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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now begin the general debate. I give the floor to the first speaker on my list, Mr. Leitao da Cunha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil.
2. Mr. LEITAO DA CUNHA (Brazil): On behalf of my delegation and the people of my country, may I extend to you, Mr. President, my congratulations upon the distinction bestowed upon you. In our world, to earn the honour of being chosen President of the General Assembly of the United Nations is perhaps the highest recognition that can be conferred upon a statesman in acknowledgement of his endeavours on behalf of international peace and security. You more than merit this distinction, Mr. President. As a parliamentarian, as a Cabinet Minister and as Prime Minister, you have fought for peace untiringly, with tenacity and talent. In your person there is represented the great nation of Italy, cradle of Latin culture, heir and herald of the Mediterranean civilization. We, the people of Brazil, treasure the memory of your recent visit with President Saragat to our land, on which occasion you were able to observe the interweaving of our two nations, as several million Italians form part of the Brazilian people.
3. May I also pay tribute from this rostrum to our three new Members—Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore—as they join the family of the United Nations. I should like to express my warmest wishes for their prosperity and complete success in their life as independent States.
4. Once again the delegation of Brazil opens the general debate. This practice represents a tradition of interest in the great debate engaged in each year by the nations of the entire world—a debate in which they seek, in the divergency of their points of view, some common ground and some fruitful understanding as a basis for the hope of harmony and accord

which inspired the United Nations Charter but which, unfortunately, has so frequently been frustrated by international events. It is with the same faith we have always held in the future of the United Nations that Brazil appears today before this universal forum. We are aware of the special significance of the work we now embark upon as our Organization completes its twentieth year and is seeking to overcome perhaps the gravest crisis in its history.

5. After twenty years of activity, the United Nations finds itself confronted by a world which is perhaps as disturbed and uncertain as it was during the days of San Francisco, when the Charter was drawn up. Throughout the world, thinkers, philosophers, statesmen and scientists proclaim that civilization is in danger, that moral, spiritual and material values fashioned throughout history are menaced, and that the very survival of mankind is in jeopardy. Perhaps for the first time in history mankind really feels mortally wounded. There are those who, even more pessimistic, believe we are currently witnessing the twilight of our civilization, not by virtue of some historical process or some natural catastrophe, but by the political frustration of man, overwhelmed by the technology he himself has created. In a world in a state of trauma as the result of an ideological conflict without equal, in a world dufounded by unprecedented economic and social problems, could it be possible that the scientific revolution, applied to the art of war, may have endowed human beings with a power greater than man's ethical structure can bear? Could it be possible that the alleged imbalance between technological and moral progress has divested man of his spiritual substance and transformed him into the fragile instrument of his own destruction?

6. Technological progress, which created thermonuclear weapons and which is pulling outer space into our world, has increased the feeling of insecurity among people and yet has not improved the living conditions of the large majority of mankind. The scientific revolution is contributing dramatically to multiplying the threats to peace and the threats to the very survival of our species. What is it that prevents nations from making the proper use of science? In my country, where the ethical and spiritual values are deeply rooted in our culture and in our history, we reject as an explanation that it is a feeling of disenchantment with, or lack of faith in, the ethical principles of life and of man, as created and consecrated by Christian and Western traditions we received through our Portuguese heritage. In our view, a political crisis is involved, a constitutional crisis of mammoth proportions: man would seem to be incapable of meeting the problems of international organization at a crucial moment in history. This

seems the fundamental problem of our times, the great challenge to the statesmen of the era.

7. Unless we create a community of nations working effectively for the political and economic equality of States, for their freedom, and for the supremacy of law in their mutual relations; unless there is an international community able to assure at one and the same time fundamental liberties to the citizens of each State and equal opportunity for economic and social development to each nation; unless we proceed with the task of decolonization begun in San Francisco by democratic, and hence by exclusively peaceful means; unless we forge instruments for the prevention and punishment of international aggressions; unless we place armaments under effective international control; in a word, unless we solve the basic problem of international organization—we shall have built this House on sand. And we, this House, our people and even our future as a civilization will be inviting total destruction.

8. We should constantly bear in mind the fact that the United Nations Charter, however flexible, represents a style of political architecture that, as in the case of certain modern weapons, has been superseded by reality just when the blueprint is completed. The Charter in fact preceded the cold war and even preceded the eruption onto the political scene of a recent scientific revolution, with its important repercussions on world politics and from which fundamental phenomena of our times derive: the thermonuclear era, the space age and the full development of the industrialized nations. The picture of the crisis is further complicated by two additional elements: first, the implementation of the Charter which accelerated the peaceful process of decolonization to a surprising tempo; secondly, the scientific revolution which multiplies wealth, and the population explosion which in a large number of non-industrialized countries multiplies poverty. On the one hand, man transforms outer space into humanity's youngest province, while on the other, he becomes aware of his earthly poverty and realizes with anguish the uncertainties of a better future for his offspring.

9. In the context of these already grave problems, still other serious attritions and conflicts are emerging, luckily not yet so widespread as to render the threats to world peace even more ominous. Two great nations, outstanding Members of this Organization, are today still plunged in a struggle of unforeseeable consequences. On the same long-suffering and troubled continent, the Viet-Nameese situation continues to represent one of the greatest dangers to the preservation of world peace. Brazil trusts that India and Pakistan will be able to find a peaceful formula for the final settlement of their controversies. And may I say that we congratulate both countries and the United Nations for the cease-fire which has already been obtained. In like manner, we dare hope that the Government of Hanoi will accept the constructive proposals made by the United States of America, as well as by the United Kingdom, the non-aligned countries and the Secretary-General, U Thant, to discuss the problems of Viet-Nam at the negotiating table, in search of a solution which would make it possible to free South-East Asia of the war

which has for so many years been inflicting bitter suffering on the people of that region.

10. It is not the intention of the Brazilian delegation to sketch here the outlines for a revision of the Charter which would endow the United Nations with the instruments it needs to create the international community to which we have alluded. The task is not for one country alone, but for all of us. However, we could try to analyse, in the light of the foregoing ideas, the more important problems which face us and point out approaches that might perhaps contribute to the reformulation of our political structure.

11. One of the most serious signs of the need for a revision of the Charter is to be found in the crisis that virtually prevented the nineteenth session of the General Assembly from being held. In my view, the crisis has yet to be conclusively settled. The United Nations did not touch upon the core of the problem. The strained consensus which was arrived at constituted merely an interim plan of action; you might call it a truce. The problem is a constitutional one. The problem of the payment of the assessments for peace-keeping operations arises out of diametrically opposed interpretations of the Charter, and in matters of principle any compromise is precarious for it does not alter the substance of the divergent positions. At the last session of the General Assembly the Brazilian delegation suggested [1239th meeting], as an adequate solution for the crisis, a revision of the Charter which would take the form of a new chapter on peace-keeping operations. The efforts and discussions of the Committee on Thirty-three,^{1/} as well as the provisional solution agreed upon, served but to strengthen our conviction of the urgent need for such a revision.

12. Brazil considers it essential to maintain the United Nations peace-keeping operations as one of the most useful and effective remedies for the settlement of conflicts which threaten world tranquillity. My country gave its enthusiastic support to the Suez Force, in which we have participated from the very outset with a battalion of soldiers and which is currently under the command of a Brazilian soldier. It has likewise contributed to the operations of the United Nations in the Congo and bent every effort to gain approval for the Security Council resolution [186 (1964)] which gave origin to the Cyprus operation. It never hesitated to meet the ensuing financial obligations.

13. In the regional sphere, my country made an effective contribution to the establishment of another peace-keeping operation through the Inter-American Armed Force in Santo Domingo—a subject of much controversy. The facts have proven, however, that it was a sound measure which helped to enable the Dominican people, safeguarded from civil strife, to set up a provisional Government and guide the country toward democratic normalcy and social progress. I would like to point out, apropos, that the regional systems, within the structure of the United Nations, should be understood as a deliberate effort of their members to show their firm belief in the solidarity of their common interests and in the

^{1/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

benefits of recourse to consultation whenever controversy threatens. By their access to collaboration and consultation during international emergencies, the regional organizations represent, within the framework of the United Nations, an imperative of our era.

