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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NIKEZIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, on your election to the high office of President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. We welcome you as an eminent statesman of our neighbour, Italy, with which country Yugoslavia enjoys the friendliest relations.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, who in difficult circumstances directed the work of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session with great political wisdom.

3. It gives me great pleasure to welcome in our midst the delegations of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. The admission of each new Member to the United Nations marks a step forward towards the universality of our Organization and the promotion of international relations based on the principles of the Charter.

4. The General Assembly is beginning its work at a moment when the international situation is rightly considered to be alarming. International relations are going through a profound crisis, while military operations are being carried out on the Asian continent, with ever increasing losses in human life and property. The very considerable results achieved on the international scene by so much effort are in jeopardy. In our opinion, urgent steps are required to halt the dangerous course that events have taken recently and the United Nations is called upon to take action to safeguard international peace.

5. The conflict in Viet-Nam is without doubt the most serious problem and one which has a tremendous and highly unfavourable impact on the international situation. War is being waged against the Viet-Nameese people, who are being deprived of their right to determine their own destiny and to choose freely their social and political system. The bombing of

the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam constitutes a violation of the United Nations Charter and an attempt to sanction the use of force as a means of political action. For this reason, as also because of the permanent threat of escalation of the war, we consider that this method of settling disputes is to be condemned.

6. In our view, the problem of Viet-Nam can be resolved only by negotiations based on the Geneva Agreements^{1/} and on respect for the legitimate aspirations of the Viet-Nameese people. It is in the interests of peace, and hence of all the Members of our Organization, that such a solution should be found as soon as possible. The cessation of the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is, of course, the first essential step towards a political settlement and negotiations in which the National Liberation Front must participate with full rights. We hope that the wisdom of such a decision will soon be recognized by all.

7. I should like to say how glad the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia is that the Governments of India and Pakistan have heeded the Security Council's appeals to halt their military operations. This represents a great success in our efforts to safeguard peace in that part of the world. The continuation of the armed conflict between two great Asian countries, dangerous enough in itself, could not fail to pave the way for action by certain elements which consider that the stabilization of peace is not in their interests.

8. The Security Council's rapid action and the unanimity of its decisions reflect the general interest of Members of the United Nations in bringing this conflict to an end. Prompted by the same concern, U Thant, the Secretary-General, has once again, with devotion and determination, placed his great abilities at the service of international peace and co-operation.

9. We are convinced that the United Nations will continue to support all efforts to ensure the full implementation of the cease-fire agreements. We hope that the Governments of India and Pakistan will show the same sense of responsibility and realism in the future and will make further efforts to improve their relations in the interests of both countries and of world peace.

10. In our opinion, the present crisis in international relations is due to the resistance offered by the forces of reaction and hegemony to the elimination of

^{1/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

any form of inequality and foreign domination. The resistance is expressed by the refusal to accept the policy of coexistence and by attempts to use economic and political power in order to maintain existing privileges and acquire new ones—which, of course, can only be achieved at the expense of the rights and interests of other peoples. Today, as in the past, ideological differences are not, in themselves, the cause of wars; in the same way, ideological affinities are not in themselves enough to prevent the outbreak of wars. Those who advocate a policy of force try to conceal their real interests beneath the cloak of those differences and to compel entire peoples to serve causes which are alien to them.

11. Certain elements of contemporary society which find it in their interest to pursue a policy of domination over other peoples, in the belief that the existence of a nuclear balance makes them safe from a devastating war, think that it is possible to practise coexistence in some parts of the world while pursuing a policy of force in others. We find such a double-headed policy inadmissible: not only is it inconsistent but, in a world that has shrunk as a result of modern technical achievements, events taking place in one part of the world have immediate repercussions elsewhere. No matter where war breaks out, it is in our vicinity. We therefore think that all peace-loving countries and people must oppose the policy of war. Today a coherent policy of coexistence among States, regardless of their size or their social system, is essential, for any war is likely to lead to a world conflagration.

12. Threatened by the spectre of war of annihilation, we all agree on the need for general and complete disarmament. In order to achieve it, however, it is essential first of all to abandon the policy of force or the threat of force as the main argument in international relations. So long as the possibility of free development is not guaranteed to all peoples, so long as claims to prescribe political and social systems for other peoples are not abandoned, so long as the policy of force in international relations and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries is not discarded, mankind will continue to live under a real threat of war.

13. The foreign policy of the Yugoslav Government, like that of the Governments of many other States, is guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment, the fundamental aims of which are the safeguarding of peace, the strengthening of independence and a more rapid economic development for all countries. At the same time, it is a policy of opposition to the division of the world, on any basis whatever.

14. The application of these principles amounts, in fact, to the implementation of the United Nations Charter. That is why we consider that it is of particular importance that the United Nations should continue its efforts to elaborate and codify the principles of coexistence, which would lead to a strengthening of our Organization, an improvement in international relations and the consolidation of peace.

15. The disarmament negotiations carried out both within and outside the United Nations have achieved

no significant results. I think that we have good reason to consider that this situation is not due to any lack of studies or proposals but is rather the result of a lack of willingness to make a real start on the process of disarmament. It is also clear that we must seek new ways and means which would enable all countries to take part in the solution of this fundamental problem. The participants at the Conferences of Belgrade^{2/} and Cairo,^{3/} convinced that disarmament is the joint responsibility of all countries, declared that they were in favour of a world disarmament conference to which all countries would be invited, whether or not they were Members of the United Nations. The Disarmament Commission adopted, without opposition, a resolution^{4/} welcoming the proposal of the Cairo Conference and recommending the General Assembly to examine it as a matter of urgency at its twentieth session. We think that this question should be given the highest priority in our work and we hope that the Assembly will adopt specific recommendations concerning the convening of this conference.

16. The conclusion of agreements on a number of initial measures which we believe to be essential at this time would represent important progress towards general and complete disarmament, which is still the main objective of all our efforts. That would enable us to continue the process initiated by the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty for a partial nuclear test ban.^{5/} In selecting these measures, it would be logical, for understandable reasons, to give priority to nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and, in particular, to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, of all nuclear weapon tests and of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, in whatever form and whatever circumstances.

17. The lack of progress towards disarmament, in the present state of international tension, threatens to open the way to a relatively rapid proliferation of these weapons. It is high time that such a development was prevented. To achieve this, however, conditions conducive to a solution of the problem of general disarmament and of nuclear disarmament in particular would have to be created.

18. Despite the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly [resolution 1514 (XV)], a large number of Non-Self-Governing Territories and millions of human beings are still under foreign domination. In some of these territories, which seem to have been given a special political and strategic role and where the economic interests of some industrial countries are deeply involved, the

^{2/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 1-6 September 1961.

^{3/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned

^{3/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 5-10 October 1964.

^{4/} See Official Documents of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/225.

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

authorities resort to brutal measures of repression which sometimes degenerate into real colonial wars. In other territories a policy of racial discrimination and segregation is followed and the African people are prevented from exercising their fundamental human rights on their own soil. The implementation of the Declaration is made particularly difficult by the fact that the colonial Powers are supported by certain States which consider that it is in their economic and political interest that the final elimination of colonialism should be postponed.

19. The Yugoslav delegation considers that the General Assembly should make fresh efforts to ensure the immediate implementation of the Declaration. It is the right and the duty of the United Nations to give its full assistance to movements fighting for national emancipation and the elimination of a system which is in flagrant contradiction to the principles of the Charter and which does considerable harm to international relations.

20. After two decades of international action designed to help the developing countries, the economic situation of those countries is growing worse. The amount of international aid granted to them remains stationary, while their economic weakness makes it easy for privileges to be retained and for foreign interests to dominate in new forms. Such a state of affairs cannot fail to have an unfavourable influence on international relations, for it is difficult to attain the degree of political unity essential for international stability if economic development widens the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, bringing them into ever greater opposition. The national effort of the developing countries, although of primary importance, cannot alone suffice to make those differences disappear.

21. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development^{6/} there was general agreement on the need to eliminate the present imbalance in the world economy—which is, in the long run, in the interests both of the industrialized countries and of the developing countries—and the need for the international community to play a greater role in that connexion.

22. Any change in the present structure of world economic relations presupposes the solution of complex international and national problems, and we are fully aware that all decisions in that connexion must be carefully prepared. What we find disturbing, however, is the fact that certain industrialized countries are apparently not prepared to start putting the recommendations of the Geneva Conference into effect. This has been obvious at the sessions of the Trade and Development Board, which did not come up to the expectations of the developing countries. In our opinion, the General Assembly should invite the Governments of Member States to reconsider their attitude to the new trade and development policy which we established by common agreement at Geneva.

23. In this year of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international situation requires that we should examine the question of the present

and future role which the United Nations is called upon to play in international life. As far as my country and Government are concerned, I wish to repeat here our firm conviction that despite some inadequacies and some failures the United Nations has fully justified its existence.

24. When, last year, a period of inactivity was imposed on our Organization, the majority of Member States sought to overcome the difficulties which had arisen as quickly as possible. Also apparent were certain trends in the direction of weakening the United Nations still further. The usefulness of the Organization was disputed and there were even demands that it should be replaced by another organization. We resolutely opposed such trends because we think that the defects in the structure and workings of the Organization can and must be eliminated by our common efforts within the United Nations.

