictate the final reasons for your decision. This morning I hope to help substantially to convince you of the strength of your influence by taking up several specific points in your report [A/6301 and Add.1], to support your suggestion for a study of all the consequences stemming from the invention of nuclear weapons, and to follow you in your search for a peace strategy. Throughout the world, in hundreds of military academies, military thinkers devise war strategy to guide the generals on the battlefield. When shall we, for our part, be able to build—here or elsewhere, but on our initiative—a peace strategy which will show us how to prevent conflicts from arising, how to stop them in time, and how to bring about and guarantee a truce?

3. I should also like to follow your report and examine with you the means to rally to our side those who have not yet joined us, in such a way that they wish to do so, so that they will deserve our general confidence and so that we shall then be generous enough to grant it.

4. I should like finally to follow you in stressing at this point the importance we attach to your views on co-operation and development. We believe in the role of the United Nations in these areas, which are true actions for world peace. In this central task, the Organization should be guided above all by criteria of effectiveness and while this requires steadfastness in the pursuit of our goal we must be very flexible in the means we use to achieve that goal. Geography and history have created circumstances in the world which are too diverse for us to base our action on excessively rigid rules. Several representatives who preceded me at this rostrum have expressed, for example, the hope they place in various forms of regional co-operation. My country, which immediately after the war played a pioneering role in this area through the union of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, can only share these hopes and encourage these initiatives.

5. We feel that the United Nations should extend moral support and material aid to regional groups of developing countries and that it should use them as a channel for its activities. We also feel that the Organization should use, as a channel for its activities, all generous offers of co-operation—public or private—from various countries. Our experience has taught us that the most fruitful and successful development efforts are those supported in a country or group of countries by institutions which are already strong and which carry on beyond their own borders the work they have been able to accomplish.

6. Finally—and this task can be achieved only at the international level—we must ensure the co-ordination and correct evaluation of the total aid which so many countries need, so that we can ensure that it will be shared out as fairly as possible.

7. Europe thus attaches particular importance to the future work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and we are planning our role in the second Conference with great care which, we hope, will enable definite results to be achieved. The influence which this Conference could have on the development of international trade would thus support and complement the direct effect of technical assistance and financial aid in the developing countries. All these activities are valuable and are not mutually exclusive; they are complementary and should be encouraged simultaneously.

*Resumed from the 1430th meeting.

8. In a few moments I shall speak of European problems. But I should first like to emphasize our firm conviction that Europe's obligations are not limited by its geographic boundaries. The idea of a group of relatively wealthy countries living in isolation is repugnant to us. Belgium has given proof of that fact by its assistance and co-operation which, relatively speaking, are equalled by few other countries. For historical reasons, a substantial part of this effort is concentrated in the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. We have maintained this effort even in the face of difficulties; yet we are not indifferent to the economic and social problems of other countries, whether Asian or African States or those Latin American countries to which Europeans feel particularly close through history and the common sources of their culture. We firmly intend, within the limit of our means and with respect for our commitments, to extend our co-operation to an every-increasing number of countries. The Belgian delegation will take up these points in the various committees; I merely wished to stress how important they are to us.

9. During the general debate my country will develop two themes which we consider to be central; I shall speak in turn of Europe, where a détente and co-operation are becoming possible, and of Asia, which causes us such deep concern. This may not be a novel choice but do not present circumstances dictate it and should we not state publicly our positions on such grave matters?

10. It is well to note that Europe, once the source of so much anguish in this century, is not now experiencing any serious conflict. On the contrary, it seems that circumstances are encouraging us to move prudently but firmly towards improving relations between European countries under different régimes and, even better, towards intensifying and increasing all kinds of exchanges between them. This will foster a favourable climate for the solution of the important problems still facing our continent, and I am referring particularly to Germany.

11. What favourable circumstances enable us to look forward with definite optimism to the development of European relations? First, there is the desire and the need for peace which all Europeans share, together with their common anxiety in the face of the deteriorating world situation and the enormous and terrifying means of destruction which States possess. Next, we see a source of progress in this part of the world in the consolidation of certain regional groups. This is putting an end to the fragmentation of nationalist policies which are often selfish and sterile. We also see progress in the relaxation of ideological confrontations brought about by a kind of civil ecumenism known as "peaceful coexistence". Finally, there is progress in the relative balance between the defensive systems of the two European groups of people. In this respect, it must be recognized that, since defensive weapons will be required at least until international security has been established, it is better for this defence to be organized within the framework of large groups in which big, medium-sized and small nations combine their efforts and, above all, restrain one another. Otherwise, the defence of the less powerful nations would become illusory. Until collective Atlantic

security was established, we were afraid and we explained why. We now believe that this establishment has helped to create and foster the idea of mutual respect in both camps.

12. For all the reasons I have just mentioned, Europe, which is more peaceful than it has ever been during this century, can and must now set the example for peaceful co-existence, for a détente, and for increased co-operation among its peoples and the outside world. Indeed, we do not envisage this more united Europe as isolated or self-centred but on the contrary as all the more prepared to co-operate with the rest of the world and to play a role in its development because it has overcome its own divisions. Thus, without delay and in order to set an example, the two European groups should initiate—if possible, for the whole world, but in any case for Europe and its Governments—a three-pronged drive aimed at non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of underground nuclear weapons tests, and the stabilization, followed by the gradual and necessarily parallel reduction of armies and military budgets.

13. Two of these points involve our country. Belgium is ready to sign any treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which establishes an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations between the present nuclear Powers. We appeal to these Powers to speed up the conclusion of such an agreement. Next, in the spirit of the détente, Belgium wishes, in harmony with the efforts of its Atlantic allies, and to the extent that the détente will benefit, to stabilize its armed forces and its military budget. Finally, in a broader context, Belgium is determined at every level to expand the scope of its relation in Europe with peoples under régimes different from its own.

14. We shall do so because we believe that the conditions for peace on a continent are threefold and interdependent. They depend on a military defence system adjusted precisely to needs; on political conditions founded on respect for the United Nations Charter and on acceptance of its golden rule, namely, the rejection of so-called preventive or ideological wars; and finally, on social conditions requiring increased exchanges.

15. Why must we now turn to Asia? Because world peace is an indivisible concept, and that is why our concern goes beyond Europe's geographical limits. It is logical and inevitable for each of us to be concerned with a matter which affects us all, because it involves peace not yet attained in Viet-Nam. Like many representatives who preceded me at this rostrum, I should like briefly to explain our position on this problem. The Viet-Nameese war distresses small countries such as ours, although we are far from those fields of suffering and death. We think about that war every day and, like all of you, we passionately seek a way to attain peace.

16. I feel that the most useful contribution countries like mine, which are not directly involved in the conflict, can make to the building of peace, is our objectivity and impartiality. We must not seek to ascribe truth to one side and falsehood to the other, for we refuse to believe that the situation can be

reduced to such over-simple terms. How do we view the real situation?

17. On one side, the United States and other countries are providing the Government of South Viet-Nam with the help it has asked of them; it is obvious that those countries cannot allow South Viet-Nam to be crushed. On the other side, North Viet-Nam is helping the National Liberation Front and, because of the way the situation has developed, is worried about losing its independence to its neighbours.

