

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



1424th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 30 September 1966,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 76

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

(a) *Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6445)

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite Mr. Silveira da Mota, the representative of Brazil, Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, to present the Committee's report.

2. Mr. SILVEIRA DA MOTA (Brazil) (Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6445] relating to the appointment of two persons to the membership of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to fill the vacancies in the membership of that Committee caused by the resignations of Mr. Bender and Mr. Gibson with effect from 1 October 1966. The report contains a draft resolution which the Fifth Committee recommends be adopted by the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

3. The PRESIDENT: As no Member wishes to explain its vote on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, and if there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in its report [A/6445, para. 4].

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

4. U THI HAN (Burma): I should, at the outset, like to convey to you, Sir, the warm welcome and sincere congratulations of the delegation of Burma, and my own, on your well-deserved election as President of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly. The delegation of Burma, in common with the delegations of the other Member nations, are confident that you are eminently suited to discharge, with honour and distinction, the onerous functions expected of this high and exalted post. Your vast and lengthy experience of United Nations activities, your wisdom and perception and your persuasive and diplomatic skill will, certainly, stand you in good stead in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities. On behalf of the delegation of Burma, let me express to you, Sir, the hope that under your able guidance and wise counsel all important issues of this year's agenda will be discussed in the most constructive spirit and that the deliberations in this General Assembly will contribute towards the realization of peace and harmony, and will further strengthen international co-operation and progress.

5. Mr. President, I should also like to take this opportunity to express and convey through you to His Excellency Signor Amintore Fanfani our sincere gratitude and profound appreciation for the able and efficient manner in which he conducted the affairs of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

6. We are glad to welcome to our midst the newly independent State of Guyana whose addition to the ever-increasing membership of the United Nations yet again illustrates and emphasizes the principle of universality which is so essential to the world Organization. In the same spirit, we extend a warm welcome to our friend and neighbour, Indonesia, on its resumption of full co-operation with the United Nations. We are confident that the presence and active participation of Guyana and Indonesia will contribute to the further development of international understanding and co-operation.

7. It is with reluctance that I now turn from such happy thoughts to the troubles that are besetting the world in which we live. My delegation, in common with others, has on many past occasions drawn attention to the noble aims and principles with which the United Nations was founded, namely, the banishing of war for all time and the creation of a peaceful, happy and prosperous world with justice and freedom for all mankind. It is a sad reflection on the weakness of mankind that, with all his marvellous mastery of science and his almost fantastic advances in tech-

nology, man has been unable to overcome the human weakness of fear and suspicion, and, instead of advancing towards the ideals for which he strives, finds his achievements leading him not towards his cherished goal of building a better and fuller life, but towards his own destruction.

8. As we assemble here, the world seems to be drifting into a situation fraught with the most dangerous possibilities. There are signs of growing tension; the state of affairs in most parts of the world has undergone a greater or lesser deterioration. The state of affairs, particularly in South-East Asia, the area to which we belong, is already a source of grave concern, not only to the countries in the region and the parties involved therein but also to all the major Powers and the world at large. The General Assembly is meeting here today under the overhanging clouds of the Viet-Nam war, the shadow of which is blacking out any ray of hope for co-operation and conciliation among the major Powers. It is true that ever since the end of the last World War the world has witnessed a series of crises. In fact, crises come and go so frequently that Member countries have almost resigned themselves to living with them. Developments over the past one or two years have, however, taken a sharp turn for the worse. To quote the Secretary-General, "...the pressure of events is remorselessly leading towards a major war, while efforts to reverse that trend are lagging disastrously behind" [A/6400].

9. The great Power *détente*, which seemed until a year or so ago to be so promising, suddenly became stalled. Some have called a halt to already-announced programmes to reduce their armed forces and expenditures on armaments, while others have announced measures to augment and strengthen their already considerable military capability. These tendencies, I would say, do not augur well for the future of this Organization nor for mankind. This Assembly has thus been faced with a serious challenge to come to grips with the problems that lie at the root of all these international tensions and crises.

10. In this prevailing world situation, my delegation feels that the only feasible and reasonable foreign policy in relations among States is the policy of peaceful coexistence. We in Burma have all along pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence with all other countries and peoples. Peaceful coexistence as we understand and practise it means that each country should be free to develop itself as it chooses, should respect the right of others so to develop themselves, and should co-operate with others on a basis of equality and mutual benefit and in the quest for peace and harmony and the betterment of humanity. When we say that each country should be free to develop itself as it chooses, we recognize the right of every country freely to choose its own political, social and economic systems and its own way of life, in keeping with its own conditions, needs and potentialities and free from any outside interference or pressure. While the ultimate objectives of peoples may be broadly the same, there are different outlooks, different ways to progress and development, depending on different circumstances and environments. We believe that each country and people,

if they are true to themselves, have themselves to find their own way, their own path, through trial and error, through suffering and experience. Only then can they really grow and lay a firm and sure national foundation for development and progress. While association with others and an exchange of thoughts and ideas with them may be welcomed, each country should have the right freely to choose its own path. This idea of independence and self-determination is, to us, a very important concept underlying the policy of peaceful coexistence.

11. Another equally important idea or concept in peaceful coexistence is that each country should scrupulously respect the right of every other to develop itself as it chooses, to determine its own way of life. This concept of non-interference needs to be stressed in this connexion, for there has been and still is a tendency for a great many countries to interfere with others, to bring pressure to bear upon them, and to want these others to line up with them. This stress on non-interference of any kind, be it political, economic or ideological, is extremely important in the context of the prevailing world situation today. Much of the tension in the world today can be traced to attempts by a country or a group of countries to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. Such action often evokes reactions from opposing outside forces. It is often also the case that disputes and dissensions within a country or between countries, and the resulting instability, open the door to foreign intervention. Whatever the reason may be, foreign intervention, history shows, creates more conflict and causes more tensions, and does not help create conditions for peaceful adjustment or settlement of national or international disputes and situations. An important pre-condition to the maintenance of peace and security in the world is therefore for all countries scrupulously to respect, both in words and in action, one another's freedom and way of life and to refrain from interference in one another's internal affairs.

12. If the Assembly could, through consultation and wise counsel, attain a common understanding of the basic problems that lie at the root of all the present international tensions and conflicts, and formulate, on the basis of the principles outlined above, appropriate modalities for co-operation in resolving them, Member nations would have a firm foundation on which to build up a relationship of friendship, mutual understanding and co-operation among themselves.

13. Let me turn now to some of the important items which this year's Assembly is faced with and which require our collective understanding and co-operation in finding a way to a solution.

14. The first is disarmament. This is a problem shared by all nations, big and small. For the last two decades men have dreamt of a world-wide peace and security system based on general and complete disarmament; and yet, during that period the race for armaments has become one of the greatest scourges of humanity. Various measures intended to lead to complete and general disarmament, including a total ban on nuclear weapons, have been proposed, discussed and deliberated upon in many a session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and in

the disarmament conferences at Geneva and elsewhere. The Government of the Union of Burma welcomes all initiatives towards disarmament. We do, however, realize that so long as nations cannot dispel their sense of mutual distrust, fear and suspicion, and so long as the balance of terror is the order of the day, general and complete disarmament is a remote ideal. We had, however, expected and hoped that with moral pressure coming from all directions, both within and outside the United Nations, and with the interest and sympathy of humanity at large, it would still be possible for the major armed Powers to ensure some chances of success in reaching the ultimate goal of complete and general disarmament by seeking gradual and phased agreements. It is from this point of view, and with this understanding of developments in the field of disarmament, that we have participated in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva and have become a party to the partial nuclear test-ban treaty of 1963. The progress of the talks since 1963 has, however, been most discouraging. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, functioning with seventeen members and without two major Powers, which are also members of the "nuclear club", has met in Geneva in almost continuous session from January to August this year, its attention focused mainly on the achievement of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban and on the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons—the dual task entrusted to it at the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Despite all the talks on the dangers of nuclear weapons and their proliferation and the need to conclude an early agreement, and despite all the professed wishes to have one, the most the Conference has been able to achieve is a clarification of the respective positions of the two super-Powers and the consolation that the search for an agreed formula is still continuing. We are conscious of the frustration and discouragement felt by all over such an impasse and are deeply convinced of the need for a compromise on the part of the two super-Powers if an agreement is to be reached. While all must persist in efforts to bring about a reconciliation, my delegation would strongly urge the Powers concerned to make the necessary adjustments in their positions, with a view to facilitating the early conclusion of agreements on these two important issues.

