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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BAMALI (Nigeria): Mr. President, I wish to offer to you, on behalf of the Nigerian delegation, my warmest congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. It is an honour for which you, Sir, and the country that you have continued to serve with such great distinction, should be justly proud. Your distinguished career and your immensely impressive personal record, both as Prime Minister and now as the Foreign Minister of your great country, inspire my delegation to the firm belief that the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly will be most ably and most wisely guided. Permit me also, Sir, to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor in the Presidency, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, who, throughout the anxious and unusually difficult period of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, displayed such determination, such capacity and such wise steadfastness as amply to justify the confidence of the African nations whose worthy son he is.

2. The Nigerian delegation has come to the twentieth session of the General Assembly with a great feeling of relief and full determination to put the best it can into the work which the nineteenth session found itself unable to do. Our sense of relief arises not only from the knowledge that the twentieth session can now proceed to operate normally, but also from our gratifying belief that this Organization, whose very existence appeared to have been gravely threatened by the disagreement that persisted during the nineteenth session, once again seems ready and willing to tackle the responsibilities in respect of which many people everywhere hopefully look up to it for solutions.

3. Before dealing with some of these responsibilities, I should like, if I may, to extend the welcome and congratulations of the Nigerian Government to the three new Members of the Organization. My country has

had the most pleasant association with the Gambia, a sister African State, and with Singapore, with which we have always been associated in the Commonwealth of Nations. We eagerly look forward to the closest co-operation between the Nigerian delegation and the delegations of the Gambia, the Maldivé Islands and Singapore, both within the Afro-Asian Group and within the United Nations as a whole.

4. The admission of the three new Members takes the Organization another step forward towards the attainment of the principles of universality, which my delegation believes can usefully add to the authority and influence of the United Nations. It is in this light that my Government must view with regret the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. The question that we must ask ourselves is whether the United Nations has been, or is likely to be, a more effective organization as a result of the People's Republic of China being kept out of it. Nigeria does not think so. We do not think that a country whose people constitute about one-fifth of mankind and which, whether we approve it or not, now possesses atomic weapons, should be kept out of the mainstream and the deliberations of this world body. To continue to do so would, in the view of my delegation, mean to ignore the important fact that the task of achieving peace and stability in the world can be more easily and more fruitfully tackled if we can enlist the participation of all the big Powers in consideration thereof.

5. But we hope for a full solution to the Chinese question. The Peking-Formosa controversy is part of that question. The resolution of that controversy, however, rests primarily with the Chinese people themselves.

6. A look at the world situation during the past year unavoidably reveals that the quest for the maintenance of international peace must remain very high on the list of United Nations business. Our quest for peace, if it is to yield maximum results, must address itself not only to the settlement of disputes and conflicts that have already flared up, but also to the elimination of some of the situations from which disputes and conflicts inevitably develop.

7. You will therefore forgive me, Mr. President, if I proceed immediately to refer first to the events in Africa and their place in the over-all search for ways of maintaining international peace. For how meaningful can the search for world peace be to the citizens of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and those other parts of Africa that remain unhappy enclaves of colonialism, or in South Africa where the Government continues to pursue, with defiant impunity, a policy that carries with it one of the worst

forms of repression and denial of fundamental human rights based on racism?

8. There are other unhappy situations, the existence of which my Government believes should cause great concern to the United Nations. For instance, the Organization's "unfinished business" in Cyprus. We must not forget that, there as elsewhere, a cease-fire is not a settlement. We must encourage the early resolution of the dispute there on the twin principles of self-determination and protection of the legitimate rights of minorities.

9. Can we forget, Mr. President, the tragedies of which you were reminding us when, in your inaugural speech you pointed out that, as we gathered here to open our session, "guns are booming in Asia. Houses are falling. Men are dying. More and more families are falling prey to despair" [1332nd meeting, para. 17]? In Viet-Nam, a conflict has been raging now for a considerable time, causing great misery to many a home. My country shares the distress of all peace-loving nations at this state of affairs. We do not consider that a just solution to the conflict can be produced by military means. We believe in the peaceful solution of conflicts. We think that a cease-fire should be arranged as soon as possible, followed by a conference at which the Viet-Nameese people will be enabled to work out their own future. The fact that this dangerous conflict, with its grave possibilities for world peace, continues without the Security Council—our principal organ for the maintenance of peace—being able even to discuss it, is a sad commentary on the unhealthy state of our Organization.

10. Nigeria, in its dedication to encouraging the development of this Organization as an effective guardian of world peace, considers it essential that Member States should not turn their backs on tragedies and sufferings wherever they may be taking place and however intractable the problems they pose. In this connexion, we are grateful for the stupendous efforts made by the Security Council and our great and indefatigable Secretary-General in promoting the present cease-fire in the latest conflict between India and Pakistan. My Prime Minister expressed the tribute of the Nigerian people in respect of those efforts in a message addressed to the Secretary-General which, with your permission, Sir, I would like to quote. Here it is:

"I send you and Security Council warmest congratulations on behalf of myself, the Government and people of Nigeria on achieving a cease-fire in Kashmir. Your remarkable success in bringing to an end conflict between India and Pakistan is a unique triumph of reason and augurs well for the future of the United Nations and indeed of all mankind."

11. It is the hope of the Nigerian delegation, in spite of all the difficulties and irritations of the situation, that the cease-fire will be maintained and that it will open the way to a lasting settlement between India and Pakistan. Nigeria enjoys the most friendly relations with both of these countries. In reply to a request by the Secretary-General, my Government has agreed to contribute to the team

of observers required to assist in the maintenance of the cease-fire. It was a great pleasure for it to do so.

12. But the United Nations must not allow itself to become simply an organization for the maintenance of cease-fires. The securing of a cease-fire must always be regarded as only the preliminary to further action. We are glad to note that in this particular case the Security Council is showing a courageous determination to take that further action. The Nigerian delegation wishes solemnly to appeal to the leaders of both India and Pakistan to co-operate with the Council in this endeavour.

13. The problem of assembling for the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire a supervisory force of adequate size in a short time underlines the importance of creating a permanent peace-keeping force which would be available for this kind of emergency without embarrassing delay. But the Indo-Pakistan case does more than that. It points up the inadequacy of our Organization's machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes before they develop into wars. My delegation therefore welcomes the initiative which the United Kingdom has taken in introducing an item into our agenda on the peaceful settlement of disputes. This British initiative can be said to parallel in the political field similar activity in the economic field which has resulted in the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and nationals of other States, which came into effect a few months ago under the aegis of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

14. Nigeria was happy to be among the first to subscribe to that Convention, just as we were happy a few weeks ago to file with the Secretary-General our declaration of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. As our Permanent Representative said on that occasion:

"The International Court of Justice represents one of the symbols of man's belief in a world of law and order, a world in which might ceases to be right, and truth and justice prevail. It has, however, remained little more than a symbol because too many States have refused to give the Court their trust and confidence. Nigeria is happy to join the band of those who are prepared to do so.

"We are not doing this because we think that everything is right with the Court, or with the state of international law itself. We are doing it because we believe that the proper course for all peace-loving countries is to demonstrate their belief in an ordered world by accepting the jurisdiction of the Court and then co-operating to secure the removal of those features that handicap its effective and world-wide co-operation.

"I wish to emphasize that Nigeria's acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court is without the sort of reservations which make certain acceptances of limited value. Our acceptance is subject only to the one condition of reciprocity."