14. Returning to peace-keeping operations, we are rather at a loss to understand why the United Nations should neglect to write into its Charter one of its most efficient political tools. What indeed could be more apt to stabilize situations that could degenerate into conflicts and to establish conditions leading to the halting of already declared conflicts? The delay in the spelling out of the constitutional pattern to be given peace-keeping operations causes us serious apprehensions.

15. We see another motive for concern in the stalemate in the negotiations conducted by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. The constant harping on problems completely unrelated to the recommendations addressed to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament by the Disarmament Commission—actually a sad survival of cold-war issues—precluded in the course of the recent Geneva talks any further agreement leading to the reduction of international tensions. No headway was made toward extending the Moscow Treaty^{2/} to underground nuclear weapon experiments, as the mediating countries—of which Brazil is one—proposed time and again in Geneva and in the Disarmament Commission. Nor has anything yet been done to solve the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The nuclear club gained a new member—I might say: what a member!—and may dangerously increase in the near future with the acceleration in various countries in carrying out research programmes and programmes for nuclear production for military purposes. In spite of some suggestions and proposals that have been submitted—and your proposal,^{3/} Mr. President, was very noteworthy—nothing was accomplished in Geneva to prevent this proliferation. This task requires the best efforts of all those who, without losing sight of the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, fear the risks run by an international community whose survival will depend upon the fragile correlation of forces based exclusively on the nuclear balance. May the extensive exchanges of views in the debates of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament assist all Powers concerned in narrowing their differences when they again take up negotiations on disarmament.

16. In the regional sphere, however, note should be taken of the efforts of the Latin American countries to transform the area into a nuclear-free zone. General Assembly resolution 1911 (XVIII) served as a point of departure for the study of a programme for the denuclearization of Latin America. At the meetings of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America, the Latin American countries have worked hard to overcome certain difficulties which, by their nature, slow down the drafting of a

treaty of such great scientific, military and political importance, a treaty without precedent.

17. The geographic demarcation of the area subject to the future statute, as well as the obtention of formal guarantees on the part of the nuclear Powers that the statute will be respected, constitute, in the opinion of my Government, essential requisites for the preparation of an instrument which will prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and yet not imply any present or future risk to the security and to the scientific advancement of the countries signing the treaty.

18. It is worthwhile noting today that the inclusion in the United Nations Charter of what now constitutes its Chapter XI was not altogether a peaceful and simple matter at San Francisco. Some colonial Powers were opposed to Chapter XI at that time and proposed that its principles merely form an appendix to the Charter. Time has shown that the decision adopted was a wise one, for the problem of decolonization was soon to emerge and it would have been a blunder for the United Nations not to have foreseen it in the Charter. We would now have been confronted with one more constitutional crisis. Unfortunately, however, the fact that it was foreseen in the Charter did not prevent the occurrence in these last two decades of many serious conflicts involving the process of decolonization. I might point out here that the only form of decolonization envisaged in the Charter is that accomplished by peaceful and democratic means. Recourse to violence, to armed fighting, and, above all, the interference of a State or group of States in the process of decolonization being carried out under the responsibility of another State, not only flouts the principles of the Charter, but could retard that process. If military in nature, this outside interference not only produces the retarding mentioned, but also engenders tensions and conflicts which can spread, to the detriment of international peace and security.

19. Brazil, true to the commitments assumed when it signed the San Francisco Charter—and, furthermore, true to its own history and destiny—firmly supports the principle of self-determination for all peoples, provided the desire for self-determination represents their will, freely expressed and free of outside interference. It is in keeping with this principle, moreover, that we wish to see the German people granted the right to express their will, through freely held elections, on the question of being reunited as one nation.

20. In order to understand the roots of the political crisis which rocks a large part of the under-developed world, it might perhaps be useful to seek a parallel in history. The principle of the equality of the individual before the law revealed its limitations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was found that merely acknowledging a man's rights as a citizen was not enough. Only in the twentieth century, through the extension of the same principle to the economic and social plane, did the ideals of political equality begin to be satisfied in full. Without economic and social equality, the Western industrialized societies would inevitably have been the prey, for a long time, of totalitarian régimes which, in

^{2/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963, sect.D.

^{3/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, sect.D.

the final analysis, would render impossible that equality longed for by the masses.

21. At the present time, owing to the new communications systems, it would be impossible to convince the countries in process of development that their poverty and their backwardness cannot be speedily eradicated. A machinery must be created on the international plane to facilitate the transfer to the developing countries of the instruments and techniques created by the scientific revolution, as well as of the necessary capital for their full development.

22. The foregoing considerations stem from the observation of the economic picture of a large part of the under-developed world. Indeed, if we examine the current world economic situation objectively, we note that concrete progress, although considerable in absolute terms, has been relatively slight. Despite the goals of the United Nations Development Decade, the truth is that the difference between the per capita income of the industrialized countries and that of the poor countries continues to rise. Relatively speaking, the poor countries are even poorer today.

23. We all realize that the process of development is first and foremost the internal responsibility of each country, the result of a national decision to affirm and fulfil itself, even through sacrifices. Whatever international contribution might be possible, there is no substitute for the desire to attain the objectives dictated by the special needs of each nation. The developing countries are fully aware that this truth is valid, not only on the political plane, wherein they achieved independence through the process of enforcing their legitimate claims, but also on the economic level, wherein prosperity is the result of persistent courage and hard work. As an example I can cite the efforts made by the Brazilians, which are being carried forward with unwavering tenacity by our Government: efforts to curb inflation, to foster development by promoting reforms in the agricultural, fiscal, banking and housing sectors, as well as in others; in sum, retrieving the country from the brink of chaos and resuming, in an orderly fashion, the road to progress. My country is firmly striving to prepare the basic conditions demanded for the continuation of our march towards economic development, in the persuasion that this is the only way to guarantee prosperity and fair distribution of wealth and social benefits.

24. Yet, problems remain whose solution continues to escape the internal sphere of the developing countries. Among those problems one could mention the large degree of instability affecting raw materials and basic commodities on the international market.

25. As for the international efforts being made to solve these problems, we cannot fail to refer with satisfaction to the establishment on a permanent basis of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, with its own governing Board and secretariat—indeed, a proof of the political foresight of the last session of the General Assembly.

26. Within the framework of the institutions of the United Nations, a specialized organ of great importance awaits international action for its establishment. I refer to the agency for industrial development. The

approval, at the last session of the Economic and Social Council, of the resolution [1081 F (XXXIX)] proposed during the fifth session of the Committee for Industrial Development, indicates that the idea has developed sufficiently and has the firm support of those who have the greatest interest in it, that is, the less industrialized countries. The fact that the percentage of technical assistance expenditures for industrial development has decreased in the last three years—they represent today only 11 per cent of total assistance expenditures—is an undeniable indication that, under the present set-up, it is not possible to provide for the growth of the industrial sector of the developing countries.

27. Still within the context of multilateral co-operation for economic development, particular mention is due to special assistance activities sponsored by the United Nations, notably in connexion with the pre-investment programmes of the Special Fund. According to the data submitted to the twentieth session of the General Assembly, after six years of technical assistance operations, 485 projects are in progress, benefiting about 130 developing countries and territories. These projects, some of which have already been completed, made possible the specialized training of more than 70,000 nationals of developing countries and, on the other hand, contributed to attracting investments in different sectors of the economy amounting to over \$1,000 million.

28. The above data present modest but encouraging dimensions and results in the area of technical-economic co-operation which serve to strengthen our conviction that we should redouble our efforts to meet the needs of the under-developed countries and help them to surmount the problem of the under-utilization of their natural resources. However, for these initiatives of the United Nations to produce the desired effect on the economy and technology of the under-developed countries, multilateral co-operation must not be limited to pre-investment activities.

29. Within this context, two other complementary initiatives of the United Nations which are already in progress merit the attention of the General Assembly for speedy implementation, with resulting general benefits. The first of these has to do with the formation of the United Nations Development Programme, stemming from the merging of the two principal organs of technical co-operation, including the Special Fund. Following this train of thought, the second initiative relates to the gradual participation of the new programme in the area of direct investment in accordance with the proposal for the creation of a capital development fund, thereby rounding out the role of the United Nations in the area of economic co-operation through the mobilization of capital for development projects.

