

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



**1442nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 14 October 1966
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ESCOBAR SERRANO (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): The honour has fallen to me of speaking in the general debate in the place of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, who has been obliged by unforeseen circumstances to return home. I shall take this opportunity to state briefly the views of the Government of El Salvador on a number of the problems to which this Assembly is devoting its attention and which seem to us of special interest and importance.

2. First, however, I have pleasure in conveying to the President, on behalf of the Government and people of El Salvador, and of the delegation which I head, our heartiest congratulations on his election to that high office. It constitutes both a well-deserved tribute to his noble country and a recognition of his own outstanding qualities as a diplomat and statesman, with long experience of United Nations affairs, to which he has been dedicated for many years. In wishing him the greatest success in the vast and complex task laid upon him, we offer him our sincere, loyal and constant co-operation.

3. I should also like to pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration to the outgoing President, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, who presided so wisely and skilfully over the debates of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

4. El Salvador welcomes with special pleasure the advent of a new independent American State to membership in the United Nations. Renewing our congratulations to the State of Guyana, with which we hope to maintain the friendliest relations, we express warm wishes for the prosperity and well-being of its people.

5. El Salvador shares the profound anxiety of all the countries which make up the United Nations at the prospect that the Secretary-General, U Thant, may maintain his position of declining a further term in that high office.

6. We could add nothing to what has been said earlier, either to praise the Secretary-General's actions as they deserve, or to try to persuade this distinguished public servant of the necessity and desirability of reconsidering his decision and of continuing to serve as head of the Secretariat of the United Nations. After the many pleas that have been made to the Secretary-General, U Thant, which constitute a vote of confidence, we can only await his final decision, which we hope will be favourable to the future of our Organization and to the cause of peace.

7. Before referring to a number of the items on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly, I should like to reiterate my country's unvarying adherence to the Purposes and Principles of the charter of the United Nations and, at the same time, to reaffirm our loyalty to the charter of the Organization of American States and the charter of the Organization of Central American States, all instruments which the Government and people of El Salvador regard as rules governing their international conduct, since the aim of all these international bodies is the maintenance of peace and the prosperity and happiness of the nations which constitute them.

8. In referring to the maintenance and strengthening of peace, the primary objective of our Organization, I cannot but recall the momentous discourse pronounced at this very rostrum last year by His Holiness Pope Paul VI (1347th meeting), appealing so dramatically for peace, and warning us on that solemn occasion that all peoples look to the United Nations as their last hope for peace and friendship among nations.

9. El Salvador shares the preoccupations voiced by this spiritual leader, and hopes sincerely that his pressing exhortations and renewed efforts on behalf of peace will achieve their noble purpose and will help to bring to an end the bloodshed which threatens to produce a new world conflagration.

10. For this reason, the Salvadorian delegation stresses the necessity of concluding, in the shortest possible time, a world agreement on general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, as a basic starting point from which to safeguard world peace.

11. As far as the question of disarmament is concerned, we must note with anxiety and disappointment that the results of many years of effort to achieve a solution are not commensurate with the hopes of all peace-loving countries. We record again our satisfaction at the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty of 1963, prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons, though not yet including the prohibition of underground testing,

an omission which we all hope will be rectified in the near future in order to give this Treaty the necessary scope and effectiveness.

12. At the same time, we are watching with great interest the efforts of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to meet the urgent need for an agreement banning the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons.

13. In the face of the very grave dangers inherent in the conflicts now dividing the great nations, which could easily degenerate into a shattering world war, we believe that it is more than ever urgent and essential to see that all States, and especially the nuclear Powers, take appropriate steps to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as a decisive step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

14. The Salvadorian delegation supports the views expressed on various occasions by our Secretary-General to the effect that the most urgent question of the day is the need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, particularly in view of the appearance of new Powers able to manufacture them already, at a time when the tensions threatening to destroy the peace of the world seem to be growing worse and when there are powerful reasons to believe that unless steps are taken as soon as possible to stop this threat, mankind will face the danger, in a few years, of finding it impossible to ward off the tragic effects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

15. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization in the period from 16 June 1965 to 15 June 1966, the Secretary-General says: "Since they were used for the first and only time on actual targets over twenty years ago, their destructive power, their quantities in stockpile, the manner of their use, and the amount of human and material resources devoted to their manufacture and potential delivery have expanded far beyond the comprehension of most people and, I suspect, of many Governments. I believe that the time has come for an appropriate body of the United Nations to explore and weigh the impact and implications of all aspects of nuclear weapons, including problems of a military, political, economic and social nature relating to the manufacture, acquisition, deployment and development of these weapons and their possible use. To know the true nature of the danger that we face may be a most important first step towards averting it." [A/6301/Add.1, page 11.] His initiative seems to us eminently appropriate and constructive in this time of danger for mankind.

16. The generous initiative taken by Mexico to induce the countries of Latin America to reach an agreement which would make it possible to sign a treaty for the denuclearization of Latin America, with the aim of preserving their peoples from a nuclear holocaust, has had from the start the enthusiastic support of my Government. We have attended the meetings held for this purpose in the Mexican capital, and we are ready to go on affording our enthusiastic co-operation so that the end in view can be achieved.

17. My Government has observed with lively interest the progress of the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, set up by the General

Assembly of the United Nations in 1959. I have pleasure in recalling now that the Salvadorian delegation which took part in the 1958 Assembly drew attention to the urgency of regulating the activities of man in outer space and argued in favour of setting up this Committee. It is most encouraging that the great Powers which are in the forefront of the exploration of the cosmos are now interested in the conclusion in the near future of an agreement covering all the aspects of this matter.

18. Undoubtedly, the problem now of most concern to all mankind is the grave situation in Viet-Nam, where the war continues to escalate, causing tremendous human sacrifice, and consequent devastation and misery for the inhabitants of this unhappy land. In the face of this tragic situation, we utter the most heartfelt hopes for a speedy and just settlement of this grave conflict, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the countries directly and indirectly involved in it, and bringing to an end the already long period of unrest and suffering of the Asian peoples.

19. We have listened with interest and satisfaction to the statements of the representative of the United States of America, Mr. Goldberg, on the conflict in Viet-Nam, and the possibilities of its solution [1412th meeting]. In our view, his remarks open the way for the Governments concerned to confer constructively on the need to achieve peace and to restore tranquillity in the Far East.

20. We are also anxious about the division of Germany, which is a very dangerous source of international tension, in one of the most sensitive areas of the European political system. As far as this problem is concerned, the Salvadorian delegation reiterates its hope that the unity of Germany will be re-established by peaceful means, with due regard to the freely expressed aspirations of its inhabitants and the principles of the right of peoples to self-determination. We have similar hopes for the re-unification of Korea.