18. In this situation, of which we are all aware, the United States representative has just unequivocally set forth his country's position from this rostrum [1412th meeting]. It seems to us unthinkable—and we, for our part, could not agree—to doubt the sincerity of his views. Did not Mr. Goldberg state that his country was ready to halt the bombings in North Viet-Nam if that gesture were promptly followed by an appropriate and corresponding de-escalation by the other side? Did he not suggest that the gradual and controlled evacuation of all foreign forces from Viet-Nam could be regulated in accordance with a negotiated time-table? Finally, did he not solemnly state that his country was ready to discuss with the other party a settlement based on strict respect for the Geneva Agreements?

19. And for your part, Mr. Secretary-General, you also advocated the cessation of bombing in North Viet-Nam, to be followed by a substantial reduction of the military activities of all the parties involved in South Viet-Nam as a prelude to a negotiated settlement with the participation of the National Liberation Front.

20. And from this rostrum, Mr. Gromyko insisted upon the unconditional cessation of bombing, the withdrawal of United States forces and those of its allies, and on the need to ensure that the Viet-Nameese people will be able to settle its own problems [see 1413th meeting, para. 120].

21. We have carefully studied these important statements. What can we conclude from them? We certainly must note that while these positions are still far removed from each other, they are not irreconcilable and do not rule out hopes for a negotiated settlement of the conflict; in fact, they seem to point to such a settlement.

22. We are thus now faced with a major choice, more political than military, which President John Kennedy described in the fall of 1963, just a few weeks before his death. In his fragile and ill-fated life, he, more than anyone, embodied the courage so essential to the leaders of great Powers, who bear an extraordinary burden of responsibility. Like you and like us, President Kennedy realized that from the standpoint of international policy we would have to reach this conclusion: we are now very close to that critical moment when we will have to choose once and for all between the risks of a more extensive war and those of a reciprocal de-escalation and a negotiated settlement. Everyone wants to choose de-escalation, but no one wants to take that first decisive step without, at the same time, having a reasonable hope that others will follow suit.

23. It is certainly clear, and we must all admit this, that once that first step has been taken, results can be attained only if the parties involved immediately begin a realistic discussion. We believe that circumstances are ripe, at this critical moment, and that the leaders of the great Powers involved in Asia—the Soviet Union and China—must act. It would be incomprehensible if, in an area where they are so deeply involved, these countries did not back up the action of whatever country or countries were to make the first peace move. History would severely judge the nation which, by its inaction, would have let slip the prospects for peace thus briefly glimpsed.

24. That is why all nations—great or small, close to or far away from this theatre of war, whatever their loyalties—must ask themselves here how they can make the second step easier, that is, how they can ensure firm negotiations more certain to succeed. Since our Organization can accomplish this, let us call for negotiation, let us make a solemn collective appeal, combining anguish and confidence, for an immediate opening of negotiations between the parties involved, and let us make it clear to all that negotiation does not mean surrender. It is not too early to discuss the terms for such negotiations. The first step, de-escalation, must lead the way to negotiation, which should be prepared at once.

25. But the prospect for a guaranteed peace in Viet-Nam would be short-lived unless a more general feeling of security were created in that part of the world. That guarantee cannot exist without China's co-operation. I must mention that for us, one of the greatest international problems is the fact that continental China, with the largest population on earth, remains outside of every agreement with the countries that surround it. In Asia there is no de facto situation, or even less any legal system, which guarantees the peace of other States.

26. Is it therefore impossible to hope to put an end to this situation? As President Johnson and the Secretary-General have stated, security in Asia obviously cannot be achieved without China. What will China do in turn to reassure its neighbours? It might offer them guarantees by saying to them, as others have said here to China: We have no intention of invading you nor of carrying out any acts of violence or subversion on your soil, we have no desire to try to overthrow the régime now in power in other countries. Is it really impossible to attain such an essential goal through regional negotiation? Among other statements, is this the meaning we must attribute to this comment Mr. Chen Yi made in Peking: "There is no doubt that China will make an important contribution to the safeguarding and strengthening of world peace."

27. We believe that China's important contribution should aim first of all at the security of Asia. Many of us are awaiting positive signs in this direction. We shall then be anxious to see China play a greater role in establishing peace through the United Nations. We trust that at that time, no one will set the 13 million Chinese of Taiwan against the 700 million Chinese on the mainland by acting as if the former did not count because they are less numerous. A

country like mine, with 9 million inhabitants, could not accept such a sordid calculation!

28. That is what I thought I should say to this Assembly on the problems of peace in Asia, which also are the problems of peace in the world. I believe that we must continue, beyond our differences and our interests, to explore all the paths of negotiation and all opportunities for peace. We shall thus perform that duty of conscience which Pope Paul VI mentioned in his encyclical letter Christi Matri Rosarii, made public on 19 September 1966, echoing his unforgettable address to us here one year ago:

"Those in whose hands rests the safety of the human family... should carefully examine their moral record and obligations...: stop! Men must come together.... A settlement should be reached now, even at the expense of some inconvenience or loss; for it may have to be made later in the train of bitter slaughter and involve great loss."

That was the thought which inspired me a moment ago when I outlined my country's hopes.

29. Mr. NIKEZIĆ (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you personally and on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation upon your election to the Presidency of this General Assembly session. This election is an expression of the high regard in which you are held and a tribute to your country, with which Yugoslavia maintains relations of deep friendship and fruitful co-operation.

30. I should also like to welcome the admission of Guyana to the United Nations and to extend to it our best wishes for progress and prosperity.

31. We are happy to see Indonesia among us again. We have always felt that that great country had a constructive role to play in the United Nations.

32. We were very pleased at the twentieth session that the work of the General Assembly had returned to normal, although we were aware that its difficulties had not yet been fully overcome. During the year since then, however, the activity of the United Nations has not been extended, and the Organization has at times been relegated to a secondary role in the major trends of international life. It has not been uncommon to see certain Member States exposed to great pressure and attempts at foreign interference, while the United Nations was not in a position to defend them. If we do not make renewed efforts to apply the principles of the Charter, if peace and security cease to be our major concern, the United Nations will be unable to accomplish its mission.

33. The facts and views which the distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, has set forth in the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1] only confirm the gravity of the situation facing the United Nations and the need to restore confidence in its ability to meet the demands of our time.

34. Needless to say, the unfavourable state of international relations is inevitably reflected in the work of the United Nations; but that does not explain everything. We have experienced crises in the past, but the United Nations was in a better position than

it is today to intervene to maintain peace. But in recent years we have noticed a growing trend to solve major political issues outside the world Organization.

35. What is the cause of this situation? In our opinion, it must be sought first of all in the reluctance certain Powers have expressed to see the United Nations play a more active role. No one can deny the special responsibility of the great Powers, particularly in matters of war and peace, and the Charter contains the necessary provisions on their rights and duties. Thus, these Powers, more than any other nation, can truly protect their legitimate interest within the framework of the Organization. But at the same time, they are duty bound to act in the spirit of the Charter and to help the United Nations, despite its shortcomings, to become a more effective organization in the search for solutions to problems affecting all States. Attempts by certain Powers to impose solutions on other countries can neither lead to a stabilization of the international situation nor can it in the long run ensure their own interests.

