173. In this connection, our Government and people are pleased to welcome President Johnson's proposal to assist in the development of South-East Asia and particularly in the implementation of the Mekong River Project. As this is a proposal likely to lay a firm and constructive basis for a long-lasting peace, it is our earnest hope that other industrialized countries will participate in this gigantic and worthwhile task of unifying the economic and social well-being of the peoples in the South-East Asian region. We are gratified at the enthusiastic support from various quarters for the formation of an Asian Development Bank. The Thai Government, in view of convenient facilities and the existence of many other United Nations agencies in Bangkok, would welcome its establishment in our capital.

174. As in the past, the seeds of present, and possibly of future, conflicts lie in opposing ideas or ideologies and, of course, national interests. If the nations of the world, both within and outside this Organization, could be persuaded to adopt a life and let live attitude of recognizing for others the same freedom they want for themselves to choose the political and economic system or the ideology which they consider to be most suitable for their own development and interests, and not to seek to impose on others the system of their choice, then some of the causes of serious frictions would have been removed. If such could be the case, peoples would be able to enjoy the benefits of true coexistence, which will be more permanent than a temporary truce.

175. On the other hand, powerful as ideas and ideologies may be, national interests have played and undoubtedly will continue to play, a dominant role in the conduct of international affairs. On occasion, when ideologies come bluntly into direct confrontation, the realization of one's own national interests, especially the interest of preserving global or regional peace, may lead to the ideological conflict into proper perspective and thus prevent its effects from upsetting the general peace. It is no secret that this reality may beborne in mind when the sustained efforts are being made to resolve the difficulties in Viet-Nam.

176. On the other hand, national interests themselves may not always be reconcilable. However, with far-sightedness and a spirit of give and take and compromise, they could be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of all the parties concerned and could be reduced to a path of peace and harmony rather than that of discord and conflict. The United Nations, to us, has been and will remain for a long time to come a useful centre for harmonizing the conflicting ideologies and national interests. If we know how to use it wisely and due consideration, this Organization of ours can faithfully serve our individual and collective interests and, above all, the cause of international goodwill.

177. As a Buddhist whose faith is fundamentally based on peace—peace for all men as well as peace among men and among nations, I prayerfully join in responding to the ardent plea made by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose visit to this Assembly has brought us a profound spiritual inspiration that peace must guide the destinies of men and nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.
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10. I should now like to refer very briefly to certain aspects of the world situation which the current session of the General Assembly is taking place. Among them there are, to be sure, some which could well give rise to personal comments on the United Nations, but I do not do so. On the contrary, inspire me to make new and more vigorous efforts and imbue with a greater sense of responsibility if we really wish to contribute to peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the earth.

11. There is no concealing the fact that the main causes of unemployment and underemployment remain. Unemployment is an ever-present possibility of a frightful nuclear war which, if it broke out, would destroy the modern world and the achievements which have been developed over the centuries with so much painstaking effort; the ominous spectre of hunger which hovers over enormous areas of the world; and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has told us with much painful frankness the colossal waste of food, the extravagance of nationalisms, stirred up by selfish interests which refuse to recognize that the peace of the world is indivisible, the sporadic outbreaks of local warfare which could easily degenerate into world configurations; the political, social and economic consequences of the cold war and the armament, which was profoundly disturbing to all peoples and prevent them from using their natural resources and the new scientific and technological advances which are for their own benefit and in the service of the peace and well-being of mankind—these are the disturbing elements which the General Assembly must face and intervene to secure a satisfactory solution, in accordance with the high principles and aims of the United Nations.

12. In view of the grave threats to peace and of the international tensions which have recently arisen in any part of the world, it becomes more urgently necessary than ever to concentrate on the problems of world disarmament and development. It must not be left to chance what will happen in the future, to see whether the advance of technology will bring benefits and opportunities for all, or on the contrary, whether it will bring new forms of need and suffering to the world. The United Nations is committed to the principle of international cooperation and the strengthening of the United Nations in the service of peace, development, and human rights. It has actively contributed to the prevention of conflicts and the promotion of cooperation among nations.

13. As far as the highly complex problems which the development countries are facing, it is important to note the considerable advances that have been made in terms of the objectives of the Eleventh Development Plan. The United Nations remains committed to achieving the sustainable development of all countries.