15. But we have to face the fact that, for so long as one can foresee, there will be cases in which

supervisory forces, or police forces, or even military forces, will require to be employed by the United Nations for purposes of peace-keeping. The United Nations has been in financial difficulties arising from such peace-keeping operations. We cannot afford to let this Organization become atrophied in that essential area. That would be disastrous. We therefore appeal to those Members which have not done so to contribute to the "rescue fund" as an earnest of their belief in this Organization. Nigeria has, happily, paid its own contribution. It is of course our hope that, as a result of further exertions on the part of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, the United Nations will evolve a permanent machinery for future peace-keeping operations, with assured sources of finance.

16. Nigeria continues to attach great importance to the question of achieving a general and complete disarmament of the world. We have continued to participate fully in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. We feel constrained, however, to express our disappointment at the slow progress being made in the Geneva talks. We are disappointed that the auspicious start which was made with the Moscow Treaty of August 1963^{1/} has not been followed through.

17. There is today neither a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty nor a guarantee against the proliferation of nuclear weapons — two measures without which the dangerous arms race with its senseless misuse of human resources is bound to continue. Nigeria wishes to add its voice to the appeal for speedy agreement on this vital subject. It was for this same reason that the Nigerian delegation to the last session of the Disarmament Commission gave its support to the idea of convening a world conference to discuss disarmament, an idea that we hope will be followed up with action in the near future.

18. We have witnessed in recent months events that had added a considerable degree of urgency to the need to find an agreement to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. To delay much longer the reaching of such an agreement will only make it more difficult for all the countries which now possess the capacity to develop nuclear arms to continue to refrain from doing so in the face of threats, immediate or potential, to their own security. We believe that the quest for agreement of non-proliferation of nuclear arms will be greatly helped by an agreement whereby the existing nuclear Powers will undertake to bar the threat or the use of nuclear arms against non-nuclear Powers.

19. The African group, of which Nigeria is a member, has submitted a request for the denuclearization of Africa [see A/5975]. We also note with pleasure that the Latin American countries are considering a similar proposal in relation to Latin America. The Nigerian delegation fully supports the policy of the denuclearization of certain areas of the world, as a step towards eventual denuclearization of the whole. We hope that the African group's proposal will receive the support of all Members.

20. My delegation supports a continuation of the current negotiations on disarmament and Nigeria will continue to contribute all it can, both in Geneva and here in New York, to the United Nations efforts to achieve further agreement on collateral measures and on specific measures for reducing the arms race, and to work towards the attainment of a completely disarmed world.

21. I feel obliged to refer in greater detail to the grave danger which the apartheid policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa pose to the peace and security of the African continent and of the world at large. Nigeria, along with all other independent African States, has continued to urge the Members of the United Nations to take positive action in order to put out a flame, the embers of which, if not checked, will inevitably engulf Africa and the rest of the world in unspeakable tragedy. Yes, unspeakable tragedy, because what is in prospect is not a clash along ideological, religious or such other lines, but a conflict waged on the basis of race and colour. The Nigerian people, the African peoples, people of African descent everywhere, must surely feel gravely concerned about the continued existence in Africa of a system that condemns men, women and children of the non-white race to a position of virtual slavery and unending persecution in their own country. All those who care to give substance to their professions of love and justice, freedom and respect for fundamental human rights, must surely recognize that there is no testing ground more apt for the demonstration of their dedication to these principles than in South Africa where a white minority Government continues to oppress and persecute the majority non-white population.

22. As has been stated from this rostrum a number of times in the past, Nigeria believes that the only acceptable solution to the explosive situation in the Republic of South Africa is the complete elimination of the policy of apartheid and the emergence of a South Africa in which fundamental human rights and equality of liberties are assured for all its citizens irrespective of race and colour.

23. Permit me also, Mr. President, to draw attention to the sad situation in Southern Rhodesia. In the view of the Nigerian delegation, Southern Rhodesia is the most urgent and serious problem confronting Africa today. In this British colony, not only do we see the continued denial of all political rights to the 4 million Africans by a Government composed of a white minority of about a quarter of a million; that Government is at this moment threatening to make a unilateral declaration of independence. Such a declaration would pose a very dangerous threat to world peace and security. The British Government has asserted its intention to apply economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence. Nigeria does not think that this is enough. The British Government must live up to its full responsibility in this matter, including the responsibility to apply as much force — especially military force — as may be warranted by the situation.

24. My delegation also hopes that the General Assembly will come up with a resolution that makes it

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (Moscow, 5 August 1963).

clear, that in unilaterally proclaiming independence, Mr. Smith will be defying not only the British Government but all the States Members of the United Nations — a resolution that also leaves him in no doubt as to the consequences, to him and his fellow-racists, of that precipitate act.

25. In Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, Africans are today engaged in genuine wars of national liberation. In spite of internal as well as external handicaps, they will overcome; they are bound to overcome, for their cause is just. Nigeria will support them to the end.

26. In the search for peace and greater international understanding, it is not only in the political sphere that this Organization should increase its efforts. The economic situation continues to worsen for developing countries. The gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" continues to widen. The increased prosperity of the industrialized countries contrasts sharply with the increased misery of the developing countries. The prices of manufactured goods rise all the time; those of the major agricultural commodities traded by developing countries fall all the time. The General Assembly, in passing the Development Decade resolution in 1961 [1710 (XVI)], pronounced itself categorically in favour of lessening the miseries and improving the well-being of developing countries. It is therefore a matter for great regret that the Secretary-General's interim report to the 39th session of the Economic and Social Council had to indicate that, "the progress thus far achieved towards the objectives of the Decade is less impressive than the fact that these objectives, although not very ambitious, remain quite distant"^{2/}

27. Nigeria was glad to see the adoption of resolution 1995 (XIX) establishing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as an organ of the Organization. But there is need for the political will to assist the organ in realizing its mandate. We therefore appeal to Member States, and in particular to the developed countries, to give their fullest support and co-operation to the Conference and its subsidiary bodies in their efforts to implement the recommendations adopted at the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964.

28. The activities of the United Nations in the field of industrial development deserves particular attention. In the past these activities have fallen below the level generally desired by the members of this Assembly. That is why Nigeria has always supported the creation of a specialized agency for industrial development within the United Nations family; such an agency would give the necessary impetus to this essential activity. My delegation hopes that the twentieth session will reach a positive decision on this important subject. In this connexion, we welcome the initiative of the Secretary-General in providing additional staff for the Centre for Industrial Development in the 1966 budget estimate. We regard this as an interim measure, since the ultimate objective, in our view, is the creation of a specialized agency for industrial development.

29. Yesterday [1347th meeting], this Assembly had the privilege, for the first time in its twenty years of existence, to receive the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The impact of His Holiness Pope Paul's message on us had nothing to do with whether we were Roman Catholics, or Protestant Christians, or Moslems, or people of no religion at all. I nearly said "people of no faith at all", but that would not be correct, for we all share one faith with the great Pontiff: namely, faith in humanity.

30. The Pope's message made a profound impression on the Nigerian delegation. I am sure the effect will be the same on my Government and the people of Nigeria, because we believe in the kind of world that he wishes us all to join in creating: a world in which we can live together in peace, regardless of differences of race, creed and ideology. It is the kind of world that we ourselves are trying hard to fashion within Nigeria, a country with a multitude of different ethnic groups speaking over two hundred different languages, and worshipping God in several different ways.

31. We are glad and grateful that Pope Paul is so devoutly dedicated to the pursuit of the grand initiative taken by his great predecessor in office in his memorable Pacem in Terris. Pope John broke with his Church's tradition in a number of ways. In coming to New York to address us, Pope Paul was also breaking with tradition, for no head of his Church had done that before. If the world is to be saved from destroying itself, we must all be ready to break with tradition: with traditions of pugnacity and of "my country, right or wrong". We must recognize that no country, great or small, knows all the answers or has the right, in the name of principle or ideology, to insist that others must accept its views. Nigeria believes in the sovereignty of all nations, but Nigeria also believes in the interdependence of sovereign nations.

32. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Mr. President, I should like, at the outset, to associate my delegation with those others which have congratulated you on your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

33. The dramatic appearance of His Holiness Pope Paul VI before this Assembly yesterday and his eloquent address to us should be a source of inspiration to all people of goodwill who are striving for world peace in order to ensure a better life for all humanity. In particular, his appeal for the reduction of armaments and the use of funds so gained for economic development deserves the fullest support from us all.

34. Our meeting today in this Hall evokes in my delegation a feeling of immense relief, by reason of two recent developments. Firstly, it appears that the frustrations and deep anxieties which haunted the meetings of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly have been overcome, at least for the present. Secondly, the recent conflict in the Asian sub-continent, involving two neighbouring States Members of this Organization, has been brought to a halt through the decisive and timely action of the Security Council. It is my Government's ardent hope that

the cease-fire effected between India and Pakistan by the Council's efforts will eventually lead not only to conditions of permanent peace, but also to mutually beneficial co-operation between these two neighbouring countries, whose past contributions to the strengthening of international peace and security have been noteworthy and which are destined to exert considerable influence upon future world developments.

35. As in past sessions of the General Assembly, it is once again my privilege to welcome new Members to our family of nations; and, in that connexion, I should like to express the satisfaction of the Ethiopian nation on the admission of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to this ever-expanding community of nations. My delegation welcomes those States to our midst, confident that they bring with them further vitality and fresh approaches towards the fulfilment of the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

36. However, while we rejoice at the admission of new States to membership of the United Nations—a process which in itself advances the principle of the universality of our Organization—my delegation must nevertheless record anew its regret at the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from membership of the United Nations. It is, I believe, increasingly apparent that the absence from the world forum of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China has brought to an impasse not only the work of the Organization—in particular, the efforts of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva—but also the solution of practically every important international question today. It is obvious that a Government which represents 700 million people must participate in all the activities of this Organization and its agencies, if these efforts are to be meaningful and effective. The logic is fairly simple: either we recognize realities or we pay the terrible price of postponing the solution of the urgent problems which beset the world community today. The Ethiopian delegation is convinced that this Assembly must invite the Government of the People's Republic of China to assume its rightful place in our council of nations.

37. My Government remains gravely concerned over the events in South-East Asia. As we have already made clear in statements of our views on previous occasions, we believe that the people of Viet-Nam, both North and South, should be left alone to determine whatever social structure, form of government or philosophy of State they deem fit for their nation. My delegation feels duty-bound to voice its utmost concern with regard to the conflict in Viet-Nam—and not only because of the serious threat to international peace and stability posed by any further escalation of the war, or indeed by its continuation. That eventually is in itself, of course, deserving of our anxious attention. But even more dismaying is the untold suffering of the Viet-Nameese people and the devastation of their land which has been going on for a period of nearly two decades. As a founding Member of this Organization, whose prime purpose is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", my country cannot remain silent while defenceless civilians, innocent children, women

and aged are being killed daily by the combatants in the conflict.

38. In our view, it is necessary that the Geneva Agreements of 1954^{3/} should be respected in their totality. In order to achieve that, we believe it is necessary that there should be a complete and immediate cease-fire and that the parties concerned should go to the conference table without any pre-conditions except the ones to which I have already referred. That approach will, we believe, bring a positive result that would be in accordance with the dignity of man and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that there is no other way out of the dilemma. To continue the war in one form or another would bring about only the complete collapse of relations among States in the world, and thereby bring us to the disaster we have been able to avert for the past twenty years. Consequently, the Ethiopian delegation would appeal to all the parties concerned to agree to the procedure I have mentioned and bring to an end the war in South-East Asia.

39. In proceeding to the matter popularly labelled the "crisis of the United Nations", I need only recall that the eventual adoption of the Afro-Asian proposal by the resumed nineteenth session of the General Assembly has enabled the present session to function normally. Yet we cannot lose sight of the basic fact that the Organization's financial solvency has not yet been restored.

40. The adoption of the proposal that the financial difficulties of the Organization be resolved by voluntary contributions and that Article 19 of the Charter not be invoked with respect to the financial crisis of the Organization arising out of its peace-keeping operations, is but a temporary solution. We feel that with this step achieved, all Members should now make their voluntary contributions as soon as possible in order to enable the Organization to pay its debts and plan the future rationally, in a spirit of harmony, co-operation and understanding.

41. As regards the future, it is the view of the Ethiopian delegation that the so-called guidelines for future peace-keeping operations need further study and further refinement, and that the Committee of Thirty-three^{4/} should be retained in order to make possible further discussion and analysis and thereby evolve some sort of general principles on those problems that have caused the deadlock in the past. In so saying, we do not, of course, mean that the procedure of peaceful settlement or enforcement action has to be abandoned, but rather that past experience should assist us in reaching some understanding with a view to formulating guidelines to similar situations that may arise in the future.

42. May I now make some brief remarks on the work of the Committee of Twenty-four.^{5/} That Committee has held meetings almost continuously since March

^{3/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China (Geneva, 20 July 1954).

^{4/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

^{5/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

1964. All in all, it has held over 100 meetings, and in some instances has considered the same territory two or three times. Since the activities of the Committee are widely known to the entire membership of the United Nations, it is perhaps sufficient to single out the significance of the Committee's meetings in the continent of Africa —meetings which permitted more light to be shed on the plight of peoples still under alien domination. It is the ardent hope of my delegation that the General Assembly will give due consideration to the Committee's report [A/6000/Rev.1] and take appropriate action on the recommendations contained therein. In particular, the Ethiopian delegation would urge, as its representatives have already done in the Committee, that a comprehensive programme of technical assistance be extended to the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report [A/5958].

43. I need hardly bring to the attention of the General Assembly the fact that the question of South West Africa is before the International Court of Justice, and, such being the case, I am not at liberty to elaborate on the subject. Yet I should be remiss if I did not urge on the Assembly the view that, pending the decision of the Court, the Government of the Republic of South Africa must be restrained from introducing changes that would be detrimental to the paramount interests of the people of South West Africa.

44. The case of Southern Rhodesia is another problem of oppression which cries out to the world's conscience for immediate solution. The dogged persistence of the settler régime in that unhappy land in denying the indigenous people of the territory their inalienable right to liberty and independence is a matter of grave concern to my Government as, indeed, to the entire family of African nations. In this regard, I must solemnly draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that any attempt by the settler régime in Southern Rhodesia to declare unilateral independence will be fraught with far-reaching consequences affecting the peace and security of the African continent. Representatives of my Government have, on numerous occasions, urged in the Committee of Twenty-four that the only rational approach, the only effective solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia lies in the convening of a constitutional conference to prepare a constitution which would ensure the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, and thereby guarantee the full participation of the African majority in shaping the destiny of their country. I should like to emphasize to this Assembly that unless action is forthcoming it may be too late to remedy the situation. I repeat, all positive steps must be taken at once to meet the legitimate demands of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The latest information about Southern Rhodesia would seem to indicate that an arrangement is being worked out between the Government of the United Kingdom and the settler régime in Southern Rhodesia whereby the minority Government would be allowed to declare its independence. It is the position of my Government that

nothing short of the transfer of the attributes of government to the African majority can constitute true independence for Southern Rhodesia.

