

(Mr. Kyprianou, Cyprus)

The fundamental problem of war and peace is the same. The questions of colonialism and disarmament are the same. Most of the other specific international questions are the same, and appear every year before us for reconsideration. Every year, we state our views on the international situation; we reaffirm our positions and our policies. We reiterate our dedication to the ideals of the United Nations and our determination to do our utmost towards securing conditions for lasting peace. We speak every year and we are almost unanimous on the necessity to realize our common objectives of complete freedom, of the universal application of the principle of self-determination, of the universal respect for human rights, of equality amongst States and equality amongst individuals. We condemn every year those who, in violation of our principles and convictions, endeavour to halt or delay the process of complete decolonization; and we denounce those who, in their effort to keep themselves in power and suppress the will of the people, employ discriminatory and other oppressive practices. We emphasize every year the necessity to element the injustice resulting from economic or social inequality. We underline, every year, the need to apply technological and scientific achievements for the benefit of man, rather than for his detriment and perhaps his destruction. All this, we always, and every year, uphold in the course of this annual general debate, and we are almost unanimous that the realization of these objectives, the objectives of the United Nations, is absolutely essential if our basic aim for lasting peace is to be attained.

Every year, however, faced by the realities, we reach the same conclusion: namely, that to a lesser or greater extent, peace is at stake, and our expectations are being continuously jeopardized. The mere fact that we repeat ourselves every year, in itself, serves to confirm that we have not come appreciably nearer our target; and, what is worse, to a certain extent, this year we meet in circumstances that we may fairly describe as more critical, more confusing and more dangerous. Our inability to make enough progress in almost all fields, coupled with the truly explosive situation which today prevails in more than one part of the world, and which is not very difficult for anyone to apprehend, can easily explain our frustration which has grown, and our anxieties which have increased, concerning the future of mankind. It is not too difficult

(Mr. Lyng, Norway)

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the Norwegian Government's attitude towards the United Nations and how we view the future of the Organization. Ever since the Organization was founded, the United Nations has been one of the cornerstones in our foreign policy. We feel convinced that the United Nations, in spite of its weaknesses, has a great potential for influencing future international developments and promoting world peace.

Our serious concern about the future of the United Nations has motivated the Norwegian Government's urgent requests to the Secretary-General to continue in his office. I repeat this appeal, combining it, however, with another appeal addressed to the members of this Assembly. It is up to each and every one of us to give the Secretary-General the necessary tools to enable him to fulfil the mandate conferred upon him. It is up to us, through our policies, to assist him in reaching the high objectives which he has set forth for our Organization. The Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people will do their utmost to this end. We are fully aware that our effort can only be a very modest one. But there are other members here in a position to play a more important role in this respect.

Mr. TONČIĆ-SORINJ (Austria): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you upon your election to the Presidency of the twenty-first General Assembly. The overwhelming support which you have received testifies to the high esteem in which you are held. We are fortunate in having as our presiding officer one of the most experienced diplomats of the United Nations who has served his country for many years and who on numerous occasions has demonstrated his diplomatic skill and personal devotion to the lofty aims of the United Nations. I have, therefore, great pleasure in greeting in you the distinguished representative of a country with which Austria maintains close and friendly relations.

I should like to take this opportunity to welcome Guyana as a new member of the United Nations family and to express the hope that Guyana will be followed shortly by other independent nations, a process which represents a significant step towards universality and a clear demonstration of faith on the part of the newly independent countries in the role and aims of the United Nations. In this connexion I should like to express my satisfaction that Indonesia, one of the largest and most populous countries in the world, has resumed its full participation

in the activities of the United Nations, which will be to the benefit of all of us.

The twenty-first General Assembly meets in an atmosphere of tension. The world is beset with troubles, which have their origin in the pursuance of political ideologies; in the economic, social and educational disparity between rich and poor nations; in the unresolved issues regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; and in the denial of human rights.

The fact that at this very moment our Secretary-General has informed us that he does not offer himself for a second term creates among the Member States of this Organization a feeling of anxiety and insecurity. May I express on this occasion the deep appreciation of my Government for the outstanding services which U Thant has rendered to this Organization and to the cause of peace. We admire his unbent devotion to the aims and principles of the Charter, as well as his objectivity and patience in the discharge of his difficult task. The resounding appeals from all quarters which were addressed to him during the past weeks are a vivid testimony to the high esteem in which he is held and to the confidence placed in him. My delegation joins with others in expressing the hope that U Thant will find it possible to change his mind so that we may not have to forgo his experience, devotion and wisdom which guided us in the past.