15. Efforts to prepare the groundwork for the holding of a world disarmament conference as called for by the General Assembly have also not been able to make much headway. The degree of success would no doubt depend on the extent of enthusiasm on the part of the major armed Powers and on the relations among them. For, after all, proposals made for international disarmament, while they necessarily interest all peace-loving nations, must be primarily intended for application by those nations, the intensive nature of whose armaments is properly the object of all disarmament proposals.

16. While speaking of disarmament and of the need to solve international conflicts, we feel that it is most unrealistic and unwise for this august Assembly to ignore the existence of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The absence of the representatives of China inevitably means that world problems—and more specifically, Asian problems,

political, military or otherwise—cannot be dealt with realistically by the United Nations or its specialized agencies. It is widely recognized that no disarmament treaty, nor any settlement affecting Asia, is meaningful in present-day circumstances without the participation of the People's Republic of China. The fact that the People's Republic of China continues, to our regret and concern, to be deprived of its rightful seat in the United Nations and in the many forums of international discussion, violates the norms of universality and mutuality which regulate relations among nations. Speaking specifically of the United Nations, we believe that the strength and effectiveness of the Organization depends to a large degree on the extent to which it reflects the world as it really is. An Organization which refuses to accept one of the major political facts of life of today's world to the extent of ignoring the existence of a Government which has so clearly and so long established its authority over a population embracing a quarter of the human race, imposes a severe handicap on itself and weakens its own authority. My delegation feels that the time has come for us in the Assembly to eradicate this glaring anomaly which has seriously retarded the effectiveness of this Organization as an instrument of peace and security and of international co-operation.

17. Yet another problem that confronts us at this session and which requires our serious attention, with a view to bringing about an urgent solution, is the problem of peace-keeping. In it, issues both of constitutional and financial nature are involved, and unless a solution can be found, serious implications for the United Nations, as well as for its effectiveness as an instrument for peace in the world, are bound to arise. To us as small countries, small both in size as well as in strength and with economic and military power negligible in terms of international standards, the only hope is in the United Nations, and we naturally desire to see the Organization developed into a really effective instrument for the prevention of war as well as for the maintenance of peace. My delegation firmly believes that the Security Council has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", and, in accordance with this firm belief, we wish that the Security Council could act on behalf of all Member States. We would, however, most emphatically add that should the Security Council be unable to initiate a peace-keeping operation in the face of the veto of one or more of its permanent members, then the General Assembly has no other alternative but "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".

18. With regard to the financial aspect, while generally entertaining the view that costs for maintaining peace and security should of necessity be the responsibility of all Member States, we are inclined to believe that a formula satisfactory to all could still be worked out in a spirit of co-operation and conciliation.

19. I should now like to touch on the situation still prevailing in some parts of Africa today. It has been

said in recent times that, the winds of change having swept over the world, colonialism is already a dead issue. On looking around, however, especially in Africa, we find that colonialism, while dying, is still kicking about in its deathbed. Portuguese Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa are glaring examples of this. The evil seeds colonialism has sown have also sprouted in many other forms. The difficulties and problems of newly independent States are being exploited in attempts to maintain unequal relationships, particularly in the economic field. Economic pressure and domination, interference, racial discrimination and the threat to use force are but some of the devices used to strangle newly founded independence. To us, colonialism means domination or exploitation of the weak by the strong, whether political or economic, whether overt or insidious. We take a stand against colonialism in all its manifestations, in whatever shape or form. The call for the unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism has yet to be totally implemented.

20. The economic and social problems of the world are no less a menace to the world than the threat of war. Unless gross inequalities in wealth and social injustices are corrected, they will prove to be potential sources of friction and strife. The United Nations Development Decade in its first half has failed to meet even its modest targets. In fact, the rate of growth in developing countries as a whole has fallen from the level of the preceding period, while their populations have continued to grow at alarmingly high rates. The result is that the gap between the per capita incomes of the developing countries and those of the developed countries has further widened instead of narrowing. Economists may have sophisticated theories to explain this strange phenomenon of the rich getting richer while the poor get poorer, but to us laymen it just does not seem right. There must be something intrinsically wrong in the world system of economic relations which permits this increasing bipolarization of the world into the North and the South while we have not yet overcome the problems of the division between the East and the West. And what has the United Nations done about this?

21. To be fair in answering this question, one must admit that the United Nations has done much in the organizational sphere. Apart from setting up a number of branches and institutes for training and research within the United Nations system of organizations, it convened a United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas,^{1/} and subsequently it established an Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development.

22. Most important of all, it called the historic United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva in 1964, which led to the establishment of institutional machinery within the United Nations to deal with problems of trade and development on a continuing basis, in the form of a recurring United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and a

permanent Trade and Development Board. Most recently, the United Nations has decided to establish an autonomous organization for the promotion of industrial development, to be known as the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development. The only major gap which, regrettably, exists and is also the most vital in the United Nations system of developmental organizations, is a United Nations capital development fund, which would be a truly multi-lateral source of capital aid to crown all the other existing efforts in international co-operation. But merely to establish the international machinery of development without the accompaniment of a genuine will to work it for the benefit of all concerned would be no more than a demonstration of Parkinson's Law on an international level. The international machinery for development has been brought into being largely as a result of the united efforts of the developing Member countries of the United Nations. It is now the duty of the developed Member countries of the United Nations to work that machinery so as to bring about the results for which it was intended.

23. Burma has all along supported the development activities of the United Nations and is now playing its part in the United Nations Development Decade. But we hold the view, shared by many others, that the right of peoples and nations to control and freely dispose of their national wealth and resources must be internationally respected. This right is indeed vital to their economic development. Democratic procedures which afford no position of privilege are as essential in the economic as in the political sphere. Any discriminatory measures taken against developing countries, on grounds of differences in socio-economic systems, are contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter and constitute a threat to the free flow of trade and to the peaceful development of nations. Guided by these principles of sovereignty over natural resources and of self-reliance, we would be glad to co-operate in any international development activity which would not interfere with the countries' policies, programmes and priorities.

24. Before concluding, let me extend our warm congratulations to the new African States of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland on their accession to independence. Botswana proclaimed its nationhood today, Lesotho will become independent on Tuesday next, and Swaziland in the near future. We look forward to welcoming these new States in our family of nations.

25. Mr. VALDES (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Before coming to the substance of my statement, I wish to congratulate you most sincerely, Mr. President, upon your election. I must also express my pleasure that Guyana, an integral part of the Latin American continent, has become a Member of the United Nations, and say how extremely happy we are to see a community living in our region acquire its complete political independence. We hope to establish most cordial and fruitful relations with this new State.

26. The present session of the General Assembly has opened in the most sombre circumstances. A few weeks ago, the United States Secretary of Defence said that this planet was becoming a most

^{1/} Held at Geneva from 4 to 20 February 1963.

dangerous place in which to live, not only on account of the possible nuclear holocaust but also because of the large number of *de facto* conflicts and because the tendency towards such conflicts was growing instead of diminishing.

27. Those were the words of a man who bears a great responsibility in relation to decisions that may mean peace or war. They reveal the gravity of the problem that is today the main source of anxiety to the nations of the earth, a problem which the spiritual leaders of mankind are making unremitting efforts to solve.

28. Peace is jeopardized in so many places and for so many reasons. It is jeopardized by the insistence on nuclear testing and by the irresponsible technical development of nuclear weapons. It has already been breached in Viet-Nam, where men from all over the world are dying and a whole people is suffering a slow agony, in a war that tugs at the very roots of human conscience. Peace has been breached, for the victims of dictatorships and violent political systems can be counted in their thousands. There is no peace because millions of human beings suffer from hunger, disease and ignorance and millions live in insecurity and have no choice but to do so.

29. All this is known to every one of you. It has been stated by eminent persons and by the representatives of great Powers. I am making no attempt to be original; what I wish to do is to tell you frankly and sincerely what we think of the situation and of the ways in which it might be remedied.