45. Similarly, the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Portugal cannot reverse the tide of history by their flagrant disregard not only of the numerous resolutions of the competent organs of this Organization, but also the condemnation of an aroused world public opinion. The United Nations must take resolute steps to bring to a halt the colonial war in those territories administered by Portugal and the policy of repression and brutality pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa under its bankrupt and pernicious system of apartheid. Suffice it to stand as a warning that the continent of Africa will not know any enduring peace so long as millions of Africans remain subjugated by either a colonial Power waging a brutal last-ditch fight or by ruthless racists who, in this enlightened age, remain apostles of the creed of the superiority of one race over another.

46. There is yet a more pressing matter demanding the urgent attention of this Assembly. I refer to the subject of disarmament. It is perhaps a sad commentary that, despite the directives issued to the Disarmament Commission by numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and despite appeals of the non-aligned and African Heads of State and Government, the negotiating Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva has not so far achieved anything significant in the way of concrete results.

47. True, a start has been made in exploring the facets and aspects of the issues. But it appears as though a tendency to avoid issues and to delve into semantics has crept into the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. In this regard, our experience in Geneva compels us to make the observation that the tendency to look for difficulties, far from facilitating their solution, will, on the contrary, prevent us from coming closer to achieving our goal of general and complete disarmament.

48. I should now like to turn to a closer examination of the twin issues of a comprehensive nuclear test ban and a non-proliferation agreement. The need for the "have-nots" to abstain from the possession of nuclear weapons goes hand in hand with an assurance that those who already have a virtual monopoly over these awesome instruments of destruction will stop amassing them and refining their deadliness still further. The nuclear Powers must give a clear undertaking to reduce and eliminate their huge stockpiles while non-dissemination agreement is being worked out.

49. The Ethiopian delegation is convinced that it is on such a rational approach that the directives of the General Assembly to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee must be based. For our part, we will unreservedly support any initiatives of the General Assembly which will enable the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to emerge from its protracted lethargy and take a positive stride forward along the difficult path of general and complete disarmament.

50. Another aspect of disarmament which has often been considered and which has received a measure of support is, of course, the creation of nuclear-free zones around the world. The creation of denuclearized regions, especially in those areas in which the interests of the major Power groupings might not be particularly harmonious, would tend to allay mutual fears and thus pave the way for some bold step that would prevent any Power from brandishing these instruments of annihilation in time of tension.

51. But here again we should guard against trying to achieve the impossible. In other words, denuclearized zones would be ephemeral unless there was a firm understanding that these instruments of destruction would not be used in any armed conflict. Hence, we must recognize that any realistic disarmament programme necessarily demands outlawing the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for war purposes.

52. In this respect, the Ethiopian delegation has for a number of years been labouring to persuade States Members of this Organization that the solution to the complex problem of nuclear disarmament lies in the conclusion of a universal international convention prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons.

53. We therefore welcome and support the resolution of the Disarmament Commission, adopted at its last session, urging the convening of a world disarmament conference,^{6/} for in such a conference the first item that should receive the serious attention of the leaders of the world cannot fail to be the banning of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons from the arsenals of war. We should like once more to take this opportunity to emphasize anew that the only way to avoid a nuclear catastrophe is to conclude a treaty on this question. We trust that Member States will find it possible to support this suggestion when the question is taken up in the First Committee.

54. While the political activities of the United Nations attract our attention most, it is none the less true that its economic and technical activities are equally important to the world community. In this regard, the United Nations has taken a notable stride in establishing, by resolution 1995 (XIX), a permanent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to promote the economic and social aims of the Charter. It is true that the principles of international trade and development policy evolved by this organ are not fully shared by some of the world's most developed nations, and to this extent there may well be initial difficulties to be encountered by this new organ of the United Nations in implementing the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the Conference.^{7/} But these initial difficulties cannot and should not deter the world community as a whole from proceeding with this important task.

55. In our view, the developed Members of this Organization have ample appreciation of the problems of economic development and the means to make the United Nations Conference on Trade and Develop-

ment an effective instrument of peace and progress. We wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to appeal to the developed members of this Assembly to give their unreserved support to the activities initiated by the Conference.

56. The other most important consideration that deserves the attention of this Assembly is that of the strategy of economic development that must be employed by the United Nations in attaining economic and social progress for the developing countries. In this connexion, it is the belief of the Ethiopian Government that it is imperative to distinguish between the degrees of development among the developing countries in order to evolve effective combinations of trade and development policies to meet the differing requirements of the economies of the developing nations. We attribute great importance to these distinctions because, owing to the various stages of economic development in which the developing countries find themselves, all countries classified under the group could not be equally capable of gaining from a uniform trade and development policy. What are in fact needed are combinations of trade and development policies attuned to the respective requirements of the economies of the developing nations on a regional, sub-regional and country-by-country basis. That, in our view, is the only way by which the United Nations can ensure balanced advantages to all the developing countries, least developed or most advanced.

57. In concluding my remarks, let me make a final plea. Now that the Organization has survived a crippling experience, no effort should be spared to enable it to move forward towards achieving the fundamental ideals of the charter. A spirit of mutual accommodation with a full appreciation of the needs of our times must now be vigorously pursued. Whatever differences may exist in the ideologies, the social and economic systems and the forms of government of Member States of this Organization, these differences must not be allowed to interfere with our common pursuit of an enduring peace and mutually beneficial co-operation. As we must all be aware, our universe is fast shrinking as a result of the spectacular advances in science and technology. There is sufficient evidence to show that the time is not far off when man's conquest of the universe will carry him to dizzying reaches of interstellar space. Yet we may well ask ourselves: what will these achievements benefit man if he is not able to master himself and his destiny sufficiently to halt the process of self-destruction set into motion by his invention of terrible weapons? We cannot indefinitely live in a world sustained by a precarious balance of terror in which an enduring peace and mutually beneficial efforts would be simply illusory. I believe that man is fully capable of achieving the goals of international peace and co-operation through vigorous, dedicated and selfless efforts. We must, therefore, as an assembly of nations striving for the benefit of mankind towards the ends of world peace and security, social amelioration and economic abundance, rise to the challenge of our times.

58. U THI HAN (Burma): Mr. President, allow me first of all to convey to you the sincere congratula-

^{6/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

^{7/} Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

tions of the Burmese delegation and my own on your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that the wealth of experience and wisdom which you bring with you will indeed prove to be of great value to this Assembly, which is meeting at one of the most anxious moments in the history of the United Nations.

59. An unprecedented honour was given us yesterday when His Holiness Pope Paul VI appeared before this great assembly of nations, bringing with him a message of peace and goodwill, transcending all barriers of race, colour or creed. We should like to express our deep gratitude to His Holiness for having thus given us the benefit of his wisdom and vision.

Tiao Khampan (Laos), Vice-President, took the Chair.

60. I should also like to say how glad we are to welcome among us as new Members the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. Their admission to the United Nations, in itself a happy event, gives us great satisfaction because it takes our Organization a step further towards achieving universality of membership, which is a sine qua non for the strength of the United Nations and for the weight and effectiveness of its actions. We feel sure that these new Members will have many positive contributions to make to our Organization.

61. Though it is rather late in the day, I do not wish to let this opportunity pass without expressing our sense of relief at the ending of hostilities between two of our good friends and neighbours, India and Pakistan. This heartening event has been possible only because of the statesmanship of the leaders of both India and Pakistan, and we earnestly hope that this presages the development of better relations between the two countries which will make possible the peaceful settlement of the problems outstanding between them.