21. My country is very much interested in the item on the peaceful settlement of international disputes, which was proposed by the United Kingdom last year and will be discussed at the present session.^{1/}

22. El Salvador signed and ratified the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement, or Pact of Bogotá, which was signed by all the countries of the Americas on 30 April 1948. We hope that the world Organization will succeed in establishing a similar system which will serve as a legal framework for the settlement of international disputes, without running the risk of resort to war or the threat of force, which we regard as reprehensible and contrary to the principles of the Charter.

23. Faithful to its peace-loving traditions, El Salvador wishes to place on record here its satisfaction at seeing that some of the problems now existing between various countries are on the way to a solution through conversations and direct negotiations between the parties concerned. We refer, *inter alia*,

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 99, document A/5964.

to the case of Belize which, according to the statement made recently by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala [1413th meeting, para. 29], is at present the subject of friendly negotiations between that country and the United Kingdom, and in which El Salvador as a Central American country has a special interest, hoping for a just and speedy settlement. We also have in mind the question of the Malvinas Islands, and the dispute between Spain and the United Kingdom over the status of Gibraltar. In both cases we support the resolutions of the General Assembly calling upon the parties concerned to enter into negotiations with a view to reaching a settlement, and we should view with deep satisfaction the recognition of the legitimate aspirations of Argentina and Spain respectively.

24. The problems disturbing the tranquillity of the peoples of Africa have grown more acute in recent times. The extraordinary ruling of the International Court of Justice,^{2/} which for purely procedural reasons declined to go into the substance of the case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia on the status of South West Africa, has contributed to an increase in present tension. It is appropriate to note here that this ruling in no way invalidated the Court's earlier pronouncements on the status of this Territory.

25. My Government considers that the Mandate which the now defunct League of Nations conferred upon the Republic of South Africa imposes on the latter duties and obligations which it cannot evade. In the first place South Africa has the duty to safeguard the progress and well-being of the people inhabiting this Territory and to prepare them for self-determination and future independence. South Africa also has an obligation to report regularly on the exercise of its Mandate to the United Nations which is the heir of the former League of Nations. My country's legal conscience revolts against accepting the idea of a mandate without restrictions or responsibilities, a mandate which could be exercised without having to give any account of the fulfilment of the task to the authority which conferred it. Still less could we accept that the right to administer this Territory derives from a source different from the Mandate to which it was subjected.

26. As for Southern Rhodesia, my Government wishes to place on record its opposition to the existence of a minority régime which pays no attention to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. Since we have always been concerned to secure respect for the rights of minorities all over the world, we must strive even more to ensure that the rights and wishes of the vast majority of the inhabitants of this territory are not ignored. My Government wishes to see established in Southern Rhodesia a régime based upon the freely expressed wishes of its people, taken as a whole, that is to say, without distinction of any kind.

27. In El Salvador, persons of different races and different religions live together in harmony, without either law or custom having ever established any discrimination between them. We therefore reject, from

the bottom of our hearts, any policy which is based on the practice of discrimination, indefensible in our day and age and regarded by us as contrary to the dignity of man.

28. El Salvador is a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, the work of which has not, unfortunately, led to an agreement which will make it possible to solve definitively the political problems and financial difficulties facing our Organization, owing to the opposing viewpoints which exist among the various countries.

29. At its last session, the Committee approved for submission to the General Assembly a report [A/6414] which shows, since it contains only a brief account of the meetings held, that the Committee has not yet achieved the practical results which are its goal. It is greatly to be regretted that no acceptable formula has been found for the authorization and financing of future peace-keeping operations.

30. The Committee's distress and anxiety, shared by us, at having been unable to achieve the desired result is reflected in the statement made by its Chairman, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, which was approved by the Committee and runs as follows:

"During the debates that took place in the resumed session, various new ideas and proposals on different aspects of peace-keeping operations were advanced. Negotiations took place among members of the Committee, with the co-operation of the Chairman and other officers. It was found, in the course of the resumed session, that certain differences of opinion on the part of Member States continued to exist on the subject. The Chairman has endeavoured to reconcile the different views held by Member States, but it was not possible to achieve this." [A/6414, annex I, 22nd meeting, para. 20.]

31. We hope that an agreement may be reached which will make it possible to solve this delicate problem, the continued existence of which deeply affects the authority of the United Nations and the financing of future peace-keeping operations. Our dearest wish is that a formula may be found to reconcile the differing viewpoints of the great Powers and the possibilities of the various countries, so that the Organization's economic solvency, which is essential to its existence and to the pursuit of its aims, may be restored.

32. This is a suitable moment for El Salvador to reaffirm its constant purpose of cultivating the friendliest relations with other nations, on the basis of respect for the principle of the legal equality of States and of the self-determination of peoples.

33. In this spirit my delegations firmly supported General Assembly Resolution 2131 (XX), which condemns any act of intervention in the domestic affairs of States, not only those which involve armed intervention but also all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements.

34. We reiterate our support of this condemnation, for the situations prompting it, namely, the growing threat to universal peace through armed intervention

^{2/} See South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

and other direct and indirect forms of intervention against the sovereign personality and political independence of States, were this very year specifically denounced to the Security Council by eighteen Latin American countries.^{3/} At the same time, the Council of the Organization of American States promulgated a resolution condemning specific acts in open violation of the principle of non-intervention against American States and therefore contrary to the peace and security of the continent.

35. In repeating our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Charter of the Organization of American States, especially their provisions condemning all intervention in the domestic and external affairs of States, we demand that other States abstain from organizing, supporting, fomenting, financing, instigating or tolerating armed, subversive or terrorist activities, directed towards the violent overthrow of the democratic régimes of the American States we are convinced that strict compliance with these obligations is an essential requirement if nations are to live together in peace.

36. Still bearing in mind the promotion of world peace and friendship among peoples, the Salvadorian delegation attaches the greatest importance to any action which tends to preserve and strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. We are therefore ready to support vigorously all the efforts which our Organization is making to ensure that the International Year for Human Rights achieves practical and objective results, both at the national and the international level, in accordance with the purposes for which it is being celebrated.

37. Undoubtedly, the day on which the United Nations is able to proclaim as an accomplished fact the definitive prohibition throughout the world of slavery and forced labour, of all forms of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language and religion, and of colonialism and the denial of freedom and independence, will be a historic event of the greatest importance.