36. We are deeply convinced that all countries need the United Nations, be they great or small, rich or at a less advanced stage of development. The world Organization can function successfully only as a democratic body based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation founded on equality. Without such a foundation, its future would be highly doubtful.

37. Major international problems cannot adequately be solved without the participation of the greatest possible number of countries and without representation of all regions of the world. In this connexion, the fact that the People's Republic of China is not represented here constitutes the Organization's major shortcoming. Neither other States nor the United Nations can, without endangering peace and their own interests, challenge the right of the People's Republic of China to participate in world affairs on an equal footing. In accordance with this idea, Yugoslavia supports the right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent that country in this Organization. In the belief that universality is essential to the United Nations, Yugoslavia has always favoured the admission of all States. We believe that conditions are now ripe for divided countries as well to join the United Nations, if they so desire.

38. The present international situation can only arouse our deep concern for peace and security and, in general, for prospects for future development. The fact that the great Powers realize that a nuclear war would be a catastrophe for all is of little consolation to us. The fact that the nuclear Powers tend to avoid direct conflict has not prevented power-hungry forces from resorting to all kinds of pressure, including that of arms. This policy of force is particularly evident in Asia and Africa, where imperialist interests are in permanent conflict with the aspirations of people who wish to free themselves from every kind of subordination.

39. The general debate has shown once again that the Viet-Nameese war is the major current problem. Although military operations are restricted to a specific area, this war is an international problem,

not only because the interests of the great Powers are involved and because it is a threat to peace in general, but also because this conflict reflects the great dilemmas of our time. The failure thus far of foreign intervention to break the will of the Viet-Nameese people, who are determined to be free, again confirms the fact that force cannot prevent people from attaining national independence and from choosing their social system, if they are firmly determined to do so.

40. It is not our intention to propose solutions, but we feel we must state our position on the most important current issues. My country, which also has waged a difficult struggle for independence, has from the outset supported the right of the Viet-Nameese people to settle their own domestic affairs. That is why we condemn foreign intervention and the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, a sovereign and independent country.

41. We have always believed that it was possible to end this war and at the same time to guarantee that the Viet-Nameese people would attain the legitimate goals of their struggle— independence and the freedom to choose their domestic régime. We have felt that it was up to the United States, whose armies are on foreign soil, to make the first move, namely, permanently to halt the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and to recognize the National Liberation Front as a partner in the negotiations. We thought it would then be possible to seek a solution on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. If we are to look forward to a political solution, we believe it is essential to pave the way for the departure of foreign troops.

42. My Government expressed this conviction on 21 January 1966. It still considers that this is the key problem for future negotiations and that the United States must promise to withdraw its military forces from South Viet-Nam within a specific period of time. What assurance would the Viet-Nameese people—who have been waging an unequal struggle for two decades— have of attaining the objectives of their struggle, if negotiations were held while a foreign military presence remained, with no prospects for its withdrawal? Similarly, we feel that all the parties involved must declare their willingness to accept whatever domestic political solution the people of South Viet-Nam may freely choose, without foreign interference.

43. In this context we believe it possible to strengthen peace and the independence of countries in South-East Asia. For we are convinced that the Viet-Nameese people and the other people of this region want neither war nor enslavement to any foreign Power. By enabling the Viet-Nameese people freely to decide their future, we would restore peace and stability to the entire region, thus serving the long-range interests of all States. If foreign troops withdraw from this area once known as Indochina and if the countries there refrain from participating in military alliances, a new era of development and co-operation could begin.

44. The independence of Viet-Nam is in the interest of the entire international community. We do not believe that the American people really want this war, nor that its termination can really endanger

United States interests, nor that the exercise of self-determination by the Viet-Nameese can damage the prestige of the United States. Quite the contrary, the continuation of this war is what threatens the prestige of the United States and, I would venture to say, of all other Governments and the United Nations itself; for if we cannot prevent such a destructive war, similar situations will arise sooner or later in other more vast regions, thus finally sweeping us all towards the abyss of war. I believe that our only alternative is to make every effort to avoid such a danger.

45. Although the Viet-Nameese war rightly concerns all nations, decreased tension and the thaw in the cold war in East-West relations, which developed several years ago, pave the way for new achievements. Their material basis lies in the domestic development of many countries, in the increased determination of peoples to live in independence, and in their strengthened economic capacity. On the whole the changes which have occurred in the general balance of power established after the war represent a positive development. The entry of new independent States into world affairs can only hasten the day when international relations will truly be based on democratic principles.

46. We are also witnessing important changes in military and political groupings. The obstacles to broader co-operation and to an independent policy are decreasing. This is particularly true in Europe, where formerly division had been greatest and where many countries, despite their membership in alliances, have embarked on economic and political co-operation in the belief that thereby they are serving their own interests and are fostering the stabilization of peace in Europe.

47. We have no illusions that the major difficulties have already been overcome. Serious problems remain unsolved, but there is a growing awareness in all countries that the future does not belong to military blocs, although we cannot expect them simply to disappear. The strengthening of peace in Europe can only help to improve the situation in other areas as well. At the same time, favourable conditions are emerging which should encourage European countries to give more aid to the developing countries.

48. My Government, which has never believed in the utility or the future of military blocs, has for many years been pursuing a policy of extended bilateral co-operation and is participating actively in efforts now under way to seek solutions at the European level. We feel that the resolution adopted in 1965 on improving good-neighbourly relations among European States [resolution 2129 (XX)] reflects new tendencies in Europe and is a valuable contribution to co-operation among countries on that continent. In the spirit of that resolution, its sponsors are now preparing a meeting of representatives of European parliaments.

49. Recent contacts show that the Governments of the sponsoring countries are ready to consider opportunities and to take initiatives in political, economic, social and other areas. Conditions clearly are favourable and new paths are being opened to us.

50. In another part of the world, unfortunately, the colonialists and their allies have entrenched them-

selves, particularly in southern Africa, from where they are attempting to relaunch their attack. In our opinion, either all African peoples will be free or emancipation itself will be endangered throughout the world. The peoples of Southern Rhodesia, of the colonies under Portuguese administration, and of Aden, South Africa and South West Africa are forced to struggle for their basic rights, and it is our duty to help them win independence. We cannot hide our disappointment at seeing the International Court of Justice turn a deaf ear to the claims of the South West African people, who are anxious to win their freedom from the South African racists. Racial discrimination and apartheid defy the entire international community. The United Nations must therefore consider appropriate measures and institute a programme of action.

51. The only realistic course to follow to maintain peace and eliminate foreign domination is for us to apply the principles of the Charter and of active and peaceful coexistence. That is precisely the purpose of the policy of non-alignment, which develops cooperation among independent countries and opposes all hegemony and any form of monopoly in international affairs.