25. We also feel that the presence of all States in the Organization serves both international peace and progress and the national interests of each country. We therefore urge that the United Nations should become truly universal. In this connexion, the question of the representation of China in the United Nations becomes particularly urgent. The legitimate right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent that country in the world Organization should be recognized forthwith.

26. In the modern world, characterized as it is by rapid changes and the existence of different social systems, we need an organization which unites the different groups of countries rather than setting them one against another, an organization which is a genuine instrument of international peace and co-operation.

27. It is not only the small countries and the under-developed countries which need the United Nations. Today the interests of peoples and of States, whatever their power and size of their territory, cannot be safeguarded solely within their national frontiers or by their own means. I think that this year there is greater agreement among us on this point. The fact that our work is going on normally confirms that the common interest in strengthening the United Nations has prevailed over the doubts regarding its usefulness and over the resistance to its growing role in international life.

28. With regard to the financial difficulties of the United Nations, we hope that they will be overcome by voluntary contributions from Member States.

29. In this twentieth year of our Organization, the present session of the General Assembly offers a timely opportunity of ensuring that our common conviction regarding the need for the existence of the United Nations and for the reaffirmation and strengthening of its role, and our determination to implement the principles of the Charter, find full expression in the achievement of genuine results during the work of this session.

30. The Yugoslav delegation will support any proposal designed to overcome the present crisis in international relations and to tackle the outstanding international problems realistically and effectively. In

^{6/} Conference held at Geneva, 23 March–15 June 1964.

your efforts to help us to advance in that direction you may count, Mr. President, on our complete understanding and our full support.

31. Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australia): At this beginning of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, I think we all have feelings of relief and pleasure that we are here at all. The last session was an abortive one, condemned to stagnation and frustration by the failure to reach agreement on the applicability of Article 19. But today the United Nations is here, it is working and it is still being used.

32. Only this month we have had an impressive demonstration of the virility of the United Nations in the action it has been able to take in the dispute between India and Pakistan: first the energy and initiative of the Secretary-General himself and then the action of the Security Council, made possible by the unanimity of the great Powers. This is a demonstration of the determination of the Members of this Organization to keep the Organization going. I think it is also a demonstration of their determination not to let military incidents, even considerable fighting, broaden into wider conflicts that might engulf the whole world.

33. The agreement reached, just before this session began, on the non-applicability of Article 19 (see 1331st meeting, paras. 3 and 4) is a further demonstration of that feeling. As I have said, we have grounds for some gratification; but we must be realistic. We must recognize that the agreement on the applicability, or non-applicability, of Article 19 creates as many problems as it solves.

34. In the first place, the deficit of the United Nations remains, and we still need concrete action to wipe it out. Those of us who have in the past contributed what we thought were our assessments, and who have contributed to voluntary funds or to loans, are now watching what the countries that were regarded by us as being in arrears are going to do. Because we too are expected to pay more, we are watching them. That is an important practical problem. The second practical problem is one of principles: the question of what operations can be conducted henceforth, how they are to be authorized and how they are to be financed. We cannot proceed as if things were the same as before. We cannot act as though the slate had now been wiped clean and start afresh.

35. The whole point of the discussion about finances is that it was not simply a financial discussion but more deeply a discussion of the practical points of principle to which I have referred. Consequently, some lines of thinking—the views that many of us, the majority of us, have been holding—may have to be abandoned. Now that it has been decided that Article 19 is not to be applied against certain Members in respect of certain operations, it follows inevitably that the same principle is going to apply in respect of all Members and all future similar operations. So we have somehow to tackle, during this session if possible, the consequences of that.

36. Australia had contributed in the past to all the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Sometimes we have contributed men, as in the case of Kashmir and Cyprus. In other cases we have

contributed finances, as in the case of the Congo and United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) operations. In some cases we have contributed both. But now, like all the Members of this Organization, we have to stand back and look at the positions we have taken in the past in the light of these recent developments.

37. I have referred to basic constitutional problems. There is, for example, that of the respective authorities of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Indeed the question arises whether the General Assembly has powers and what they are. We have to face the question of how peace-keeping operations, when they are authorized, are to be financed. We have to face the questions of composition and control of United Nations elements in peace-keeping operations.

38. Then there are all the problems of voluntary financing. The Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report (A/6001/Add.1, section I) has referred to the difficulty of planning operations when they are dependent on voluntary contributions. To that I would add the question of equity. If each of us knows that some countries are going to contribute money to finance operations, will there not be a temptation, for some of us at any rate, to hold back and say that, as somebody else is going to pay, there is no obligation on us under the Charter and that therefore we shall not contribute?

39. These various questions will come before us in various ways during this current session. There are several items on the agenda referring to them directly or indirectly. There is one specifically referring to peace-keeping operations which has been inscribed by the delegation of Ireland, envisaging certain new voting procedures. It is an attempt to relate the voting and authorizing of peace-keeping operations to the degree of responsibility, financially or otherwise, that individual countries will accept in respect of those operations, and also the degree of responsibility of those countries for world security in general.

40. One may or may not agree with the actual suggestions made by the delegation of Ireland or with some of the other suggestions that have been current among us this week, but at least these and other questions are questions that will have to be faced. For this is not an academic matter and it is not something that can be left for the future. There are operations under way now—for example, UNEF. There is a new operation being undertaken at this moment, authorized this month, on the India-Pakistan border.²⁷

41. Thus these things come up for immediate attention. Decisions are being made, either consciously or by default. In this, the smaller and middle Powers among us, including Australia, are looking to the great Powers to give the lead, because we need to know to what extent the great Powers are prepared

²⁷ United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM). See Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1965, document S/6699/Add.3.

to accept responsibility and what their views are on their respective roles.

42. Peace-keeping leads me to think of a related field, the field of disarmament. There has been some progress in the past year in this field. We are all disappointed that there has not been more; but it is progress that the great Powers and the other Powers associated with them in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee have been talking, have been putting forward proposals, have been clarifying some of their basic interests and their basic objectives. One thing that has emerged clearly in this past year is the great degree of unanimity that exists among most Members of this Organization on the necessity for speedy, practical, enforceable measures to control and prevent the proliferation and dissemination of nuclear weapons. As I say, this had been recognized by most Powers. The United States introduced a draft treaty at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva,^{3/} and the representative of the United States has already reiterated, in this general debate [1334th meeting], his Government's belief in the importance of progress in this question. The Foreign Minister of the USSR also referred [1335th meeting], to the importance of some agreements on this, and has introduced a draft treaty for consideration by this General Assembly (see A/5976). Further, the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report (A/6001/Add.1), also refers to the urgent need for progress in this field.

43. So there is a fairly wide area of agreement—fairly wide but not complete, because there are some countries in the world that are not agreed yet on the necessity of ending all nuclear tests and of preventing the dissemination of nuclear weapons. France, unfortunately, has not signed the nuclear test-ban Treaty and, I regret to say, is continuing tests. More disturbing is the fact that Communist China has embarked on a programme of nuclear tests. I say this is more disturbing because that Government has been adopting, and is still adopting, an aggressive posture in the world together with a denial of the conception of peaceful coexistence. It therefore cannot but disturb all of us, and particularly those of us who are in that region, that it is arming itself with nuclear weapons. Unfortunately also, the Government of Indonesia has not accepted the belief that most of us share that the wider dissemination and proliferation of nuclear weapons is a bad thing. The Foreign Minister of Indonesia said, on 4 August, that Indonesia had no objection to all nations and countries in the world having nuclear weapons: "The more countries that are in possession of atomic and nuclear bombs, the stronger the guarantees that would be given that these weapons of the modern world would not be used"; he said: "We have no objections to all countries having atomic and nuclear bombs".

44. I have referred to these three countries to indicate the urgency which has been referred to by

earlier speakers, the urgency felt by the rest of us as we try to get a universal and water-tight agreement while we still have time.

45. In this general respect, I agree with the following statement made by the Foreign Minister of the USSR earlier in this debate:

"It goes without saying that an agreement on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons cannot be an aim in itself. This is a step, and a major one, towards the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, and not simply a method of restricting the number of nuclear Powers, or, as some people say, of formalizing the nuclear monopoly of the present five great Powers."* [1335th meeting, para. 70.]

46. Now, I agree with that. But we go a stage further, and the Foreign Minister of the USSR himself, I think, would also do so. We say that it should also be a step towards wider disarmament in the non-nuclear field, because it is most important for the security of all of us that progress in nuclear disarmament be accompanied by progress in conventional disarmament. After all, many countries today are facing threats, or fear that they are facing threats, to their security from countries that are not nuclear Powers. Conventional weapons, themselves, after all, can do great destruction. Conventional weapons in the hands of a large Power can cause great unease to its neighbours, and this unease is shared to a very great degree by many of the countries situated around China.

47. This leads me into a discussion of the security of the region of South and South-East Asia which is so important to Australia and to the problems of living with China. The task of living with China is not a simple matter that can be solved by the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. Our relationship is much more complicated; it needs handling in many ways, and United Nations membership is only one part of it.