38. In offering our full co-operation to this end, and taking as our inspiration the many relevant provisions of the Constitution of El Salvador, we urge the organs of the United Nations to work constructively to increase throughout the world the respect which is due to fundamental human rights.

39. Not only are we profoundly convinced that the peace, progress and happiness of the nations, and therefore of all mankind, depend upon the extent to which States encourage in the legal sphere the promotion and strengthening of human rights, but we also believe that it is imperative that all human beings should have equal access to all those means which are basically necessary to enable them to exercise for themselves the human rights which the law grants them, without which the law would be no more than a romantic expression of well-meaning ideals.

40. In our view, this must be one of the primary goals of the United Nations Development Decade:

raising the standard of living, particularly of those vast multitudes who lack the minimum of material and cultural wealth needed to enable them to achieve their aims in life. Yet we have seen with distress that these noble aims are far from fulfilment, for the terms of trade shift daily in favour of the wealthier countries, to the great disadvantage of the less-developed regions.

41. We believe that if this trend continues, the future consequences for most of our countries could be serious. We must, therefore, seek the best means of overcoming these difficulties, so as to ensure the progress and economic stability of mankind.

42. We should like to stress the importance of appropriate changes in the rules governing these factors, since they represent not only the well-being and progress of all the great countries but are basic to the achievement of higher rates of growth in those regions which are now in the process of development.

43. El Salvador has always followed with the greatest interest the work of UNCTAD as well as the activities of the Trade and Development Board, with a view to extending to them its most active co-operation.

44. Although it would be unrealistic to hope for the immediate achievement of all UNCTAD's specific purposes, El Salvador is confident that there will shortly be not only general agreement as to principles but also a genuine resolve on the part of the developed countries to remedy the present disequilibrium in the balance of international trade so that the developing countries can obtain from their commodity exports and the economic return which they must have in order to fulfil their legitimate aspirations for progress and prosperity.

45. There can be no doubt that the most practical and effective way of achieving these benefits is to organize common markets and economic groupings of developing States, not as a means of exclusion, designed to compartmentalize or divide world economic unity, but as a first step, a *sine qua non*, which will enable the underdeveloped countries to strengthen and make better use of their resources.

46. It is with legitimate satisfaction that we advance as proof of our argument the case of the Central American Common Market, which is a clear indication of what can be achieved by a group of friendly States in the sphere of technical co-ordination and the combining of efforts and ideals. This well-known experiment in collective enterprise is providing the States engaged in it with stable and improved trade outlets, as well as new and fruitful opportunities for development.

47. Notwithstanding the difficulties which still hamper the process of economic integration in the Central American Isthmus, in particular the maladjustments affecting production and fiscal receipts, we have no doubt of the success of the undertaking, which will certainly expand as we are able to improve its mechanism and techniques.

48. El Salvador wishes to express its appreciation at this juncture for the co-operation of ECLA, FAO and UNESCO, the Technical Assistance Administration

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June, 1966, document S/7123.

and the Special Fund, as well as all the specialized units within our Organization, without whose collaboration the efforts directed towards Central American economic integration would not have attained those levels of progress at which they have so happily arrived.

49. In conclusion, I should like to address myself to all States Members, to express to them El Salvador's conviction that history demands of us a decision of infinite importance: never before have men possessed so many means of all kinds for promoting the prosperity of all. It would be an insult to human intelligence to assume that we are incapable of using so extraordinary an opportunity in the way that the peace and well-being of all mankind demand.

50. My delegation has invariably participated in the work of the United Nations with full faith in the ultimate achievement of the purposes for which our Organization was established, namely, the preservation of mankind from the scourge of war, the advancement of human rights, the expansion of friendly co-operation among States, and the promotion of social progress by raising the living standards of all peoples in an atmosphere of the widest possible freedom.

51. El Salvador will continue to make every effort to fulfil the task common to all States of defending the fundamental principles of human co-existence, without which it would be impossible for international order to subsist. Small States like El Salvador feel themselves called upon to act as it were as the world's conscience, ever ready to contribute to the more effective prevalence of the force of right, the only guarantee of peace and security for all the peoples of the world.

52. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly has taken place at a time when the United Nations, on the threshold of the third decade of its existence, is faced with many problems the solution of which demands great efforts from all States. In adding the warm and sincere congratulations of the Romanian delegation to those already addressed to you—congratulations directed as much to you personally as to your country, for which the Romanian people cherish friendship and esteem—we should like to express the hope that this session will help the United Nations towards the fulfilment of its task as an instrument of international peace and co-operation.

53. The peoples of our time long to live in peace and to take part in fruitful international co-operation, based on mutual respect among the nations. This is a characteristic of the contemporary world, in which the national unity of peoples is being increasingly affirmed at the world level.

54. Scores of nations, called upon to play an ever more important part in international life, have made their appearance upon the world stage, like those nations which had an opportunity before them to bring their creative ability into play. All those peoples who, at the cost of great sacrifices, have freed themselves from the yoke of foreign domination, are determined to throw everything into the effort to consolidate their national independence and their right to decide freely their own future.

55. It is essential that these countries should be able to put their human and material potential to use in the interest of progress, prosperity and civilization. Despite the many obstacles lying in their path, the peoples will never grow weary of fighting to achieve their free and independent development.

56. Far from being out of date, nations will continue for a long time yet to constitute the basis for the evolution of society. The whole of international life must offer a propitious setting for the development of the process of consolidation. "The decisive condition for any progress in international relations in respect for the right of each people to decide its own fate freely, with no outside interference, and to follow the path of development which corresponds best to its own desires and to its fundamental interests" said Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

57. History, and the history of our own times in particular, bears witness that wars, crises, threats to peace, arise out of attempts at domination, external interference in the domestic affairs of States, and efforts to subjugate other peoples.

58. In the final analysis, the consolidation of world peace and security depends upon the organization of relations between States on a new basis, upon the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of others. These principles, which are being increasingly recognized throughout the world, are the only generally acceptable rational basis for the development of relations between States, for strengthening mutual trust and esteem between peoples, and for consolidating peace.

59. No one can speak of the rules governing international relations without thinking at once of South East Asia, where the United States is waging a war of aggression against the people of Viet-Nam, bombing centres of population, towns and villages, economic targets, causing material damage and loss of life, and incurring a grave responsibility towards the peoples of the entire world.

60. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania desires to reaffirm once again from this high rostrum the position of the Romanian Government and people, which strongly condemn the war of aggression being waged by the United States in Viet-Nam, an exceptionally grave war which endangers the peace and security of the peoples of the whole region and is a threat to the peace of the entire world.