14. It was a severe shock to us that in the same month in which this twentieth session opened a bloody conflict broke out between India and Pakistan. The peoples devoted to peace and harmony were deeply affected by the Secretary-General when he made his recent journey to urge a cease-fire in the Kashmir area and there have followed with interest and support the deliberations and efforts of the Security Council to terminate the hostilities in the affected territory as soon as possible.

15. The fact that the General Assembly has been able to meet this year without having to face the obstacles which prevented the previous year's functioning does not traffic the year is encouraging for all those who are aware of the difficulties before us.

16. Even though the Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations has, as all the problems referred to it by the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, it nevertheless observes its gratitude for our efforts and the magnificent work of the Secretariat. We are, of course, fully aware that the work of the Assembly is a continuous one and that we must continue to work for a just solution of the problems which affect our world.

17. It is with particular satisfaction that I wish to refer to a meaningful event which fills us with great hope: the forthcoming visit of His Holiness Pope Paul VI to the United Nations. The Pontifex of the Roman Catholic Church has always strived to promote peace everywhere in the world and to further truth, justice, humanity and order based on universal brotherhood and solidarity. Thanks to the most critical moment that history and in the hours of greatest anguish the voice of the Pope has been a powerful force in drawing a new hope for the advancement of technology and science and in all matters affecting the destiny of mankind. My delegation has the greatest satisfaction in knowing that we can count on his visit as it will be a great welcome to His Holiness Pope Paul VI, in the certainty that his wise message will inspire the sentiments of mankind, and whose people are traditionally Catholic, takes this opportunity to reaffirm its continuing devotion to the spiritual and religious values represented by the august person of the Sovereign Pontiff.

18. As far as the highly complex problems which the development countries are facing, it is important to note the considerable advances that have been made in terms of the objectives of the Eleventh Development Plan. The United Nations remained committed to achieving the sustainable development of all countries.

19. The United Nations Special Fund has given El Salvador considerable financial assistance to support the execution of its 1965 Special Plan, which is to promote the economic and social development of the country. The Fund has been instrumental in the execution of a number of projects aimed at improving the living conditions of the population.

20. There is a pressing need for the economically more advanced countries to give up to the heavily indebted countries the assistance which they urgently need to finance their own development processes. The negotiations are expected to lead to an agreement that would enable the United Nations to act as a mediator and to facilitate the execution of the project.

21. It is worth noting, too, that the Central American Economic Integration Programme is the result of the effective co-operation organized by the United Nations and led by El Salvador, which set up a regional Commission of Ministers of Economic Affairs and Public Works.

22. My distinguished colleague Mr. Herraizonte, the representative of Guatemala, has already told the General Assembly in his brilliant statement (134th meeting) of the measures which the Central American republics have adopted to rebuild their original unity as a single community of nations.

23. Although social and political unity is the primary objective of the whole Central American Integration Movement, it is not realized solely in terms of the promotion of everything concerned with the economic integration of the region. As far as the high level of integration is concerned, I am gratified to be able to announce that the Central American Common Market is making very significant progress and is scoring considerable successes in its own specific field and undertaking the most actively and effectively rewarding values which are represented by the Sovereign Pontiff.

24. Still on the subject of the efforts being made by my country to speed up its development, we would like to refer to our contribution to the principles of the United Nations Conference on the Problems of the Order of the International Economic Order, which is scheduled to take place in 1968. The Assembly must obviously be on its guard lest similar attempts should be made to slow down or reverse the trend of progress that has been achieved. The United Nations should not take the course that should, of course, be in line with the rules of procedure. What is essential, and what all people rightly expect, is that the United Nations should be on the right course, that the General Assembly should not act against the interests of peace, the freedom of all people and international cooperation.

25. Despite the artificial efforts made by some of the Great Powers to increase the realities of the tragic events taking place in our world, the international situation is too grave not to be aware that the United Nations should take the course that should be in line with the rules of procedure. What is essential, and what all people rightly expect, is that the United Nations should be on the right course, that the General Assembly should not act against the interests of peace, the freedom of all people and international cooperation.