30. The history of mankind has been, to a considerable extent, the history of the irresponsible exercise of power, and high-sounding words were used in an attempt to justify the immoral and barbarous instinct for domination. Of all these high-sounding words two still survive: "race" and "nation". They continue to be used as a cloak or justification for the most culpable acts against what, in the last analysis, is the only important thing: the individual human being. Millions of valuable lives were given in order to destroy Nazism, yet racism is still being used to justify the monstrous and immoral aberration of apartheid and it has broken out again in all its virulence in communist China where it is used to stir men up against their fellow countrymen and against the peoples of other lands.

31. In the past, race and religion were invoked as a pretext for "civilizing" Africa and Asia and, under the cloak of spreading Christianity—whose very essence is love—colonialism and exploitation were introduced surreptitiously and by force of arms.

32. Today, the concept of "the nation" as having absolute dominion places the lust for power above moral law and above human rights. It is cited as justification for war, the arms race, the necessity for atomic testing, the economic or ideological domination of countries which are small or poor, the deprivation of human rights—in short, for injustice both national and international.

33. But there is another kind of history, the new history first chronicled in the United Nations. It is

the history of those nations which neither dominate nor seek to dominate; they seek to base their hopes for prosperity and development on solidarity among men living together in free communities. These nations are in the majority. Many of them are continuously becoming poorer, and, paradoxically, their strength in relation to the minority is continuously diminishing; but for that very reason their voices daily acquire more dignity, sincerity and moral worth.

34. Fortunately we are all equal in this place; we sit in alphabetical order and we can say what we think. But little heed is paid to our views when the individual interests of the great Powers are at stake; and so the problems of war and peace and of the just distribution of the fruits of progress, the right to choose one's beliefs, one's ideology and one's way of life are not considered suitable for decision in a democratic way.

35. Perhaps it is to give us a means of escaping from this harsh fact that we are being asked during the present session of the General Assembly to study the peaceful uses of outer space and the exploration and conquest of the moon and other celestial bodies.

36. Oppressed by so many threats and by our own problems, we of the small nations and the poor peoples have very little to say about such subjects, except to shudder at the extent of the power displayed by the great in their space rivalry. In short, in the case of these and many other problems, what we say is not heeded; when it is heeded it is soon forgotten; and what is remembered is not applied by those with the capacity and obligation to do so.

37. The concentration of technological progress and financial resources in a few countries and colonialism, both past and present, provide an explanation of the situation which we have just described. And yet, we have the right to ask ourselves: can it really be, in a world where peace, freedom and justice are values predicated by all, that technology, economic wealth and the incubus of colonialism should count for more and have greater force than moral law, which demands that it be recognized as a sacred and immutable principle in international relations that political communities, because of their inherent dignity, are equal to one another?

38. I come from a small country of 9 million inhabitants. Chile does not attack anyone and has no wish to arm itself to do so. Its ambition is to live in peace and friendly co-operation with all peoples regardless of their régime or system of government. Chile is carrying out a revolution among its people so that justice, freedom, truth and peace may reign in our community.

39. The attainment of the objectives of this revolution is in jeopardy because, throughout the world, justice, freedom, truth and peace are themselves in jeopardy, because no country, least of all a small country, can build its future in a universe of violence, and because efforts are being made to transform our countries into battlefields for ideologies which prevail elsewhere and have no relevance to our circumstances. In short, our revolution is in jeopardy

because the very meaning of the word "revolution" has been distorted. Revolution may be defined as direct action to give effect to a resolute will for change in the interests of the people; but, if while we talk about introducing changes for the better in the process of human development, and, at the same time, thousands of millions are being spent on armaments which in turn sow mistrust by constantly upsetting the balance between neighbouring countries, if oligarchies of various flavours are supported and hatred and violence fomented among other peoples, then we are magnifying still further a contradiction which in the end will destroy all possibility of living in peace.

40. Poverty, when it is born of injustice and of inconsistency between the principles preached and actual practice, is not only more frustrating, it is also more explosive. We live in a world where more than 1,200 million human beings are completely illiterate and some 400 million families lack decent housing. Yet, at the same time, \$150,000 million are spent annually on armaments and more than 100 million skilled men are employed in manufacturing weapons and in preparing for war. These are facts which we cannot alter: responsibility for doing so lies with the four or five countries which in fact hold the power of decision in the world.

41. Representatives of nations, numbering many millions of people, may agree with what I have said, but, although we all maintain that we are ready to abandon the armaments race, any progress in that direction, if progress there is, will be slow and cautious. In the countries of all the great Powers voices will be raised by those who place prestige, power or profits before everything else.

42. The Treaty of Moscow, which we signed, forbids nuclear tests which could endanger life on this planet. The parties have acted in accordance with their obligations under this Treaty. But they did not undertake not to use atomic bombs against each other or against third parties, or to stop manufacturing or stockpiling these bombs. This is the crux of the problem, since, so long as some countries have this power, the experts say that it will only be a matter of three years and \$30 million before many other countries have atomic bombs.

43. This race cannot be halted unless armaments of this type are destroyed. Without a universal law, it will be very difficult if not impossible to prevent nations from invoking the right to possess this weapon in defence of their own integrity and independence, when others are stockpiling it and holding it ready for use. That is why nations have been announcing their entry into the "club" of those possessing this destructive power with violent atomic tests, all of which endanger our peoples.

44. So we shall have to wait for some time before moral indignation is translated into a general agreement to prohibit the manufacture, possession and use of nuclear weapons.

45. Moreover, everything seems to confirm the assumption that mainland China, in the Messianic spirit characteristic of isolated countries, will con-

tinue to arm its people, both materially and psychologically.

46. Unfortunately, some time will elapse before there is again a united Germany, born of self-determination and occupying its rightful place in this Organization.

47. Reasons—some of them very cogent—can always be given for not finding a solution for these problems. It is a race against time, yet progress will be deliberately slow and cautious so that minor interests may be satisfied, petty susceptibilities left unharmed and the impression given that the urgent problems are those of an individual Power, never those of mankind as a whole.

48. We all know—though apparently some have forgotten—that what decides the destiny of the world nowadays is not the competition between the capitalist and the socialist productive systems, for they will both arrive at the same end without a struggle. What does decide the destiny of the world is the contest between the forces of complacency and material well-being and the forces of extreme want, which can see no way out except rebellion. For this reason world peace is in danger wherever the majority are losing hope.

49. The destiny of the world depends on the contest between neo-colonialist concepts in international relations, which survive through sheer inertia, and the determination of the developing nations to rise above the present structures of world economy and achieve progress within their own cultural traditions. Powerful nations are not prepared to sacrifice their privileged position in the system of international trade, which they themselves organized. Nor are they prepared to permit any major changes in international financial systems. That attitude is common to all countries which profit from the present situation, irrespective of ideology.

50. Spurred on by this process, countries that until a short time ago were colonies now want to colonize other nations, either in fact or by introducing their ideas. Like the colonialists of the past, they are not prepared to accept the law and negotiation at the conference table as the foundation of success. This Messianic approach arises from their frustration; the totalitarian identification of national ideals with a single man results from the effort to retrieve a lost cultural identity, while building up a scale of values on an arbitrary basis.

51. The irresponsible use of their strength by some great Powers has had ready imitators. People who oppose the application of the principle of self-determination, despise negotiation and believe only in achieving a settlement by force of arms, are doing exactly what the colonialists did during the past 150 years. Colonialism was a gift to mankind from the Western world, whose nations exploited the wealth of overseas territories in order to secure their own advancement.

52. The next thing will be trade in nuclear weapons. Who is to prevent it? Is not the expansion of the scale of operations the driving force in business? If the arms trade is based on self-interest and profit

and not on the moral law, why should it not be possible in the future, after some indecision, for atomic weapons also to become an article of trade in a market which is kept in existence by terror, jealousy and, of course, the desire for vast profits? We can see the possibility of this happening and we can see the danger involved. That is why it is urgently necessary to reach agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and we consider this to be the most important of the steps that can be taken immediately in connexion with general disarmament.

53. Despite the circumstances in which we live, I wish once again to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as the most reliable instrument for international co-operation. In a world characterized by political disorganization and by anarchy in international affairs, this Organization is mankind's only hope of an international community based on peace and progress.

54. Perhaps all that I shall have achieved in addressing this Assembly will have been to bear witness—too ingenuously maybe—to my faith in peace. In doing so, I confess I have in mind Goethe's dictum that man dreams only that he may not cease to see.