52. The way in which this policy is expressed has varied according to the particular period and circumstances of international life. Its value, however, has never been challenged by events. Today, as in the past, the non-aligned countries face essentially the same dilemma: they must either fight for peace and strengthen their own independence, or fall back to a subservient position. It is easy to understand that they choose the path of independence, no matter what obstacles they may find there. It is well to note that many newly independent countries have adopted this policy and that the actions of other countries, which are still members of military alliances, are marked by tendencies similar to those of the policy of non-alignment.

53. The many problems facing the newly independent countries and the developing countries in general, and the various pressures and interference from outside, impose on the United Nations the obligation to contemplate a broader plan of action in political, economic, social and educational spheres, so that the international community may more effectively assist these countries. We feel that the time has come, at this session, to discuss the problem and to draw up the guidelines for joint action.

54. The new international development policy, whose groundwork was laid down at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva in 1964, still has not been followed up by practical measures. While we do not doubt the complexity of this process, we feel that the lack of political will on the part of certain industrialized countries is the main reason for the lack of any significant progress. This continuing situation gives rise to serious concern, because better understanding, stability and peace cannot be ensured unless very tangible progress is achieved in the execution of international development policy. That is why these issues become increasingly urgent. The second United Nations Conference on Trade

and Development, to be held next year, will undoubtedly be of decisive importance in this area. We can rightly expect it to mark a turning point in the study of development problems, and above all in the pursuit of efforts already under way.

55. The lack of political will has prevented agreement from being reached on the very important matter of disarmament. The arms race has imposed on the great Powers and the whole world a burden which we all must bear, for the atmosphere of instability and uncertainty has led even the poorest countries to allocate increasing sums for arms. We all speak of the need to disarm. It is high time we took practical steps. We must continue our efforts to conclude agreements on those partial measures on which some convergence of views has already emerged. Firstly, the dissemination of nuclear weapons must be halted. We must then seek out new possibilities for discussing general disarmament. The resolution which the General Assembly adopted at its twentieth session calling for a world disarmament conference in which all States would participate [resolution 2030 (XX)] pointed out one such possibility.

56. We are convinced that through a common effort we shall be able to accomplish the most urgent task of today: to ensure peace and tackle the real problems of our time. The obstacles are great, but the role of the United Nations and our common responsibility are still greater.

57. Mr. SWARAN SINGH (India): Mr. President, may I once again offer to you, both on behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf, our most sincere felicitations on your assumption of the high office of the Presidency of the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. We rejoice in your election for more than one reason. It is, if I may say so, a fitting recognition of your own eminence as a statesman. We rejoice also that the representative of a neighbouring country, Afghanistan, should have been chosen for this high and important office. I do not have to dwell on the nature of the close and intimate ties which bind your country, Mr. President, with my own. Indeed, this traditional friendship between our two countries may well be regarded as an example of good-neighbourliness in our part of the world.

58. Allow me, Mr. President, to take this opportunity to place on record our deep sense of appreciation of the work done by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

59. It will not be out of place if, at this stage, I express our earnest and sincere hope that U Thant, our respected Secretary-General, will not decline reappointment at this particular juncture. We are conscious of the considerations which have prompted U Thant to take his present decision. These very considerations impel us to urge him to reconsider his decision. We share his disappointment at the lack of "new ideas and fresh initiatives" in the field of disarmament. We share, too, in his concern about the financing of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations and about the lack of the impetus the United Nations Development Decade was expected to

give to the urgently required technological breakthrough in the developing countries. We are equally concerned about the deteriorating situation in South-East Asia and, more particularly, in Viet-Nam. For these very reasons, we are convinced that this Organization needs his continued guidance and wisdom. While we welcome the decision of U Thant to be prepared to remain in office at least until the end of the present session, we join with the Members of the General Assembly in expressing the earnest hope that he will agree to accept a second term as Secretary-General.

60. Year after year, we have seen this Organization of ours grow as new States join our ranks. This year we have the pleasure of welcoming in our midst the new State of Guyana. Feelings of brotherliness and cordiality animate the relations between our two countries, and we now look forward to our working together in this Organization.

61. I should like to say how happy we are at the emergence of Botswana and Lesotho as independent, sovereign States. Soon, another State—Barbados—will also attain independence and sovereignty. We look forward to welcoming them here in the near future, and we have no doubt that they will all add to the strength of this Organization.

62. As one surveys the contemporary political scene across the continents of this world of ours, one is naturally oppressed by the weight of the many problems which continue to defy solution. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1] has reflected, with remarkable sensitivity, the general climate in which the world finds itself. I shall endeavour to deal with some of these problems which especially touch and concern us all vitally. But before I do this, I should like to mention one or two brighter aspects of the world scene.

63. We rejoice at the easing of the tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia, and we are happy that Indonesia has decided to resume its rightful place in the United Nations. There is little doubt that Indonesia's return not only demonstrates the loyalty of its Government and its people to the principles and purposes of the Charter, but also reflects the inherent strength of the United Nations.

64. South-East Asia is in turmoil. Consequently, even a small beginning towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia can have vital beneficial effects in this region. We offer our felicitations to the leaders of these two fraternal countries.

65. I should also like to say how happy the Government and people of India are at the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between Malaysia and Pakistan.

66. In the concluding observations the Secretary-General has made in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, he has referred to his endeavours "to help in the efforts which have been made to reduce the escalation of the conflict in Viet-Nam and to move to the conference table the quest for a solution of the problem". The approach

he has indicated and the considerations which have weighed with him coincide with our own approach and our purpose. For nearly a quarter of a century now, the people of Viet-Nam have gone through suffering, misery and torture. That is tragedy enough. What is worse is the constant danger that some day the war in Viet-Nam may overflow its own frontiers and engulf us all.

67. Situated as we are, as an almost neighbouring country of Viet-Nam, we in India are vitally affected by developments in that part of the world. Herein lies our deep interest. We are also concerned as holding the chairmanship of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam. We also deeply feel that the entire area of the former Indo-China States will remain a source of extreme anxiety and even turbulence unless the situation in Viet-Nam is brought under control. And, above all, we sense in the agony of Viet-Nam the haunting and brooding tragedy of a possible world conflict.

68. It is well to recall that after a Conference lasting several months, the Geneva Agreements were reached in 1954, by which the war of independence in Viet-Nam was brought to a close. What was stipulated at Geneva was that the cease-fire agreement should be respected and that steps should be taken to bring about a political settlement in Viet-Nam. To this end, it was envisaged that consultations should be held between the two sides in Viet-Nam to hold general elections in July 1956 for the reunification of Viet-Nam. It is the tragedy of Viet-Nam that these stipulations regarding the political settlement were not fulfilled in time.

69. For some time now, there has been recognition on all sides that there can be no lasting military solution to the Viet-Nam problem. If this is true, then the only alternative left is the earnest search for a peaceful solution. Moved by this primary consideration, my Prime Minister has been urging the stoppage of the bombing of North Viet-Nam, the cessation of hostilities and of all hostile action throughout Viet-Nam, a Geneva-type conference between the parties to the conflict and others vitally concerned so as to enable the people of Viet-Nam to decide freely their future without any interference or pressure from outside, and within the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

70. All of us can derive some encouragement from the fact that, even today, everyone directly concerned with the conflict in Viet-Nam subscribes to the continuing validity of the Geneva Agreements.