30. As regards the efforts of the regional organizations in this sphere, Brazil places well-founded hopes in the success of the task being pursued by the Latin American Free-Trade Association. In its first years of activity, it already presents very encouraging results, not only towards strengthening interregional trade, but also in the preparation of other bases of the move towards the economic integration of Latin America. This ideal has for some

time been claiming the attention of those Governments, and particularly that of the Chilean Government, which has brought it up again, to general applause.

31. These are the observations of the Brazilian delegation at this opening of the general debate. They arise from our desire to seek to contribute to the solution of the problems which trouble the international scene. To accomplish the task before us, we cannot remain wavering between "fear and trembling hope". We need great courage and steadfast hope.

32. This courage and this hope are now to receive renewed vigour from the forthcoming visit of the Sovereign Roman Pontiff, who adopted the name of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and whose words of wisdom and peace will inspire us to bring our task to a successful conclusion. The Brazilian nation, the largest Catholic nation in the world, hails this unprecedented and most significant gesture of the Common Father of Christendom—a pledge on behalf of the establishment of a climate of peaceful brotherhood, so vital to the building of a better world.

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank Mr. Keitao da Cunha for following tradition by opening the general debate on behalf of Brazil.

34. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): We meet this morning in a mood of accomplishment and gratification. Just twenty-four hours ago a great milestone in the life of the United Nations was passed. The cease-fire between India and Pakistan, first requested and then demanded by the Security Council, has happily taken effect in both countries.

35. I hope that it will not be amiss if I take a moment to pay tribute to the untiring work and the great contribution made by all members of the Security Council, permanent and non-permanent, in bringing about this result. Providence and the rules of the Security Council placed me in the Chair, but it was the efforts of my colleagues, patiently pursued, which resulted in the united resolution which had such a great impact in achieving this necessary result. I have, in my public and private life, had much to do with conflicts of another sort, but I have never experienced such a common dedication as that to the Charter commitment which I experienced during the past weeks by the members and the nations that they represent.

36. It is, I believe, a happy omen for the future of this great Organization that such a grave conflict—the gravest in the history of the Organization—could, in its initial step at least, be contained by this type of common action. And for that, I wish to record a personal note of thanks and appreciation to the men who laboured so hard and long to bring about this beneficial result.

37. I should like also to record the significant contribution made by our distinguished Secretary-General, who took upon himself, pursuant to authorization by the Security Council, the difficult and arduous role of going to the sub-continent in times of travail, storm and tribulation so as to carry the message of peace to the contending nations.

38. Once again, in rebuttal of the sceptics and the cynics, the United Nations proved to be the decisive

peacemaker. Once again, the United Nations provided the indispensable and vital element, the only acceptable catalyst to help end the needless bloodshed between the two great countries—two neighbours, whose bonds of kinship and friendship, so commonly shared by all Members of the United Nations, must swiftly be restored to them.

39. Once again—not for the first time, I should like to emphasize—the voice of the United Nations has been heeded and respected. These are welcome and immensely significant developments.

40. I am confident that I reflect the profound feelings of this great Assembly when I express deep gratification that the Security Council's call for a cease-fire has been respected. In addition to the role of the Security Council, it has been of the utmost and greatest value that the voice of the States Members of the United Nations has also, unitedly, been heard in support of the Security Council's efforts.

41. But our task is not over: it is now the task of the two parties to exercise restraint and to make earnest efforts to establish conditions of permanent—and I emphasize permanent—peace in the sub-continent. And it is now the task of the United Nations to seize this great opportunity—this breathing spell, this great and inescapable responsibility—to help reinforce and solidify this gain so that the cease-fire will not be transitory and ephemeral.

42. It is a simple fact of history and a simple fact of life that the differences which gave rise to the recent conflict are deeply rooted. The cease-fire, as the Security Council resolution of 20 September 1965 [211 (1965)], expressly stated, is only the first step; next comes the more difficult task of finding solutions to the underlying sources of conflict and arriving at an honourable settlement and conditions for lasting peace in the sub-continent.

43. I reflect the deep conviction of my own country when I say that it is in the common interest of both India and Pakistan that there be such an honourable settlement and that conditions be restored for a lasting peace between those two great nations, with which we have enjoyed—and hope and expect to continue to enjoy—the most cordial and friendly relations. We applaud the statesmanship of the great leaders of those two countries in responding to the Security Council's appeal. We now appeal to their statesmanship to go forward with the task of building a permanent peace in the sub-continent.

44. In the spirit of operative paragraph 4 of the Security Council resolution of 20 September 1965, the United States will co-operate fully with other members of the Security Council to assist towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict; we will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the steps that he is taking to implement the Security Council's resolution. We stand ready to provide all appropriate assistance to the United Nations and the Secretary-General in strengthening the Organization's machinery for supervising the cease-fire.

45. It is in this mood of vigour and achievement that I wish again to congratulate you, Mr. President,

and your country as you assume the office of the Presidency of the General Assembly. As a distinguished Prime Minister, and now Foreign Minister, of a great country, you have amply demonstrated your talent, experience, understanding and skill in directing the fortunes of this great world parliament. Partly through your own labours, Italy has earned for itself a high place in the councils of this Organization and wherever there is work to be done to improve the life of man and to help bring him peace. I am confident that under your leadership this Assembly and this Organization will benefit.

46. I should also like to pay tribute to our outgoing President, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey. He has won for himself an outstanding place in the company of men who serve in these halls. In the short period of my personal acquaintance with him I have come to value extremely the fact that I can call him a friend; and I admire the capacity which he has demonstrated in probably the most difficult General Assembly session in the history of the Organization. We continue in the hope that we will have the benefit of his counsels here, and we wish him well in the important post of Foreign Minister of Ghana, a great country on the African continent.

47. I hope, Mr. President, you will forgive me also if, once again, I sadly record the loss of Adlai Stevenson. Adlai Stevenson was a great voice of America—not only to his own country but to the world. However, the voice of America must go on. I cannot hope that mine can be so eloquent as to capture, as his voice did, the hearts and minds of men everywhere. I can only offer to this Organization the assurance that I share his dedication to the great cause of world peace and security, which are the aims of the Charter.

48. On coming to this parliament from the highest court of the United States, I said that the work of bringing the rule of law to the relations between sovereign States was the greatest adventure in man's history. All of us in this hall are embarked on this adventure together. It is an adventure we dare not fail to conclude successfully. There is no alternative except the excluded one of doom for all mankind.

49. One of my country's most distinguished jurists, who never reached our highest court and whose career demonstrates that distinction does not coincide with appointment to the highest office, once said that freedom could not be preserved in constitutions if it had vanished from the hearts of its citizens. We are charged with the daily task of keeping burning in the hearts of the people of this earth the fires of freedom promised all men by the Charter of this Organization twenty years ago; freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom from indignity and freedom from war. We are charged, as a beloved participant in the deliberations of the United Nations once said—and you will recognize the words and the person—we are charged with the responsibility of keeping the candle of peace glowing. It sometimes appears to be a fragile candle, and its light sometimes appears to be dim, but it has the strength to light the world, if we really believe in it.

50. In this twentieth year of the United Nations we grope for the full meaning of a world changing rapidly

under the headlong impact of science and technology. We ask ourselves, I am sure, every day—every person here and millions throughout the world: "Are we heading towards world order or world chaos?" This Assembly should help—this Assembly must help—to provide the answer.

51. In my own country, we are embarked, under the leadership of President Johnson, in a search for a Great Society. This vision of a just domestic order is based on consent of the governed, on due process of law, on individual dignity, on diversity and on the just satisfaction of political, economic and social aspirations. We in the United States reject reactionary philosophies of all extremes. We seek to build instead on what we regard as the most enlightened and progressive philosophy in human history: that the aim of government is the maximum self-fulfilment of its citizens and that the good life should be within the reach of all rather than a monopoly of the few. Both domestically and in international affairs, there can be no islands of poverty in seas of affluence.