55. If we can make the United Nations stronger by causing it to assume greater obligations, then we shall succeed in transforming the uneasy truce of the present day into the permanent peace which so many of us hope for. If we invest the Organization with indisputable moral authority and make it the authentic spokesman for the conscience of mankind, we shall be able to resist the irresponsible exercise of power which endangers world peace. Lamennais said that, where there are strong and weak, rich and poor, liberty enslaves and only the law can give freedom, and those words have never been truer than now in international affairs.

56. A few weeks ago, we in Chile had the high honour of receiving a visit from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, who came to inaugurate the new building of the Economic Commission for Latin America.

57. On that occasion the Chilean Government took advantage of the opportunity offered by this personal contact with U Thant to assure him that it was entirely in favour of his continuing to hold the office of Secretary-General of the United Nations; considering as it did that he had succeeded in conferring on his office its present prestige and importance and that he had acted with consistent intelligence, decision and resolution. This assurance was spontaneously supported by the Chilean people, who gave the Secretary-General an enthusiastic welcome in the streets as he passed by.

58. Support for U Thant personally is unanimous. What we wish to stress is our full endorsement of his ideas about the international community and the specific proposals he has made for solving its immediate problems, with particular regard to two aspects: first, the recognition of the need to establish justice in the system of economic relations between nations, not only as a prerequisite for development, but also as an essential condition for peace.

The creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was a substantial step forward in this direction, since it has given us a high-grade instrument for world-wide negotiations. In this connexion that eminent Latin American, Dr. Raúl Prebisch, stands out for the tireless efficiency with which he has organized and directed this valuable instrument. The second aspect is his attitude towards the problem of South East Asia, which is the sore tooth of the contemporary world and which, with the entry of mainland China on to the world's stage, represents the greatest challenge to our generation. The fate, the very survival, of our civilization depends on how we deal with this problem. We are aware that the Secretary-General knows and feels these problems as his own. His proposals and his personal intervention in these problems should be fully supported by the great Powers and by all the Members of the United Nations.

59. For this reason, we express the earnest hope that the reasons which prompted his decision not to accept re-election will be overcome. For this same reason, we wish to express our agreement with the main line of action he has taken on these problems on various occasions.

60. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's statement at his admirable lecture at the University of Chile, that:

"The future of the United Nations, therefore, rests to a considerable degree with the small nations—with their sense of responsibility, their independence and objectivity, their dedication to the principles of the Charter and, above all, their collective determination to help attenuate and bring an end to the dangerous tensions which have affected international relations so adversely during the last twenty years."

61. We also agree with the Secretary-General when he said:

"Let me reiterate, therefore, that we must work towards a new world order in which aggressive nationalism or expansionism are banished, as a means of promoting or protecting national interests, where extremism is no longer necessary to support a different point of view, and where diversity can be preserved without resort to prejudice and hatred."

62. Lastly, we are in agreement with the Secretary-General's statement that:

"The greatest obstacle to the realization of the principles of the Charter is the inescapable fact that power politics still operate, both overtly and covertly, in international relations. The concept of power politics, whether as the instrument of nationalism or of ideological extremism, is the natural enemy of international order as envisaged in the Charter. It is also an expensive, and potentially disastrous, anachronism. Patriotism, national pride or ideological convictions can and must take new and more creative forms than the old concepts of political domination or material power. This is a challenge to statesmanship and political genius in all regions of the world. The basic

ideas and machinery are all there—they await the national policies and actions which will put life and strength into them."

63. What are the conditions which will make it possible to strengthen the United Nations? In our opinion, the first and most fundamental is to consolidate it as a base for the construction of a sound and democratic political organization. This is not the case at present. Moreover, it can be said that we smaller countries are to blame for this. During many sessions of the Assembly, the Council and other activities of the United Nations, we have concentrated our efforts on obtaining machinery for economic aid, on establishing new principles of international trade or on analysing the conditions of the world economy. We have carried out important work in these fields, but we must recognize that its slow progress as compared with what was predicted, depends on political decisions which will have to be adopted by this Organization. The United Nations was conceived as an essentially political institution, and the activity of small countries within it should be aimed at achieving effective political equality and rights in all its Councils, Assemblies and Commissions.

64. We resolutely support the Secretary-General's view that it is the duty of the Organization not only to preserve peace but also to create it. In the process of creating peace, the problem of development seems to us to have first priority. This Organization has devoted much study to it, has set up many Commissions and has given it a forum of great potential value in the Trade and Development Board. So far there have been no agreements but we must recognize that there has been some progress. It is now possible to establish what the developing nations need, in certain decisive sectors at least. What is lacking? Only a decision by the industrialized nations to state how willing they are to meet the development needs of the Third World.

65. What is lacking is a political decision. Here the five or six most powerful nations should come together, leaving aside their particular ideologies, to study and decide upon their participation in changing the process of the developing world. That world already shows distinctive features. There is a real awareness of its problems and the decision to carry out the domestic efforts required; it is a world that is leaving behind its religious differences in so far as they constitute a dividing factor; it is a world which is becoming racially integrated and which is prompted by the urgent necessity to achieve higher technical and cultural levels.

66. Our insistence on the economic work of the United Nations should not cause us to forget that the foundation of equality of opportunity is true, genuine, real political equality. This is true both on the national and the international plane.

67. In our country, we are carrying out a revolution the essential basis of which is the transfer of political power from the small oligarchies to the large popular masses. This transfer is the only solid foundation for economic change. The participation of the people in wealth and in the benefits of culture will be

definitive only in so far as the people are able to participate freely and democratically in power and in the making of political decisions.

68. In our view, the problem on the international level expresses itself in similar terms. In so far as the United Nations constitutes a genuine political community and all nations participate in its decisions, we shall build solid foundations for the equality and the participation of all mankind in economic, social and political activities.

69. We believe that that is the road that the new history must take, and we must follow it resolutely. As His Holiness Pope Paul VI said here a year ago:

"...it is easy to affirm that it is towards that new history, a peaceful, a truly and fully human history, as promised by God to men of goodwill, that we must resolutely set out. The roads are already well marked out for you; the first is that of disarmament." [1347th meeting, para. 36.]

70. We all know that the problem of disarmament transcends the problem of stockpiling armaments and that its solution requires an over-all picture of the United Nations.

71. In the first place, we are convinced that the problem of peace-keeping operations should be dealt with immediately, quite apart from disarmament negotiations. Aggression and the arms race are consequences of international political disorganization. The establishment and strengthening of peace-keeping machinery is the best guarantee that power will never again be wrongly used and will demonstrate the willingness of all countries to reduce their own armed forces.

72. In our opinion, all countries are under an obligation towards the United Nations and world peace to place at the disposal of this Organization the material and human resources necessary to ensure the effective protection of the principles of the Charter.

73. We are convinced that we, the small nations, can make an important contribution to the cause of the United Nations and of peace. We represent a large part of the world's population and we have no material interests involved. At the last session of the Assembly, we gave proof of what we are capable of doing when working together, by obtaining almost unanimous approval for a resolution on non-intervention. We hope that, on this occasion and in the future, we may continue to work together constructively, sharing a common inspiration and a common goal.

74. Chile is prepared to make its contribution, within the limits of its capacities, to the creation of a world peace force, since peace is the responsibility of all peoples. Peace is indivisible. If it is endangered in one region, the whole world is threatened. For that reason we accept the necessity of establishing a peace force, solely under the control of the United Nations.

75. In this Assembly, which opened in a gloomy atmosphere, we have listened to proposals for seeking

a definite solution to the war in Viet-Nam. So serious is the situation that the replies to these proposals cannot be evasive or simply qualified statements of intentions.

76. Closely linked with this is the principle of the universality of the United Nations, which conditions its real ability to act in areas crucial for world peace and which can affect its own survival. The road is certainly not an easy one, but we are convinced that merely negative attitudes will only increase tension in a world that cannot live in peace if attempts are made to divide it ideologically.

77. We shall not find security in ideological or geographical isolation. We can achieve it if we recognize the essential equality of all men, their right to culture, welfare and modern technology and their duty to submit to a world authority serving the masses of mankind.

78. But a beginning should be made by action in this direction. The best proof of goodwill on the part of the great Powers and of a real intention to disarm would be to initiate a rapid process of arms reduction and to devote a considerable part of the resources released to increasing aid to the developing countries.