26. There is a pressing need for the economically more advanced countries to give up to the heavily indebted countries the assistance which they urgently need to finance their own development processes. The negotiations are expected to lead to an agreement that would enable the United Nations to act as a mediator and to facilitate the execution of the project.
of Albania believes that it is upon the will and determination of the peace-loving countries and peoples that the prospects of averting this danger that is barring the way to this dangerous course of events. The peace-loving countries and peoples are more numerous than the aggressors and their policies of appeasement, the monobloc and the war-mongering circles which dream of spreading their régime of oppression and pillage throughout the world. The world wants to be freed and to be masters in its own home; they want to be free to establish and develop their national economy, and to preserve their political independence, in accordance with their traditions and aspirations, and to make their contribution to the cause of equality and mutual respect; they want to live with friends and not with masters. That is why they are joining forces and avenging aggression and imperialism and neo-colonialism, against the policy of enslavement and aggression represented by the imperialist and war-aggressive powers. They are fighting with an iron will for peace, freedom, the right of people to freedom and for the determination to be free again that there is no force in the world which can subjugate a people fighting for the just cause of national freedom and independence.

37. The United States Government, which has recently trampled underfoot the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, has already had advance warning of the efforts the United States and other aggressors are making to crush the Vietnamese people. The United States Imperialist aggression in South Viet-Nam, and the acts of the United States in the South Viet-Nam, have unleashed, without the slightest provocation, war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. It is the armed forces of the United States which are waging a war of extermination and committing acts of genocide in Viet-Nam, even resorting to barbaric means as chemical and biological poison gases; they who are massacring school-children, homes of patients and nursing mothers. These are crimes against humanity and they cannot be concealed by the perfidious of professional murderers.

38. Regarding the war-mongering policy, the aggressors are doomed to inevitable defeat. The Viet-Nam people are fighting for a just cause; they are invincible and irreconcilable in their determination to be victorious. At the present time, the United States Government is proposing "peace talks" and is trying to use the United Nations itself and other means for pressure against the people of Viet-Nam in order, as some analysts claim, to re-establish peace in Viet-Nam. In fact, however, this policy is just another technique of the aggressors to cover their own policies and the war policies of the aggressors. The United States Imperialists and the aggressors, especially in the so-called "peace talks", are trying to put pressure on the people of Viet-Nam, by the force of the United Nations, in an attempt to force them to accept the negotiations table which it cannot accept. It cannot be appeased on the battle-field, namely, to perpetuate the domination of South Viet-Nam and the partition of Viet-Nam.

39. The war in Viet-Nam is a matter of concern for all people. The Albanian delegation understands the aspirations of all peace-loving countries to see peace restored in Viet-Nam, this being, of course, of interest above all to the Viet-Nam people. We believe that any outside pressures that may other people attacked and invaded by any enemy would make the same efforts as the United States to achieve the domination of Viet-Nam and would refuse to engage in "peace talks" until the aggressors have come to capitulation, to the acceptance of negotiations as under the threat of a gun held by a [...] that war against the people of Viet-Nam, in line with the United States, the aggressors, the forces in the South Viet-Nam and the aggressor forces have tried. The war is thus to be seen as a key to all. It is a struggle for the recovery of the land and the homeland of the Viet-Nam people. That is why every action taken under these conditions cannot serve the cause of peace or the peace-loving countries; it can only benefit the aggressor as long as the aggression continues, as long as the aggressor continues to commit the crime of aggression and to [...] with the aggressor..."  

40. The Albanian delegation hopes that the true friends of the Viet-Nam people, as well as of freedom and peace, will understand that in this question of vital importance to the people of Viet-Nam and to the fate of world peace, we cannot allow ourselves to be guided by narrow considerations of expediency or by the desire to salvage the prestige of the aggressor by shifting the blame elsewhere. We must go all the way in supporting the just cause of the Viet-Nam people, which is also the cause of all free and oppressed people of the world. The Viet-Nam people also realize the importance of this cause, but exactly the opposite, which is served by mere Platonistic declarations of solidarity with the Viet-Nam people, and the genuine efforts of the people's governments of Viet-Nam, which is a part of the efforts of the people of all countries to establish world peace and to promote the development of the Viet-Nam people and the cause of peace.