48. When we come to consider the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, we must have very much in our minds the effect on the United Nations itself. Look at the Peking régime today—Communist China and what its record is, and what its current objectives and its outlook are. There is the act of aggression against India in 1962 and the threats that have been made in the last few weeks against India and against Sikkim. There is the threat, direct or indirect, against many neighbours of China to the north, to the east, to the south and to the west. All its neighbours, in one degree or another, directly or indirectly, have come under threats. It is a régime that is against peaceful coexistence. It is a régime that contemplates nuclear war without viewing it with the horror with which the rest of mankind views it. It is a régime that advocates for forcible overthrow, by violence and revolution, of most of the Governments represented in this General Assembly.

49. We must therefore ask ourselves what this régime would do if it were seated among us today in the United Nations. We have to face the probability that the admission at this moment of time of Com-

^{3/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex, section A.

* Provisional English version taken from text of interpretation.

munist China would destroy the effectiveness of the United Nations and might very well end its existence. Its whole policy would be to drive a wedge between countries of differing social and political systems that are now trying somehow to work together and bring about the evolution of a peaceful world.

50. What our decision will be is very important for the United Nations. I can conceive of no question more important at present than the question of Chinese representation.

51. Having said that about the general overhanging problem for most of South and South-East Asia, this great land of between six and seven hundred million people overhanging us, let me refer fairly briefly to three current problems of political and military concern—Malaysia and Singapore, Viet-Nam and the India-Pakistan troubles.

52. With regard to Malaysia and Singapore, I shall say simply that as Members of the United Nations they are entitled to have their territorial integrity respected and not to be subjected to force or the threat of force. In resisting force or the threat of force, Malaysia and Singapore have received and will continue to receive the active support of their friends, including Australia.

53. I shall turn now to Viet-Nam, and say something at more length on that, because it is a matter that has been raised in the course of the general debate here by several speakers. In South Viet-Nam, Australia is very directly concerned. In addition to the forces of the South Viet-Nam Government itself, and now, on some scale, of the United States, there are other countries participating with forces, including Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, I wish to state why our Governments have taken this decision and why we consider it important to all of us that a proper outcome emerge in Viet-Nam.

54. In Viet-Nam in 1954, a modus vivendi was reached whereby the country was divided into two, and there were provisions looking towards the unification of Viet-Nam. These provisions have never been fully carried out. As in most of these cases, there is argument as to responsibility and as to what should be done. So far as the Australian Government is concerned, we accept the view of the South Viet-Nam authorities that it was not possible to have free nation-wide elections of the kind envisaged in the Geneva Agreements at the time, because free elections were not possible in North Viet-Nam, in addition to some other reasons. That is our view; some other Governments take different views, but whatever view is held on this point, I should have thought that we would all feel that it is in our interest that in Viet-Nam, just as in the other divided countries in the world today, unification should not be brought about by force.

55. I think it is most important for world security generally that unification in any of these unhappily divided countries should not be attempted by force, if only because of the grave dangers that this would hold for world peace. In fact, this modus vivendi jogged along in one way or another for some years, and then, gradually, it became upset by armed sub-

version in South Viet-Nam, directed and supplied from outside, particularly from North Viet-Nam. This has been stepped up. There have been, over the period of the last two years, deliberate killings of officials in villages and the elimination of national, cultural and other leaders in South Viet-Nam with a view to disrupting government, and with the inevitable consequences, of course, that the Government had to become more rigorous and that moves towards greater liberalization had to be checked. There has also been, over a period of years, the deliberate destruction of economic facilities—bridges and so on—with a view to slowing down and reversing the economic progress that was taking place in South Viet-Nam.

56. The scale of this outside intervention increased to a point where, late last year, actual regular military units started to be moved into position and some of their members went into South Viet-Nam. In these circumstances, the Government of South Viet-Nam asked its friends for assistance in repelling what is clearly a case of aggression. Indeed, the Government of South Viet-Nam might have been open to criticism for hesitating and delaying for so long in replying to these attacks upon it, because for years it sat back and took it. It fought where the infiltrators chose to fight, and for years there was no attempt to hit back at the places from which aggression has been directed, launched and supplied. So it is only comparatively recently and after, I believe, a great deal of restraint that the escalation has reached its present point.

57. What is the nature of this self-styled national liberation front? It is not a genuine freedom movement. It is not like the African freedom movements. It is not directed primarily against foreigners. The Government of South Viet-Nam is an indigenous Government; it is a Government that functioned for several years with no outside direction or support, other than the normal supports of economic assistance. The self-styled liberation front is linked with subversive movements in Africa. It is part of a movement directed not to achieve national independence, but to achieve certain political objectives of a world revolutionary nature.

58. Therefore, the objective of countries such as mine and New Zealand and the United States that have forces in Viet-Nam is to deter and repel aggression. Many efforts have been made by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and others, to open the way to negotiations, but so far none of these has been able to get anywhere. But it is not our objective to eliminate North Viet-Nam. Indeed, President Johnson, in his proposals last April to contribute \$1,000 million to a co-operative effort for the development of South-East Asia, specifically envisaged North Viet-Nam taking its place in this common effort if the Viet-Nameese situation developed so that there could be co-operation instead of warfare. We do not seek to destroy the Government of North Viet-Nam. North Viet-Nam must not destroy South Viet-Nam.

59. I shall now turn to the question of India and Pakistan. This is something that is particularly distressing to Australia, because we have close

and friendly relations with both Governments and peoples, and the very thought of fighting between them is repugnant to Australia.

60. Consequently, we threw our whole weight behind U Thant's efforts when he began them. In a public statement and in personal messages to President Ayub and Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Robert Menzies, indicated that U Thant had the full support of the Australian Government in his efforts. He asked the two Governments to be forthcoming in their reactions to the efforts of U Thant and to do everything within their power to make these efforts fruitful.

61. Now that things have moved a stage further, the Australian Government welcomes the cease-fire that has been achieved. We hope it will stick and be made effective. Australia has contributed military observers in Kashmir since 1950, and we hope to provide more now in response to the Secretary-General's request. The unanimity with which the Security Council acted is most gratifying. It has enabled effective action to be taken in bringing about a cease-fire and it has also helped to restore faith in the ability of the United Nations to contribute to the maintenance of peace. We hope that this unanimity will be maintained in dealing with the difficult task that still remains under paragraph 4 of the Security Council resolution of 20 September.

62. In view of what I said a few minutes ago about the general attitude of Communist China and the attitude that it would be likely to adopt if it were a Member of this Organization, it is interesting to look at what it has done in the last few weeks. Communist China has sought to exploit the recent hostilities between India and Pakistan with a brutal disregard of the principles of the United Nations Charter. By threatening violence against India, the Peking Government deliberately sought to increase tension and widen the scope of the conflict. Communist China's attitude was in marked contrast with that of the world community in general. All the members of the Security Council joined in a resolution aimed at stopping the fighting and at seeking to end the threat to the happiness and welfare of millions of people in the sub-continent. One may conclude with certainty that if Communist China had been a member of the Security Council it would have used its power of veto to prevent the passage of such a resolution.

63. A task of considerable delicacy now remains in giving effect to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 211 of 20 September. Ultimately the two countries, India and Pakistan, will have to find the solutions for themselves to the many problems of varying degrees of importance that unfortunately exist between them. But the United Nations and other countries can sometimes help by bringing the parties together, by stimulating lines of approach or by contributing to the establishment of conditions in which settlements can be found and put into effect.

64. I do not think that it would be useful for me to be more specific on this occasion. The fighting that has just occurred is fratricidal and harmful to the stability, progress and security of both India and Pakistan, and, indeed, of the whole region of South-

East Asia. Therefore, quite apart from our feelings on grounds of humanity, Australia feels a direct concern in the outcome. We want to see relations between India and Pakistan develop along lines of friendship and co-operation. The solution of as many as possible of the individual problems existing between them would contribute to this atmosphere, and might make less possible or less abrasive those problems which might still persist.

65. Up to now, in discussing South and South-East Asia, I have referred to specific problems of a security nature. But it is most important that we also have clearly in mind, and take measures to meet, some of the needs of economic and social development and well-being in the region. I draw the Assembly's attention to the Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East for 1964,^{9/} which has been circulated among us in the last few days. One of the conclusions of the Survey is that agricultural production in the region of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East [ECAFE] showed a significant recovery for the first time since 1961. The increase in food production from 1961 to 1964 in those countries was considerably below the rate of population growth, and the per capita food production in 1964 was below the 1961 level.

66. The conclusion that I draw from figures like these, and from much of the other information in this Economic Survey, is that there can be no slackening in the efforts either of the Governments of the region or of the world community in their attempts to forward and assist the economic development of the region. The Australian Government wants to see the total amount of international assistance going to South and South-East Asia maintained and, if possible, increased. Australia, which is part of the ECAFE region, is playing a full part as a member of that Commission, in addition to its contribution to and activities in the region outside the Commission. The Australian Government welcomes some of the work that has been done by the Commission or under the auspices of the Commission in the past twelve months: for example, some of the assistance that has been given by ECAFE to member countries in their development planning, the work of the new Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the work of the ECAFE secretariat in providing useful statistical and other research material, the two meetings of the Conference of Asian Statisticians and the Conference of Asian Economic Planners. A most significant move in the past twelve months has been towards the establishment of an Asian Development Bank. This is a major step forward in regional economic co-operation and development. Australia is co-operating in an active and positive way in the planning and other steps to set up this bank. Subject to the final shape of the bank being satisfactory—and we have every reason to believe that it will be—Australia looks forward to being a member of and a contributor to it.