The fact that this Organization has not been able to solve many of the problems with which it has been confronted since its inception should not, in your opinion, detract from the potential role which the United Nations can and must fulfill in order to secure peace and achieve substantive progress for the betterment of mankind. We must, however, realize that the United Nations can only serve its purpose if the States Members of the Organization are willing to operate within the framework of the Charter. The great Powers, which so decisively contributed to the establishment of this Organization in 1945, have, by virtue of the Charter which they adopted, a heavy responsibility for the future of the United Nations. The nature of the problems which face this Organization requires to an ever increasing degree the concurrent support of all countries.

I should like now to address myself to some of the major problems with which we are confronted at the present time.

The war in Viet-Nam has become a matter of deep concern to all Governments and moral authorities in the world. Apart from the tragic human sufferings which this war inflicts on the people of Viet-Nam, it represents a serious danger to international peace. It is therefore indispensable that we seek a solution in the political field before it is too late and before the steadily increasing commitments of power and prestige preclude all possibilities for negotiations.

It is of utmost importance that a further escalation and extension of the conflict be avoided and that all efforts are undertaken in order to bring about an end to the fighting and a solution which takes into account the legitimate interests of all parties concerned and corresponds to the wishes of the Viet-Nameese people.

There exist other unresolved problems in the world which disturb the peace in various regions and represent a potential threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is therefore of vital importance to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping activities. We regret that the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, which in 1965 so effectively contributed to the settlement of one of the most serious crises of the United Nations, was unable to achieve further progress.

At present a small number of Member States have to carry the heavy burden of peace-keeping operations. The example of Cyprus proves how difficult, if not impossible, it is to terminate such commitments. My country has in the past constantly supported the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, both financially and through its active participation in these operations. Austria maintains a medical and a police contingent in Cyprus. In order to strengthen the mechanism of peace-keeping operations, the Austrian Parliament has passed a law to the effect that military units may be put at the disposal of international organizations or the International Red Cross.

As much as we are prepared to continue lending our support to the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, we have to stress the urgent need for a satisfactory settlement of this important question. Being a member of the Committee of Thirty-Three, we know the difficulties which have arisen in this connexion and we are therefore convinced that only a realistic, cautious, and at the same time pragmatic approach to this problem can help to overcome the still existing obstacles. In this connexion my Government favours an approach which takes into account the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly and one which is based on the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States.

There can be no doubt that the primary responsibility for international peace and security rests with the Security Council, as laid down in Article 24 of the Charter. When the Charter was created it was understood that decisions

concerning international peace and security should be taken by the Security Council and be based on the unanimity of its permanent members. The basic consideration was that peace-keeping operations could be undertaken only if the permanent members agreed to such undertakings or at least did not object. While stressing the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, I wish to make it clear that we fully support the residual functions of the General Assembly as provided for in Articles 10 to 17 of the Charter.

In view of the still unresolved problem, we feel that we should proceed with the greatest possible caution. Attempts to force the issue could only deepen the already existing division of views and should therefore be avoided. This does not mean that we should give up trying to find a workable solution for future peace-keeping operations. In this effort we should be guided by what is desirable and at the same time feasible.

Closely related to the problem of peace-keeping is the question of the financial solvency of the United Nations. In this connexion my Government welcomes the initiative of France in proposing an investigation of the administrative and financial aspects of the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. We trust that the study undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts will provide a basis for the final settlement of the financial difficulties of the United Nations.

The experience gained by this Organization in the course of the past twenty years clearly demonstrates that peace-keeping operations do not remove the causes of the conflict to which they apply. In many cases we have been able to contain the fighting, but have not succeeded in eliminating the roots of the problems and thus bringing about a lasting and just solution both in the interest of the parties concerned and in the interest of the international community. It appears, therefore, to be desirable to study the possibilities for a peaceful settlement of disputes by a more practical implementation of the means provided in the Charter.

A number of speakers have referred to disarmament as the most urgent question of our time. I fully share that view. As in previous years, the issues of disarmament have been fully debated by the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

which, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, concentrated its efforts on the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons and the banning of underground nuclear weapon tests. We have followed the Geneva negotiations closely and have also listened carefully to the discussions which took place at the recent general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

Despite the hopes which were attached to the negotiations in Geneva, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee did not achieve any concrete results. There is, however, a widespread feeling that the issues have been clarified and defined to the point that agreement could be quickly achieved on either non-proliferation or a comprehensive test ban, or both, if the nuclear Powers are prepared to take the necessary political decisions.