61. We listened to the statement by Mr. Goldberg [1412th meeting] in which he sought to justify the aggression in Viet-Nam, but the escalation of the war there and the continued bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam flagrantly contradict the declarations of good and peaceful intentions contained in his statement.

62. The Romanian people sympathize fully with the aspirations of the people of Viet-Nam for freedom, independence and the reunification of their country, for they were for centuries driven by the same aspirations. They wish to state their complete solidarity

with the people of Viet-Nam, and their profound feeling for them in their just struggle in defence of freedom, independence, and the affirmation of their national identity. They offer and will continue to offer them full material and political support.

63. All mankind is looking with legitimate anxiety towards Viet-Nam, where the American aggression rages. It is anxious that the conflict should be settled and it awaits from the Government of the United States not declarations of peaceful intentions but effective action on behalf of peace.

64. The Romanian Government and people are convinced—and their conviction is mirrored more widely every day in world public opinion—that there is only one way to solve the serious situation now existing in Viet-Nam: that indicated by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and by the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam, namely, that the United States must end its aggression in Viet-Nam, cease bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, recognize the National Liberation Front as the representative of the people of South Viet-Nam, and apply scrupulously the Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam. All foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from Viet-Nam and the Viet-Nameese people must be enabled to settle their domestic affairs, including the realization of national unity, freely and in accordance with their own wishes and aspirations.

65. The bombing by the United States, which has involved itself in war in Viet-Nam, of a free and sovereign State—the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam—the launching of air attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong, causing material damage and killing civilians, have caused the deepest concern among peace-loving countries. These acts of military aggression are totally at variance with the standards of international conduct, with the rules of international law, and with the principles upon which our Organization is based.

66. One of the measures most urgently required is the immediate, unconditional and definitive cessation by the United States of its bombing of North Viet-Nam. It is for the United States to take this step because it is the aggressor; it was the United States which, without any justification whatsoever, began the bombing. In this way, not only would an end be put to the undeclared, unjust war being waged by the United States against a sovereign State—the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam—but respect would be paid to world public opinion which demands the creation of conditions which will make it possible to stop the Viet-Nameese conflict.

67. As an European country, Romania is naturally drawn to concern itself to a large extent with the evolution of the situation in Europe. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, the building up of European security is one of the most important problems in the political life of that continent, and its consequences affect the whole international situation.

68. We believe that present conditions must be analysed in the light of the part played by Europe in the progress of the material and spiritual life of mankind. Moreover, it can never be forgotten that it was Europe that saw the first flames of two world

wars, which caused untold destruction throughout the world. Although more than two decades have passed since the end of the Second World War, its results are still felt; sources of tension and danger to peace still exist.

69. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that an increased desire for inter-European co-operation and rapprochement has manifested itself on our continent in recent times more forcefully and on a larger scale. In the declaration adopted at Bucharest this summer by the parties to the Warsaw Treaty, it was rightly stressed that "despite differences in socio-political systems, and in ideological and political concepts, the peoples and States of Europe have a common cause which corresponds to the vital national interests of all, namely the task of refusing to tolerate the violation of peace in Europe and of restraining the forces of aggression".

70. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania believes that there is at this moment a possibility of broaching the problem of security on bases acceptable to all European States.

71. Building European security is, of course, a task of many aspects and clearly a sequence of actions must be followed which will make it possible gradually to eliminate tension and friction between States, as well as the fear of war and aggression.

72. Factors such as the development of political relations between States, the expansion of economic and trade relations, the multiplying of contacts and forms of co-operation in the fields of science, technology, education and the arts, and in any other field of common interest, are decisive to the safeguarding of European security.

73. Romania is developing bilateral relations with all the European countries, regardless of their political and social régimes.

74. As part of this policy, Romania is seeking to develop co-operative and good-neighbourly relations with all the Balkan countries. The Romanian Government notes with satisfaction that these relations have developed in a positive manner, particularly in recent times; it is according and will continue to accord all due importance to an expansion of economic, political, technological, scientific, cultural and touristic exchanges with the other Balkan States. In our view, the development of the traditional ties which unite the Balkan States, based on mutual respect and esteem and on bilateral and multilateral meetings between the representatives of these States, is in the interest of all the peoples of this region and will have a beneficial influence on the cause of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

75. The contacts established by Romania with States belonging to different social and political systems, situated in different parts of the world, have contributed to a better knowledge on both sides of each other's points of view, aspirations, anxieties and interests. The inauguration of a climate of mutual trust and co-operation has made it possible to conclude bilateral agreements in various fields, the importance of which far from being the exclusive

concern of the contracting parties contributes to a general improvement of the international atmosphere.

76. Romania is a firm and constant believer in peaceful coexistence, which is vital not only as the sole alternative to the mononuclear war but also because the progress of contemporary civilization has made the permanent exchange of material and spiritual values a vital necessity for all peoples. In our view, the path leading to the achievement of international co-operation and the genuine normalization of international relations as a whole must necessarily proceed by way of the development and consolidation of bilateral relations. Direct contact between States makes it possible to identify more easily and more precisely fields and factors of mutually advantageous co-operation and points of sympathy between sovereign and independent States.

77. The Romanian Government attaches particular importance to resolution 2129 (XX) adopted unanimously at the last session of the General Assembly, on the proposal of nine countries—Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Romania, Sweden and Yugoslavia—advocating measures at the regional level to improve neighbourly relations between European States belonging to different social and political systems. The welcome extended to this initiative by other States in Europe and throughout the world, and the action taken during the period that has elapsed since the resolution was adopted, show how useful and timely are the principles contained in this document and constitute an expression of the growing interest in the development of inter-European co-operation.

78. We are convinced that all States, regardless of the extent of their territory or the size of their population, or their military and economic potential, are responsible for the maintenance of peace. Fully qualified as they are to take part in the solution of the problems that trouble mankind, the small and middle-sized countries can make an increasingly important contribution to the cause of international co-operation and the peace and security of the peoples.

79. We cannot speak of the great world problems of today without attaching appropriate importance to the United Nations, which shoulders such vital responsibilities. In our opinion, the essential condition for the United Nations to be able to live up to its responsibilities is that it should be a faithful reflection of the realities of the contemporary world.

80. To improve the working of the United Nations it is necessary to make of it first a universal organization. This year again, many delegations have emphasized that without the participation of representatives of a quarter of the world's population, no realistic and viable solutions to the fundamental problems of international life can be imagined.

81. Reaffirming its unvarying position, the Romanian Government demands that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and other international agencies should be restored and that the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek who have for seventeen years usurped the place of the representatives of the great Chinese people should be dis-

missed. We should like to express the hope that the discussion of this item, which was placed on the agenda at the request of nine States, including Romania [A/6391], will bring about the ending of an abnormal situation which hampers the ability of our Organization to carry out the role laid down in the Charter.