67. Having made those remarks about the economic situation in South and South-East Asia, in which

^{9/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: 65.II.F.1.

Australia has so direct a concern, I should like briefly to touch on an economic matter of world-wide concern, namely the important developments in the past year in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. International trade is of special interest to Australia because we are still dependent in many ways on exports. We are in a special position, like one or two other countries. Australia is a country with a high average standard of living. But we are dependent for 80 per cent of our export earnings on primary products. In a sense, we have a foot in both camps, that is, with the developed countries and with the under-developed countries. I think that this has sometimes given us a special opportunity for insight into the concerns of both groups.

68. I shall sum up our general attitude to the Conference on Trade and Development in three propositions. The first is that this new organization is very important and that all of us should throw our weight behind it and make the biggest contribution we can in it and through it.

69. My second observation is to agree with what the Secretary-General said in his introduction to his annual report, namely:

"The new trade machinery is not just another forum for exerting pressure. It should be a centre for formulating new policies and for achieving specific solutions of trade problems. More specifically, it is an indispensable instrument for the adoption, by both developed and developing countries, of new approaches to international economic problems within the context of a new awareness of the needs of developing countries." [A/6001/Add.1, section IV.]

70. The third point I would make is that we are glad that the Conference on Trade and Development is part of the United Nations activities and machinery. This allows a two-direction form of influence. It allows the work of the Conference to be influenced by the general work done in international affairs—economic and non-economic—but it also allows the thinking here in the General Assembly, the other bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to be influenced by what is being done and thought in the Conference on Trade and Development.

71. Before leaving the question of international trade, I would add that the Australian Government took the initiative a few months ago of introducing preferences into the Australian tariff for certain specified manufactures and semi-manufactures from less developed countries. The aim of the new preferences is to enable less developed countries to enter our market with products on which they could not be competitive with the highly industrialized countries at most-favoured-nation rates.

72. Leaving the economic area, I shall say a few words about Australian New Guinea, in respect of which Australia has accepted and is discharging international obligations. I shall not go into this at length because the appropriate United Nations bodies are kept informed, and there will be discussions in them at various stages during the General Assembly or at other times.

73. In respect of our territories, Australia enjoys good relations with the United Nations. I believe that there is a considerable degree of understanding on both sides. The Australian Government and Administration understand what the United Nations is thinking and wants. I believe that the representatives here for the most part have an understanding of what we are trying to do. I can assure the Assembly that the Australian Government pays the greatest of attention to any recommendations, formal or informal, that are made by United Nations bodies.

74. During the past year the Australian Government has carefully studied a report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which, at the request of the Australian Government, sent a mission to Australian New Guinea. The Australian Government has accepted the report of that Mission as a working basis for planning the economic development of the Territory, and the Australian Government has set actively in train measures to follow up that report.

75. There have been constitutional advances; some of them have been made over a period of a few years and are now bearing fruit. There is in Australian New Guinea today a legislature, a majority of whose members are indigenous inhabitants. The legislature is responsible to all the people. Universal adult suffrage had been introduced. Australia is carrying out its obligations under the Charter. We hope that the principles and provisions of the Charter will be applied in respect of all other dependent territories in the world.

76. The final topic I want to touch on is the role of the United Nations in science. I refer to this because it is a field in which Australia has taken past initiatives and with which Australia has been particularly identified in the United Nations. At the thirteenth session of the General Assembly in 1958, our then Minister for External Affairs, Mr. R. G. Casey, urged [759th meeting] that the United Nations do more in the field of science. This led to the production of the Auger report¹⁰ and subsequently to the establishment of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development.

77. Why is Australia particularly interested in this? Partly as a result of our own historical development. The history of Australian economic development is really the story of the application of science to the solution of our economic problems. Most of the animal and vegetable products on which Australia's prosperity depends—sheep, cattle, wheat and sugar, for example—were introduced into Australia from outside. They have had to be fostered in an alien and often harsh environment, and it is only the result of experiment over a period of years that has made them the successful and productive sources that they are for Australia today. Therefore, we are peculiarly conscious of the role that scientific research and its application can play in national development.

¹⁰ Professor Pierre Auger (editor), *Current Trends in Scientific Research* (United Nations, New York, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 1961).

78. Furthermore, because we are on the edge of South and South-East Asia and have great contacts, official and personal, with the peoples of that region, we are, I think, very conscious of some of the needs of the countries of that region. We are conscious of the way in which these needs are sometimes overlooked in developing countries. Let me give you an example from my own personal experience.

79. I have visited the National Nutrition Laboratories in India and I have seen what is being done there on problems of nutrition. What are their problems? They are the problems of people who do not have enough to eat; the problems of poor people who even with a small income do not know how to spend that small amount in order to get the greatest nutritive value from the food they buy. Contrast that with some of the problems of nutrition that one finds in highly developed countries where scientists are sometimes worrying about the subject of obesity—the problems of people who have too much to eat and who have too rich food. More needs to be done to bring to the attention of the world scientific community and of governmental and private scientific organizations some of the problems of the under-developed and more remote countries that get overlooked by scientists in developed countries, who naturally give primary attention to the problems that are under their noses.

80. There are three lines of approach that are being tackled in the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development. The first is to create an understanding of science and its benefits in developing countries. We need to make Governments conscious of the importance of science and of its application. If we can do that, the effort becomes in a sense self-generating, because Governments themselves will keep things going and give a pressure regardless of what the United Nations does. We need particularly to create an indigenous science in developing countries. We need to train people from those countries. We need to have jobs for them in their own countries. We need to have them working in their own countries on the problems of those countries.

81. The second task is to have a concerted attack on some of the scientific problems in relations to under-developed countries. This Advisory Committee has, in its report this year to the Economic and Social Council,^{11/} identified problems of scientific research and application which require particular attention from the point of view of under-developed countries. The Australian Government believes that this Committee should now develop a substantive programme to see that there is a concerted attack on these problems—a substantive programme that will bring in the United Nations itself, the specialized agencies, the great foundations, and the national and international scientific bodies. Developed countries must make an effort to help. The organization of science is a problem in all countries, even in the most advanced.

82. The third heading is the exchange of information in its widest sense. The problems of exchange of

scientific knowledge are becoming more and more complex every year as new knowledge comes into being. The technical problems of organizing, disseminating and having readily available what is known, are becoming more and more difficult even in the highly developed countries. It is of enormous importance to have this sort of thing done in a form that can be used in developing countries.

83. I have spent a little time on this subject because, as I said, a lot of United Nations activity in this field stems from an initiative by Mr. Casey in this Assembly in 1958, and Australia has been peculiarly identified with this scientific activity. I have indicated what I believe should be done now so that there will be practical progress in the early future.

84. In my statement this morning, I began by discussing political and security problems that face us, and sometimes divide us, and I have finished by discussing economic, social and scientific matters. The latter are most important and call for positive and dynamic approaches from all of us. Economic development and progress will do something to make easier the reaching of political accommodations and will contribute to the effective exercise or attainment of basic human rights for everyone, regardless of race, colour or creed.

85. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to a message which His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran has been good enough to address to the Secretary-General and myself. This message has been sent to us in connexion with the important UNESCO Conference on the question of illiteracy, which was held in Iran last month with more than eighty Governments represented. The message of His Imperial Majesty deals with the question of illiteracy, which is an item on our agenda and has been allocated to the Second Committee [item 47].

86. I am grateful to His Imperial Majesty for drawing our attention to this question of capital importance. The text of his message was circulated this morning as a General Assembly document [A/6024] and I ask all representatives, especially those who serve on the Second Committee, to be good enough to give it the attention which it deserves.

87. Mr. COUVE DE MURVILLE (France) (translated from French): The French delegation does not conceal its satisfaction that the crisis which prevented the General Assembly from meeting normally last year, and which, had it continued, would perhaps have threatened the very future of the Organization, has been finally overcome, amidst general goodwill. One of the first and fortunate consequences of that favourable development is that this year we have been able to appoint our President according to the regular procedure and in near unanimity. We have chosen—and this is a second fortunate consequence—a statesman who is known and esteemed throughout the world for his great merit but who, as things are, is even better known and hence more highly esteemed, perhaps, in France. Our country, Mr. President, is happy to salute you through me, to express its pleasure at

^{11/} Official Record of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 14 (E/4026).

seeing you assume this high international office and to offer you its best wishes for success in your great task. We naturally extend these sentiments also to Italy, our ally, our partner and our friend.

88. The fact that the crisis in the functioning of the United Nations has been surmounted and that we are able to resume our deliberations does not, of course, mean that it has been possible to find a solution to all the problems that were the cause of the crisis. Such is certainly not yet the case, firstly, as regards the Organization's financial situation, which, as we know, has for long been a source of constant concern to our eminent Secretary-General. In the conclusions of the Committee of Thirty-three,^{12/} the wish was expressed that the financial situation might be settled by voluntary contributions, particularly by the States which happen to have special responsibilities and resources. May I be permitted to say, as the French delegation pointed out at the time, that the problem is in reality much wider.

89. To begin with, it is wider in its definition, for none of us has a really clear idea of what the financial balance-sheet of the United Nations may be today. What with the expenses falling on the Organization, the debts of every kind that it has contracted on all sides, the distinction to be made between budgetary operations and treasury operations, taking into account what has been borrowed from one fund or another whose resources, however, are definitely earmarked, I wonder what Member States could find its way about in this situation without hesitation?