52. We espouse equality not only as a principle. We seek equal opportunity for all as an accomplished reality. We are resolved to enrich the life of our society by developing human as well as natural resources. We are determined not merely to increase material production but to ensure such equality, to guarantee genuine social and economic justice, to eliminate poverty and to realize qualitative improvements in the life of our citizens—in more attractive and functional cities, in a more beautiful countryside and through learning and the arts. This is not the programme of any one group or one class or one political party in our country. Nor is the vision it proclaims exclusively American. It is a vision common to all mankind.

53. It fell to my lot for twenty-five years to represent the great labour movement of our country. One of the great labour leaders with whom I was long associated, Philip Murray, when asked what was the aim of the labour movement to which he dedicated his life, paused and thought and then said: "The aim of the labour movement is a society in which each man shall have a rug on the floor, a picture on the wall and music in the home". I think that is a good goal for all mankind. What we seek for our own people in the great society at home we seek for all mankind. President Johnson, I think, has expressed this very well:

"We seek not fidelity to an iron faith but a diversity of belief as varied as man himself. We seek not to extend the power of America but the progress of humanity. We seek not to dominate others but to strengthen the freedom of all people."

54. The diversity of which President Johnson speaks is the diversity represented in the membership of the United Nations—diverse in its needs, in its philosophies, in its races and in its institutions, yet united by a common bond of commitment to the obligations of the Charter and dedicated to justice and social progress and the peaceful settlement of conflict.

55. However, there is, regretfully, a contrasting doctrine of world order which was put before us earlier this month by the Defence Minister of Communist China in a manifesto published in all Communist China's newspapers and republished broadly throughout the world. The doctrine laid bare by Marshal Lin Piao starts from the premise that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". It rests, he said, on a foundation of war and violent revolution.

56. I quote him again: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issues by war is", according to the Marshal and his party and the leaders of his country, "the central task and the highest form of revolution". Again I quote: "War can temper the people and push history forward . . . war is a great school".

57. The principle of revolutionary wars, the Marshal says, is not just for China. It, according to him, and I quote him again, "holds good . . . for all . . . countries". The nations of the world are not free, according to this theory, to develop their own choice in accordance with their own needs and experience. The nations of the world are not free, according to this theory, to fly their own flags in their own way. Whether they like it or not, the Marshal and the leaders of Communist China say, they must accept the Chinese model.

58. Nor does newly achieved independence provide immunity from this modern imperialism. Quite the contrary. Chinese spokesmen again and again have emphasized that they do not believe that the revolutions which have taken place and that have led to the national independence of many countries are acceptable revolutions. They do not believe that those countries have the right, as was the great privilege of my country after it made its revolution, to develop their social and economic institutions in their own way. The Marshal said: ". . . the Socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national democratic revolution". In fact—and I quote him further—"The more thorough the national democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the Socialist revolution". But it should be clear that Marshal Lin is misusing the word "Socialist", that he means "Communist" and he means Communist with the label "Made in Peking".

59. This incredible manifesto is the antithesis of everything this Organization stands for. It is a call to change world order by force and violence in a period when force and violence can lead to most disastrous consequences for the entire world. It leaves no room for difference of tradition, of culture or of national aspiration, or for the legitimate right of every people, large and small, to choose its own social and economic order in its own way. It leaves no room for genuine self-determination. It seeks to squeeze every nation and every people into the grip of Chinese Communist conformity. It should be read—I know it has been read—and pondered by everyone in the General Assembly.

60. The apostles of this philosophy are today attempting to transform the country of South Viet-Nam into a proving ground for their theories. This challenge must be met, not in the interest of any single nation but in the interest of each Member of this Organization.

It must be met, in particular, in the interests of the smaller nations that cherish their right to choose and follow their own path of national development.

61. We are helping to meet this threat because we believe it must be met. Our goals in South Viet-Nam are plain and simple. We seek only to ensure the independence of South Viet-Nam, its freedom from attack, and the opportunity for its people to determine their own future. We seek no territory for ourselves, no preferential position, no permanent military presence. We stand ready to withdraw our forces when Communist aggression has ended and South Viet-Nam is left alone to determine its own destiny in its own way through the principle of self-determination.

62. Above all, we seek a peaceful solution. We have repeatedly stated our willingness to enter into unconditional discussions. I reaffirm that willingness here today. We have asked the Members of the United Nations, individually and collectively, to use their influence to help bring about such discussions. We have asked the members of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to help get negotiations started. We have had no reply. We have offered to join in a massive programme of co-operation for the economic development of South-East Asia.

63. The Members of the United Nations, under the Charter, share a common responsibility to demonstrate to those who use violence that violence does not pay. We can meet that responsibility by using every means to persuade the régimes of Hanoi and Peking to leave their neighbours alone and to begin serious discussions for a resolution of this conflict. We must also meet that obligation by denying United Nations representation to a régime that denies in word and in deed the fundamental restraint on the use of force laid down in our Charter, and hurls insults upon the peaceful efforts of Members of the United Nations to compose this and other disputes.

64. Most of us, fortunately, have already made our choice between a philosophy of violence and the philosophy of world order which underlies our Charter. Yet our search for world order is gravely threatened by a continuing arms race, a race which adds nothing to the world except insecurity and a drain of valuable resources. Progress has, of course, been made. We have already agreed to cease nuclear testing in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. We have established a direct communications link to help prevent war by accident or miscalculation. We have resolved not to place weapons of mass destruction in outer space, and today I reaffirm the commitment of the United States to that agreement.

65. Unfortunately, the goal of general and complete disarmament to which we are all committed remains elusive. But it is a necessary and indispensable goal, and we must work towards it vigorously, thoughtfully, and with goodwill, and not be deterred by what must be momentary setbacks. Most of all, we should concentrate on immediate practical steps to reverse the arms spiral.

66. The first priority—and I repeat, the first priority—in this effort must be given to halting the spread of nuclear weapons. If we do not face this problem squarely, now, the opportunity may disappear forever.

That is why the United States has submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament the full draft of a treaty^{4/} binding its signers from taking any action to increase the number of States and other organizations having the power to unleash nuclear weapons. My Government has fully committed itself to that underlying policy and urges that this draft become an actual treaty as soon as possible. We hope that other nuclear Powers will accept the same commitment as an international agreement. Nuclear proliferation can be stopped, but we must act now. Agreement on this issue clearly is of overriding importance to world peace and security.

67. We recognize, moreover, that as more and more nations face frankly up to this issue, they must make momentous decisions about their own security. And we understand their concern. As President Johnson has indicated, we believe assurances of support against threats of nuclear blackmail should be available to nations which have forsworn a nuclear capability of their own. Action by the General Assembly may be a useful part of such assurances. The United States is prepared to work towards this end: action by this Assembly. Also of great aid in deterring the continuous proliferation of nuclear weapons will be agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

68. Scientists cannot distinguish between all quakes and underground nuclear tests. But the science of detection is not static and our vigorous research programme indicates the possibility of a substantial improvement in seismic detection capabilities. Furthermore, the United States is now also establishing in the State of Montana a large-aperture seismic array which we hope will hasten major advances in the science of detection.

69. We stand ready to make the results of our experimental study available to scientists everywhere and to assist in the construction of similar facilities in other countries.

70. The United States will shortly issue invitations to a large number of Members of the United Nations to send qualified observers to visit our Montana detection site on 12 and 13 October 1965. We want to let each of them see this installation for himself, and we hope that this invitation will be accepted.

71. Let me say clearly that we do not want inspection for the sake of inspection or for any ulterior motive. Let me also say that we are not inflexible. We do insist on the minimum amount of inspection necessary in the present state of science to give confidence to all that a comprehensive test-ban treaty is actually being observed. But we will insist only on a number and type of inspection which are essential to the attainment of this objective.

72. While pressing ahead, then, on non-proliferation as our very first priority, we must also take steps to reduce the dangers stemming from the high level of nuclear capabilities. There is no reason to wait. We are prepared to take practical steps here and now.

73. First, we should take steps to halt the accumulation of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles. We should

continue to explore a freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles. If progress is made in this field, the United States would also be willing to explore the possibility of significant reductions in the number of these carriers of mass destruction.