82. We support the application of the German Democratic Republic for admission to the United Nations [see A/6443]; we believe—as we have already had occasion to state—that the admission of the two German States would make an important contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

83. The United Nations is called upon to play a leading role in the matter of action to ensure the elimination of the danger of nuclear war and to lead to general disarmament with nuclear disarmament as a first step.

84. In examining the many and complex aspects of disarmament, we must take into account the fact that the nuclear arms race and the existence and unprecedented destructive power of atomic weapons constitute an incalculable danger to mankind. Hence, the prime importance of nuclear disarmament. It is necessary that effective measures in which the peoples can trust should be taken at once for the reduction and complete elimination of the nuclear threat.

85. The Romanian delegation believes that one essential step which must be taken to eliminate the nuclear danger and guarantee the security of all States is the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles.

86. In our opinion, an agreement on non-proliferation, although not leading to the elimination of the danger, could nevertheless constitute a step towards a relaxation of tension, provided that it was followed in the course of the disarmament process by the essential measures I have just referred to.

87. As the work of the recent meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at Geneva has clearly shown, it is necessary—and this is a requirement of the highest practical and theoretical importance—that a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should establish a mutually acceptable equilibrium of responsibilities and obligations between the nuclear and non-nuclear powers, so as to give guarantees of security to all countries and thereby meet with the widest possible support. An agreement imposing unilateral obligations on only those Powers not possessing nuclear weapons could not answer the rightful demands of all peoples that their equal right to security should be assured. It is for this reason that it is necessary that the non-proliferation treaty should contain an undertaking by the nuclear States not to use nuclear weapons and never to use them against non-nuclear countries. Guarantees of this kind to States without nuclear weapons would encourage these States not to try to procure them and would help to secure the non-proliferation of these weapons. This is the only way in which a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons could contribute to a relaxation of tension and create conditions which would lead to the prohibition and destruction of atomic weapons.

88. We believe that a useful transitional step would be to set up denuclearized zones in Europe and other regions of the world, reinforced by an undertaking by the nuclear States never to use atomic weapons against non-nuclear countries.

89. In order to eliminate the sources of international tension which hamper the establishment of normal and healthy relations between sovereign States, the Romanian Government is in favour of liquidating the anachronistic system whereby the world is divided into military blocs, of dismantling foreign bases, and of withdrawing all armed forces from the territory of other States.

90. The Romanian delegation supports the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union [A/6397] regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty. It also considers that the General Assembly should pay the requisite attention to the item placed on the agenda at the request of ten States including Romania [A/6394], regarding the withdrawal of the American troops and other foreign forces now, under the aegis of the United Nations, occupying South Korea.

91. Many of the items on this session's agenda are related to the struggle of the peoples to defend and consolidate their national independence against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

92. The progress of the national liberation movement, and the changes that have taken place in the economic, political and social conditions of the peoples who have in recent years acquired the right to an independent life, constitute one of the most significant aspects of the irreversible forward march of mankind.

93. Romania enjoys friendly relations within the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It will continue in the future to devote full attention to initiatives to promote and expand co-operation with those young States which are struggling to wipe out the vestiges of colonial domination and build their own economic and social prosperity.

94. We must also note that the process of liquidating the last vestiges of colonialism is going forward disappointingly slowly, and that there are still peoples languishing under colonial oppression.

95. Disturbed by the threat to international peace and security which the prolongation of this state of affairs constitutes, Romania condemns the policy of apartheid maintained by the racist Government of South Africa despite the protests of the entire world. It fully supports the liberation struggles of the peoples of South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

96. One fundamental requirement, if the young States are to be able to play the active and creative role in international life to which they are entitled, is the consolidation of their national economies as independent entities. This is a particularly pressing requirement just now when most of these countries have only just freed themselves from the colonial system which had held back their development for centuries.

97. Economic development, within the framework of national programmes established in accordance with the individual historic circumstances and with the aspirations of the nations concerned, is the essential basis for true political independence, which makes it possible to expand and diversify international economic relations on mutually advantageous terms.

98. The achievement of these objectives, the rational exploitation of the human and material resources of each country, and the consolidation of the national independence and sovereignty of States, all depend upon industrialization, to such an extent that it can be said that in our day these two concepts—development and industrialization—have become synonymous.

99. It is by pressing on perseveringly with industrialization and working out a plan with wide perspectives that my country has succeeded not only in increasing its industrial production, which is more than six times larger today than fifteen years ago, but also in imposing a steady rhythm of modernization on every branch of production and in developing education and scientific research on a large scale.

100. A demonstration of the complex development of our national economy is the increase in national income, which has quadrupled in this period, thus creating favourable conditions for the systematic raising of the standard of living of the population.

101. The progress made by its economy as a result of sustained effort enables Romania at the same time to extend its activities on behalf of international economic co-operation.

102. Taking account of the concern of Member States to develop their national economies, the United Nations has put into operation a whole series of programmes, mechanisms and international agencies which form a useful complement to the ties which are being formed among States in the fields of economic, technological, scientific and cultural co-operation. Of course, no international mechanism, no matter how perfect, could replace a State's own initiative in drawing up its development policy or its responsibility for the implementation of that policy. On the other hand, the obligations of the United Nations machinery and its specialized agencies are many as regards exchanges of experience and ideas in spheres of common interest, access to what has become the joint patrimony of the contemporary world, and the intensification and acceleration of the efforts made by the United Nations in response to the requests of Member States which are putting such programmes into effect.

103. The General Assembly has a highly responsible task in this connexion at the present session, the task of setting up a new specialized agency to round out the institutional framework of the United Nations in a vital sector of development: industrialization.

104. Sharing in the hopes raised by the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the Romanian delegation believes that the achievement of the important objectives which the United Nations has set itself in this field implies, at the same time, a reworking of the assistance which it gives to developing countries as regards for ex-

ample inventories of natural resources, affirmation of national sovereignty over those resources, elimination of illiteracy, training of cadres at every level, planning, free access to the discoveries of contemporary science, the elimination of barriers and discrimination from international trade, and the transformation of international trade and financial relations into an effective instrument of progress.

105. The complexity of the problems to be solved leads us to turn our full attention towards efforts to secure maximum efficiency from international co-operation, not only through the co-ordination of the various activities of the United Nations in these fields but also by drawing up long term plans capable of giving these activities the necessary long-range orientation.