71. There can be no doubt that the world community is eagerly and anxiously searching for ways and means to bring the conflict in Viet-Nam to an end. We feel confident that, if the bombing of North Viet-Nam were ended, a way out could perhaps be found to move the parties from the battlefield to the conference table. We are equally confident that in the ensuing negotiations modalities could be worked out between all the parties concerned, including the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, for the full implementation of the Geneva Agreements. It is our earnest hope that the very compulsion to preserve national identity and national interests would make the Viet-Nam of the

future self-regarding and independent. In this context, the Secretary-General has made a very wise observation when he states that "the basic problem in Viet-Nam is not one of ideology but one of national identity and survival".

72. The situation in Laos is integrally tied up with the situation in Viet-Nam. There could be no perceptible improvement in one without a corresponding improvement in the other. Should the conflict in Viet-Nam escalate, there is bound to be a corresponding escalation in Laos as well. In such an inherently difficult situation, we appreciate the efforts made by the Prime Minister of the Royal Lactian Government, Prince Souvanna Phouma, to steer a middle course.

Mr. Idzumbuir (Congo, Democratic Republic of), Vice-President, took the Chair.

73. All of us should understand and appreciate the problems faced by Cambodia in the context of the situation in Indo-China. The courageous efforts of His Royal Highness, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, to safeguard Cambodia's neutrality and independence evoke in our hearts a sympathetic response. All of us owe it to the world community and to the cause of peace that we should have a clear understanding of the extremely difficult situation in which Cambodia finds itself.

74. May I refer briefly to another aspect of the picture in Asia. In one way or the other, China looms large on our horizon. I do not need to recapitulate all the efforts which we made from 1949 onwards to build our relations with that country on the basis of friendship. Under provocation, we made no move to assert ourselves, in our anxiety to convince the world how necessary it was that the People's Republic of China should not suffer from a sense of isolation. We do not, for a moment, regret having made a sincere effort in that direction. While we do not wish our vision to be clouded by our pre-occupation and concern, we are nevertheless left with a most serious problem on our hands across the entire stretch of our northern and north-eastern borders. You, Mr. President, and all assembled here are familiar with the macabre drama enacted by China last year in delivering ultimatums to us. We stood our ground, and it is our firm resolve that, whatever sacrifices our people have to make, we shall never falter in the defence of our security and territorial integrity.

75. We have no objection—we never had any in the past—to China fashioning its destiny within the social, economic and political framework of its own choice. All that we seek is to reserve to ourselves a similar right. After all, peaceful co-existence would be a mere slogan unless all of us could feel a sense of assurance that we could fashion our respective destinies in the light of our own experience, tradition and circumstances. We therefore view with concern the adventurist postures and policies of China in defiance of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

76. While we have no illusion that China will change its policy overnight, we nevertheless believe that our attempts towards that end should not be given up. It is for this reason that we have continued to maintain

the position that the People's Republic of China should be seated in the United Nations.

77. May I now deal with some of the problems which continue to torture the continent of Africa. The United Nations cannot contemplate with equanimity the situation in which it finds itself there.

78. The problem of Rhodesia is assuming an increasingly disquieting character. Some of us recently had occasion to discuss it elsewhere in great depth and over a long period. We, in India, are amazed at the staggering disproportion between the actual size of the problem and the ineffectiveness on the part of the administering Power, in dealing with it.

79. Let us measure the dimensions of the problems which Southern Rhodesia presents. The last nineteen years have witnessed the emergence of as many as twenty-seven sovereign independent nations out of what was once the British Empire. Seven hundred million people, after long, bitter and strenuous struggle, attained their freedom. And, in each case, sovereignty was transferred on the basis of majority rule. The question simply is whether this vast historic process of the liberation of peoples is going to be reversed and set at naught by a mere 200,000 people in Rhodesia who are infected with pathological racist doctrines. This staggering fact cannot be hidden by any sophistication of language. This handful of men are defying with impunity the urge for freedom of four million people of Southern Rhodesia who rightly demand independence on the basis of majority rule and the "one man, one vote" principle. If this festering sore in Rhodesia is not healed quickly, its poisonous effects will corrode and corrupt the very vitals of the world community. And the price which we shall then pay will be far more terrible and costly than all the calculations that we might make of the cost at present. What could be more tragic than that our hope for the possibility of races living together in peace and co-operation should be shattered? The time has therefore come for immediate and effective action to end the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. We earnestly urge the United Kingdom to take the necessary action with a sense of urgency in order to discharge its responsibilities to itself and to the world community.

80. If the situation in Rhodesia is menacing, no less menacing are the policies and practices of the Government of South Africa and of the Portuguese colonialists. There may appear to the protagonists of Realpolitik an element of unreality in our trying to deal, year after year for nearly twenty years, with the problems of apartheid and the remnants of colonialism. The fact remains, however, that sooner or later these problems will have to be resolved one way or another. We hope that they will be resolved peacefully, reasonably and rationally. It is because we persist in this hope that it is of vital importance that, year after year, this Organization must make its position abundantly clear. There is no government on this earth which can remain immune for ever from the pressures generated by the world community and the conscience which it embodies. It is in that hope and that faith that we have persisted and shall continue to persist in lending our support to the cause of the liberation

of the peoples of South West Africa and of Mozambique and Angola.

81. This great Organization must give hope to all those who are suffering and striving for the liberation of mankind from dehumanizing doctrines of racialism and intolerance, discrimination and oppression of one people by another.

82. This brings me to the problem of apartheid. And if I do not speak on this subject at length, it is because my delegation will have the opportunity of expressing its views when it comes up for more detailed consideration in the appropriate Committee. I should, however, like to say with all the emphasis at my command that the pernicious policies of apartheid provide the most explosive material for conflict and undermine the foundations of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights. All this we have said in the past, and we shall continue to caution the world community against the accumulation of inflammable material to which South Africa is so recklessly contributing.

83. While we denounce the rulers of South Africa for elevating to the level of State policies doctrines of racial intolerance and persecution, we must at the same time express our abhorrence of the policies of those who aid, assist and comfort South Africa for the sake of their commerce and trade and for other financial benefits. The many powerful friends by whose grace South Africa is enabled ruthlessly to suppress the indigenous people should really give some thought to the iniquity there is in trading human rights for commercial profit.

84. May I now refer briefly to another problem which vitally concerns us all—namely, the problem of disarmament and proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the very outset I should like to say that I do not have to present credentials concerning my country's unswerving loyalty to the principle of the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. Our record in this respect is as clean as it is above board.

85. The very fact of living daily with the ever-increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and delivery systems tends to make us insensitive to the menace which all this represents. In order to combat this insensitiveness and in order that the peoples of the world may understand what all this really involves, the Secretary-General has made an interesting suggestion. He has observed that "no organ of the United Nations has ever carried out a comprehensive study of the consequences of the invention of nuclear weapons" [A/6301/Add.1]. He has suggested 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, including problems of a military, political, economic and social nature, relating to the manufacture, acquisition, deployment and development of these weapons and their possible use" [*ibid.*]. We would heartily support such a study. Indeed, under the inspiration of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, our scientists had engaged, some ten years ago, in a preliminary study of the consequences of atomic explosions. The results of that study were published in the form of a book, but quite clearly we need to deepen the study.