74. Secondly, the United States proposes a verified halt in production of fissionable material for weapons use and the transfer of fissionable materials to peaceful purposes. In connexion with such a halt in fissionable material production, we now propose the demonstrated destruction by the United States and the Soviet Union of a substantial number of nuclear weapons from their respective stocks.

75. The United States is ready to transfer 60,000 kilogrammes of weapons grade U-235 to non-weapon uses if the Soviet Union would be willing to transfer 40,000 kilogrammes. If the USSR accepts this proposal, each of us would destroy nuclear weapons of our own choice so as to make available for peaceful purposes such amount of fissionable material.

76. Moreover, the United States Government stands ready, if the Soviet Union will do likewise, to add to this transfer associated plutonium obtained from the destroyed weapons, in an agreed quantity or ratio, and to place the material thus transferred under the International Atomic Energy Agency or equivalent safeguards.

77. We make these proposals in the interest of rapid and equitable progress in reducing the nuclear threat and as a practical demonstration of our dedication to this end.

78. A more rapid movement toward disarmament would unquestionably decrease anxiety throughout the world. But if we are to progress towards a just world community, we must also constantly improve our international machinery for curbing conflict and resolving disputes.

79. The experience in Cyprus, the continuing aggression in South-East Asia, the shock of violence erupting in Kashmir, all lead to an inescapable conclusion: there is an urgent need to strengthen the United Nations capacity to keep the peace.

80. We urge as one such step the continued development of a flexible United Nations call-up system along the lines proposed by the Secretary-General. We hope that Member States in all regions of the world will earmark and train units for such purposes. We believe also that the military staff—now inadequate—supporting the Secretary-General needs to be strengthened. The added experience and burdens of Kashmir and Cyprus in particular have conclusively demonstrated that the military staff available to the Secretary-General at Headquarters is overburdened, and we must provide him with an enlarged staff whose size is commensurate with the tasks we entrust to him.

81. The peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations is too basic to its purposes and to its very existence to allow it to be frustrated by any one Member. For this reason, we continue to believe—and in this we are joined by the overwhelming majority of United Nations Members—that the General Assembly must

^{4/} *Ibid.*, sect. A.

retain its residual authority to initiate peace-keeping operations when the Security Council is unable to act. Means must therefore be found to pay for future peace-keeping operations—means which allocate the burden fairly. In cases where this cannot be done by assessment of every Member, we must find some other means, including assessment of those willing to be assessed, non-obligatory apportionment, or voluntary contributions.

82. Less dramatic but equally important is machinery to promote peaceful change and to allow the satisfaction of just claims. Without a strong international institution able to help in doing this, nations, like individuals, are tempted to take matters into their own hands. We consequently believe it is time to breathe new life into Article 33 of the Charter, a provision of the Charter referred to specifically in the Security Council resolution [211 (1965)] adopted just the other day in the Kashmir dispute. It had atrophied too long. We must develop workable methods to resolve disputes before they reach the point of potential or actual conflict. If the United Nations is to serve its primary purpose, it must be an instrument for the reconciliation of differences and not merely a forum in which they manifest themselves. Too often has the United Nations had to demonstrate its capacity for quenching fires when it might better have helped to prevent them in the first place.

83. For this reason we welcome the initiative of the United Kingdom in introducing an agenda item on the peaceful settlement of disputes [A/5964]. The United States will eagerly participate in exploring the many paths it may open.

84. It is, if I may say so, an item in which I take a keen personal interest, for the greater part of my adult life has been spent in intimate association with the process of third-party settlement of the differences and disputes which arise between a free labour movement and free employers. I have often seen disagreements become aggravated or prolonged not because they were irreconcilable, but simply because the parties involved could not agree upon the go-between. And we in our own country have now developed machinery, such as the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, which has filled this gap and in so doing has greatly advanced the peaceful settlement of labour disputes in our own country.

85. I know also that machinery which is successful on the national level cannot always be transposed to the international level. Nevertheless, I am firmly convinced that the United Nations might also develop additional mechanisms which would allow the parties to a stubborn dispute to use a United Nations body of mediation or conciliation.

86. Above all, our basic charge of peace-keeping under the Charter is to join together to assure peace and security. We must continue this quest for collective security and we must renounce collective futility if we are to perform our Charter functions.

87. There is one area in which we have been seeking to promote co-operation well before any dispute arises. That is in the peaceful uses of outer space. Over seven years ago, the United States inscribed the first item to appear on this Assembly's agenda con-

cerning the peaceful uses of outer space, and introduced a draft resolution, co-sponsored by twenty States, which became the first space action this body had ever taken. That draft resolution was introduced in the First Committee (986th meeting) by the then Majority Leader of the United States Senate, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, and as President he continues his interest, dedication and devotion to that principle. By adopting that resolution [1348 (XIII)] the General Assembly went on record as recognizing that—and I quote from the first preambular paragraph—"it is the common aim that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only". That principle is one to which we fully subscribed then and to which we fully subscribe now.

88. Since then the General Assembly has laid down valuable ground rules for activities in space and on celestial bodies. In accordance with these rules, our space activities have been, and will continue to be, non-aggressive, and peaceful and beneficial in character.

89. But these rules are not enough. Instruments from earth have already reached the moon and photographed Mars. And man will soon follow. Accordingly, we suggest that the United Nations begin work on a comprehensive treaty on the exploration of celestial bodies.

90. But while we aim for the stars, we must also explore maximum resources to promote economic and social well-being here at home. While the possibility of creating a just world society may be contingent on success or failure in such fields as disarmament and peace-keeping, our capability of creating it will depend on the efforts we spend not just to prevent disaster but to build healthy economic conditions everywhere.

91. We are near the midpoint of the United Nations Development Decade. Progress has been made, and this has to be acknowledged, but we all need to do more and to do it better. Much more has to be done, in particular, to increase food production in the developing countries. If current population trends continue, food production will have to be tripled by the end of the century to provide an adequate diet for all. We thus fully support the proposal for an expanded World Food Programme and are prepared to examine further with other developed countries ways of adapting our domestic agricultural abundance, to meet the world's food deficit while it exists.

92. More action is required to limit excessive population growth. We support the programme now under way whereby United Nations agencies provide advisory services and training in family planning to any country asking for such assistance.

93. We must all do more to help accelerate industrial growth in the developing countries, a question to which the General Assembly will, I am sure, give special attention.

94. We must also speed up and intensify our efforts to enlarge the export earnings of the developing countries, and to counteract excessive fluctuations in those earnings. The United States will continue to make special efforts under the General Agreement on Tariffs

and Trade to reduce tariffs on items of special interest to those countries. We shall also participate actively and constructively in the work of the New United Nations trade machinery. It is our hope that in dealing with the hard and difficult problems of trade, developed and developing countries will proceed in a spirit of partnership. There must be a free and sustained dialogue and a common search for ways and means by which we can develop mutually beneficial trade patterns.

95. Of course, experience shows that we need a much greater investment in the development of that most important resource of all—trained people—and must provide more assistance to the educational efforts of the developing countries. To help get on with these jobs, we support the increased target of \$200 million for the new United Nations Development Programme, on the understanding that the arrangements worked out will be satisfactory to both the developed and developing countries.

96. We are ready to join, in practical and concrete ways, in a further expansion of multilateral efforts to supply capital for development through regional development banks and international institutions such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association, on the assurance that there will be sound administration, as well as appropriate contributions from others. We would be prepared to increase the amount of capital flowing through multilateral channels.

97. I recognize that we are not alone in acknowledging the need for action in these areas. I have singled them out because the United States plans to take or join in specific action on each of them—not in the vague future, but in the months ahead. Faster progress in the Development Decade is a central aim in our foreign policy.

98. I come now, in conclusion of these thoughts, to the source from which they derive: our determination to enrich the lives of human beings—domestically in our drive to create a great society, internationally in our support for fundamental freedoms and human rights for peoples everywhere. The ultimate object of United Nations activities, the ultimate object of any organized society—domestically or internationally—is man, the individual. The effect upon his lot, his fate, his well-being, will remain the final measure of our successes and our failures. And if we talk about the competition between States, we mean the only worthwhile competition, as to which system, which society best improves the lot of man and upgrades human dignity.