Time is running short, however, a fact which is particularly true for the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation. As much as I share the views of those delegations which maintain that a non-proliferation treaty would be operationally and politically weak without an agreement on the cut-off of fissionable material and a ban on all or part of underground nuclear weapon tests, it is my conviction that we should not delay the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation by insisting on too many conditions of a technical or political nature. If we do not succeed in halting the spread of nuclear weapons we might be faced before long with a new round in the armaments race, involving both offensive and defensive weapons systems which would be detrimental to progress in economic and social fields.

With regard to the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on nuclear weapon tests, my Government appreciates the efforts of the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee which open a number of possibilities for an immediate or successive banning of all underground nuclear weapon tests. In this connexion, I support the interesting approach of the Swedish delegation and I should like to express the hope that it will be possible to reach a satisfactory compromise in the near future.

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

As in the field of disarmament, my Government has on many occasions insisted that we should not lag behind in the tremendous technological progress achieved in the exploration and use of outer space, and that we should endeavour to adopt in time the necessary legal and political solutions in order to prevent the armaments race from gaining a new dimension through the exploitation of outer space technology.

The concrete proposals submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union which aim at the conclusion, through the United Nations, of an international treaty governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, undoubtedly represent a significant and constructive step towards the elaboration and adoption of internationally binding legal principles. These proposals are designed to provide for a special regime in outer space which would, in advance, eliminate the most likely causes of political friction amongst space Powers and would create a vast and theoretically unlimited zone of activity specifically reserved for the benefit of all mankind.

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

We note with satisfaction the agreement already reached on a number of key provisions of such a treaty. Some questions, however, are still unresolved and I should like to express my sincere hope that it will be possible to overcome the remaining difficulties during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. I therefore trust that political wisdom will prevail, and that the scientific and technical progress in the field of outer space will be matched in the legal and political domain, thus creating a vast realm of peace which might -- as we all hope -- have a direct impact on other fields of action and in particular on general and complete disarmament.

In this connexion I should like to welcome the recent unanimous decision of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which recommends the convening of an international conference on the peaceful uses of outer space in September 1967. My Government is convinced that the manifold possibilities of the application of outer space research offer encouraging prospects for space Powers and non-space Powers alike. Artificial man-made satellites for the purpose of communication, meteorology and navigation may only be used effectively if deployed on a global, world-wide scale. It is a field which demands by its very nature extensive international collaboration. Austria has therefore gladly extended an invitation to hold the Conference in Vienna and I can assure you that my Government will do its utmost to make the Conference a success.

The situation in southern Africa raises a number of human, social, political and legal issues which are not only of vital importance to the group of African nations, but which appeal to the conscience of all the nations of the world. Austria, which has signed the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and which has, in advance, recognized the competence and jurisdiction of the European Court on Human Rights, demands that we should, without further delay, undertake all efforts in order to secure the full realization of the high ideas and principles embodied in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights all over the world and in particular in the area of southern Africa.

My Government has refused to recognize the unilateral declaration of independence by the minority régime in Rhodesia and continues to regard South West Africa as a Non-Self-Governing Territory to which the principle of self-determination fully applies. We therefore follow the debate on South West Africa

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

with special attention and we trust that it will be possible to find a solution which corresponds to the international obligations regarding that Territory and in particular to the wishes of its people.

With regard to the political problems which still exist in Europe, I should like to reiterate the determination of the Austrian Government to do our utmost in order to contribute to the stabilization of peace in that region and to work incessantly for the further improvement of good-neighbourly relations with all countries, irrespective of their political or social system.

Austria is a permanently neutral country on the demarcation line between the two great military alliances of the East and the West. It is a neutral country, but I would like to emphasize that it belongs, by its history and culture, and above all, by the clearly and often expressed will of its people to the family of West European democracies. With our many neighbours adhering to different social and political systems, we share hundreds of miles of common frontiers. To establish, to maintain, to continuously improve our good-neighbourly relations with all of them regardless of their social or political systems, is the essence of our foreign policy. It is therefore with deep satisfaction that we register an encouraging trend towards greater political stability in Europe. Nevertheless, complete stability in Europe can only be achieved when the German problem has found a peaceful solution.