79. The approximate figures show that the total expenditure of the industrialized countries for destructive purposes amounts to over \$120,000 million. These same countries grant only \$11,000 million, mainly on a reimbursable basis, to eliminate want in the developing countries. About 10 per cent! This is a most tangible proof that the developed world still believes that security can be built on arms and not on justice, a false and foolish belief.

80. The developing countries also have their responsibility for the reduction of armaments. To commit a large proportion of their revenue to the acquisition of increasingly costly war materials must certainly weaken their development efforts and means entering into a senseless rivalry that can only aggravate the major problems of the world.

81. Let us all meditate on the enormous responsibilities of a world in which, merely by refraining from producing weapons of mass destruction, we could put into effect eight or nine Marshall Plans every year. The great Powers should use their strength, and the responsibility which it gives them, to promote regional agreements on the limitation of armaments, in Latin America for instance, and use their efforts for disarmament by devoting the resources so released to development aid.

82. We earnestly hope that Latin America will soon become a nuclear-free zone. Chile undertakes without reservations to work towards this end and acknowledges the action taken by the nuclear Powers which has enabled some progress to be made in that direction. We hope that we shall soon be able to sign a treaty banishing this peril from our continent.

83. The denuclearization of Latin America will make it possible to denuclearize a large area of the Pacific, an area into which the national interests of other countries of the region extend, including those of Japan, the only country to suffer the cruel experience of nuclear weapons. Thus, a universal declaration of

a nuclear-free zone, covering Latin America and the Pacific, would be a contribution to non-proliferation and to the denuclearization of the world, and an example of positive action for peace.

84. I make a fervent appeal for the co-operation of all countries to prevent the involvement of Latin America in the nuclear race. I do so because we have faith in that continent, which has other tasks to fulfil. We have faith in its possibilities of becoming a home for man, where neither hatred, nor lust for power, nor the instruments of violence will prevail. We trust we shall make progress in that direction through the united efforts of the sister nations of the continent and the loyal and effective co-operation of the large nations. We are pledged to make a co-operative effort within our hemisphere proportionate to our vast human and geographic resources and with true participation on the part of all the peoples concerned in the decisions to be made and the benefits to be derived. We seek an alliance for the harmonious economic, social and cultural development of the continent, not a closed alliance but one open to the participation of all the world and especially of Europe, in order that the true ideals of justice and freedom may become a reality in Latin America.

85. We have faith in Latin America because it has been a continent in which prominence has been given not to the individual but to the race, in which men originating from all parts of the world have united in the face of adversity, in which there is discrimination of colour and shape with regard to the arts and landscapes, but never with regard to human beings.

86. There is a growing movement in Latin America to rise above the concept of an archaic nationalism through the integration of our peoples. We are creating conditions such that the frontiers will serve not to isolate us, but to create neighbourhood units which will enrich economic, cultural and political unity in the variety of communities wishing to live in peace and liberty among themselves and with the rest of the world.

87. A month ago, five Latin American Governments, meeting at Bogotá, offered for the consideration of the other nations of the continent a set of concrete ideas for speeding the process of our unification, which they considered to be essential to the development of our peoples.

88. On that occasion, the President of Chile said:

"Divided peoples, instead of growing, diminish; they are no longer the creators of history, but rather pawns designed to carry out decisions adopted by others without their presence or their consent. Why are we meeting? We are meeting to create the wide markets necessary to give our economic development the impetus and circumstances required by human activity in this century and at this moment.

"Why are we meeting? We are meeting because we want to see the emergence within our nations of a creative common effort in the sphere of knowledge, which today more than ever before is

the great human adventure. But if this adventure is to be possible, it requires—as the poet said—that we should put our shoulders to the wheel to repel the forces of darkness."

89. This noble enterprise, destined to serve the cause of the liberty and dignity of the American, requires that there should be peace in the world. That peace we must build here and now.

90. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): As I have the honour to mount this rostrum today for the fifteenth year in succession in order to address this, the world's most representative gathering, I should like to follow a time-honoured tradition in trying to give an impression of how the problems of the international community present themselves to my country. Viewed from the Netherlands, it is to be noted that these problems would seem to increase in complexity in proportion to the widening of the circle of observation.

91. To begin with the smallest circle: there are no countries with which the Netherlands co-operates more closely than Belgium and Luxembourg, our partners in Benelux. Steadily the ties between these three countries grow stronger, steadily they succeed in overcoming obstacles of greater complexity and difficulty, and steadily their interdependence grows.

92. To give but one example, for the last three years Luxembourg has been a member of the Economic and Social Council. At the request of the Luxembourg Government, the delegations of Luxembourg in the Council have been composed of nationals of Luxembourg, Belgians and Dutchmen and headed by a representative of Luxembourg; depending upon the distribution of tasks, speakers from any one of these countries presented the views of the Luxembourg delegation without the nationality of the spokesman making the slightest difference.

93. In the next somewhat wider circle encompassing my country, the European Common Market, the co-operation between the Netherlands and its five partners has likewise yielded significant results in the past year. No one would at present deny that this market of 180 million people in a highly developed part of the world is rapidly developing into an economic unit of prime importance. The Common Market has certainly experienced some difficult crises, but thanks to persistent determination, decisions were reached at Brussels this summer completing the groundwork for full agricultural integration among the six Common Market countries, resulting in agricultural policies for the member countries henceforth determined and financed by the European Economic Community. I mention this development because, contrary to what is sometimes feared, it is contributing directly to the continued growth of world trade. The creation of a common agricultural policy has moreover fulfilled a prerequisite for the success of the "Kennedy Round" of negotiations, thus opening the way to the decision, world-wide in application and unprecedented in history, to halve tariffs in the industrial and agrarian sectors as from 1 June 1967. The active participation by the European Economic Community in the "Kennedy Round" in fact provides proof that the community is anxious to remove the

concern of third-States, such as that expressed by my Mexican colleague earlier in this general debate [1418th meeting] when he voiced anxiety about the coming into existence of closed blocs resulting from the granting of preferences. Should these negotiations succeed, they may well mean a turning-point in world trade. Thus, the "Kennedy Round" constitutes an implementation of a vital article of the EEC Treaty [article 110] which reads:

"By establishing a customs union between themselves, Member States intend to contribute in conformity with the common interest to the harmonious development of world trade, the progressive abolition of restrictions on international exchanges and the lowering of tariff barriers."

Mr. Csatorday (Hungary), Vice-President, took the Chair.

94. The application of this article is by no means limited to the industrialized countries, as is proved by the agreements of association concluded by the Community since its creation in 1958 with, consecutively, Greece, Turkey, eighteen African countries and Madagascar, and recently with Nigeria. In addition, preliminary talks have been initiated with the East African Federation, composed of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, and with two of the Maghreb countries, namely, Tunisia and Morocco. The EEC has also concluded trade agreements with some Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran, Israel and Lebanon. I believe I am justified in saying that these agreements bear out the determination of the Community to make a contribution of its own to the development of world trade and international prosperity, in full conformity with the principles of the United Nations.

95. If we draw the circle still wider and look at Europe as a whole, we notice that although differences in ideological and economic systems among the countries of Eastern and Western Europe persist, there is a definite tendency towards closer and more cordial contact. My Government welcomes this development and will actively further it.

96. Turning, however, to world-wide co-operation, prospects are least encouraging, while problems are most exacting. The introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization [A/6301/Add.1] bears eloquent and disconcerting witness to this. In passing, I should like to pay tribute to this forthright report and to its plain language. And in this connexion I wish to express my country's confidence in our Secretary-General, U Thant. In conformity with his own request, I shall not blow his trumpet, but merely limit myself to saying that my country would be happy if he were prepared to stay on.

97. The problems touched upon in the Secretary-General's report will require our dedicated attention. U Thant in his report has rightly given great attention to the problems of weapon control, non-proliferation of atomic weapons, and disarmament. These problems are so important and even a partial solution will be so beneficial to mankind that we should earnestly and energetically continue trying to reach agreement on them. When these matters come up

in the First Committee, my delegation will take an active and constructive part in the discussions.

98. The process of decolonization is almost complete, yet its few remainders still provoke deep-seated emotions. The problems of apartheid, of South West Africa and of Southern Rhodesia have all assumed a more threatening and potentially more explosive character. The Netherlands delegation will actively co-operate in the search for solutions. I shall therefore limit myself at this stage to some basic comments.