90. The problem is also wider in scope. To be sure, the prime source of the present difficulties is the accumulation of expenditures—without counterpart, for legal reasons that we all know—resulting from the United Nations operations in the Congo (Leopoldville) and, to a lesser extent, in the Near East. This accumulation, however, inevitably leads to concern also about the financial management properly speaking, not so much of the United Nations as of the specialized agencies, above all, of certain of them. The tendency towards excessive spending is inherent in all public institutions. Let us recognize that it is even greater in the case of a body like this, where responsibility is spread over a large number of countries, for the recourse which each of us has to make to his national taxpayers is far away and scarcely in evidence.

91. From this analysis, France concludes that this financial crisis should be the occasion for a comprehensive review of the situation of the United Nations, including that of the specialized agencies, in order to draw up a clear, complete and honest balance-sheet, to revise our methods, to introduce everywhere a minimum, if not a maximum, spirit of order and economy, so as to put an end to the constant and systematic increase in our expenses of all kinds. I am sure that, if that is done, it will not be difficult to put our accounts in sound order once and for all and then France would not refuse its co-operation.

92. I should not want to say any more on a subject that is necessarily unpopular. Perhaps the General Assembly might contemplate setting up a small

committee, composed of especially competent experts, to study all these questions in all their aspects and to submit constructive proposals.

93. The financial problem, important as it is, is not, however, in the same category as the political problem, which in its complexity, has many other consequences. It involves the very nature of our Organization and its possibilities for action.

94. The United Nations is first of all a statute, a law, which is called the Charter. It is next a policy, entailing the need to judge, i.e., to seek to determine, not only what is desirable but also what is possible. The Charter itself foreshadowed this policy in the balance which it established between the various organs and in the precautions which it took with respect to United Nations action.

95. Indeed, such action was wisely reserved to the Security Council alone and the oft-invoked resolution [377 (V)] that was improvised during the 1950 crisis has been unable to affect this rule. The General Assembly is the expression of international public opinion and should consequently be the highest world political forum. It is inconceivable that the Security Council could act in opposition to this international opinion. In fact it has never ventured to do so, even assuming that it has ever so desired. But the Council also represents something else, namely, the confluence of the world's principal economic, military and political forces. It is natural that, if there must be action, the decision for it should come from the Council, for it is clear that without that confluence any decision would in practice be ineffective and even fraught with peril. The experience of the past twenty years has confirmed this on every occasion, and even quite recently, in the cease-fire accepted by India and Pakistan following a unanimous resolution of the Security Council [211 (1965)]. Who does not see that, in that case, the combination of influences exerted by international opinion, also nearly unanimous, and by the stands taken by the Powers represented in the Council, had a decisive effect?

96. That is why France ascribes supreme importance to scrupulous respect for the provisions of the Charter and has been unable to endorse, if only from the financial standpoint, audacious interpretations which, had they been adopted, would have been likely to have a profound effect on the balance, and consequently the effectiveness, of our institution. The same is true, furthermore, as regards its area of competence, which cannot, in our opinion, be extended to the domestic affairs of any country whatever; its competence is limited, and very naturally limited, to relations between States, that is to say to anything that could be of such a nature as directly to imperil world peace.

97. This being said, it still remains to specify, since this was the direct source of the crisis, what the nature of the Organization's decisions can be. I must state very frankly that the French delegation, in contrast to many, and not the smallest, of those who have preceded it at this rostrum, firmly subscribes to the thesis that it does not behove the United Nations, in the present state of the world and doubtless for a long time, to depart from the political sphere which

^{12/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

eminently belongs to it and in which, once again, experience shows that it can be effective when it expresses itself on behalf of world public opinion with the support of the Powers which possess the means for action. A resort to force, however, could only be an adventure. In the first place, the United Nations does not possess the material means for it: a combination of national contingents does not constitute an army, with all that that should include in the way of effective command and political authority capable of taking basic responsibility, namely, of opening fire. Secondly, it is inconceivable that such military operations would not result in deeply disuniting our nations. These observations do not apply to clearly specified supervisory operations, such as those which were organized in Palestine, or those envisaged in the recent resolution concerning Kashmir, provided, of course, that the Security Council approves them and follows up their implementation. Those are not in fact actions of force that might take on an aggressive character. On the other hand, my remarks would apply also to other measures which, without being military in the true sense, would, however, entail physical constraint. At the time of the India-Pakistan conflict, the idea of making provision in the resolution for the threat of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter was contemplated. Some delegations, among them the French, opposed it, pointing out that such a threat would only make things more difficult psychologically for the two parties. Moreover, its implementation would have been so problematical and would have given rise to so much dispute that by its ineffectiveness it would merely have impaired the authority of the Security Council.

98. Those are the reasons why France took the position that it did in the discussions concerning the financing of the Congo operations. At the beginning of my speech I spoke about wiping out the past. As far as the future is concerned, I say that, even though no agreement has been reached, all the uncertainties are now sufficiently dispelled for there no longer to be any risk of a repetition of distressing experiences of the past or of our finding ourselves once again in the regrettable situation of September 1964.

99. It is in these circumstances, and in particular with due respect for the institutional balances provided by the Charter, that we now view the future functioning of the United Nations with more optimism. There remains, however, one question, and everyone here is well aware of it, whose solution is necessary if the Organization is to be able to play its role fully in the preservation of world peace. I am referring, of course, to the question of China. During the fifteen years since it first claimed our attention, we have all known that the time would inevitably come when the People's Republic of China would represent that great country in the General Assembly and the Security Council and would participate in the discussion of world affairs. We are not concerned here with passing judgement on China's internal system, which is in no way within our competence. We are concerned with the United Nations itself, in which the world's most populous nation must be able to be heard, as are the dozens of States, large, small and even very small, that we have admitted since 1949 as soon as we were

told that they had achieved independence and sovereignty. France entered into diplomatic relations with China in January 1964. The rightness of that decision seems to France to be confirmed now that Asia occupies a growing place in international matters and in United Nations discussion and now that it is clear that the problems of that continent cannot be settled without the direct participation of the largest Asian Power. By trying to persist in excluding it, we simply run the risk of seeing it continued to take its own initiatives on its own behalf. In our opinion, that is to no one's advantage.

100. I mentioned Asia; today it is indeed the centre of uncertainties, crises and even wars. In the sombre picture it presents, the cease-fire accepted by India and Pakistan was the happy event which I welcomed a few minutes ago, after all the speakers who preceded me. I cannot fail, in this connexion, to emphasize the part played by our Secretary-General, U Thant, who had yet another opportunity to display his qualities of determination and dedication. It now remains to implement the cease-fire provisions on the spot, a task which will not be easy, as we observe daily and as the Security Council has just been forced to note by solemnly repeating its injunction the day before yesterday [see Council resolution 214 (1965)]. After that, it will be necessary to find a means of settling the Kashmir problem that will be acceptable to both parties. None of us are in any ignorance about all that the mere statement of that task implies. What I may add is my conviction that within this Organization, and in the first place in the Security Council, there will be only goodwill and understanding in the endeavour to achieve, if possible, a permanent reconciliation between India and Pakistan.

101. The Viet-Nameese problem is indeed even more distressing, not only because it has been going on for years, without any sign of a settlement, but also and above all because it is a war, with all the cruelty and even ruthlessness that war entails. In referring to this subject, even if it is not within the Organization's competence, the representative of France cannot fail to mention first, most feelingly, the human suffering and material destruction which this war is bringing to the Viet-Nameese people, whom the French nation knows well, with whom it worked for so long and with whom it has maintained a variety of ties since Viet-Nam attained independence—a people, in a word, whom it knows to be still its friend. For years now, and in the first place through the voice of General de Gaulle, France has spoken out clearly on the settlement which it regards as the only possible one and which, in its view, must be based on the independence and neutrality of Viet-Nam and on non-intervention in its domestic affairs, as those principles were defined in the 1954 Geneva agreements. Negotiations to that end would probably have been immediately possible at one time. Today they are foiled by the hardening and the distrust which war cannot fail to engender. Our hope is that it will not be too long before the necessary adjustments take place, before decisions are taken, without equivocation or ulterior motives on any side, establishing the system whose principles I have just mentioned, and before the necessary international guarantees are given and the assistance undertaken which will make

it possible to repair the accumulated destruction. Then, too, the future of two neighbouring States paralysed by the Viet-Nameese war could be secured: Laos, still divided by hostile factions, and Cambodia, whose wise policy of neutrality is constantly being put to the test. When the time comes, all the Powers concerned will have to help to promote and achieve this general settlement. France will then be prepared to place whatever experience, influence, goodwill and resources it has at the service of peace, and then of reconstruction.