86. There can be no doubt that the most serious menace which the world faces today rises from the feverish arms race that is going on among the nuclear weapon Powers. The arsenals of these nations are more than large enough to destroy the entire world several times over. And yet these nuclear weapon Powers are now going in for what they call a new generation of nuclear weapons and planning to add a new dimension to the arms race by embarking upon anti-ballistic missiles. In the context of this grave situation, it is mere diversionary tactics to talk about a sixth or seventh or eighth nuclear Power. The effect of this is to give sanctity to the existing nuclear weapon Powers, to their weapons and their proliferation. Indeed, it provides a justification for defiance of the will of the comity of nations as expressed in the test-ban Treaty. Fortunately for most of us, the international community does not look at the problems in that manner. It does not give its seal of approval to four or five countries and accord to them permission to proliferate these weapons. In so serious a matter one would not wish to engage in making debating points. But, quite seriously, we believe that proliferation, whether vertical or horizontal, is a matter of the gravest consequence.

87. The General Assembly adopted a resolution at its twentieth session [resolution 2028 (XX)] on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, in which it was stated categorically that a treaty on the subject must be based on certain principles, one of which is that it should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers.

88. It is to us axiomatic that all countries—those which possess nuclear weapons as well as those which do not—must assume similar obligations in respect of non-proliferation, and that there should be some progress on nuclear disarmament as a whole. We shall therefore continue to press for measures which could act as a genuine deterrent against nuclear proliferation and, at the same time, check the nuclear arms race among the nuclear weapon Powers.

89. I should now like to touch on the fringes of a problem which, in many ways, bedevils the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. All of us are, in one way or another, involved in the process of transformation of our respective societies. The essence and substance of this process is that in this latter half of the twentieth century we are trying to do what Europe achieved over a period of three to four centuries. We are trying to transform subsistence economies and archaic societies into modern societies with modern industry and modern agriculture. We are in the process of setting up modern nation-States. All the great tensions and conflicts stem from these efforts. To the extent that we sympathetically understand these processes of evolution, we might guide these vast changes into creative channels. However, one cannot help expressing disappointment at the apparent lack of understanding in many quarters.

90. Since the adoption in 1961 of its resolution on the United Nations Development Decade [resolution 1740 (XVI)], the General Assembly has increasingly turned its attention to the grave problem of the disparity between the standards of living of the developed and

the developing countries. The turning-point came in 1964, when, at the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the international community took a pledge to tackle this problem in a systematic and concerted manner and to provide for itself the machinery and the framework of a dynamic international policy for achieving this purpose.

91. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has completed two years of existence. The progress in the implementation of the recommendations adopted at the first session of the Conference has been disappointing. The annual report of the Secretary General of UNCTAD to the Trade and Development Board^{1/} which has just concluded its fourth session at Geneva, shows that the developed countries lack the will to implement the recommendations of the first Conference. Unless bold and imaginative steps are taken to implement the recommendations of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the crisis of rising expectations in the face of diminishing fulfilment will get further aggravated and may lead to such deep frustration that it may shake the very foundations on which the international community is trying to build a new world order and lasting peace. The second session of the Conference, which is scheduled to be held next year, will provide an opportunity to devise ways and means to translate into concrete action the noble objectives embodied in the Final Act of the first Conference. We welcome the unanimous decision of the Board to recommend to this Assembly that the second Conference be held at New Delhi, and we are happy indeed to have this opportunity to make our modest contribution to the success of the Conference.

92. Reports on world economic trends submitted by our distinguished Secretary-General, the 1965-1966 annual report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the reports of the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization and, most recently, the report on implementation submitted by the Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, present a picture of an all-round deterioration in the economic situation of the developing countries. Poverty and stagnation in the developing countries have become more vicious. Those countries face the problem of the food gap, the problem of "debt explosion" and the problem of not being able to maintain the momentum of economic growth achieved so far. Under these pressures, many Governments in the developing countries are finding it difficult to maintain the socio-economic structure for the evolution of which they have made great sacrifices and which they cherish as one of their most important national achievements and objectives.

93. The rate of growth in the developing countries during the first half of the Development Decade not only fell short of the target of 5 per cent but was lower even than the rate of growth during the fifties. Taking into account the increase in population in developing countries, the increases in per capita income in these countries have been only nominal. This leads our world to a situation where the gap in the standards of living between the developed and the developing countries has widened further instead

of narrowing. We gather from the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development on implementation that whereas the increase in per capita income in the developed countries during the first half of the Development Decade was \$60 per annum, that in the developing countries was only \$2 per annum. Our attention has also been repeatedly drawn recently to the stagnation in the outflow of financial assistance to the developing countries during the first half of the Development Decade. During that period, the gross national product of the developed countries as a group has increased substantially per year, which has resulted in a fall in the ratio of capital outflow of gross national product of the developed countries assigned for aid to developing countries. The latest figures on the total debt burdens of the developing countries and their payment liabilities on this account show that the repayments of debts by developing countries now absorb more than half of the total inflow of financial assistance to these countries. If that trend is allowed to continue, in fifteen years' time the developing countries will be in the peculiar situation of earning only to pay their past debts.

94. In conclusion, may I make one or two observations of a general character.

95. Those of us who have endeavoured in our own imperfect way to pursue the policy which has come to be known as one of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence have always tried to ensure that our minds remain ever free from the passions and prejudices which may sway us from time to time.

96. If the world today, at least the European part of it, feels a little relaxed and talks with a certain amount of detachment about the emerging polycenterism, that is, in no small measure, due to the fact that a very large number of emerging countries have refused to be drawn into military alliances of one sort or another and have thus freed their minds from the conditioned reflexes created by such alliances. The *détente* in Europe, which we devoutly hope will persist, cannot, however, have durability and stability unless policies triumph in Asia and Africa which consciously avoid interference of one sort or another in the affairs of other countries and consistently show respect for human rights.

97. In India, we strongly feel that the future of a peaceful world depends, in a decisive way, on the growth and consolidation of those tendencies which would scrupulously respect differences in political and social systems prevailing in the world. It is our firm belief that countries such as ours—newly emergent and trying to give bread and liberty to their people—can best serve the cause of peace in the world through consistent adherence to the principles of non-alignment. To the extent that this is recognized by the great and small Powers, we shall generate the confidence that nations can develop, give a better way of life to their peoples and maintain liberty and national dignity in freedom and diversity.

98. Mr. ZINSOU (Dahomey) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to convey to you the Dahomean delegation's warmest congratulations on your election as President of this session of the United

^{1/} TD/B/82.

Nations General Assembly. We hope that your efforts will help to make our work more effective and assist the Organization in fulfilling the ideals which inspired its establishment.