99. We are well past the midpoint—indeed, in sight of the end—of what history may record as the most exciting and predominantly peaceful revolution in human affairs; and this is a movement vitally linked to the dignity of human beings—the movement of self-determination. This movement has seen people in the past few decades assert and gain their right to be free from colonialism, their right to self-government and independence, and their right to be free from control by other peoples. We applaud this historical development and we are deeply committed to its success.

100. Of course, among the dependent peoples now remaining in the world, whose aspirations for self-determination command our fullest sympathy, are some very small areas with very limited resources. Whether they will be able to meet the requirements of the Charter that Members be not only willing but also able to carry out their obligations, may require early consideration, as the Secretary-General has indicated. But I repeat, we support the historical development of all people being able to gain their self-government or independence, when they desire it, by the principle of self-determination.

101. In our concern for the rights and freedoms of nations, we must not neglect the rights and freedoms of individuals, those who, after all, are the basic unit of any nation. The test of any country's dedication to human rights is, if I may respectfully suggest, not what that country says in the General Assembly for all the world to hear, but what it does at home for all the world to see.

102. Our record, like that of other countries, is far from perfect. But with the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954, and with the subsequent decisions—in which I hope you will not deem it amiss if I take great personal pride and satisfaction since I participated in some of them—and the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, the United States Government has put into concrete form and terms its full and complete commitment to the principle of full human rights, of freedom and equality for all our people.

103. The United Nations also has a significant role in promoting, in the words of the Charter, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. Much has already been done, but the United Nations has not done enough in this area, and we believe much more will be necessary. We are therefore very pleased that the Government of Costa Rica has proposed the creation of the post of high commissioner for human rights [A/5963]. We think this is an important first step in implementing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and we shall give this proposal our enthusiastic support.

104. We can, out of this debate, out of the divergent views expressed here, distil a consensus. As long as we strive for such a consensus and accept the methods of reason and understanding on which consensus is built, we will strengthen the fabric of this great community of the United Nations. By its very nature, this must always be a community whose doors are open to those who would turn their backs on chaos, threat and violence and seek legitimate ends through peaceful means.

105. I said the other day that I am optimistic about the fate of this Organization, and I am optimistic because if we had not created this great Organization twenty years ago, we would be creating it out of necessity today.

106. The road to world order, the road to a rule of law in the world, is not an easy one. It will continue to be arduous and beset by agonizing hurdles, painful decisions, difficult compromises and, at times, disheartening setbacks. Travelling the road will demand

the most from each of us. I pray that we shall be equal to the task.

107. I hope also that twenty years from now, when the General Assembly convenes in plenary meeting, it can look back on a generation of achievement that we are beginning today.

108. President Johnson said:

"We seek to establish a harmony between man and society which will allow each of us to enlarge the meaning of his life and all of us to elevate the quality of our civilization."

109. Out of our diversity, the welcome diversity of nations and peoples, let us be one in our determination to elevate the quality of all our lives and to build a great society of and for all men.

110. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank Mr. Goldberg for his contribution to the general debate on behalf of the United States. I can assure him that we were all moved by his tribute to the memory of Adlai Stevenson, who was dear to us all.

111. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) (translated from French): Mr. President, may I first of all offer you the congratulations of the Senegalese delegation on your election to the office of President of our Assembly. At a time when so many complex problems confront the United Nations, we hope that your authority and ability will enable us to consider them with all the necessary wisdom and clear-sightedness.

112. I am the first representative of a developing country to speak in this debate and this is no accident. We feel that the developing world must, from the very beginning of the debate, make its voice heard, even if that voice is not perhaps in complete agreement with those we have heard so far.

113. Less than three months ago, we solemnly celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. But, as may well be imagined, that celebration barely concealed our distress at the wars and tension flaring up here and there throughout the world. And we meditated on our Organization, its raison d'être, its successes and its failures. We asked ourselves what progress had been achieved by mankind in the twenty years since the signing of the Charter at San Francisco. And we thought: has this noble ideal now vanished? Is humanity now irrevocably doomed to the inevitability of war? We might be somewhat discouraged if we were to draw up a balance-sheet of these twenty years of experience. Once the joy at the return of peace had passed, mankind continued its stumbling progress in the midst of innumerable difficulties. The struggle between hegemonies resumed. Europe was the first scene of the struggle between spheres of influence. Then the Asian continent blazed up in its turn. Africa itself, which had barely emerged from its wars of national independence, was the object of many covetous glances.

114. As a result, we saw the emergence of a fantastic military arsenal which swallowed up our material resources and recruited the best brains for destructive purposes. Finally, and this was only to be expected, wretched mankind paid for that insane adventure and everyone now agrees that what should have been done for mankind was not done.

115. This session, which coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, should give us an opportunity to meditate once more on the problems which mankind must face.

116. The problem of peace seems to be as difficult as squaring the circle. The Covenant of the League of Nations was unable to solve it and the world was engulfed in the most terrible war ever known. Twenty years ago a system of collective security was worked out. But it has not taken long for that system, as we see today, to show alarming signs of failure. Last year the nineteenth session of the General Assembly was cut short. Delegations dispersed without having had an opportunity to consider the items on the agenda. They prudently postponed consideration of them to this year's session, hoping to find by this time a magic formula which would offer a way out of the impasse. But even though the financial deadlock seems today to have been broken, it would be an illusion to think that the problem of peace has been solved as well. The difficulties experienced by the United Nations in recent months are neither financial difficulties nor legal difficulties connected with the interpretation of the Charter. To consider them as such would be to look at them from the wrong angle. It is, to be very precise, a political problem. Because that was not understood, other remedies were sought: complicated machinery and procedures were set up. First of all, the General Assembly established an Interim Committee to watch over the maintenance of peace between sessions [see resolutions 111 (II), 196 (III) and 295 (IV)]. Then, in 1950, it adopted its famous resolution entitled "Uniting for peace", which was an attempt to reassign responsibilities between the General Assembly and the Security Council [resolution 377 (V)]. Finally, when the clouds continued to gather on the horizon and the difficulties were mounting, Articles 17 and 19 of the Charter were invoked; the International Court of Justice was brought into the picture and the debate was thus turned into a legal and financial one. Yet it was easy to understand that the question, as I have just said, was essentially a political one.

117. Over the past twenty years the world situation has developed; circumstances in Europe have changed considerably; on the Asian continent, a new regime has been installed in China. Certain Asian countries, moreover, have found themselves divided on the north and the south by the 17th and 38th parallels. Decolonization has made impressive progress which was doubtless not foreseen at the time the Charter was drawn up. It is precisely because of a stubborn refusal to recognize this new situation that the difficulties have increased. Actually the crisis in the United Nations is linked to deep-seated causes connected with the development of the international situation and with the emergence, day by day, of new facts which give it a completely different aspect from that known to the authors of the Charter. The Charter was based on the theory that the situation which existed in 1945 would be perpetuated but it is obvious that, since international life is in a constant state of flux, the hypothesis is untendable. Where, then, does the remedy lie?

118. Some believe that salvation lies in a revision of the Charter. That has just been said. Of course,

it is not we who represent small Powers who would oppose a revision of the Charter, particularly if that revision took into account the fact of this century, namely, the appearance on the international scene of many African and Asian countries. It would be only just to grant these countries a more important place in the various international forums. But, once again, the guarantee of peace does not lie in a legal instrument, however perfect it might be.

119. Legal reforms alone are incapable of solving the political problems of the moment. After all, whatever the imperfections of the Charter, it must be admitted that it contains in many of its provisions, and particularly in Chapters VI and VII, all the elements for preventing or putting an end to an armed conflict, if only the parties concerned were prepared to invoke it. But the clash of interests, the conflict of hegemonies, and the de facto division of our planet into spheres of influence controlled by the great Powers, all make the system of collective security almost unworkable. A State may invoke a given provision of the Charter when it considers that it may derive some advantage therefrom but rejects it as soon as the application of the provision is prejudicial to its friends of the moment.

120. Apart from Chapters VI and VII of the Charter, the Preamble enunciates principles and moral precepts compliance with which would, in every case, guarantee an era of stability and peace: principles of tolerance, human solidarity, fundamental rights of men and nations, self-determination, sovereignty of peoples, etc.