102. Europe today affords a striking contrast with Asia: no serious crisis is developing there, comparable for instance with the earlier Berlin crisis. Nevertheless, everything remains in suspense, because there has still been no settlement of the German problem. For twenty years Europe has been forced to accommodate itself to that situation. Despite periodic upheavals, it has to resign itself to living on a makeshift basis, as though the lessons of an unforgotten past and a nuclear balance made effective only by terror were sheltering it, at least for the time being, from any temptation to seek adventures. But we all know that we must not defy the future and that the time will therefore come when the German people will be reunited in accordance with the principle of self-determination and in the context of a well-established system of European security. This, of course, will have to come about peacefully and by means of a general agreement between West and East. As the division of Germany was born of the division of Europe, so the precondition for the healing of one is the healing of the other. This means a profound and necessarily gradual transformation of the present situation. We feel that France, for its part, is contributing constructively to this process, by gradually renewing relations of mutual trust with the countries of Eastern Europe, most of which are its friends of long standing. In our view, the development which we envisage and desire is the only way of proceeding with the necessary peaceful changes and thus bringing the task necessarily bound up with the reunification of Germany and of Europe to a successful conclusion.

103. I have spoken of Europe, I have spoken of Asia. None of the crucial questions which arise there will be discussed in the General Assembly, and only the conflict between India and Pakistan is on the agenda of the Security Council, in connexion with the implementation of the cease-fire and the endeavour to find a substantive solution. We shall therefore consider the problems of that part of the world from another aspect, namely, that of disarmament.

104. I deliberately approach this big subject in the context of the international situation as a whole, and not in that of military technology or this or that particular measure. How can anyone think it possible to separate the problems of disarmament from the context in which they necessarily fall, that is, the problems of war and peace? Five years ago, the peoples had a moment of hope, as a general détente seemed to be developing in the cold war and a meeting of the big Powers was in preparation for the discussion, in particular, of a halt in the arms race. The events which we all remember cut short the undertaking;

doubtless, too, the time was not then ripe for any confirmation of the prospects which seemed, fleetingly, to be emerging. Since then the opportunity has not presented itself again, for grave reasons. One of those reasons is the progressive extension of the Viet-Nameese war, which makes it very difficult to seek any genuine détente. Another, clearly, is the growing and spectacular intervention of China in the world's affairs, a China which is now a nuclear Power, and the fact that its action cannot be exercised within the framework available to all the other Powers. As a result, disarmament talks can, of course, take place here or there, but they lack the necessary elements of conviction, and therefore of hope. There is talk in the General Assembly of holding a world disarmament conference. This certainly appears to be a noble idea, if there are no ulterior motives behind it. But, in order to have any meaning, could such a conference be anything other than a conference for achieving a détente, and hence peace? If that were the case, then the doors to the future would indeed stand wide open.

105. When, today, people talk of disarmament, the general tendency is to call it non-dissemination. That is probably a way, as it were an instinctive way, of saying that the nuclear weapon is the essential factor and therefore the greatest danger. France desires dissemination no more than does any other country and it realizes that the Powers possessing the formidable privilege of atomic armament will never agree to share it with anyone else. It also knows that, in fact, behind the discussions which are taking place at Geneva and elsewhere, there inevitably lie the great international problems, in the first place—why not say so?—that of the future of Germany. But what it feels, principally, is that this is not the essential problem. If there is really to be disarmament, then what already exists must first be prevented from growing and then be reduced. In other words, the atomic Powers are involved. If they would agree to limit their production, progressively to reduce their stockpiles and to accept the necessary controls, dissemination would be clearly shown to be what it really is—a by-product and not the source of the evil.

106. Such considerations might appear naive and therefore utopian. Yet they are only a restatement of the obvious, namely, once again, that the disarmament problem is in the first place a problem of war and peace, and therefore in the first place the problem of the Powers which possess the means of making war and hence the means of establishing peace. The responsibilities incumbent upon them are immense. France has never ceased to say, so. It thinks that it is never too late to say so again. Nor is it ever too late to draw the logical conclusions.

107. While so many grave questions thus remain outstanding, the world is changing, developing, organizing itself. What better evidence of this process than the sixty or seventy States which have become Members of the United Nations during the past ten years, as they achieved statehood and independence? Decolonization is the essential phenomenon of our times. It is approaching its end, even though there are still some problems and even though there are bound to be some more crises before those problems are

finally settled. France is happy and proud to have made its contribution in the area for which it was responsible. May I recall that the final chapter of that great undertaking was closed for France in this very hall, on 8 October 1962, when I had the honour to support before the Assembly [1146th meeting] the application of the young Algerian Republic for membership? That, indeed, was the positive conclusion of a long and painful ordeal which, the wounds once dressed, has left a final legacy of friendly feeling and a host of common interests.

108. As decolonization nears completion, new tasks emerge, and it is to these that we must summon both the old States of Europe and North America and all the young nations for which accession to sovereignty also signifies accession to full responsibility for their own future. Development in all its forms—economic, social, human—has now become the grand design of the world. This is the task we must all assume together, in an atmosphere of solidarity and co-operation.

109. I said co-operation, for is this not the new and henceforth basic form of international action? The French Republic has made it an essential principle of its policy. That policy is to make a substantial, and more or less permanent, contribution to help the less developed countries, beginning, of course, with those where we formerly held direct responsibilities and to which we are still bound by so many ties, but progressively expanding our sphere of action, to the extent that that is possible and desired, and in the first place in Latin America, Europe's sister. We are deeply convinced that that is both our duty and in our best interests, for we cannot dissociate our interests from the general interests of the world. We also believe that such a policy must be subordinated to the express condition that we refrain from linking aid, whatever form it may take, to any political condition whatsoever and that we refrain from any intervention, in that connexion, in the affairs of our partners. Only thus will it be possible for the relations of mutual trust and brotherly collaboration that will make our task truly effective to develop, or continue, without constraint or ulterior motives.

110. The United Nations can also, and therefore must, make its contribution to the great work of development. It will do so, in the first place, by increasing the opportunities for contact among States and for better knowledge of one another, by seeking to dispel any distrust which may subsist, by working out techniques, by organizing studies and, when it is sure of its efficacy, by giving direct aid. The main thing, however, would seem to be to foster a state of mind, that is, to maintain or create a situation in which the best endowed States would willingly contribute in a variety of ways, and in which States requiring development would understand that the main task lies with them and that independence creates responsibility.

111. There is, of course, an area where, by definition, there is nothing that is not multilateral, that of international trade. The Geneva conference last year provided the first opportunity for general discussion on the subject among industrialized and developing countries. The discussion naturally turned on the

problem which is crucial for the latter, namely, trade in the major basic commodities and tropical products. France has long believed that therein lies the key to many development problems. What is needed is to ensure that the earnings of producers are stabilized at a suitable level; in other words, to put an end to immoderate and incessant price fluctuations. That is a difficult task, requiring sacrifice and discipline of everyone. If it is not carried out, however, much of what is being done to promote development is likely to remain without any genuine effectiveness, as is the case today. Is there any field in which international co-operation can be more useful, and hence more justified?

112. I have come to the end of my statement. I have tried to present France's stands on both the particular and the general problems which confront the world today, and to do so as clearly and candidly as possible. Today's world, like yesterday's and like that of all times, is a difficult world, endlessly seeking peace, never certain of finding it for good. It is also a world in full transformation, in full evolution. The last world war is already far behind us. Decolonization already appears almost as a great adventure of the past. Ideologies which formerly, in a universe which they divided, seemed to be establishing themselves as permanent systems, are already beginning to lose their power, if only through their own divisions. Already the nations which the exponents of those ideologies thought they had aligned with them are beginning to recover their personalities and their freedom of action. Already, too, the innumerable nations that have emerged are beginning to be aware both of their own individuality and of the fact that, now that they have achieved independence, their internal problems of development demand priority.

113. Thus a world is emerging in which relations among States, among all States, are once more assuming prime importance. The manner of their final establishment will dictate the future of us all, and it is here that the United Nations can find its true role. A basic condition is respect of each by each, respect for independence, non-interference in others' affairs, establishment of universal co-operation on the basis of strict equality. Everything depends, too, on the conduct of the greatest Powers. Particular responsibilities devolve upon those which possess nuclear arms. The peace of mankind depends, ultimately, on the agreement, or at the least the modus vivendi, which they may establish. We must therefore settle our disputes wherever they exist, promote a true détente and show the world that our wisdom is commensurate with our resources.

114. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): As I gaze from this rostrum on the panorama of the Assembly, a long-familiar feeling of admiration and an awareness of shared ideals and principles call to my mind that great figure Adlai Stevenson, one of the most distinguished leaders that the United Nations has known. While the memory of the illustrious dead is a sorrow, it is even more a consolation and an inspiration for those of us who carry on the fight they fought so brilliantly.

115. Adlai Stevenson's political and social philosophy, conforming as it did to the conception of the United Nations, was formed in San Francisco in 1945 and at the Assembly held in London in 1946. In his political campaigns, he emphasized his determined support for our Organization. Destiny willed that in his last years we were able to count on his talents and on his words in debates and in the solution of difficult problems. His eloquence was the product of clarity of thought, depth of feeling and felicity of expression. I am sure these words of mine reflect the feeling of the Assembly and there is nothing more just than to pay homage to a representative who was the embodiment of the virtue that we most need today: faith in the United Nations.

116. The twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly is beginning under a sign of hope. In the most trying moments of the crisis, our faith in the providential destiny of the United Nations did not falter, certain as we were that all the difficulties would be overcome. It is both just and fitting to acknowledge the patience, skill and wisdom displayed by Mr. Quaison-Sackey, President of the General Assembly at the nineteenth session, and U Thant, our Secretary-General. At the meetings held under the no-voting procedure no serious problems were discussed, but those meetings demonstrated at a crucial moment the will and determination of the Assembly to survive in order to fulfil the noble purposes of the Charter. With admirable instinct it achieved unanimity in its various Councils and organs, which have been functioning normally. It is as if the crisis has served to emphasize all the more clearly the importance of the work of the United Nations.