106. The annual report of the Secretary-General [A/6301] brings to our attention a vast range of problems and activities, all of which demand energy, zeal and abnegation and to which U Thant—to whom the Romanian Government once again expresses its esteem and appreciation—through his experience and devotion, makes a remarkable contribution that Romania sincerely hopes will be continued.

107. I said at the beginning of this statement that the solution of the complex problems of international life demands sustained effort on the part of all States.

108. May I end by assuring you that the Romanian delegation is determined to take part in the discussion of the items on this session's agenda so as to work in co-operation with other delegations to ensure that the United Nations plays its proper role ever more fully, and responds to the expectations of the peoples who long for the inauguration of a world of peace and uninterrupted progress, and for the promotion of international relations on the basis of the sovereign equality of States.

109. Mr. HERRERA BAEZ (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): May I begin my speech, Mr. President, by conveying to you on behalf of the delegation of the Dominican Republic our heartiest congratulations on your election to preside over the deliberations of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

110. These sentiments also express our conviction that you will guide our labours so wisely yet so firmly that we can even now anticipate the chorus of praise and recognition from the delegations here present at the success of your noble efforts, in the high position you occupy by the vote of this Assembly, to achieve peace and the solution of the problems facing us.

111. It is not with empty words of vainglory or boasting, but backed by the exact not to say strict expression of historical truth, that I state that never in the history of the United Nations has there appeared before a meeting of the General Assembly a delegation of the Dominican Republic possessing credentials of such remarkable political value as those displayed by the delegation which I have the honour to lead.

112. Born out of elections in which the Dominican people gave vigorous and unequivocal support to the

programme of the victorious party in a contest whose legality and fairness were vouched for by impartial observers representing various trends of contemporary political and social thought, the Government of Mr. Joaquin Balaguer, which I have the honour to represent at this rostrum, embodies in the most positive manner the people's aspirations for justice and progress and guarantees my country's complete identification with the United Nations profession of faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person.

113. As a fortunate result of representations made by the Dominican Republic in the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Peace Force, stationed in my country as a sequel to the painful events which filled the Republic with grief and ruin, was withdrawn. My Government then approached the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order that the mandate of 14 May 1965 for the despatch of a representative to the Dominican Republic might be duly revoked, since the free elections have fulfilled the basic aims of the Tenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States held in Washington on 1 May 1965, to solve within the American national ambit the grave political crisis then disturbing the Dominican Republic.

114. The fundamental prerequisite for the existence of a state of law in a country has been satisfactorily fulfilled in the Dominican Republic. I can add categorically that this state of law is being progressively consolidated, even in the midst of the tensions which are only to be expected in the light of the tragic process of moral decline and decay of the State's authority which has characterized the Dominican Republic's recent struggle for existence.

115. It is not enough to assert that a state of law exists in the Dominican Republic; we must also stress the feeling of real democratic coexistence which the present Administration is striving to imprint upon Dominican public life. Despite the impressive margin of votes obtained in the elections of June of this year, the new Dominican Government has not arrogated to itself, so to speak, a monopoly of the victor's spoils. In accordance with its policy of political enlightenment, which it felt duty bound to put into effect on assuming a mandate which it had undertaken to exercise not on behalf of a political party but on behalf of the community, the present Dominican Administration is today joined in the enterprise of government with all men and women capable of contributing to the rehabilitation of Dominican public life regardless of their individual political affiliation.

116. My Government believes that it is an essential requirement for domestic peace to accept the fact that we are a heterogeneous political society, the various sectors of which, far from being excluded, must on the contrary participate in the joint effort needed for the salvation of the country. Naturally, this recognition that all must share in the common task involves not only rights but also, and above all, duties and responsibilities. The delegation with which I share the proud duties entrusted to me is a clear reflection on this courageous and strict understanding of the exigencies of our national policy. Its repre-

sentative character is guaranteed by the presence within it of a distinguished member of the Opposition in the National Congress and of important leaders and authorized spokesmen of other authentically democratic party forces.

117. Nevertheless, the consolidation of the state of law is not the only fundamental preoccupation of the present Dominican Administration. We have also embarked with equal determination on the creation of a state of economic and social security, as is shown by the clear social trend of the new Government's development plans; we are also improving public morality with the help of the disciplined sense of honesty and austerity which the new Dominican Administration has infused into the task of government.

118. Important considerations affecting the maintenance of peace and security in the American continent will make it clear that the present Dominican experiment in democracy, because of the quality and intensity of the effort devoted to it, merits the sympathetic interest of the United Nations and in particular of those Powers which, within and outside the American continent, are making a genuine effort to create the conditions which are needed, in the words of the Charter, to promote throughout the world social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

119. The alternative is fraught with the most catastrophic possibilities. If this experiment designed to initiate the Dominican Republic into the practice of civilized political coexistence were to be destroyed by the violent reaction of those who do not agree with this type of community, it would not be hard to prophesy that the legal vacuum thus created would be filled by foreign intervention or by a dictatorship which would crush public freedom and delay social progress. Thus we should suffer a permanent setback in our promising career as a nation endowed with resources enough to ensure it a prosperous and happy life.

120. My Government greatly appreciates the spirit of international co-operation in which our efforts are being encouraged, and it has instructed me to convey from this rostrum our gratitude for the moral and economic aid which we are receiving from friendly nations. I should like in particular to refer to the decision of the United States Government to grant the Dominican Republic an increase in its sugar quota on the North American market, in all, an addition of about 141,783 tons, which has had a most stimulating effect on the Dominican economy.

121. The policy of financing the economic and social development plans of the developing countries will certainly be supported in the Dominican Republic by the strictest and most far-reaching controls. Otherwise, the provision of international assistance for development purposes would be like trying to fill the bottomless cask of the Danaides.

122. This means that we refuse, because we think it economically frustrating and morally humiliating, to go on stagnating as we were up to a short time ago, in conditions very like those of the colony of San Domingo in the days of its decline, when the

lives of Dominicans were spent sadly awaiting the arrival of the galleons bearing the colonial subsidy.

123. As President Balaguer stated categorically when taking the oath of office on 1 July 1966, "economic assistance used mainly to repair budgetary errors and correct omissions in the implementation of the Public Expenditure Act resulting from the administrative disorder in which we have been living is more of a disservice than an effective contribution to our programme to improve national institutions". In the face of this practice, the Dominican Republic has reversed its stand completely. We prefer aid which will help us to cease to be an economic parasite dependent on foreign aid. In short, the people of the Dominican Republic share the desire common to all worthy peoples and all honourable men, to earn a living by the sweat of their brow.