99. From the very first when the problem of apartheid was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly, my Government has expressed its rejection of each and every form of racial discrimination, including the policy of apartheid. There has recently been an attempt to steer the course of law in seeking a solution for the problem of South West Africa. Hitherto this course has provided no solution. Let us try to see international law in its perspective and not overlook the fact that the body of international law is growing at an unprecedented rate. Even in this very session of the General Assembly committees will be working on the establishment of legal principles in such diverse fields as outer space, human rights, international trade, non-intervention, peaceful coexistence and co-operation and, last but not least, the very foundations of international law, that is, the law governing international treaties.

100. This general desire for declarations of principles and codification of international rules gives clear proof of a fundamental belief in the necessity of international law. Our present system of international justice is the outcome of a process started hardly a hundred years ago, a process which developed inevitably through the International Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, and through the Permanent Court of International Justice to the present International Court of Justice. We should therefore never abandon the path of law, but keep in mind that great international issues are ripe for judicial decision only in as far as the political conditions are fulfilled. The law serves stability, and yet it cannot stand still. The ups-and-downs of international adjudication which follow inevitably from this inherent contradiction cannot affect the existence of a whole institution. But that institution should be developed and improved. I wonder whether, in the light of recent experiences, it might not be possible to revive an idea that in the past has often been discussed in my country. I refer to the possibility of amending the Charter in such a way that the United Nations, in the same way as States, may acquire locus standi before the Court. In this connexion, I also would avail myself of the present opportunity to announce that my country is prepared to make a significant contribution towards the establishment of new premises for the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

101. In the question of Southern Rhodesia, my Government continues to support the principle that a lawful and democratic régime, representative of the population as a whole, should be established. Unfortunately, no road to this end is yet in sight. We do hope that the United Kingdom, which still carries the responsibility for that territory, with the assistance

of the United Nations will yet arrive at an acceptable solution. My country has loyally carried out the economic sanctions recommended by the United Nations and will continue to do so.

102. The war in Viet-Nam, although not formally on our agenda, will inevitably continue to dominate our minds and our discussions.

103. Before making a few remarks on the further prospects, I feel bound first of all to give expression to the deep feelings of compassion and human solidarity felt by the Dutch people for the people of the whole of Viet-Nam in their plight and their sufferings. The scale of the hostilities has been stepped up considerably during the past year and the danger of the conflict's developing into an even wider conflagration has increased proportionately. The Netherlands Government and Parliament have repeatedly voiced their concern at this development and their strong conviction that a peaceful solution by negotiation must be achieved before this situation gets beyond control. Many others have expressed similar views, sometimes coupled with specific proposals. However, to my mind, these proposals fall short in two respects.

104. One is that these exhortations are usually openly or implicitly addressed to the United States alone and ignore the fact that for more than a year now the United States has made several serious peace proposals—overtures which have all been spurned and turned down with contempt by the other side. To blame, openly or implicitly, the one party which has made all these proposals is not only one-sided but hardly conducive to the attainment of the professed aim—peace in Viet-Nam.

105. My second objection is that these proposals ask primarily, or even exclusively, for military de-escalation on the United States side, and not, or only in a second phase, from the side of North Viet-Nam. Such one-sided proposals fail to impress us. It is a well-established practice of totalitarian régimes to declare themselves prepared for negotiations provided the other side concedes in advance the main point at stake.

106. I do hope that the new proposals which Mr. Goldberg put forward from this rostrum a week ago will yet be seriously studied by the other side.

107. Public opinion is understandably inclined to pay most attention to those conflicts which remain unsolved by the United Nations. In order to set the record straight, let us not forget that in the past year the United Nations Security Council has scored a notable success by bringing about an end to warfare between India and Pakistan, and a withdrawal of their troops.

108. This leads me to the subject of peace-keeping operations. For a number of years now, world-wide co-operation in the United Nations on this subject has been thwarted by basic differences of opinion about the initiation and financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Under these circumstances, we need not be surprised that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has been compelled to suspend its activities without having so far achieved

any tangible results. Indeed, at this time it would seem that ambitious schemes trying to lay down rigid rules for all cases would put too much stress on the still fragile structure of our world Organization and therefore might be harmful rather than beneficial. It is also gratifying to note that when a new, be it rather modest, peace operation was really needed, namely to supervise the cease-fire between India and Pakistan, the absence of rules did not prevent a positive decision.

109. With this twenty-first Assembly session, the United Nations comes of age. During these twenty-one years, the Organization and its specialized agencies have been allowed to grow virtually unchecked. The result is that sometimes its component organizations, agencies, commissions, missions, bureaux and other institutions have grown more or less independently, without strong and clear co-ordination. Every bush has to be pruned from time to time to become more healthy, and every machinery overhauled in order to remain at peak efficiency. The United Nations is no exception. For this reason, last year, while addressing the General Assembly [1348th meeting] I supported a suggestion by my French colleague, M. Couve de Murville, that a committee be established to examine the financial and organizational structure of the United Nations. The reports we have now received from the Committee of Fourteen^{2/} as an outcome of the French initiative are extremely valuable. It is our firm hope that on the basis of these reports the Assembly will be able to reach agreement on ways in which the entire United Nations family can be integrated into a more coherent structure, perhaps in the face of some resistance by vested interests, no matter how respectable. A number of years ago, the establishment of five-year appraisals covering the activities of the entire group was an important step forward. Today, we should be able to go much further ahead and adapt even more the entire system of the United Nations to the needs of its Members. It would be of interest to obtain a complete survey of the number of United Nations agencies in countries or areas, and to find out how the structure of the network can be improved. In the same context, we could try to change our present policy of moving forward by small, tactical steps into an encompassing strategy for the future activities of the entire United Nations family.

110. Peace and prosperity are inseparable. Peace-keeping is a function of effective international co-operation, which in turn can be effective only if it makes a contribution to international prosperity. I am gratified in this context to draw your attention to Her Majesty Queen Juliana's speech from the Throne at the opening of the Netherlands Parliament only ten days ago. This speech expresses the resolve of the Netherlands Government, notwithstanding the severe financial restrictions imposed upon our economy, further to increase Netherlands spending on development aid, which for 1967 consequently exceeds by 10 per cent this year's figure.

111. But all efforts at the national level will yield only limited results as long as there is no world-wide effort for the furthering of prosperity of the developing nations. We are all agreed that up to now the United Nations Development Decade has been disappointing. But there is nothing to prevent us from using its remaining three years to conceive a new infra-structure of co-operation between all participating agencies, and to draw up a master plan for the following ten years.

112. Certainly the prospect of world-wide co-operation is more promising now that Indonesia, with which my country maintains increasingly close relations, has once again joined the family of co-operating countries. The Netherlands wholeheartedly welcomes this decision.

113. In conclusion, let me state that my country will continue to bear its share in the common effort in furthering peace and prosperity. Given God's help and the best efforts of which this Assembly is capable, I trust that we shall succeed.

114. Mr. IRIBARREN BORGES (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The delegation which I lead considers it a most wise decision to elect Ambassador Pazhwak as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. He has called upon the serene guidance of reason to govern his term of office, and he may rest assured that we share with him the hope that the highest of human faculties will prevail in the deliberations of this world forum of nations. We have full confidence in his experience and in the exhaustive knowledge of international affairs which he has acquired during his long and worthy activities in the United Nations.

115. I am happy to have this opportunity of mentioning the President of the last session, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, Foreign Minister of the Italian Republic, who carried out with skill and intelligence the difficult tasks inherent in that high post, while at the same time bringing into these solemn halls a touch of Mediterranean gaiety.

116. Once again, I wish to put on record the satisfaction of the people and Government of Venezuela at the independence of Guyana. We were particularly happy to welcome our neighbors into the community of sovereign nations and hope to develop ever closer links of friendship and co-operation with them. It is in this spirit that we have fully supported the admission of Guyana to the United Nations, without prejudice, of course, to the territorial rights claimed by Venezuela.