99. I have been wondering for a long time whether it is necessary or useful to take the floor during the general debate which opens each session, and even more so, during the session now in progress. Not that we in Dahomey have not highly appreciated the Organization's great contribution to the cause of peace and decolonization; not that we have not realized everything that has been accomplished and all the catastrophes which have been avoided with its help during the past twenty years, but because we also know, unfortunately, that very little comes of the torrents of words which flow from this rostrum once the echo of our voices has died out. It would be somewhat stultifying, you will agree, for me to repeat the same things we have heard here for two decades and to make one of the 119 exactly identical speeches at the start of this twenty-first session. Moreover, except for the four or five speeches of the great Powers—on which everything depends and which speak only to reaffirm that they refuse to give one inch or to relinquish any of their selfishness, their pretensions, or their world outlook which is closely linked up with their political, economic and strategic interests—who remembers or will remember what we obscure, lowly nations will have said, since everyone knows that we are no threat to world peace, and therefore are of no interest to anyone?

100. And yet, since we have no privilege to defend, no leadership to safeguard, no ambition, no claims to any sort of hegemony, should not our voice ring louder and farther than that of the protagonists who are too involved to be objective and fair? We are not strong enough to scheme. Let us then try honestly, frankly and candidly to express our alarm, our anxiety, our faith and our hope.

101. The United Nations, like the League of Nations which preceded it, was born of the will of nations to spare the world the general holocausts which, twice in one generation, has nearly destroyed it. Our role is not to be an exclusive club indulging every autumn in a set ritual of resounding and pompous oratory, without changing anything in a world that is plunging headlong towards the abyss. It is rather to be a community devoted to safeguarding the peace, defending the right, building patiently and laboriously, no doubt—for nothing worthwhile is done without great effort—a more prosperous and more fraternal world. But what are the facts?

102. Peace, always precarious, is still threatened to the extent that our eminent Secretary-General—because in his position he sees it better than anyone else—has expressed his alarm and has reached a grave decision. Everyone professes to share his anxiety and appeals to him to change his mind. But what meaning and value can this appeal have if everyone making it is not deeply and sincerely determined to act so that the danger thus perceived and denounced may be warded off, if everyone is not determined to create the conditions in which the Secretary-General's change of mind would not become a cover for hypocrisy or humbug?

103. For five years now, a duly appointed Committee [see resolution 1722 (XVI)] has been holding endless deliberations in a vain effort to bring about general disarmament. Men of astounding achievements, who are about to land on the moon, have in five years been unable to reach agreement on disarmament. Who can believe that this is a sign of sincerity or the result of an insoluble problem? Apart from several newspaper columns, nobody pays any more attention to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee—or should we say seventeen—although it once had—and should continue to have—one of mankind's greatest hopes placed in it.

104. Let us ponder the gravity of this situation. Peace, we have said, is threatened. There are people for whom, for over twenty years, peace has been meaningless because they have known nothing but warfare, death and destruction of all kinds with neither truce nor lull. Both sides would have us believe that Viet-Nam is being transformed into a land of scorched earth strewn with countless corpses for the benefit of the country and its people. It is time to put an end to all this. And since everyone professes to want peace, let us stop talking about it and work to achieve it.

105. My Government believes that we must, without further delay, force both sides to act, that we must test their sincerity and good faith. The United Nations should tell everyone directly or indirectly involved in the Viet-Nameese affair: enough talk, show us by your deeds that you really want peace.

106. My Government specifically suggests that, under the supervision of a permanent impartial international commission, it should be decided: firstly, that all bombing of Viet-Nam should cease immediately; secondly, that all the belligerents should accept a general cease-fire within two weeks from the effective and definitive cessation of bombings; thirdly, that three months after the cease-fire, all foreign troops on both sides should be withdrawn; fourthly, that after that three-month period, and once the foreign forces have been withdrawn and the situation has returned to what is called for under the Geneva Agreements, a new conference should be held—bringing together all parties involved, including representatives of the Viet-Cong—to determine the procedure whereby the Viet-Nameese people, still under international supervision, is to determine its own future, on the understanding that everyone will have agreed beforehand to accept the outcome of this free consultation; fifthly, that by one year from today, this entire programme should be carried out and, whatever decision the Viet-Nameese people may reach, the international community should begin immediately to help the country to rebuild, dress its wounds and live again.

107. Some will object that taking a decision here is not enough for that to happen immediately; some of the parties involved belong to this Organization and others do not. How can we obligate those who do not? And how can we force those who are Members but refuse to comply?

108. The first question raises the problem of the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership in the United Nations, an issue we do not wish to evade. My Government believes that it is

neither realistic, reasonable nor wise to ignore a nation of 700 million inhabitants and the Government which undoubtedly rules that nation. Probably there are much more than differences—sometimes a real gulf—between mainland China's ethics and philosophical and ideological concepts and our own. This is even truer today, judging from the unsettling news coming from that vast country. But just as we do not want others to impose philosophical or ideological choices or a certain way of life upon us, we do not wish to force others to think as we do, feel as we do, or react as we do. Coexistence is impossible without tolerance. And it is unfortunate that the People's Republic of China shows so little of the latter.

109. We think that if Peking China wishes its seat in the United Nations, it should be admitted, provided that its admission would not result in the eviction of nationalist China. For if we do not have the right to impose on the Peking Chinese an ideology which they do not want, we also do not have the right to impose on the nationalists a régime they formally repudiate.

110. Whether or not China belongs to the United Nations, it is a member of the human community. If proposals for peace are reasonable, fair and honestly and sincerely accepted by all, we cannot imagine how China alone can ignore them. In any case, it is time for the community of nations to unite with determination and without compromise against all those—great or small, of the East or West—who refuse now or in the future to accept the law and to help set the machinery of peace in motion.

111. The second question is the means which the Organization has or should have at its disposal to impose on everyone the decisions reached here. This is a major problem and we fully understand the real difficulties it entails. But until it has been solved, our main task will remain undone. Until it has been solved, the hot war—the cause of tears and bloodshed—which is leading to the apocalypse, will rage on in one area or another between Members of this Organization; States which subscribed to the Charter and are present here will continue daily to flout with cynicism and impunity the principles that form the very foundation of our Organization; the United Nations will merely be the shield behind which the great Powers can do whatever they like.

112. Let us speak frankly: we must know and state clearly what we want to do, and we must do it. We must revise the Charter, define unequivocally what is within and not within the purview of the United Nations and provide the Organization with the means to force compliance with the decisions reached, if necessary. Otherwise, despite the fine resolutions we adopt here, South Africa and Portugal will continue to exchange knowing, contented smiles, 200,000 Rhodesian whites will continue to defy and hold 119 nations in check, and peoples of goodwill will continue to doubt, for they have good reason to do so.

113. In addition to the impotence we have just discussed, our own International Court recently delivered a scandalous and wicked judgement under the guise of legal and fallacious reasoning which, in order to safeguard what it erroneously claims to be the letter of the law, has violated its spirit. It is a

serious matter that such an institution should have failed in its duty, and it is urgent that we correct the situation.

114. We in Dahomey also believe that serving the peace requires respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, renunciation of the threat or use of force, and the settlement of disputes between countries through negotiation. That is the groundwork on which the international community can build a peaceful life in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Dahomey fervently hopes that these principles will be applied universally, and most of all in areas of tension in Africa, the Far East and the Middle East.