I should now like to report to the General Assembly on the efforts which have been undertaken for many years in order to settle the dispute between Austria and Italy regarding the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946, concerning the South Tyrol. The historical background of the Paris Agreement has been discussed in all details before the General Assembly in 1960 and 1961. The object of the dispute concerns the implementation of the relevant provisions of the above-mentioned agreement according to which the German-speaking inhabitants of the Bolzano Province and of the neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento Province will be assured:

"... complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants within the framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element".

(General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV))

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

The General Assembly has by its resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960, concerning the status of the German-speaking element of the Bolzano Province, urged both Austria and Italy to resume negotiations with a view to finding a resolution for all differences.

The General Assembly, by its resolution 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961, noted with satisfaction the negotiations which were taking place between the two parties concerned confirming once again the resolution of 1960.

The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, last year, was in a position to report to the twentieth session of the General Assembly from this rostrum that the negotiations undertaken in pursuance of the above-mentioned resolutions have brought about a gradual diminution of the controversial points, so that the chances for a final settlement of the dispute seemed, especially towards the end of 1964, to be promising.

The negotiations of this year were focused on a settlement of remaining open points with a view to establishing an effective and internationally guaranteed autonomy for the minority. Considerable progress has been achieved; nevertheless, some substantial issues still need clarification.

I would be particularly pleased if I were in a position to inform the General Assembly that a satisfactory settlement has been reached which as a result would also deepen the mutual confidence between both ethnical groups, and if I were in a position to state that the mandate given to Austria and Italy in the above-mentioned resolutions has been fulfilled.

Under no circumstances can this problem be solved by means of violence, which Austria continues to condemn resolutely. Austria is indeed very interested in maintaining friendly relations with all other countries. We therefore appreciate the fact that the fifteenth and sixteenth General Assemblies have thoroughly discussed the present dispute. Its settlement would also fulfil the request of the General Assembly to prevent the situation created by the dispute from impairing the friendly relations between the two countries -- a desire which is expressed in resolution 1497 (XV) of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

Our partner has repeatedly expressed its goodwill. I am therefore confident that all efforts will be undertaken also on its part in order to overcome the last existing difficulties. Under those circumstances we may reasonably trust that the present dispute could be settled in the near future, thus giving the minority the feeling of security which corresponds to the lofty ideals and aims of this world-wide Organization.

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

At this stage I should like to say a few words in my capacity as President of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

I had much pleasure indeed in welcoming last May the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Council of Europe, where he delivered a most impressive speech to the Consultative Assembly of that body. U Thant found the right words to make that Assembly of European parliamentarians conscious of the new responsibility of Europe in a rapidly evolving world, full of dangers and problems which call for concerted action. I am happy to say that his visit was a resounding success and that it will help the Council of Europe to direct its activities in such a way that they represent an increasingly effective contribution towards the goals of the United Nations.

Our distinguished Secretary-General expressed, before the Consultative Assembly in Strasbourg, the opinion that regional organizations have in recent years come to be regarded as complementary institutions to the world Organization rather than as substitutes, and said that he was looking forward to the time when these regional organizations would become the pillars upon which the larger structure of world order could be firmly established.

I was very pleased that U Thant repeated those views in the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly, where he suggested that a study be undertaken with regard to the functioning of regional organizations in terms of their respective charters. I am glad to support that suggestion, as I am convinced that such a study, which should include the whole range of activities of regional organizations, might lead to a more rational pattern of international co-operation and to a more practical relationship between regional organizations, the United Nations and the specialized agencies. In so far as the Council of Europe is concerned, such a study would certainly be welcome.

It is in that spirit that my Government welcomes the activity of the regional organizations in Africa, Latin America and Asia, which undoubtedly help to achieve the purposes contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

In order to reach these goals we need the co-operation of all States, regardless of their political or social system. It is on the basis of these considerations that we support the principle of universality within the United Nations. The idea of universality will, however, become a reality only if accomplished in accordance with the basic principles of the Charter.

In a world which is becoming smaller the feeling of interdependency is growing, and not only because of the danger threatening us all; it is also because of the common tasks facing us that we feel that a better world, a peaceful world, cannot be built in the future unless all nations unite in an irresistible impetus of solidarity; the rich nations should help the poor to overcome the increasing imbalance in the world's economic situation. There can be no slackening in the efforts of the world community to assist the economic development of the newly emerging nations.