117. During the general debate at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, I offered to inform the United Nations of the developments in the territorial dispute between Venezuela and the United Kingdom regarding the frontier of British Guiana. In this connexion, I am happy to say that a conference was held in London in December 1965, at which both countries were represented as was the then British Guiana, the result of which was a decision to hold a further meeting in Geneva in February of this year. This led to the signature on 17 February 1966, of an "Agreement to resolve the controversy between Venezuela and the United Kingdom of Great

^{2/} *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

Britain and Northern Ireland over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana". This agreement, to which Guyana became a party on its accession to independence, opens the way to a peaceful solution of the controversy and gives the United Nations, in the person of its Secretary-General, a very important part to play. The Joint Commission established under the Agreement has already held two meetings, the first at Caracas and the second at Georgetown. Venezuela trusts that good faith in the fulfilment of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement will lead to a definitive settlement of these differences in conformity with justice and law.

118. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the return of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations, where, we are sure, it will contribute, together with the other States, to the progress of this Organization.

"This has been a year in which, to all those looking and working towards larger international co-operation for the peace and well-being of mankind, the disappointments will seem to have outweighed once more the modest gains made in some directions."

119. Such are the opening words of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/6301/Add.1, p. 1]. The moderate tone is not enough to allay the feelings of frustration that they arouse in the hopes for peace and progress of the peoples of the earth.

120. The fear of a disastrous future, if failures continue on the road to disarmament, the improvement of living standards, the ending of conflicts and the easing of tension is becoming increasingly man's constant companion. Our great poet, Andrés Bello Blanco, then Chancellor of Venezuela, stated from this very rostrum that fear is a creator of mythologies and religions, but a very poor adviser for solving problems. Nothing good can come from the mind of the faint-hearted statesman who thinks only of maintaining defensive positions.

121. Venezuela wishes to reaffirm once again at this forum of the nations its fervent desire for peace. The conflicts which are at present bathing in blood some regions of the world are a constant grief to the Venezuelan people and Government. It is our most sincere desire that a way may be found to resolve peacefully the war now being waged in Vietnam which, as time goes on, becomes ever more complex and more likely to assume world-wide proportions.

122. Would that Venezuela could put forward some formula for the settlement of the conflict, but the interest and ideologies involved are so many and so varied that it is impossible for countries on the sidelines to participate directly in a solution, and their contribution must be confined to an appeal for the restoration of peace. Venezuela is, of course, prepared at all times to give its moral support to the use of appropriate peaceful means to put an end to that war, since it is becoming more obvious every day that the problem can have no military solution but only a political one.

123. It is distressing to see that after so many centuries of unremitting struggle for understanding

and toleration, attempts are still being made to impose by blood and fire ideologies and systems which man will certainly have transcended within a few years. The rapprochement, based on tolerance and understanding, of the great religions is a significant phenomenon which should be heeded. Why should not the world's political leaders follow this salutary example and work actively and sincerely to undermine the obdurate positions arising from racial prejudice, economic and political systems or any other transient beliefs, products of ambition and sources of disastrous and destructive power? The precincts of this great world Organization would present a very different picture if delegations brought with them from their leaders instructions to conciliate and understand, rather than to try and impose their viewpoints by threats, as is their custom.

124. It has often been said before, but bears repetition, that the present tension in the world would be reduced if positive progress could be made in the three following fields: in disarmament, in the elimination or, at least, a significant diminution in racial and ideological intolerance, and in the reorganization of international markets.

125. The direct and logical consequence of the liberation of resources through effective disarmament treaties would be to enable the nations to devote the corresponding funds to solving those problems of underdevelopment which bedevil many regions of the world, imposing a sad burden of hunger, discontent and anxiety with a consequent lowering of human dignity. This in turn would ease the pressure of the needy masses and their urgent demands.

126. Are we to give up hope of advancing along the road to disarmament because so many years have been taken up in negotiations, proposals and dilatory measures without positive results? Paradoxically, disarmament would be at once the cause and the effect of a reduction in tension. It will, however, be difficult to achieve until the whole of mankind, with due preparation and with definite objectives, modifies the traditional concepts based on national prestige which is so often upheld by retaliation and force.

127. If the idea of harmony that inspired the creation of the United Nations and of its predecessor, the League of Nations, were carried to its logical conclusion, the Organization would be able to play the moral and material part required of it in solving the problems of peace and war.

128. My Government has offered its fullest support to the projected denuclearization of Latin America and has attended the various meetings held at Mexico City for the purpose of drafting a treaty to ensure the denuclearization of that important geographical area. At these meetings, we maintained that such a measure should be considered within the general context of disarmament and it was emphasized that such an instrument would not be operative unless all the countries in the region participated and the nuclear Powers respected the terms of the treaty.

129. On the initiative of Venezuela, the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America, which was to have been held on 30 August last in Mexico, was post-

poned until the end of next January. One of the reasons for requesting the postponement was to give more time for Governments to study the draft treaty and to prepare their observations. Furthermore, we believed that the twenty-first session of the General Assembly offered a good opportunity to the representatives of the Governments concerned to exchange views on this important question. We hope that the nuclear Powers will accept this step as a collateral disarmament measure.

130. The universal reaction to the recent Judgment of the International Court of Justice on the problem of South West Africa was one of amazement. Far from resolving the case, the decision, based on subordinate considerations, has made it even more explosive. My delegation considers that the decision should have been to confirm the obligation of the Republic of South Africa to give an account of its Mandate to the United Nations. What has happened is very serious, since no decision was made on the substance of the matter, and this implies the deferment of the problem with all the tension involved.

131. Venezuela avails itself of this opportunity to restate its position of opposition to any form of racial discrimination and similar practices. The people of Venezuela, an example of the coexistence of all the races which have intermingled to form it, rejects the outrageous creed of apartheid which is opposed to its deepest beliefs and practices.

132. The President of my country, Dr. Raúl Leoni, recently met the Heads of State of Chile and Colombia in the capital of the Republic of Colombia, the meeting being also attended by personal representatives of the Presidents of Ecuador and Peru. This memorable meeting demonstrated the spirit of international collaboration which animates the President of Venezuela and the other leaders present.

133. Far from restricting to the attendant countries the agreements reached by the meeting, invitations were extended to the sister countries of the continent to continue unfalteringly along the road to social, cultural and economic co-operation and to pursue their efforts for the economic integration of the Latin American nations. On the political side, the Declaration reaffirms the signatories' faith in the United Nations and their belief in the need to resolve the military conflicts existing in various parts of the world today, with particular reference to Viet-Nam. We also fervently reiterated our firm belief in democratic institutions, in respect for human rights and in economic and social development as the essential and inseparable preconditions for guaranteeing the freedom and welfare of the American nations.

134. It is discouraging to observe signs of deterioration in the relative positions of the developing countries within the framework of the world economy and the part played in that unhappy development by the present system of international trade. This deterioration has been a decisive factor in the slowing down of the Latin American growth rate, and has constituted a major obstacle to the region's development. The existing differences in the economic levels of the developing countries and of the economically developed countries has increased in the last five years.

We see more clearly every day that the objectives of the "United Nations Development Decade" will not be achieved, since the gap between countries is widening rather than closing, despite the hopes and efforts of the international community.

135. Venezuela would be failing in its duty and responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations if it did not put to this Assembly the necessity of reviewing and reforming the foundations on which international aid is based. Only radical and profound changes in concepts and institutions will change the distressing prospects of the world economy. The deterioration in the terms of trade, the reduction in growth rate, the instability of commodity prices, the restrictions imposed by the industrial countries on the exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, the stagnation of international aid and the "conditional" loans are among the reasons for the alarm with which many international and regional economic organizations view the present situation.

136. There can be no doubt that the promotion of economic development is the most extraordinary and difficult task of our time. Under-development is the cause of political insecurity and an active agent in the disturbance of world peace. I believe that the economic and social imbalances of the greater part of the world community have become materially worse.

137. We do not claim that development can be achieved through international co-operation alone. A persistent and orderly domestic effort is essential but the rate of investment required cannot be achieved without an appreciable improvement in the terms of international trade. Exports must be diversified, industries promoted, the geographic area of our trade expanded and foreign resources obtained on better terms. Every effort must be made to procure juster and more stable conditions for the foreign trade in our primary commodities. Latin America still depends on the export of primary commodities falling under the headings of foodstuffs, raw materials, and mineral products. We are not prepared to accept indefinitely an economic system under which the counterpart to our exports, for which we are underpaid, is the import of very highly priced manufactured products.