124. The increase in the Dominican sugar quota on the United States market heralds a new era in the economic relations between the two countries. For the first time, these relations are being considered in a completely realistic light. Heartening prospects will open up, if this step, which is only the first along the right path, is consolidated and followed by other agreements of even greater potential for the prosperity of the Dominican Republic within its geographical area.

125. From the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan, through the immense crescent of Central America and the Caribbean, we see profound changes taking place among a group of nations which have reached another crucial moment in their destiny. We see the awakening of human multitudes who were until a little time ago simply the pawns of history, but who now understand that they are in the front rank of those abstract conceptions known as States, which until recently were considered as being the principle subjects of law, geography and history. It can no longer be denied that the men and women of these lands—indeed, human beings everywhere—with their achievements, their miseries, their rebellions and their hopes, are the real concern of economics, law, education and politics.

126. Evidence of the presence of the masses in the life of contemporary societies is copious and pressing. Latin America is no stranger to these anxieties and to the social problems of immense human communities ravaged by poverty. Sociological geography tells us that just as there is a "geography of hunger" there is also a "geography of disease", a "geography of ignorance", a geography, in short, of man's inhumanity to man. It also tells us that there are, both at the national and at the international level in our continent, two Americas, which may be distinguished by names different from those on the map; one is known as the "affluent society", the other the "society of the dispossessed", and between them there is a failure of communication, a lack of interchange, that is reflected in a constant rise in the living standards of the former and a steady decline in those of the latter.

127. In this situation, the peoples of America are faced with two alternatives: they can choose the brutal, levelling process of revolution, which is sup-

posed to solve their social problems but at the expense of freedom; or they can find in the system of hemispheric co-operation the political and moral values, the procedures and standards, which, once brought up to date, will enable them to achieve by working together in the economic and social fields the objectives of the confederation of Bolivar, that sacred source of all our relationships.

128. There can be no doubt that responsible opinion in the Americas has decided to opt for the second of these alternatives which responds to the imperatives of the history of the American people and to the concepts of their institutional life.

129. The minds and wills of those who govern the Americas are inspired by a great ideal: the new plans for hemispheric economic integration offer the American peoples a future of unprecedented prosperity.

130. The Dominican Republic shares in the legitimate interest awakened by these projects, the effective realization of which will be the start of a new epoch in American relations. At the same time it believes it necessary to make a number of comments on hemispheric economic integration in so far as it affects the situation of the Dominican Republic as a geographical and economic unit of the Caribbean region.

131. The Dominican Government believes that, in view of the time already spent in considering the advantages of the rapid economic integration of the democratic areas of the Caribbean and in view of Dominican economic potentialities in relation to the neighbouring island of Puerto Rico, the time has now come to take decisive steps to that end. As President Balaguer said on taking the oath of office, "Conditions are excellent for both countries to establish a kind of common market, and to organize their respective economies in a spirit of mutual co-operation. Santo Domingo could provide Puerto Rico with an infinite number of agricultural products which are not produced in large enough quantities by the latter, and both peoples could join together in many fields of economic development so that their combined capital could promote industrial development in the field of private investment."

132. Twenty-five years ago, the distinguished Puerto Rican economist, Carlos Chardón, put forward in his book "Viajes y Naturaleza" some highly stimulating ideas which the passage of time has only made more cogent and compelling. In this work, it is argued that of all the groups of islands which exist in the world, only the Archipelago of the Antilles has been unable to achieve a so-called "archipelago economy" because in this group of islands there are seven sovereign Governments as far apart economically as they are geographically.

133. Chardón says that the island region of the Caribbean may be defined economically as a typical food deficit zone apparently, a state of affairs which is growing worse because of the constantly rising population. This distinguished Puerto Rican scholar observes, however, that in this situation the Dominican Republic offers the characteristics of a country which, because of the diversity of its crops and its great potential for agricultural development, constitutes

the natural supplier of food products to this geographical region.

134. A study entitled "Data which suggest the economic integration of part of the Caribbean area", prepared by Mr. Chardón for the Development Bank of Puerto Rico, was published in November 1962. This admirable analysis substantiated the fundamental considerations that since 1941 have justified the plan, conceived in the terms I have briefly outlined. In this study, the author, after a detailed analysis of Dominican economic potential as compared with that of Puerto Rico, reaches the conclusion that of eight economic bench-marks seven are positive and one temporarily negative for the Dominican Republic, while for the island of Puerto Rico, two of these same bench-marks are positive and six negative. He therefore feels that the economies of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico are complementary and that the two islands can achieve what he calls "an unprecedented form of social symbiosis". According to the study in question, Dominican agricultural potential is twelve times greater than that of Puerto Rico. We may imagine what levels of production the Dominican Republic would obtain if its economy received the extraordinary additional incentive of integration within the triangle of freer trade relations with the United States of America and Puerto Rico.

135. Recently, significant talks were held in Santo Domingo with representatives of Puerto Rican trade and industry, which constitute a beginning in the process of bringing the economic interests of the two islands together. It is obvious, however, that these talks must be supplemented by negotiations at the governmental level between the appropriate authorities, with a view to the conclusion of wide-ranging agreements covering all the matters involved in an economic merger equivalent to a common market.

136. Although the increase in the Dominican sugar quota on the North American market is undoubtedly highly satisfactory, this step should not be looked upon as temporary assistance to the Dominican Republic during what might be called its period of convalescence from the recent national crisis. The Dominican Republic hopes to find in the United States the necessary will to collaborate, in order to stabilize and develop its economic relations in the geographical area which it occupies jointly with the United States, bearing in mind the potentialities of its natural resources.

137. The Dominican Republic has no desire to remain indefinitely in a state of complete dependence on external credit, no matter how generous the terms on which it is offered. Even in the midst of our present problems, the Dominican Government is determined to carry out its plans for economic rehabilitation and development by embarking on the difficult course of valiant effort and arduous sacrifice. Our aim is to achieve once more a healthy economy buttressed by the respectability of our democratic institutions which constitute its animating spirit. We are working not only for our own benefit but also in order to contribute as much as we can to the assistance of other peoples and to all the causes

of social and humanitarian interest sponsored by the United Nations.

138. The Dominican delegation has noted with interest that the agenda of this session of the General Assembly contains the item relating to the draft covenants on human rights. The preparation of these instruments is a most notable attempt to reconcile the contradiction between the vital interests of States and the universalist vocation of an international organization such as ours. In contemporary international society, these instruments assume an extraordinary importance. They establish a higher tribunal, designed to humanize the function of government and ensure the international protection of human rights. This protective function is thus removed from subjective considerations of national policy which tend to distort it.