121. The fault, of course, lies in ourselves—in our distrust, in our intolerance, in our dogmatism, in our belief in dangerous myths such as that of racial superiority and in our dreams of hegemony, but decisive progress can be achieved, we feel, especially through our efforts to create a new outlook, to restore confidence and to develop a sense of human solidarity. Unless we do this, legal formulas are all in vain. Just as the League of Nations collapsed through impotence, so too the United Nations might become impotent and discredited.

122. Let us therefore have the courage to face up to the real problems before us so that we may find the solutions that common sense demands, namely, recognition of the People's Republic of China and its admission to membership of the United Nations; application of the principle of self-determination to all divided countries which desire reunification, and as regards the Viet-Nameese question, a request addressed to all outside forces confronting each other there to withdraw. The opposing sides should be asked to heed the proposals of men of goodwill who wish to help the Viet-Nameese people to decide their future in liberty. Territorial disputes should be settled by peaceful means and having regard to the will of the peoples concerned. For that reason while welcoming the recent cease-fire, we deplore the conflict embroiling India and Pakistan.

123. Much has been said about the growing influence and even about the weight of the non-aligned countries in international affairs. Personally, I have always held, and so declared here, that the weight which the

non-aligned countries are generally thought to possess could only be of a moral kind. In a world where man endures rather than controls the destructive forces unleashed every day, and as the threat of annihilation looms terrifyingly over our planet, wisdom urges us to rededicate ourselves to the ennobling moral values. People are only too inclined in the world today to believe that force alone brings salvation. But of what value is force uncontrolled by human conscience? We must rekindle within ourselves the dying embers of values without which the world may well become more and more demented and inhuman. We must return to those sources which replenish the human spirit and we must harness the forces at man's disposal in the service of a noble ideal. This is a contribution which the non-aligned countries can and must make. Indeed, I would say that their primary role is to place all the moral capital which they abundantly possess in the service of this lofty cause. That is why India and Pakistan should be invited to show greater wisdom, and we can derive some satisfaction from the restraint they have shown. We would ask them to set an example of wise conduct by remaining faithful to the fundamental values and principles of the United Nations.

124. India, which is the homeland of the apostles of non-violence, a country that has become one of the champions of non-alignment, a country that has always advocated peace and made it one of the cardinal points of its international policy, must find in the principles which it has always defended and in the age-old wisdom of its people the sources of a solution worthy of India to a dispute in which India itself is involved. In any case, we earnestly beseech India and Pakistan not to fritter away the non-aligned countries' moral capital which we all share in common and which none has the right to waste to our common detriment. The way to a peaceful solution of the dispute between the two countries lies in negotiations. It is of course the duty of all men of goodwill to help bring this about but it is our duty also, I believe, to find a method of settling territorial disputes in future. My Government gave its support to a USSR proposal for the signing of an international agreement for the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes.^{5/} We think that now is the time to revive this idea and to embody it in an international treaty binding on all States.

125. Senegal, for its part, will continue to make its contribution to the maintenance of peace in the following ways: firstly, by trying to set a good example. We are not engaged in a dispute with any country in the world. We maintain good relations with our neighbours, however different our political opinions are or may appear to be. We make no territorial claim. Yet we could have, like others, entertained dreams of restoring Senegal's ancient frontiers or laying claim to a certain territory that forms an enclave within our own. On the contrary, as you have seen, we warmly applauded the Gambia's independence. Secondly, Senegal wishes to make its

^{5/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 2, document A/5751.

contribution by unreservedly supporting the principle of peaceful co-existence. Thirdly, by contributing to the consolidation of peace through the policy of non-alignment, which limits the disastrous consequences of the policy of rival blocs. Finally, by advocating negotiation as a method of approach to international problems. We sincerely believe that there is no other way to peace.

126. Coming back to the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, which I mentioned just now, I contend that, if the horizon is overcast, it is not to be blamed on the Charter or on the United Nations, nor is it a reason to feel discouraged. On the contrary, we must embark on moral rearmament to steel ourselves to the problems and difficulties. Above all, we must become the champions of a new international order born of twenty years of change and transformation in the world. We can no longer look at the world of today with the same eyes as twenty years ago. Immobility is mankind's greatest enemy.

127. I would like very briefly to refer now to two questions which are among those of major concern to the United Nations and to sum up our position on them: decolonization and economic development.

128. My delegation has often stated its views on decolonization. Therefore we shall not repeat everything that has been said already. Decolonization has made progress and that is a fact we acclaim every day. Nevertheless, centres of tension still remain, notably in Africa, due to the stubbornness of Salazar and the recklessness of Ian Smith. My delegation, with the support of almost all the Afro-Asian countries, earlier asked for Portugal's expulsion from the United Nations. Need I repeat our reasons for so doing? A country cannot remain a member of an organization and deliberately violate its principles. Portugal's attitude is not only an insult to Africa; it is an insult to the United Nations and a blatant defiance of all human conscience. Portugal has already been expelled from a number of international bodies, including those of a technical character. As decolonization is a political problem and a fundamental objective of the United Nations, we can only express our astonishment at the hesitation of certain Members to apply a penalty duly provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. Nevertheless, we hope that this session will provide an opportunity to resume the debate and bring it to a conclusion.

129. I would like particularly to draw the General Assembly's attention to certain aspects of Portugal's action in Africa. Portugal constantly provokes all the African countries neighbouring on the territories which it administers. Senegal is a neighbour of so-called Portuguese Guinea. Senegal's independence is obviously an embarrassment to Portugal which does everything to provoke its neighbour and tries to foment insecurity and instability in Senegal to prevent the latter from serving as an example. We have on several occasions informed the Security Council of the violation of our territory by the Portuguese Government. In the last two years, seventeen clear violations of our territory have been established and

reported to the Security Council.^{6/} Sometimes, the Portuguese, not content with infringing the integrity of our territory, have committed acts of violence on our people. Such a situation is likely to endanger international peace and security, for Senegal certainly cannot continue to let such deliberate violations of the Charter, of international law and of its own legitimate rights go unpunished. African solidarity could undoubtedly assert itself in such an eventuality and such a conflict might assume proportions far exceeding the limits of bilateral relations between Portugal and Senegal. That is why we are asking the General Assembly categorically to condemn the incursions by Portuguese military forces into Senegalese territory, to prohibit any such incursions in the future, and to recommend that the Security Council should take appropriate action to that end.

130. Portugal not only refuses to decolonize in Africa; it even encourages Ian Smith to persevere in the adventurous policy which he has chosen to pursue in Southern Rhodesia. The trade agreements signed between Portugal and Rhodesia and the proposed exchange of diplomatic representatives between the two Governments are rather significant.

131. I had occasion, when instructed to do so by the Organization of African Unity and jointly with my Algerian colleague, to bring this problem to the notice of the Security Council.^{7/} Ian Smith wishes Rhodesia to re-enact what happened in South Africa. He is threatening a unilateral declaration of independence which, in that country's legal and political context, would undoubtedly place its 3 million Negroes in the bondage of a white minority. We said in the Security Council and we solemnly repeat here in the Assembly: the responsibility for such a situation, if it were to arise, would rest squarely upon the United Kingdom which is internationally responsible for Southern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia, democracy is a mockery and public liberties and political rights are trampled underfoot and buried. I shall spare you a recital of the impressive list of all the discriminatory legislation that has been passed by the settler régime under a Constitution granted by the United Kingdom. It is time for Her Majesty's Government to act before it is too late.

132. What we find so disturbing, however, is the United Kingdom's failure to consider taking any preventive action. It merely says to Ian Smith: "If you proclaim independence unilaterally, not only shall we not recognize you and not only will you be banned from the Commonwealth, but the economic consequences of your action will be disastrous for Rhodesia." But is Ian Smith, who has assuredly weighed all the consequences of his action, asking to be recognized by the United Kingdom? Is he asking to be a member of the Commonwealth for which, by his own admission, he apparently does not—pardon the expression—give a damn? Will he apply for

^{6/} See Security Council, Official Records, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1963, document S/5279; *ibid.*, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1964, document S/6012; *ibid.*, Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, documents S/6177 and S/6196; and *ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1965, document S/6338.