117. We must also congratulate the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. It has followed the only possible road, respecting what might be called effective rights and leaving for future discussion the question of the most equitable and appropriate apportionment of peace-keeping expenses.

118. The Assembly is now able to resume the normal course of its fruitful work and the opening of the present session coincides with the success achieved by the Security Council in obtaining from India and Pakistan, two great Powers that arouse sympathy and admiration in all, a cease-fire in observance of Article 40 of the Charter.

119. The unanimity of the Council throughout the various stages of this problem is of far-reaching significance. A new strength and a new state of mind have replaced the bitter differences that had led to the paralysis of the Council or to emergency sessions of the Assembly, accompanied by announcements of rebellion and dissatisfaction.

120. New factors have arisen in the life of the United Nations and in the world atmosphere as a whole, factors that we should do well to ponder. We must, of course, view the universality that is being attained by the United Nations as a most propitious basis for the future. The Peruvian delegation takes this opportunity of extending a most cordial welcome to the new nations admitted as Members—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore—and of expressing

its sincere wishes for the success of their participation in the United Nations. Universality makes it possible for our debates and resolutions to reach a wider audience and encourages a more scrupulous examination of our responsibilities. All peoples can make their voices heard in this world forum.

121. It is axiomatic that the small Powers, despite understandable influences and commitments, gravitate towards peace; for it is not war alone, but also mere international tension, that blocks every road to the progress to which they are entitled.

122. The dramatic incidents of nuclear competition have in themselves brought about the profound conviction that war cannot lead to the triumph of one country or of one ideology but will inevitably lead to mutual destruction and even to the very extinction of life on the planet. It may be that a certain sector still adheres to the revolutionary myth, which is similar to and coincident with the racial myth, and still clings to the illusion of a precarious survival in the wake of the universal catastrophe; but a true realization of the tragedy that is threatening us is shared by all the other peoples of the world.

123. Wars have occurred whenever minorities, drunk with the desire for power, have succeeded in spreading the fever of the myth of racial, ideological or political hegemony to the masses, who were victims first of deception and then of the holocaust. Neither the morality of religion nor the lessons of history proved a bar to these fatal tendencies, for a number of wars were successful in achieving temporary advantages. Today, things have changed radically; the harsh lessons of recent conflicts and the new discoveries made under the stimulus of war itself, which threaten mankind with an all-pervading and Dantesque punishment for this deviation from humanity, have been a vital and terrible experience for us all. We are now, thanks to free discussion and the information media, approaching a new stage of collective conscience. Confidence in the settlement of problems by technical compromises is replacing the call of the myth and the ill-fated promptings of man's primitive belligerence. The peoples of the world wish to work in peace towards a better life and, through it, to fulfil their destinies. However cut off from the world the minorities ruling certain régimes may be, they cannot be impervious to this mysterious awakening of the human spirit. The United Nations, by its world-wide representation, has strengthened this new universal conscience and is carrying forward its task by reaffirming the principles of coexistence and deep-rooted human solidarity.

124. There is another factor of decisive importance: the extraordinary mobilization that we are witnessing of all the spiritual energies of the world, in both the religious and cultural spheres, in favour of peace. This sense of salvation has found its greatest spokesman in the Catholic Church, in keeping with its rich and age-old history. Its theologians of Hispanic nationality had already created international law. A Pontiff who was a son of the people, with the sublime simplicity of his soul which was rooted in the soil but illuminated by the highest spiritual inspiration, appealed to the world for peace in his encyclical

Pacem in Terris,^{13/} addressed not only to believers but to all men of goodwill, without distinction of race, nationality or religion. His Holiness Pope Paul VI, heir and successor to His Holiness Pope John XXIII, has crossed continents and seas with this humanitarian appeal. Paying a significant tribute of trust in the mission of the United Nations, he is preparing to visit us, bringing us his words of faith and love that will be received with deep emotion by the whole of mankind. His message will be heard not only by States but by all peoples. Pope Paul VI knows full well that, in accordance with the magnificent Preamble to our Charter, at decisive moments it is fitting to speak of the peoples of the United Nations. It is they who work, suffer and are ready to die for just causes. The fatherly exhortations of the representative of the Prince of Peace will certainly find an echo in their good and simple hearts.

125. There is no need for Peru to state once again its unchanging position on the constitutional question underlying the crisis which has fortunately been overcome. Ever since San Francisco, Peru has maintained that peace is not the exclusive responsibility of the Security Council, even though it may be its primary responsibility, but is the concern of the entire Organization and that, in accordance with an amendment unanimously adopted, when the Council is unable to act, the General Assembly, merely upon notification by the Secretary-General, is empowered to do so. In our opinion, the Assembly has not only the right but the obligation to act, for the maintenance of peace is the supreme duty of the United Nations.

126. This, however, does not relieve us of the need to do everything possible to preserve the harmony between the Security Council and the General Assembly and to exhaust every means of achieving co-operation between them. The unanimity rule is not solely the law of the veto; it imposes an obligation to seek unanimity in good faith, recording disagreement only if it was not possible to achieve unanimity. We do not think that it is contrary to the Charter—indeed, it is in the spirit of the Charter—to permit soundings and efforts to bring opposing parties closer to each other. Without prejudice to the so-called residual right of the Assembly, would it not be advisable in moments of crisis for the Secretary-General, with the advice or co-operation of a standing committee of good offices composed of one representative of each region or regional system, to try to reconcile the different points of view on a serious problem? Without altering resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for peace", it would suffice to add to the bodies envisaged therein a new committee of good offices representing all the regional systems. Under this arrangement, the Security Council would have some idea of the possible attitude of an emergency General Assembly and would weigh the disadvantages of ignoring an appeal for further consideration of the problem.

127. It should be recalled here that, in the conflict which arose between the General Assembly and the Security Council over the admission of new Members, the Assembly requested a Committee composed of

one representative from Europe, one from the Afro-Asian group and one from the Latin American group, over which I had the honour to preside, to exercise its good offices. This Committee started its proceedings at San Francisco in 1955; some months later, in New York, with the support of Canada and the Nordic countries, it reached the agreement which broke the deadlock and set us on the road to universality. At that time nobody considered that this arrangement was contrary to the Charter. It sets an auspicious precedent for the committee we are proposing. The members of the Security Council cannot be denied the right to have an opportunity to modify their opinions in the light of the considerations presented by a committee backed by the authority of the entire Assembly.

128. Our main concern is to avoid anything which, at this time of hope, may cause a disturbance of the peace. International tension by its very nature entails tragic consequences, in addition to the danger or threat of actual war. This tension arises through local wars sparked by external causes which have resulted or may result in redeeming and effective action by the Security Council. The most dangerous form of tension, however, is that derived from the direct or indirect intervention of some great Power to overthrow régimes in other countries which it considers to be unfriendly and to have them replaced by régimes which are not only friendly but which follow its political system. In other words, the danger today—as at other times—lies in the struggle for spheres of influence, with violation of respect for sovereignty and the overt or covert exercise of intervention.

129. The phenomenon has political aspects and new characteristics and must be carefully placed in its legal context. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina has drawn the attention of the Assembly to this in a masterly manner [1337th meeting] and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile has done so in the same fashion [1338th meeting]. Obviously, the regional or the universal jurisdiction must be put in motion with full effectiveness in each case. We would only venture to add, in cases where this jurisdiction cannot be established, the obligation of the Power concerned to hold a conference immediately, initiating negotiation without prior conditions, which are a remnant of imperialist tendencies and contrary to the spirit of international law and which today constitute a way of avoiding negotiation or ensuring its failure.

130. The delegation of Peru will study with due care the proposals submitted on this subject. There can be no more appropriate subject for the application of the juridical principles of the Charter, which are the most noteworthy contribution of the Americas to international law.

131. An item which stands out particularly in the heavy agenda we have this year is the problem of disarmament. Without disarmament, although there is a feeling in favour of peace among all peoples, war may break out through accident, error, miscalculation or delusion. It is a sad stage that mankind has reached. Today its fate does not depend on what is in the hearts of men. Technology has made it dependent upon the

^{13/} On establishing universal peace in truth, justice, charity and liberty, Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963.

mechanical interplay of purely material factors. It is not enough to have propaganda in favour of peace or to create an emotional state in which dangerous errors and unavowable intentions can be concealed. Disarmament is above all a technical problem in the twofold sense of the word: technical because of the scientific methods made necessary by unavowable aims, and technical because of the immutable nature of the institution and of the juridical principles which must necessarily govern it.

132. Bearing this in mind, the delegation of Peru will turn its attention to the interesting report of the Disarmament Commission, to the timely proposals made by the non-aligned countries^{14/} and to those just made from this rostrum by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union.