138. It has been said in this Organization that the industrialized nations should not dispute the right of less developed countries to markets for their primary commodities. It is already intrinsically difficult to finance development. The developing countries are faced with a difficult situation with respect to the export of primary commodities, since they are compelled to limit their purchases of capital goods from the industrialized countries.

139. The Secretary-General, U Thant, in the introduction to his annual report, stated:

"The industrially advanced countries have a particular responsibility in this field because of the magnitude of their resources of technology and capital. They must show the necessary foresight to be able to give up limited short-term interests in favour of the long-term benefits to be derived by the world as a whole from upgrading the productivity of two thirds of mankind to levels that

are now technically impossible." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 8.]

140. Referring to the specific case of Latin America which, with minor exceptions, is the same as that of all the developing countries, I want to voice our concern at the inadequate progress achieved in rectifying the economic policy of the industrialized countries with respect to the obstacles hampering the access of primary commodities to those countries' markets, among which are customs tariffs, domestic taxes, quantitative restrictions, and marketing policies for surplus goods. This is reflected in constant changes of prices which affect our foreign-currency earnings and limit the economic and social growth of our countries.

141. The execution of development programmes is sometimes hindered by political and social instability; at other times, by famine and epidemics. In other cases, adverse and unforeseen events affecting our export earnings have compelled us to abandon or suspend our original development plans. In such circumstances, the question of finding a satisfactory solution to the problems affecting trade with the industrialized countries cannot be postponed, especially in so far as the deterioration in the terms of international trade is concerned.

142. In many cases, to the chronic payments deficits must be added the resistance of the industrialized countries to the suggestion that they should abandon their protectionist practices and co-operate in solving the problems raised by primary commodities.

143. The present structure of international trade, based on the division between countries exporting manufactured goods and countries producing raw materials—the former the developed countries and the latter the developing countries—has proved unable to achieve a better balance in international economic relations and has brought with it what the Swedish economist, Myrdal, has called "the disintegration of world economies".

144. I should like to refer now to the financing of economic development, and to draw this Assembly's attention to the well-known paradox that the developing countries are poor because they have very little capital to invest and have very little capital to invest because they are poor. That is why the industrialized countries have an inescapable responsibility to help those weaker economies to improve their capacity for financing their own development.

145. The reduction in the flow of resources towards the developing countries is a reason for disquiet. Not only has that rate not achieved the objective of 1 per cent of the national net income of the developed countries, but it has progressively diminished over the past five years. The conditions for loans must also be liberalized. In some cases, the service on the debts absorbs so great a proportion of hard-currency earnings that it raises doubts as to the efficacy of credits. Moreover, the international capital flow will have to depend less on the balance of payments in the developed market-economy countries and be governed more by the objectives laid down for the United Nations Development Decade.

146. We appeal to the developed countries to supply a more intense and continuous flow of long-term loans while reducing the number of conditional credits, or else grant them at prices which are competitive on the world markets and to accept reimbursement of part of the loan in manufactured goods, services and agricultural surpluses, without prejudice to the normal exports of the beneficiary countries, or to re-invest part of the sums refunded in the debtor countries.

147. Venezuela is fully aware of the need to expand and accelerate the process of Latin American integration. Trade between the Latin American countries is of little significance in comparison with the total volume of their purchases and sales. The results being obtained in the Central American region and the area of the Latin American Free-Trade Association reflect the favourable prospects offered for regional trade.

148. The Bogotá Declaration, to which I referred earlier, is not simply an invitation to the countries of America but rather a reaffirmation of the common interests of the developing countries and of their need, in full agreement between themselves, to demand changes and promote conditions that will ensure just treatment and enable them to overcome the various stages of under-development.

149. The difficult circumstances at present prevailing, which I have dealt with partly in this statement to the General Assembly, have given an inevitably pessimistic note to my intervention. Nevertheless, Venezuela, its Government and its people, will spare no effort to secure harmony in the international concert. None of the nations represented here can escape the serious duty of breathing life into the Principles and Purposes that are the very basis of the United Nations Charter.

150. My country has already had occasion to express its views on the announcement by the Secretary-General, U Thant, that he will not accept re-election for a new term. The Secretary-General's decision is grave, as are its consequences for this world Organization. U Thant has said that he does not believe that anyone is indispensable in a given post. There are nevertheless situations in which the circumstances are such as to render a man indispensable: the United Nations and U Thant are faced with one of those situations.

151. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): I wish to congratulate Mr. Pazhwak on his unanimous election as President of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly. He has served his great country in a very distinguished manner as its representative to the United Nations, and his election underlines the confidence and faith of the whole membership of this Organization in his wisdom and ability. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak is not a stranger to Indonesia. He has visited my country more than once on missions of historic importance. My delegation joins the President in the hope that this session, combining wisdom with accomplishments, will indeed become known as the "Assembly of Reason".

152. My delegation also associates itself with previous speakers in welcoming the Republic of Guyana as a Member of this Organization.

153. The present Government of Indonesia, since its formation about two months ago, has declared itself committed to implementing the programme which has been laid down by the People's Consultative Assembly, the highest policy-making body in Indonesia. The programme contains the following four points: (a) the stabilization and development of the country's economy; (b) preparation for the general elections to be held within two years; (c) an active and independent foreign policy; and (d) the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Of these four points, the Indonesian Government puts the emphasis upon the stabilization and development of the nation's economy. I do not need to elaborate upon the present economic situation in Indonesia, as the Assembly is fully cognizant of it. My Government believes that the implementation of the other parts of the programme will be very much facilitated if inflation is checked, the country's economic infra-structure rehabilitated and improved, production increased and the balance of trade redressed.

154. In the field of foreign relations, the Indonesian Government will continue to pursue its traditional policy of non-alignment—an independent and active foreign policy. Indonesia will continue to support the struggle of all peoples under colonial rule who are fighting for freedom and independence. Indonesia will continue, as it has always done in the past, to work together with other nations in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

155. The Assembly is aware that this independent and active foreign policy, this policy of non-alignment, aims at lessening regional and world tension in order to establish peace. World peace will enable the developing nations to concentrate on the achievement of the welfare and prosperity of their respective peoples, in co-operation with other nations.

156. It is in this search for peace and friendship that Indonesia has reached agreement with a neighbouring and brotherly country, the Federation of Malaysia, to end their dispute. The causes of that unfortunate dispute are known to this Assembly. The recent agreement, signed on 11 August 1966, stands out as proof of the determination of both nations to live in peace and amity with each other. The re-establishment of peace between Indonesia and Malaysia is a very significant fact. It shows that we, the developing nations in Asia, if left alone, are able to solve our differences and disputes in a peaceful manner.

157. It is against this background that my delegation views the disputes and conflicts in our immediate

surroundings of South-East Asia. In Viet-Nam the conflict which has been going on for many years has caused thousands of deaths and great destruction. The Indonesian people, who had the same experience during their fight for independence, understand and share the innermost feelings of our brothers in Viet-Nam. In the words of the Secretary-General, U Thant, our hearts go out to them. The Government of Indonesia will support every sincere effort to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam, in order that the Viet-Nameese people may decide its future by itself in peace without outside interference.

158. It is not my intention to elaborate upon the many important items contained in the agenda of this session. My delegation hopes to give its views at the appropriate time when those problems are discussed in the Committees. However, I should like to express the view of the Indonesian Government regarding one problem which is being discussed by the Assembly. It is regarding the question of South West Africa. I shall not go into the details of the issue. Many of the representatives have already contributed to the discussions and have catalogued the events that have happened during these years and the decisions already taken by the General Assembly in the period of the past twenty years. My delegation considers the problem of South West Africa as one of the most acute issues of colonialism. The freedom-loving peoples of the world expect that the Assembly at this session will finally leave the years of dilemma behind it and that it will arrive at firm decisions which, when translated into action, will herald the arrival of a new era of freedom and independence for the unfortunate people of South West Africa.

159. The decision of my Government to resume full participation in the activities of the United Nations shows beyond the slightest doubt its determination to co-operate with other members in realizing the purposes and aims of the Organization as embodied in the Charter. My delegation is happy to note that efforts to improve the structure and machinery of the Organization have started to bear fruit. It will co-operate with like-minded delegations towards making this Organization and its organs more representative and more effective.

160. Finally, my delegation would like to add its voice to the appeal made by the representative who spoke before me that our highly esteemed friend, U Thant, will remain in our midst as Secretary-General.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.