62. It is now twenty years since fifty-one nations of the world, determined to banish war for all time and to create a peaceful, happy and prosperous world, drew up an international charter of peace, justice and freedom for all mankind and on its basis founded the United Nations. Those twenty years have indeed been most eventful. During that relatively short span of time, monumental achievements were made by man in the fields of science and technology. They veritably placed within his grasp a golden key to a golden future, the means and the opportunity, as never before in history, to build for himself a better and fuller life and, for the generations to come, a new international order for which the United Nations, its Charter and its family of related agencies represented the ideal and provided the institutional framework.

63. However, sadly enough, having understood and conquered in large measure the mystifying forces of nature surrounding him, man found himself unable to gain mastery of himself or of his fears or to overcome his suspicions towards his fellow man. In the years following the founding of the United Nations, trust and understanding that had existed among nations at the end of the Second World War quickly gave

way to fears and suspicions. Thoughts and actions of nations, therefore, came to be directed more towards making massive preparations for a possible future war than towards creating conditions for lasting peace and widening prosperity in the world. Thus, against his best interests and, frequently, his better judgement, man has for these past twenty years been devoting by far the greater part of his creative genius, his creative energies and his creative resources towards increasing his capacity for self-destruction, towards making and perfecting diabolical weapons which he knew, instinctively, must never be used.

64. This senseless waste of human energies and resources has not only placed all mankind constantly under the sinister threat of total annihilation, but has created deeper divisions in an already grievously divided world, has bedevilled relations among nations, and has made peace—genuine, lasting peace—ever more difficult to attain.

65. The inevitable result is that conditions in this world of ours have not evolved in the way envisaged in the Charter. Indeed, conditions that are a far cry from those envisaged in the Charter have generally prevailed and, disturbingly enough, are increasingly being accepted as normal. It is tragic that our world, not having known genuine, total peace for two decades, should have come to accept as peace, absence of global war. It is equally tragic that even this imitation peace can be maintained, precariously, only by the so-called balance of terror. It is a disquieting thought that force—the threat or use of which in relations among nations in a manner inconsistent with the purposes of our Organization is forbidden in the Charter—has in practice become the condition of peace; that the uneasy peace of our world can be maintained, not through collective action, but only through mutual terror, only through a massive threat of mutual annihilation. Peace, it seems, is attainable only as the synthesis of conflict, not through common-sense and spontaneous goodwill. Far too often in the past have we found settlement becoming possible only after collision, agreement only after struggle, and détente—even of a limited and partial character—only after narrowly-averted catastrophes. And far too often has our world failed to consolidate and enlarge the area of such agreement and understanding as had been achieved at so great a risk and, often, at so high a cost.

66. All this is the measure of our world's failure to live up to the ideals and high principles which we ourselves laid down twenty years ago to guide our thoughts and actions. It is also a sad commentary indeed on the wisdom, resourcefulness and good sense of our age, and on our fitness to be the temporary custodians of human civilization.

67. My observations on the course through which the world has drifted in the past twenty years may appear to some to be somewhat cynical. To them I would say that we in the Burmese delegation are not unmindful of the many worthy accomplishments achieved by the world during that time, and if I have refrained from referring to them, it is because we feel that this year, which marks the twentieth

anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, as well as of the end of the Second World War and the first use ever of the atomic bomb by man against man, the human race perhaps needs to be reminded more of its shortcomings and failures than of its achievements. Looking back dispassionately and objectively, we are increasingly led to the view that mankind has arrived at a crossroad in history where it must choose between drifting along the same old path, and taking a new turn and proceeding by conscious action and with a sense of purpose and direction towards a more promising and orderly world. While we would be the last to hold the view that the beginning of the end of the human race is near at hand, we nevertheless consider that the moment of decision is fast approaching and that unless we, the nations of the world, choose the right path and take timely steps to avert the dangers that lie ahead, we may find ourselves being swept inexorably towards disaster by forces which we ourselves have created but which we, through lack of vision, can no longer shape or control. In short, we consider that it is time that the nations of the world started planning for peace in earnest, setting targets and, wherever possible, the time in which they are to be attained. This may appear naïve; perhaps it is. But nothing should be left untried for the sake of peace and the future of mankind.

68. Planning for peace requires that we, the nations of the world, make a new set of values, a new code of conduct, to guide our relations with each other. We must discard old ways and old concepts that have been found to be inconducive to peace and understanding among nations, and refrain from reasserting in any shape or form outmoded and anachronistic doctrines and practices. By the very nature of things, "peace" based on the balance of terror is not peace; security based on the concept of "defence through deterrence" is insecure; understanding generated by terror cannot endure. We must have the vision—and the courage—to do away with these false concepts and seek new ways and means of maintaining and promoting international peace and security through the positive motivation of goodwill, not through the negative motivation of fear of extinction. We must seek to preserve and strengthen the ground rules of peaceful coexistence that have been painstakingly worked out, and must recognize and respect the right of all nations, large and small, freely to choose their own social systems without interference or pressure from any country or group of countries. In short, we must bend our efforts, collectively and individually, towards bringing about a world order such as that envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

69. Planning for peace also requires that the United Nations be strengthened in every way possible. We must of course recognize that the Organization has certain shortcomings, such as, for instance, the lack of universality in its membership, and we should exert every effort to strengthen and develop it in consonance with the changed conditions and needs of the present-day world so that it may truly become an effective instrument, not only of international peace and security, but also of international co-operation. But we must not find fault with the prin-

ciples, the purposes and the basic organizational framework of the United Nations. In other words, we must not find fault with the United Nations idea.

70. It is important to remember that the United Nations can be only as strong—or as weak—as we, its Members, make it. Understanding this simple truth could enable us to avoid blaming the Organization for what, in reality, are our own faults and failures. It could also make us pause to think whether we have not been doing too little for the United Nations while demanding too much from it.

71. It is likewise important to remember that in the context of history, disputes and differences are but transitory, while the United Nations is not. Accepting this could lead us to the decision not to let disappointments or dissatisfactions over the inability of the United Nations to resolve certain contentious issues prompt us to take precipitate actions that could weaken the Organization, undermine its authority or jeopardize its future. As we say in Burma, when mice get into the granary, we must destroy the mice, not burn down the granary.

72. Lastly, it is important to remember that if there were no United Nations today, we should be trying very hard to set one up. Comprehension of this simple truth could make us more convinced of the need to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations effectively to fulfil its duties in the maintenance of international peace and security, and in the promotion of international co-operation in accordance with the Charter provisions. It could also persuade us to make increasing use of United Nations machinery, and avoid the tendency to bypass it in seeking adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. True to form we needed the traumatic experience of last year's session to realize how important to us the Organization really is. The agreement that has made it possible for this year's General Assembly to function normally is indeed welcome, and much credit is due to all those who have patiently worked to produce it. The efforts must, however, continue till a final solution that is acceptable to all concerned has been found.

73. While I am dealing with the question of strengthening the United Nations, I should like to reiterate the long-held view of the Government of the Union of Burma that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all its organs should be restored without further delay. We believe that the absence from our Organization of the legitimate representatives of a quarter of the human race has been, and will continue to be, a major source of its weakness.

74. Planning for peace also requires that meaningful steps be taken towards general and complete disarmament, for the armaments race has become one of the greatest scourges of humanity. It has wasted far too much human energy and resources, served to increase fear and mistrust between nations, and kept the world in a constant state of insecurity and tension. Perhaps never before have nations wished so much to be freed from the armaments burden, and yet never before have they found it so difficult

to give up the weapons in their possession. Indeed, history teaches that the more deadly the weapons become and the further the armament race goes, the harder it becomes for nations to get rid of them, no matter how strongly they may desire it. The arms race is going forward, unchecked, and the world, which in the past has discovered one "ultimate" weapon after another, may well be on the verge of discovering, or stumbling upon, a new weapon more "ultimate" in its deadliness than the atomic and hydrogen weapons. Disarmament, which is hard enough to achieve now, may then become impossible. Mankind has lived for far too long under the tyranny of armaments, and ways and means must be sought urgently whereby the process of disarmament could be effectively put under way. Only thus would it be possible to lay a secure foundation for peace. Only thus could future generations be spared the anguish, so well known to our generation, of having to live, day and night, with a viper in the coat pocket.