133. We are naturally favourably disposed towards the idea of a disarmament conference but we hope it would not be limited to asking for an unconditional ban on the atomic bomb, which would be naïve or too mischievous unless there were guarantees of real and fully effective control. In all the debates we have emphasized that, in the disarmament agreement in the nuclear age, inspection to supervise the elements to be destroyed and the process of their destruction is not only a way of fulfilling the contract but an element or actual condition of the obligation. Full inspection is therefore in the nature and essence of the agreement. To oppose it or to limit it by political suspicion or by an absolute concept of sovereignty—a concept, moreover, which is today incompatible with the existence of the international community—would indeed be an indefensible attitude and contrary to the purposes of the Charter. A defective agreement involving disarmament without guarantees, designed to produce a false feeling of confidence, would be more dangerous than the existing situation, because, once the balance is upset in the process of disarmament, the illusion of a lightning war and an easy victory—man's old and lamentable weakness—would emerge.

134. We have approved by a vast majority the proposals submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland on the proliferation of nuclear weapons and we shall naturally give sympathetic and calm consideration to any new proposals submitted for the realization of the ideal already approved. We should, however, be failing in a duty of sincerity if we did not state that, within a strict hierarchy of values, we should give the achievement of immediate measures of disarmament priority over any other proposal or project that would barely alleviate the evil from which we suffer.

135. We listened with great interest to the statement made by the representative of Italy [1338th meeting] on this important matter and on the principles underlying the draft which establishes a link—essential, in my view—between disarmament and measures to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

136. With regard to outer space, we must applaud the rapprochement of the views of the great Powers

and the announcement by the United States of its willingness to sign a bilateral treaty on co-operation in this matter. At the same time, we must emphatically state that we maintain our opinion on the need to proclaim the jurisdiction of the United Nations in any problems and questions which may arise in connexion with outer space. Outer space is of interest not only to the great Powers but, above all, to mankind. The difficult points in this beautiful adventure cannot be left to mere agreements between the great Powers or to chance, without there being a pre-established authority to settle any disagreements or conflicts which may arise. This function, which may entail not only declarations but also co-operation, can be fulfilled only by human authority—in other words, by the organ of the international community, namely, the United Nations.

137. We have said that disarmament has a bearing on peace for two reasons: because it eliminates the occasions of war and because, once it has been achieved, the great Powers will be able to turn their attention to economic assistance. Let us not forget that in the Charter to which we subscribed twenty years ago, the maintenance of peace is linked to collective well-being; for our part, we could undoubtedly reverse the terms and say that this collective well-being is today one of the foundations of peace.

138. What would the great Powers gain by carrying out their vast programme of development, which we all view with approbation, sympathy and lively interest, if at the same time war preparations are sapping their resources and deflecting them from their mission of saving the under-developed countries from hunger, anguish and despair? It is infinitely sad to see in those countries a kind of retrogression which is making their living conditions worse and retarding their culture and which may lead from anguish to despair and to blind outbursts of force culminating in the establishment of dictatorships or totalitarian régimes which will not cure either hunger or illiteracy but which will establish forced labour and bring back infamous slavery. I do not mince my words in the face of the heart-rending examples of today. Economic aid is not only a most lofty mission which fate has unavoidably entrusted to the great Powers but also a positive advantage for their own self-preservation.

139. Political and economic isolation is inconceivable in a world in which large regions are afflicted by hunger and may fall a prey to anarchy. The Economic and Social Council and the economic commissions will in their wisdom, we are sure, promote the most conducive methods to make the aid provided through the specialized agencies timely, effective, proportionate and generous and the General Assembly must endorse and give life to the most interesting resolutions adopted by the Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964.

140. We do not consider that external aid is the panacea for the situation in the developing countries. This aid must be accompanied—this must be sincerely proclaimed and I am sure my words will find an echo in the developing nations—by a commensurate effort to promote self-help, to master the environment and to establish a working discipline which, indeed, is

^{14/} See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965*, document DC/227, annex I, sections E and F.

the basis of liberty. It has never been synonymous with debility or laziness but with a vision of purposes and valiant determination to attain them. In this sense, the labours of the United Nations may provide an example of effective and timely assistance as well as an incentive.

141. Allow me, with great patriotic pleasure, to draw the attention of the Assembly to the work being done at this moment by the Government of Peru under its programme to stimulate national energies and make the maximum use of our country's human and material resources. Representatives are well aware that, owing to the varied climate and geographic obstacles, there are few environments more difficult to conquer than the territory of Peru. The response of man has had to be equal to the challenge of nature, in which desert sands alternate with snowy summits and impenetrable forests.

142. In his last message, the President of Peru stated that the existing highways are being improved and that the provincial and even the district capitals are today linked by highways, in many cases constructed by communal action acclaimed and recommended by the United Nations. A total of 750 million soles has been invested in highways and roads.

143. The current irrigation plan will increase the land of Peru by over a million hectares. Of these, 250,000 hectares will be in the coastal region, 220,000 in the sierra and 600,000 in the forest region. As a result of the agrarian reform undertaken by the Peruvian Government, over 100,000 holdings have been given to new landowners this year.

144. The literacy campaign has been waged enthusiastically and is now the largest item in the national budget. There have been 16,980 classes in operation with 1.7 million pupils.

145. The housing plan carried out by the State, by privately organized mutual societies and by communal action has been executed, transforming and beautifying our cities. In this branch alone there has been an investment of 550 million soles.

146. The Andean countries of South America were not fortunate enough to have what Professor Turner would call the "dynamic frontier"—land near to population centres which is suitable for agriculture and livestock and is easy to farm, has access to markets and offers a haven for new immigrants.

147. Mountains, rivers and jungles have obstructed the progress of our own conquest. In the so-called "plands", however, owing to the favourable climate there is land suitable for high-quality crops and for livestock. The President of Peru is endeavouring to penetrate these territories with highways joined in a system to be called the "forest border highway", which would benefit not only Peru but other American countries such as Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia and would also be the basis for a larger continental network. The relevant agreement has already been signed and studies for this tremendous project are now in progress.

148. This huge task is able to move forward thanks to monetary stability, the establishment of new industries and a favourable balance of payments, all

of which are being achieved with the strictest respect for democratic institutions.

149. Allow me to state with justifiable satisfaction that, during these years of trial and struggle and—why not say it?—of victory for the United Nations, Peru has demonstrated its devotion and complete loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the fulfilment of the lofty functions bestowed upon it by the Assembly. Our policy in the United Nations, as in the American continent, has followed the clear path of our life as a democratic country.

150. Heir to a twofold cultural and humanitarian tradition through the Incas and the Viceroy, Peru established itself as an independent nation, proclaiming and practising the principle of self-determination, establishing its sovereignty in the territories liberated by its armies and by the armies of brother countries. Their peoples proclaimed the independence of Peru and recognized its first constitution and they have always been represented in the Peruvian Congress.

151. There is not one inch of Peruvian territory which was not included in the structure of its original constitution. Any questions which arose in our independent life were settled by arbitration or supplementary arrangements which we faithfully respected. When through no fault of ours arbitration failed, we sought, with the assistance and guarantee of the great countries of America, an equitable settlement which consecrated and respected the intangible personality and untouchable corporeity of Peru at the time of its independence.

152. We endorsed the ideal of fraternity of the 1826 Congress of Panama. The congresses of Lima of 1847 and 1864 reiterated the basic solidarity and the principle of non-intervention. Whenever the independence or sovereignty of any American country was in danger, Peru immediately adopted a fine attitude of full solidarity.

153. It is in this spirit that we have been working at the Pan-American conferences which today constitute the oldest regional system in the world and whose Charter has proclaimed that international order consists of respect for the personality and territorial integrity of States and the faithful fulfilment of obligations derived from treaties and other sources of international law. It is in this spirit that we Latin American countries are working in the United Nations. By our culture we belong to the Western Christian world but we are united by distant historical ties, by elements in our own population, and above all by the adventure of independence and freedom, with the young countries of Africa and Asia. We thus belong to the old world with its millennial culture and to the so-called third world, with its anguished yearning for development and progress and its longing for brotherhood and justice.

154. Our role has been clear in the United Nations. Zealous champions of the Charter, of the powers of the Councils and of the functions of the Assembly, it has been our destiny to prepare the United Nations for universality, which facilitates contact between the great Powers and all the peoples of the earth in this forum and promotes the awakening of a universal conscience. We serve as a bridge or tie with the

Atlantic world and with the countries which are heirs to the oldest human civilizations but which today are anxious, without losing their personality, to join in the better aspects of contemporary civilization.

155. We think that for these countries of the third world there is no higher loyalty, after allegiance to their own country and, I would say, side by side with it, than allegiance to the United Nations. Other ties casual and temporal in character; only the tie with the United Nations has a universal, sacred and permanent character.

156. It is today our profound conviction that a necessary and unavoidable prerequisite for social and scientific progress is the reign of juridical order, which can be achieved only through the family of nations.

157. It has fallen to us to live in an age when we have proof, based on experience, that the culture and well-being of man depend not, as was thought in the nineteenth century, on the greatest desire for power, but on the desire to love and to serve. I sincerely believe that it is this desire which has enabled the United Nations to survive in the crises of the past. I do not wish to mention them nor refer to them, for I do not want to revive unpleasant memories for any one, but I must say that, from these crises in which it seemed to flounder, our institution has emerged stronger and better prepared to overcome the obstacles of the next crisis. Thus we have succeeded, thanks to providence and to the will of all of you, in celebrating our twentieth anniversary with a feeling of triumph and a vision of shining tasks to be accomplished in the future.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.