Austria, within its limited resources, is prepared to make another effort in that respect and is ready to pledge a substantial increase of its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme. In the same spirit we welcomed the establishment of the Asian Development Bank, to which Austria has also made its contribution.

Yet financial aid is not all that the developing countries need. What are needed are new ideas and fresh initiatives and a strong will to find means of strengthening and expanding genuine international co-operation.

It is in that context that the United Nations Development Decade, which unfortunately is still falling short of its objectives, has stimulated further efforts of the United Nations to equip itself with more effective machinery: the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development.

During the past two years, since the creation of UNCTAD, we have in our own country laid the foundation for the implementation of the aims and goals of the Conference. We have created a real understanding, interest and sense of responsibility vis-à-vis the problems of developing countries, which is essential for a democratic government in order to take the necessary legislative actions and the practical steps required. While the difficulties

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

confronting the developing countries had, of course, been realized even before the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened, the extensive treatment of these questions in that forum has undoubtedly given the impulse and the stimulus called for in the solution of those complex problems. Discussions concerning the situation and requirements of developing countries are no longer confined to a small circle of government officials or persons having responsibility for the problems involved, but are now also taking place in academic, economic and commercial circles. In presenting his Government's programme to Parliament on 20 April 1966, the Austrian Federal Chancellor, Mr. Josef Klaus, made special reference to development problems in alluding to Austria's willingness -- repeatedly expressed in international organizations -- to contribute, proportionally to its economic strength, to the solution of the important questions involved.

Austria has in recent years undertaken a series of important measures designed to facilitate trade and to increase its financial aid to developing countries. Faced with the immense task of the economic and social development of a great section of the countries of the world, all actions taken individually or collectively may, however, seem inadequate and insufficient. But have we not passed in the course of only two or three years from the stage of mere ideas and vague conceptions to the formulation of practical lines of action? Have we not created in UNCTAD a firm institutional framework for our efforts and erected a secretariat capable of tackling effectively the many difficult problems of trade and development?

We are at this juncture only at the beginning of the last but crucial stage of "synchronized action" on the part of industrialized and developing countries, action which will be required for achieving positive results. The Second World Trade Conference, scheduled for next year, with its declared aim of concentration on a few but most important issues, will set the pace and provide the guidelines for our future work. Austria looks forward to that Conference with optimism and pledges its full co-operation.

(Mr. Toncic-Sorinj, Austria)

The United Nations actions in the field of industrial development are also of particular interest to my country. We are fully aware of the fact that industrialization is an essential factor in any programme for economic development. My country therefore supported resolution 2089 (XX) establishing the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development and is prepared to make every effort to contribute to the success of this new activity.

Experience within the framework of the United Nations clearly shows that neutral States are welcome partners for the developing countries not only with regard to the provision of experts or technical assistance, but also by acting as a centre for international conferences and seminars. In view of this experience and the sincere desire of my country to contribute to the great task of development, the Austrian Government has decided to offer Vienna as a possible site for the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development, provided that a majority of Member States wishes to establish the permanent secretariat of that organization outside United Nations Headquarters.

In my address to the General Assembly I have tried to demonstrate that the solution to the many problems of world peace, of economic and social justice, is not just a matter of political or legal decisions but, above all, a matter of high ethic responsibility on the part of all Governments and other moral authorities.

I therefore consider it fitting to recall to the members of this General Assembly the visit of His Holiness Pope Paul VI to the twentieth session of the Assembly, by which he expressed his unrestricted confidence and faith in the United Nations, an Organization which may not be the best of conceivable institutions but which has in the past proved to be an irreplaceable instrument in the service of international peace and the attainment of economic and social progress.



The PRESIDENT: Before adjoining the meeting, I should like to suggest that the list of speakers in the general debate be closed at 1 o'clock on Friday afternoon, 7 October. I would also inform the Members of the General Assembly that their much appreciated co-operation has enabled the Chair to bring to their attention the intention to conclude the general debate at the afternoon meeting of Tuesday, 18 October.

If there is no objection, we shall therefore close the list of speakers on Friday, 7 October, at 1 p.m. and conclude the general debate with the afternoon meeting of Tuesday, 18 October. May I urge the representatives who have not yet inscribed their names on the list please to do so as soon as convenient.

Since there is no objection to this proposal, I take it that the General Assembly has so decided.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Tomorrow, 6 October, the Pledging Conference on the United Nations Development Programme will meet in the morning and in the afternoon. There will be no plenary meetings tomorrow, and the Assembly will continue the general debate on Friday morning.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.