115. In order to maintain peace, it is of course most important that we find rapid solutions to the world's burning political problems. I have pointed out some of these difficulties and outlined several solutions. But this peace will be only illusory and short-lived if in another area, no less important and perhaps more fundamental—the economic and social area—the present alarming discrepancies persist.

116. Even more than the existence of these discrepancies, the most upsetting feature of our time is the way in which these discrepancies are growing rapidly and dangerously worse. The phenomenon is so widespread that it has become almost a cliché to say that the rich countries are growing richer, while the poor are growing poorer. Two factors are helping to speed on this catastrophic development: first, the steady deterioration in the terms of trade as between the developed and the developing countries, and second, a marked slacking off in foreign aid. In world trade we are witnessing a fall in the prices of primary commodities, which the developing countries produce, whereas the cost of manufactured goods, which the developed countries produce, is rising. The developing countries' share of world exports, which was only one third in 1950, fell to barely one fifth in 1962.

117. In addition to this, there is what I just called the slackening off in foreign aid. In recent years, the national income of the developed countries has continued to grow at a rising pace. In contrast to that increase, the amount spent on foreign aid has steadily decreased. In 1961, when the idea of the United Nations Development Decade was introduced, aid to developing countries amounted to 0.83 per cent of the gross national income of the developed countries. Resolution 1711 (XVI), which recommended that aid should be increased to 1 per cent of this national income, was therefore by no means an ambitious measure. But what has happened to this modest goal, now that the United Nations Development Decade has reached the half-way mark? Far from increasing within the modest limits that had been suggested, the amount of aid to developing countries has not even remained stationary, since it was barely 0.69 per cent in 1965.

118. The world cannot remain indifferent in the face of these factors inhibiting the development of the less fortunate countries. His Holiness Pope Paul VI who, exactly one year ago, honoured the United Nations with his presence, recently made a statement as brief as it is significant: "Development is peace."

119. To ensure this development and to remedy the alarming situation mentioned earlier, we see three possible solutions: a sustained effort by the developing countries themselves; a far-reaching reform of the structure of world trade; and a substantial increase in foreign aid. As to the effort of the developing countries, the first to be interested in their own economic and social growth, no one in good faith can doubt the great sacrifices they are making for their development.

120. Dahomey has undertaken a rigorous austerity programme and has implemented a plan to increase its domestic production considerably.

121. Moreover, the Secretary-General noted a few months ago in a statement to the Economic and Social Council:

"The current World Economic Survey, 1965, for its part, rebuts the arguments of those who have contended that the developing countries have done little in the last five years to mobilize their domestic resources. It shows that in the first half of the United Nations Development Decade, despite disappointments and failures, the developing countries did succeed over a broad front in increasing their own contribution to their development. And while, as the survey indicates, much remains to be done, and only the first halting steps having been taken in many areas, there is good reason to believe that the developing countries will succeed in improving still further the mobilization of their internal resources for development during the second half of this Decade."^{2/}

But these efforts to increase their resources are thwarted in part by the meagre earnings the developing countries derive from the sale of their products on the world market in comparison with the cost of the capital goods they have to import.

122. This explains the importance we attach to the work undertaken by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to reform the structure of international trade. The first Conference, held in 1964, defined the principles which should govern world trade. We feel that the faithful application of these principles is of the utmost importance. We want the second conference, planned for 1967, to be a negotiating conference which will lay down a number of specific measures that can be implemented immediately and effectively. Such measures would enhance the value of our countries' products and would thus have a decisive impact on development.

123. But such development can be achieved only if foreign aid is stepped up. Indeed, and I quote from the same statement by the Secretary-General: "In an impressive number of instances, the main limitations are not domestic but rather the insufficiency of external resources" [ibid.]. We expect this foreign aid from international bodies and the specialized agencies and also from the developed countries. We hope that these bodies and agencies will increase their valuable contribution to the development of the third world. The recent establishment of the United

Nations Industrial Development Organization [resolution 2089 (XX)] reflects this concern in that UNIDO will be equipped with facilities for promoting industrialization effectively in the developing countries.

124. We might have expected the organs granting financial aid for development to show more understanding than they have so far towards the poorest countries. The popular saying that people lend only to the rich is borne out—as we know only too well—when an appeal is made for strictly private funds. But this policy is hardly to be expected from institutions whose major concern should be to further development.

125. The demands and terms which these institutions often attach to their loans make it difficult for the less fortunate countries to obtain them, and it is precisely these countries which need them most. Such practices have the tragic result of widening even further the gap between the various stages of development, a gap which others are doing their utmost to close. A serious reform of these institutions' regulations and, particularly, their practices, is imperative if they are to meet present needs more effectively, for these needs no longer resemble those to which these institutions were accustomed when they were first set up.

126. I explained earlier how assistance from the developed countries had decreased in inverse ratio to the increase in their national income. More active participation by these countries is essential for the accelerated development of the third world. The very existence of highly developed and highly industrialized countries is in itself a handicap for those which are not developed, a handicap which the former generally did not face at the start of their economic and industrial growth. This drawback can be overcome only if the developed countries take their responsibilities more to heart and increase their aid to the developing countries.

127. The percentage of aid in relation to the developed countries' national income, set as a target of the United Nations Development Decade, is the minimum which the developed countries should reach very rapidly. This would be a first stage until a more detailed programme is set up. It may not be long before we seriously examine the idea and methods of a genuine international tax system, a sort of "cosmic tax", that would reflect the modern world's recent awareness of its undeniable community of interests.

128. One of the most intelligent figures the United Nations has known, the late Adlai Stevenson, last year expressed this basic fellow-feeling in a striking metaphor which is part of his moral legacy and which I should like to quote:

"All men travel together, passengers on a little spaceship, dependent on its vulnerable reserve of air and soil; all committed for safety to its security and peace; preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, the love given to this fragile craft. It cannot be maintained half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half enslaved—to the ancient enemies of man—half free, in a liberation of resources undreamt of until today. No craft, no crew can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On

^{2/} This statement was made at the 1421st meeting of the Economic and Social Council, the official records of which are printed as summary records.

the resolution of such contradictions depends the survival of all mankind.^{3/}

129. The success of the United Nations also depends on the smooth operation of the Secretariat and the various specialized agencies. It is time for both to reflect the Organization's universality and to stop being the stage for displaying the hegemony of certain groups, linguistic or otherwise. We French-speaking peoples have neither an inferiority complex nor, even less, a superiority complex. We ask for no privilege or favour. But neither are we resigned to being imposed upon by cliques or to suffering discrimination as regards employment in these bodies and the working facilities at our disposal. I am saying this solemnly

^{3/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, thirty-ninth session, 1375th meeting, para. 42.

from this rostrum because I wish to leave no doubt regarding our determination in this respect.

130. I should like to conclude my statement by paying a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and by warmly welcoming the new independent State of Guyana to our midst. We believe that the best way to thank the former and welcome the latter is for us to act so that everyone can still believe in the United Nations, its mission and its effectiveness; to vow that, come what may, we shall not disappoint all those who have their eyes fixed on us; to make peace, law and justice triumph; to make true international solidarity prevail. Dahomey will do its modest part and apply all its faith and energy to achieve this end.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.