75. Burma's consistent interest in the question of disarmament is motivated by these considerations, not by visions of the promised cornucopia for developing countries which, we are often told, would be the concomitant of general and complete disarmament, though, of course, we do agree that the material resources released by such disarmament could gainfully be used to raise general living standards in the world. It is because of the same considerations and concern for peace that we strongly favour, *inter alia*, universal disarmament under appropriate and adequate control, the holding of a world disarmament conference to be attended by all the nations of the world, the prevention of the further spread in any form of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of their use, and the prevention of all nuclear weapons tests, including underground tests.

76. Finally, planning for peace calls for much more vigorous collective action by all nations to raise living standards throughout the world. The preoccupation of nations during the past two decades with problems of peace and security has prevented them from giving the kind of attention needed to this very important problem, with the result that wholesale poverty, want and disease continue to scourge more than two-thirds of the human race, while the rest of mankind is going through a period of unprecedented affluence. Such a situation is not only intolerable but is fraught with grave dangers because the widening gap between rich and poor nations is, ultimately, far more explosive than the ideological gap that divides nations. In a world rapidly becoming smaller as the result of advancing science and technology, divergent political and social systems can and must coexist in peace; but massive poverty and super abundance cannot. The division of the world into rich and poor nations is a potential threat to international peace and order, just as much as the existence of vast inequalities in wealth and gross social injustices in a society is a potential source of social friction and strife.

77. A more ambitious, imaginative and comprehensive programme than any tried to date seems to be indicated to cope with the situation. Such a programme should, in our view, be so designed as to enable

developing countries not only to achieve progress but to consolidate the progress achieved, laying emphasis on helping developing countries help themselves. We in Burma who are moving forward, in accordance with the Burmese way to socialism, on a new programme of national development based on the principles of self-help and self-reliance, would welcome any international programme for development conceived on the basis of similar principles.

78. There seems to be a growing awareness among nations that equilibrium in the political sphere alone could not assure peace and stability in the world, that equilibrium in the economic and social spheres is also needed for the purpose. We earnestly hope that this awareness would be translated into positive action, so that the promise embodied in the Charter "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" will indeed become a living reality.

Mr. Fanfani (Italy) resumed the Chair.

79. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Mr. President, my delegation has already had an opportunity to offer you its congratulations upon your election to your high office. I therefore wish to limit myself to adding my warmest personal congratulations, based on our personal ties of friendship grown during your terms of office as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy.

80. The United Nations is now completing the second decade of its existence and it seems to us that the time is ripe for a realistic appraisal of the condition in which our Organization finds itself now that it is about to come of age. Last year we were all deeply concerned with the fundamental problem which had turned the General Assembly—as I said in January from this rostrum [1318th meeting]—into a half-lamed giant.

81. As we all know, the financial crisis in the United Nations and the arrangements for future peace-keeping operations have been discussed here and elsewhere at great length. I do not wish again to go into various positions adopted. Suffice it to remind the Assembly that my country belonged—and still belongs—to those who subscribed to the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, to wit, that expenses for peace-keeping operations belong to the expenses mentioned in Article 17 of our Charter, for which Members can be assessed by the General Assembly. This view implies, however, that before decisions on peace-keeping operations are made, all the political and financial consequences are examined with the greatest care in order to be sure that such a decision can be carried out in practice. The deadlock of last year paralysed the nineteenth session of the General Assembly and threatened to paralyse the whole of the United Nations. Unresolved, it would have made normal work impossible for this twentieth session. Only a major concession on the part of some countries rendered it possible to return to a normal procedure.

82. The United Nations cannot work except on the basis of give and take. But "give and take" does not mean that one side has to do all the giving and the

other side all the taking. My delegation believes, therefore, that one may reasonably ask of those who objected to pay a share in certain operations that they should now make their own contribution to a solution of the two remaining aspects of the problem, namely, the solvency of the Organization and the question of future peace-keeping operations. They could do so by making voluntary contributions to reduce the remaining deficit of the United Nations, and furthermore by agreeing to a compromise arrangement for future peace-keeping operations.

83. On both these residual aspects of the problem, the remaining deficit and the arrangements for future peace-keeping operations, I should like to make my Government's attitude clear.

84. The Committee of Thirty-three has recommended that the financial difficulties of the Organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by Member States, with the highly developed countries making substantial contributions. The Netherlands has from the beginning subscribed to the principle that in certain cases the developed nations should pay a higher share than their normal quota.

85. Speaking about the financial problems of our Organization, I should like to support a suggestion made here on 29 September by the Foreign Minister of France. Mr. Couve de Murville pointed out that no one at this moment has a clear idea of what the balance sheet of the United Nations could be. He furthermore pointed out that there has been a constant accumulation and increase of expenses of the Organization proper and of its specialized agencies. Mr. Couve de Murville then said:

"From this analysis, France concludes that this financial crisis should be taken as the opportunity to take a fresh look at the situation of the United Nations as a whole—including that of the specialized agencies—to draw up a clear, complete and candid balance sheet for them, to revise our methods..." [1341st meeting, para. 91].

86. My delegation agrees with this suggestion. After twenty years of growth, it is almost inevitable that the United Nations machinery should show a number of duplications, outgrowths which have outlived their usefulness, and the like. Every machinery needs a periodic overhaul to maintain peak efficiency.

87. I should like only to add that I hope that the voluntary contributions which I mentioned earlier will be forthcoming without awaiting the outcome of a necessarily time-consuming operation as proposed by Mr. Couve de Murville.

88. My Government, like many others, is of the opinion that the so-called financial crisis of the United Nations was not limited to the problem of the financing of past or future peace-keeping operations; basically it is a structural crisis. My country has put its views on that subject on record for the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Then we made it clear that in our view, in order to survive, the United Nations would have to retrace some of the steps taken since 1950 in the realm of operational peace-keeping actions. It goes without saying that my Government continues to attach great

importance to that aspect of United Nations activity, namely, peace-keeping actions. If any doubt should have subsisted about the need for such operations, it has been dispelled beyond doubt by the armed conflicts of these last few weeks between India and Pakistan and the ensuing need, at short notice, of a great number of military observers.

89. It is, however, clear that the United Nations cannot afford a recurrence of a controversy over a particular operation such as we witnessed last year. Large-scale peace-keeping operations should therefore be undertaken in future only if there exists a reasonable measure of agreement among the great Powers, and only if their financing is assured, either by the application of general rules or by an *ad hoc* arrangement. The search for general and generally accepted principles for future peace-keeping operations should therefore be actively pursued. My Government has participated in this pursuit and will continue to do so. The discussion in the Committee of Thirty-three has considerably clarified the issues and alternatives. My Government is prepared to co-operate towards a compromise which would establish a new balance between the authority of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and in which the primary responsibility of the Security Council for international peace and security would again be more strongly emphasized. The experiences of the coming years will, I feel sure, indicate in what way the residual responsibility of the General Assembly, as laid down in the Charter, should be exercised. The Netherlands, I think, gave ample proof that its preparedness to contribute to peace-keeping operations was not theoretical, when on 24 September 1963 [1213th meeting], I informed the General Assembly, from this rostrum, that the Netherlands Government had decided to put a standby contingent of its armed forces at the disposal of the Organization.