139. We cannot but feel ourselves fully identified with the juridical technique adopted by the United Nations to secure the international protection of human rights. In ordinary situations, apart from those cases of grave and systematic violations of human rights which must remain within the direct competence of the General Assembly, the Dominican Government believes that the protection of human rights, whether jurisdictional or quasi-jurisdictional, should be entrusted to special bodies set up by virtue of treaties and conventions. Nevertheless, my Government's attitude as regards the immediate effectiveness of these agreements is one of caution. We are aware that the European Convention on Human Rights of 1950 and its additional Protocol of 1952,⁴ which must be approved and ratified by the national parliaments of the contracting parties, are still not fully effective in all their provisions and for all the Contracting States, although these instruments apply to a homogeneous political civilization. It can easily be foreseen, then, that the United Nations Covenants on civil and political rights and on humanitarian and social rights will need still more time for complete and effective implementation.

140. The Dominican Government has also noted with particular interest, among the social items on this Assembly's agenda, that relating to a draft declaration on the elimination of discrimination against women. The presence of women in Dominican political and civil life on a footing of complete equality with men and their influence as a sane and conciliating factor in the political struggle has been so effective in the recent elections that women have gained positions in the governments of the twenty-six provinces into which the territory of the Dominican Republic is politically divided.

141. My Government also wishes to state that if there is any one violation of human rights which cries out in the sight of God and which must inevitably evoke in the conscience of the world the most overwhelming repugnance, it is that which perpetuates discriminatory practices on racial grounds. The Dominican delegation will strongly support the repeated condemnation of these practices by the General Assembly, practices that dishonour the nations which

are responsible for them and which, far from making sincere efforts to eradicate them once and for all, stubbornly persist in enshrining them, as it were, in their political constitution.

142. The Dominican delegation will also support any votes to censure adopted by this Assembly against manifestations of national and religious intolerance and will vote in favour of the speedy completion of the draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance.

143. On behalf of the Government and delegation of the Dominican Republic, I extend hearty greetings to the new State of Guyana, on the occasion of its entry into the United Nations. I am sure that it will contribute to the realization of our Organization's fundamental goals, and to that end we assure it of the Dominican Government's desire to co-operate.

144. As in previous years, the question of peace-keeping throughout the world is the most important general subject of our session.

145. The Charter of the United Nations requires Member States to practise tolerance and to live in peace as good neighbours, as a means of attaining the noble aims of our Organization. To live and let live would undoubtedly be the most reasonable corollary of that basic provision of the Charter. Naturally we would not go so far as to affirm with Menendez Pelayo, the author of "La Historia de los Heterodoxos Espanoles" that intolerance is a state of health, but it is undoubtedly true that the world is witnessing a struggle between new orthodoxies and heresies which unfortunately we still have not only to live with but also to confront with needed definitions. Our real task is to re-establish certain values which cannot be regarded as the transitory concerns of a particular epoch, but are part and parcel of all that is most noble and essential in human nature. In these circumstances, peace cannot be regarded as a kind of Nirvana where the most virile and generous impulses of mankind dwindle into nothingness, for otherwise we would be admitting that all those provisions of the Charter which promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms would be no more than meaningless sounds or empty legal phrases.

146. When so-called dialectical reasoning with its essentially relativist criterion of values and its cataclysmic interpretation of history maintains that irreconcilable conflict, the synthesis of opposing ideas through systematic violence, the occurrence of historical changes on the universal plane, are the only valid premises of international relations, it is clear that situations must arise outside the United Nations which cannot be reconciled with the principles upheld by our Organization.

147. One aspect of peace-keeping in which the Dominican Government has a lively interest is that relating to the defence of democratic institutions, in so far as this concept involves not only economic and social values but also political and moral values which cannot be renounced. It is in the light of this conviction that we regard the struggle in which the heroic people of South Viet-Nam are involved in defence of their freedom and security. As far as the Dominican Government is concerned, the support

⁴/ European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed at Rome on 4 November 1950. Additional Protocol, signed at Paris on 20 March 1952. United Nations Treaty Series.

which the Government of the United States of America and other Governments in that area which are vitally interested in the preservation of democracy in South Viet-Nam are giving to that nation has our confidence and merits our respect.

148. Faithful to the inter-American peace-loving tradition, to the creation of which it has made a distinguished contribution through its resolute and persevering support of compulsory arbitration and the peaceful settlement of international disputes in general, the Dominican Republic is aware of the well-founded anxiety aroused by the situation in South East Asia, which moves all countries to deep feelings of pity.

149. For all these reasons, it was with great satisfaction that we listened to the peace proposals submitted to this Assembly by Mr. Goldberg on behalf of the Government of the United States of America. In our opinion, they should be given careful consideration by those interested in peace with justice and dignity in Viet-Nam.

150. We appreciate and firmly support, as a duty not only of conscience but of religion, the enlightened efforts which His Holiness Pope Paul VI has been exerting for some time now to bring about an end to this war, the prolongation of which, in the view of many, may lead to unrestrained action which might aggravate the present international situation.

151. We also want to add our good wishes to those which Secretary-General U Thant has already received from our Assembly in recognition of his noble and untiring work for peace. His decision to continue at the head of the Secretariat of the United Nations gives my country particular pleasure.

152. As a member of the American family of nations we cannot but reaffirm our attitude towards the

decisive questions which are at stake in the Viet-Nameese war for the basic causes of that terrible conflict are the same as those which may one day arise in America. They will have similar implications if we do nothing in the face of the systematic campaign to subvert American democratic institution. This campaign is encouraged and supported with every kind of material and psychological resource by a State which, having deserted the international community that nurtured the ideals and the forces to which it owes its very existence, now dedicates itself to the task of sowing the seeds of its madness through the length and breath of the Americas.

153. The economic doctrine of laissez-faire, which led to the iron law of wages and which has been radically revised by modern economic thinking, must fail also as a political dogma. Instead of a United Nations resigned to the fatality of historical processes, we wish to see a United Nations valiantly determined to reaffirm the eternal values of human dignity and the self determination of peoples, provided that the latter is not invoked to justify yet another adventure of tyranny and aggression. The systematic recurrence of certain items on the agenda of our General Assembly, such as those relating to the defence of peace against aggression, the struggle against racial discrimination and the last vestiges of colonialism, and the protection of human rights, demonstrate the unswerving will of our Organization to watch over these serious matters. This is the spirit which keeps alive the interest of mankind in this Organization whose profession of faith in these troubled times might perhaps be summed up in this motto of the founder of one of the smallest but most honoured constitutional monarchies of Europe: "We need no hope to start the battle, nor victory to persevere".

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.