^{7/} *ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1965, document S/6294 and Add.1.

membership in the United Nations knowing beforehand that he will be exposing himself to a rebuff?

133. Ian Smith has published a White Paper in which he shows that he has weighed all the consequences of his action and in which he concludes that the results of a unilateral declaration of independence will not be as disastrous as some people suppose. In the circumstances it is the inescapable duty of the United Kingdom to consider forthwith what preventive action is called for in the foreseeable event of a break-down in the negotiations with the Salisbury Government. In our opinion, the following preventive action is required: firstly, suspension of the Constitution granted to Southern Rhodesia in 1961 and under which all discriminatory laws are passed and promulgated; secondly, the release of all persons arbitrarily held in detention; and thirdly, a constitutional conference to be attended by all parties in Rhodesia.

134. If such measures were not taken and if the Government of Rhodesia, or rather Ian Smith, decided to proclaim independence unilaterally, that would amount to outright secession, justifying the use of force—and I mean the use of force, because the United Kingdom seems reluctant to use force in spite of the French example and the fact that the Algerian Pieds noirs were obliged to yield. If the United Kingdom declined to resort to force, it would bear a heavy responsibility. We have carefully read the statements made by Mr. H. Wilson, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. We have heard the statements made by Mr. Bottomley, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth relations, during a recent visit he paid to Africa. Allow me to voice our legitimate apprehensions.

135. Once again, as I had occasion to say in the Security Council, the United Kingdom must realize that the problem of Southern Rhodesia is a vital concern to us. It is also a test of the prestige and sincerity of a great nation like the United Kingdom, whose efforts to decolonize need no further stressing, but whose past attitude may well stand in strange contrast to the one it is adopting in the particular case of Rhodesia. At our request, the Security Council decided to retain the question as an item on its agenda. We urge the General Assembly to give strong support to the Security Council in this matter, not only by condemning the inhuman racist régime of Ian Smith, but also by asking the United Kingdom to consider, as soon as possible, taking suitable action to prevent, by every possible means,—I repeat, by every possible means—a unilateral declaration of independence. If the Assembly did this, it would show that, in spite of the difficulties it is encountering or may have encountered in the past, it intends to live up to its principles and strive unremittingly to accomplish a task that has been entrusted to it and which, in so far as decolonization is concerned, has been carried out with considerable success so far.

136. For these vestigial problems of decolonization must not become a fixation which causes us to forget the essential—the crucial problem of the moment. They must not become the tree that prevents us from seeing the wood.

137. Now the real problem, the only problem that warrants mobilizing all our strength is, as we can

never repeat too often, that of mankind's economic and social progress. For years the United Nations has been doing commendable pioneer work and has gone to the root of the problem, assembling material and making a systematic theoretical study of the phenomenon of under-development. The net result has been to bring about an international awareness of this problem. Two years ago it entered on the operational phase, organizing a widely publicized conference on trade and development. Our Assembly will have to pronounce on the recommendations of that conference. Some of the institutions recommended by it are already in existence and have set about seeking the best machinery for a world trade organization. But in order to eradicate under-development no stone must be left unturned and our efforts must be pursued in three different directions.

138. First of all, as the representative of Brazil pointed out a moment ago, the will and the effort for development must come primarily from the parties concerned themselves. We believe that the under-developed countries have fully grasped this fact. A general effort—perhaps uneven but certainly growing—is being made to find within our own boundaries the necessary resources for our development.

139. But who can fail to appreciate the fact that the efforts of the developing countries alone are not enough to solve the problem? We are living in a world in which economic relations pit the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor, the great against the small, sound economies against shaky economies. Consequently, if the principle of freedom in international economic relations is allowed free play, there is no doubt that this token freedom will turn into a mounting burden of servitude for the developing countries. Our efforts will be wasted within a context of free international economic relations. And here we come to the second key factor for our development: the reorganization of international trade.

140. For half a century we have been witnessing a gradual decline in the prices of raw materials and a corresponding rise in the prices of manufacture of goods. A continent like Africa, to take only one example, sells practically all the raw materials it produces and imports practically all the finished products which it consumes. We are in no position to put an immediate end to this situation for the simple reason that our home consumer market is not sufficiently large for us to escape the arbitrary laws of world prices. We are drained by international trade. If trade is to be a factor in development, it should be organized, henceforth, in accordance with the following principles.

141. First of all, naturally, the market for raw materials must be properly organized. Indeed, if any action is to be taken, it must be taken in connexion with raw materials, which make up 90 per cent of the developing countries' exports. Next, remunerative prices must be guaranteed so as to increase the resources of the countries exporting raw materials. Lastly, the industrial development of the poor countries must be promoted by devising a system of preferences to help them to market their industrial products abroad, at least during the take-off stage of their economies. At the same time, the developing

countries must be allowed to institute a system for the protection of their infant industries by preventing unfair competition locally from the production machines of the highly developed countries.

142. These are what I feel should be the guidelines for a new trade organization, having due regard to the interests of the developing countries, and I believe that within the group of seventy-seven countries we shall emphasize these principles and do our utmost to see that they prevail. Only if these two conditions are fulfilled: first, that an effort should be made by the developing countries themselves, and, second, that there should be a change in the world trade laws—only then will it be possible to introduce the third element, which is aid, and which we feel should be subject to two conditions.

143. The first, as we have said, is that the rich countries should undertake to contribute 1 per cent of their national income towards aiding the developing countries. This has not yet been done in spite of a proposal adopted by the General Assembly [see resolution 1522 (XV)]. The second condition is the adoption of a maximum interest rate of 3 per cent for development loans.

144. The various proposals that we have just made can hardly be considered unreasonable demands. They would simply help to ensure justice and equality in international economic relations. They would also reflect a solidarity for which the need is becoming increasingly apparent.

145. If the main theme of the Algiers conference^{8/} has been economic development, we would have gone to it. But there is still time, and Senegal, for its part, would like to meet the under-developed countries—not only the Afro-Asian countries but all the under-developed countries, including those of Latin-America—at an economic Bandung. We in Senegal believe that Afro-Asian solidarity is a good thing. It is simply an aspect of universal solidarity, but it does not provide a sufficiently large platform for joint action by all the countries affected by under-development. It is the campaign against under-development which should be our chief concern, and I am afraid that the Afro-Asian framework is ill suited for such a purpose.

146. In Asia, there are some developed countries. The Soviet Union has every right to attend the

^{8/} Second Conference of African and Asian Countries, which was to have met at Algiers on 29 June 1965.

conference of African and Asian countries—in fact we feel that it should attend it—but the USSR is not an under-developed country. The People's Republic of China has no claim—and I have made this quite clear—to belong to the under-developed world. A country which manufactures, or which is in a position to manufacture atomic bombs is not, to our mind, an under-developed country; the atomic industry is a luxury industry. The Algiers conference, which we wish every success, would have done well to concentrate more on the problems of the under-developed countries, not only by making under-development the central theme of this important gathering, but also by allowing the under-developed countries—and them alone—to attend: not only the under-developed countries of Africa and Asia but those of Europe and Latin America as well. However, all hopes of such a meeting have not vanished and Senegal, for its part, is ready to attend any conference, wherever it is held, provided that it is organized on the lines I have just indicated. What we need is a resurgence of confidence among all the peoples of the under-developed world, not in order to wage a systematic campaign against the developed world—for that would be against our philosophy—but because we know that the goal of world peace must be reached by way of economic justice.

147. I should like to conclude at the point where I began. However meagre the results achieved by the United Nations during the past twenty years, and however distressing the problems which we face today, we must remain staunchly optimistic. The chances of success depend on ourselves. Everything depends on the will to take them. In spite of everything, that will is there. It is simply a matter of galvanizing it, of giving it greater strength and determination. It is already no mean achievement that, in spite of the difficulties experienced and the failures recorded in certain spheres, mankind has managed, for the first time in ages, to live for twenty years without a world war to jeopardize all the progress that has been made. Let us hope that the next twenty-year period will be less fraught with difficulties than the first. Then we shall be able to say that, with the continuing growth of international solidarity, mankind will certainly be saved.

148. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal for his contribution to the general debate. His statement concludes this morning's meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.