90. Experience since then has demonstrated that the United Nations will in future need more elaborate and more diversified military contributions from its Members if it is effectively to exercise its peace-keeping task. I therefore take great pleasure in announcing that the Netherlands Government has decided to increase its original offer of standby forces considerably by expending it to diversified units of navy, army and air force. We are informing the Secretary-General as to the composition of the increased stand-by forces.

91. First, the Royal Netherlands Navy: in the first instance, a contingent of 600 Royal Marines; then an under way fleet supply ship, equipped whenever necessary with four transport-liaison helicopters, as well as a number of vessels for patrolling and reconnaissance. In a later phase this naval contribution may be enlarged with other units, notably a light aircraft carrier for transport of personnel and equipment, as well as other units to serve as headquarters ship or as logistic support ship. So much for the navy.

92. The contribution of the Royal Netherlands Army will consist of: a self-contained and self-supporting armoured infantry battalion, available in the course of 1966, and a medical unit in the strength of an independent medical company. These Army units

can be made available at short notice, once they have been readied for transport abroad.

93. The contribution of the Royal Netherlands Air Force consists of: one Fokker F.27 transport plane with crew and/or three Alouette II helicopters with crew.

94. It goes without saying that this offer is made on the understanding that in each specific case prior consultation with and agreement of the Netherlands Government will be required. We trust that this contribution will be of assistance to the United Nations, and we hope that it will induce an increasing number of countries of different regional groups likewise to make contingents available on a stand-by basis.

95. I mentioned just now the increased emphasis on the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. My country has been privileged again to occupy a seat on that important body since 1 January of this year, and consequently we have been closely associated with all aspects of the work of this principal organ of the United Nations. We were particularly happy to be able to play some part in bringing about a cease-fire between India and Pakistan. We also wish to compliment the Secretary-General for his unrelenting efforts in trying to carry the Council's decisions into practice. The result obtained is of signal importance because thus far it has been the gravest armed conflict halted by the United Nations. But of even greater significance in the long run may prove to be the fact that, for the first time in many years, the Security Council has again been able to take drastic action on the basis of unanimity of its permanent members. This is how the Council was originally intended to function, and it strengthens the trend towards a return to a greater role for the Council, which has been noticeable lately.

96. During the last six months the Security Council not only has displayed a greater activity than in previous years, but it has shown an increasing awareness among all Council members of the necessity to reach generally acceptable decisions. It was thus that unanimity was achieved on the border incidents between Portuguese Guinea and Senegal, on the worrying situation in Cyprus, and several times in the conflict between India and Pakistan.

97. We are particularly happy about this increased activity of the Security Council because we feel that that body may have to take on more activities in depth. I mean to say that we have not sufficiently used all the means put at our disposal by the Charter in order to achieve a stage where the parties to a dispute bridge their differences and arrive at negotiated settlements. We may perhaps have neglected to tackle the basic underlying problems which led to hostilities.

98. The problem of Kashmir provided the world with one glaring example of our failure to act in time; but others—let me mention only the conflict in the Middle East and the situation in Cyprus—are easy to find. All these cases show the necessity of unrelenting pressure on the parties concerned in order to arrive at negotiated settlements.

99. Likewise, beyond the formal agendas of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the most disquieting conflict of our day—the war in Viet-Nam—looms large in our preoccupations. We are all aware of the complexities of the problems involved in that question. We are by no means sure, or even hopeful, that the United Nations can perform a useful task in promoting a solution of the Viet-Nameese conflict. We can hope only—and my delegation does fervently hope—that the bloodshed and destruction will convince those parties who thus far have steadfastly refused to come to the conference table that the use of armed force does not solve the problem.

100. On the other hand, it is just as important that one should keep in mind the limitations imposed upon the United Nations by its very nature. The United Nations is an Organization of sovereign States, not a superstate; it provides a forum and a machinery for the Governments, not a supergovernment. One cannot, therefore, expect the United Nations to lay down solutions and to impose them upon the parties. The United Nations as such cannot impose a solution of its own. When there is a conflict between large States, especially, a solution has ultimately got to be agreed upon by the parties to that conflict. A threat to withdraw from the United Nations cannot alter this basic fact.

101. In view of the many potentially dangerous situations confronting us today, it may be useful again to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that peace and prosperity cannot be separated one from the other; and, for more than two thirds of our world population, prosperity is almost entirely dependent on development. There is also an unbreakable link between peace and development. One day's gun-fire can jeopardize an entire development programme, and may even destroy years of patient work of fighting poverty and promoting prosperity and progress.

102. This strong connexion between peace and prosperity brings me to the scope of that other principal organ of our Organization, the Economic and Social Council. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to make a brief observation on the future task of this Council.

103. The Economic and Social Council is, I believe, entering a new era. This year's thirty-ninth session of the Council has provided sufficient evidence that all geographical regions are placing a renewed confidence in the contribution by the entire United Nations family, including the specialized agencies, to an accelerated development of the less developed areas of the world. The conclusions of that session point in the direction of a revalidation of the Council's position as the co-ordinating and stimulating organ in this field, as intended by the authors of our Charter. From this rostrum, I want to express our sincere hope that, in future, we shall hear less of the so-called "constitutional responsibilities" of the various Members of the United Nations family, and more of that single and unique responsibility which all parts of the United Nations system share in the combined and concerted struggle for more prosperity, more well-being, more happiness, for more people.

104. In any case, we feel that recent developments have shown that the Economic and Social Council has rightly retained its position as the central United Nations organ for the elaboration of world policy on development, and that the responsibilities of the Conference on Trade and Development in this field are, of necessity, more limited in scope. We hope and trust that duplication, overlapping, and general waste of effort and of manpower will be avoided in the delimitation of the work to be done by the various United Nations organs and agencies active in this field.

105. Having made some observations on the future of the two great Councils of this Organization—the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council—I should like to add that my delegation is very happy indeed that the amendments to the Charter concerning the increase in membership of both Councils have now entered into force. My delegation has been active towards this end for many years because these amendments will bring about a more fair representation of the new Members of our Organization, to which these Members are entitled.

106. Before I end, I feel bound to say a few words about certain developments in my own continent, Europe.

107. As is well known, the Netherlands, since the last war, has been a staunch champion of the ideal of a United Europe. Since 1944, this ideal has found practical expression in various organizations, such as Benelux, the Council of Europe, the Western European Union, the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and, finally, the most important of them all, the Common Market. We did consider, and still do consider, that organization as the nucleus of the economic and also the political unification of all the free and democratic countries of Europe. Even a year ago, I still would have expressed my confident hope that the impetus of the Common Market would not fail, within the foreseeable future, to bring about the practical realization of our ideals. Unfortunately, during the last months, the crisis in the Common Market has dimmed our expectations, and I greatly fear that a serious slow-down—if not worse—will result from these unfortunate developments. Nevertheless, in the long run, I remain confident of the final outcome, because the integration of the economies and the parallel political interest have been too far advanced to envisage the failure of the whole concept. Although these developments are not the subject of discussion within the United Nations, I felt that they are of such importance that I was entitled briefly to touch upon them because, indirectly, they will certainly affect many regions besides Europe.

108. The twentieth session is, understandably, faced with a heavy agenda. On many of the items before us, the Netherlands delegation will have a good deal to say. This will be the case in particular when the important subject of disarmament, with all its related problems, comes up; and again, when the details of the work in the economic and social sphere, including all aspects of aid to less developed countries, are discussed. We intend to take an active part in the debate in the Committees, on these and other items dealt with by the Secretary-General in his

valuable annual report [A/6001]. As far as the general debate is concerned, I want to limit myself to the remarks I have just made.

109. After the disappointing nineteenth session, it is encouraging to note that the twentieth session is opening in a spirit of greater co-operation, optimism and determination, which may indicate, as we hope, that the United Nations has passed the depression of last year and is now on the upgrade again. Nothing could have marked this change in atmosphere better, or could have contributed more to it, than the august presence among us yesterday of His Holiness the Pope.

110. In this spirit I hope, Mr. President, that at your next visit to Rome, you will convey to His Holiness the feelings of deep gratitude that all of us in this Assembly nurture for his truly historic and deeply moving contribution to the cause of peace; and I pray that the Almighty may grant us guidance and wisdom in our labours.

111. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Albania, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

112. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): I apologize for taking a few minutes at this late hour. I asked to speak in order to exercise my right of reply to certain allegations made by the United States representative concerning the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania.

113. As you know, last week in the General Assembly many delegations, including the delegation of Albania [1344th meeting], with clear evidence to support them, denounced the policy of aggression of the United States, with special emphasis on its armed aggression in Viet-Nam.

114. The representative of the United States, finding himself in a difficult position and aware of the impact and significance of such a condemnation by the representatives of many countries expressing the feelings of all peace-loving peoples, tried to reply at the end of the week, at the last regular meeting of the General Assembly [1346th meeting].

115. Again and again, both at the meeting on 1 September [1331st meeting] and at the last regular meeting of the General Assembly, the United States representative had the audacity to threaten Member States by saying that if their representatives attacked his Government's policy, he would certainly reply. But neither threats nor audacity constitute replies and they cannot intimidate anybody, certainly not the Albanian delegation.

116. Last week, having run out of arguments, the United States representative, in a special statement to the Press concerning the speech I made from this rostrum on 30 September, and in his refutation at the end of the week, thought he had found a way out when he characterized the irrefutable arguments advanced by our delegation and by several other speakers on United States aggression in Viet-Nam as a "distortion of the facts".

117. From what the United States representative said, it would seem that the aggression, the bomb-

ings, the monstrous crimes committed daily by the United States imperialists in Viet-Nam were philanthropic deeds, proof of devotion to the principle of the self-determination of peoples and of peace. His statement of 1 October is nothing but a tissue of untruths and cynicism, which cannot force people to take a lie for the truth, black for white, aggression for peace.

118. I shall confine myself for the moment to three basic points in that statement.

119. In the first place, the Washington Government and its representatives in the United Nations are doing their utmost to give the impression that South Viet-Nam is a separate country, an independent State which, they maintain, is being heaped militarily by the United States to resist aggression. That is a pure fabrication. Everybody knows perfectly well that Viet-Nam is one country, one single indivisible entity, that there is only one Viet-Nameese nation, composed of the North and the South, that there is only one Viet-Nameese people, consisting of 31 million individuals inhabiting the whole indivisible territory of Viet-Nam.

120. The present demarcation between the North and South at the 17th parallel is entirely artificial and provisional; it was established by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. The Final Act of the Geneva Conference^{8/} specifies that the military demarcation line in Viet-Nam, fixed at the 17th parallel, "is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary". It is as clear as daylight.

121. According to the Geneva Agreements, free country-wide general elections were to be held in Viet-Nam in July 1965 to bring about the peaceful reunification of the country. But the United States Government, tearing up the Geneva Agreements, prevented those general elections and, with the help of its henchman, Ngo Dinh Diem —whom it uncereemoniously liquidated when it no longer needed him—founded the pseudo-republic of Viet-Nam.

122. Secondly, no sophism, no juggling of words can conceal the obvious fact that the only aggressor in Viet-Nam is the United States. In open violation of the Geneva Agreements, and in particular of articles 14, 16, 17 and 19, the United States imperialists sent their armed forces into South Viet-Nam and are continuing to send in fresh reinforcements, equipped with powerful modern weapons, and mercenaries. They have invaded and occupied the country, where they carry out acts of war day and night; they are guilty of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which has always scrupulously respected the Geneva Agreements and which they have the impudence to accuse and to blame for the Viet-Nameese war. They accuse it of aggression against South Viet-Nam, which is absolutely false, and even absurd and unthinkable since, as Mr. Osman Ba, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali, rightly pointed out the other day [1343rd meeting], a people cannot be its own aggressor.

123. Speaking of the crimes committed by the United States imperialists in South Viet-Nam, the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, the only group representing and leading the people of South Viet-Nam, in their struggle for national liberation, reports the following facts, inter alia, in its statement of 22 March 1965:

"For over eleven years, in the course of over 160,000 operations carried out by the United States imperialists and their lackeys, more than 170,000 people have been killed, nearly 800,000 wounded or disabled, more than 400,000 imprisoned in over 1,000 prisons; scores of women, including old women, children and nuns, have been raped; over 5,000 people have been disemboweled and buried alive; whole groups of villages have been demolished and over 5 million people have been forcibly interned in concentration camps camouflaged as so-called 'prosperity zones', 'resettlement centres' or 'strategic hamlets'. The United States imperialists and their lackeys have spread toxic chemicals over many areas, destroying hundreds of thousands of acres of crops and fruit trees and poisoning tens of thousands of persons. In addition, they have destroyed thousands of pagodas, churches, sanctuaries and temples and have killed tens of thousands of believers and clergy. Under the iron heel of the savage United States aggressors, the beautiful, fertile land of South Viet-Nam has become a landscape of ruins and desolation. The barbarous fascist régime of the United States imperialists and their lackeys of South Viet-Nam is even more cruel than Hitler's fascism and the dark Middle Ages."

124. These facts speak for themselves. Since March 1965, when that statement was issued, the crimes and acts of war of the United States imperialists have been intensified to an unprecedented degree. The unprovoked aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is so scandalous, so criminal, that the United States representative dared not even mention it in his statement of 1 October 1965.

125. The savage raids of the United States Air Force against North Viet-Nam are continuing without respite; the ruins are piling up; crimes are followed by more crimes. The people of Viet-Nam will make the United States imperialists pay dearly for their armed intervention in South Viet-Nam, their aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, their monstrous crimes. In their heroic and glorious struggle, the people are inflicting defeat after defeat on the aggressors and are resolutely and firmly advancing along the road to a well-deserved victory.

126. Thirdly, the United States representative was underestimating the intelligence of the members of the General Assembly when he stressed the alleged desire of his Government to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam by so-called "unconditional" negotiations —on one condition, however, namely that the United States imperialists should be able to continue their attacks on the North, and their occupation of the South and their war of extermination. The entire people of Viet-Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam have contemptuously rejected this obvious piece of trickery. The United States is compelled

^{8/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China held from 16 to 21 July 1954.

to realize that day by day it is becoming more and more deeply involved in its dirty war in Viet-Nam, that the people of Viet-Nam cannot be conquered and that there is no way out of its adventure in Viet-Nam. According to the United States representative, his country is anxious to find a way out. There is only one way out of the Viet-Nam war: let the United States aggressors cease their aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam forthwith, let them withdraw all their troops and those of their mercenaries from Viet-Nam without delay, together with all their equipment, let them allow the people of South Viet-Nam to decide freely how to solve

their own problems. The key to that way out is in the hands of the United States itself. If it does not use it to get out, to go back where it came from, the people of Viet-Nam will make it their duty to throw the Americans back to the sea and will cleanse their marvellous country of the plague of United States imperialism.

127. For years the peoples of the world have been saying over and over again to the United States imperialists, in all languages: "Get out of Viet-Nam! Get out of Viet-Nam and peace will be restored."

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.