41. Peace could be immediately re-established in Viet-Nam if the United States put an end to its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, without all its armed forces and the mercenary forces with their weapons and equipment, and allowed the people of South Viet-Nam freely to decide their problems in accordance with the best interests of the Viet-Nam people and of all peace-loving countries. It is the true interest of the people of the United States, whose sons are being killed in the jungles of Viet-Nam for an unjust and criminal war of aggression which can lead to a solution of the Viet-Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements. This means the freeing of Viet-Nam and peace, which is the wish of the people of Viet-Nam and the people of all peace-loving countries.

42. The Albanian delegation believes that the United Nations must not be allowed to bring further discredit upon itself by serving the policy of the United States and other aggressors. The United Nations, the world wars, the United States imperialists in Viet-Nam and will make it impossible for the United States to consider their efforts of plotting with their friends behind the scenes against the heroic Viet-Nam people and against the cause of peace.

43. The significant successes of the countries in the socialist camp, of the recently liberated countries and of the revolutionary and liberation movements, have considerably strengthened the peace front, creating a solid basis for new victories over colonialism and imperialism and opening encouraging perspectives for the future. It cannot be denied that the aggressors have been able to get the United Nations to promote a peace process which is helping them in the present war, in the world of the United States imperialists in Viet-Nam and will make it impossible for the United States to consider their efforts of plotting with their friends behind the scenes against the heroic Viet-Nam people and against the cause of peace.

44. The Albanian delegation expresses to the peoples of the United States, like that of Hitler, can lead to the outbreak of a new world war. To be sure, times have changed, and so has the balance of power, and people have learnt the lessons of history, but the present situation requires that for peace and freedom the Albanian delegation at the United Nations, and the urgent need for the people of Viet-Nam and the countries of the world to support the efforts of those people who are fighting against United States imperialism, in order to avert a new catastrophe which would cost the world incalculable losses. This is the case of the US war against Viet-Nam, and in particular the war against the Vietnamese people and against the cause of peace.
the United Nations should fulfill its basic purposes and meet the hopes of the people for the safeguarding of peace, freedom and progress. We, therefore, must, unswervingly, maintain the record of these twenty years far from satisfactory.

47. In the opinion of the Albanian delegation, the United Nations has not only its mission successfully fulfilled the hopes of the peoples if it had functioned in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. It has even been clear that if the United Nations is to achieve its fundamental objectives, it must not allow itself to be manipulated by the so-called "cold war" policy and counter to the interests and sovereign rights of other countries and the interests of peace.

48. In the first place, the time has come to put an end to the so-called "cold war". Under United Nations pressure, the United Nations allows the seat of China to be occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime, which represents no one, while at the same time the United Nations is deprived of the participation and contribution of the People's Republic of China, that great socialist State of enormous potential and creative power which resolutely follows a policy of peace and friendship, which has achieved magnificent successes in every sphere, and which has become one of the main powers in the world, and a certain guarantee on the peace and freedom of all people.

49. Under no conditions, including trade and cultural relations with more than 120 countries on the basis of the so-called "cold war" policy, can we tolerate the policy imposed by the birthday of the United States against the United Nations. Since 1945, the People's Republic of China has been able to observe the sovereign right of the Chinese nation, and developing relations with the People's Republic of China by the United States government to isolate China has only resulted in the isolation of the United States itself in its anti-Chinese policy.

50. The achievements of the rank of a nuclear power has been welcomed by the peace-loving countries. And the Chinese people have foreseen the atomic energy and security counteracting the atomic monopoly and blackmail of United States imperialism. Many political and world leaders have agreed that the voice of China, with its 660 million inhabitants, must be heard at every international meeting, that the idea of the United States is that in Asia and through the world cannot be settled without its participation, and that its contribution is essential to the maintenance of peace.

51. Great problems beset mankind and threats to world peace. Germany, Korea, Viet-Nam and the United States, which have been engaged in a nuclear war, are talking of a general nuclear war, which has been engaged in a nuclear war. And the United States, which has been engaged in a nuclear war.

52. The developments of the efforts of the United Nations to use the nuclear weapons in the United Nations have been a failure. It has not only failed to solve the problem of disarmament, it has become incapable of solving the problem of nuclear weapons. It has not been effective in solving the problem of nuclear weapons. It has been used to destroy the United Nations and the world. It has been used to destroy the United Nations and the world. It has been used to destroy the United Nations and the world.
against colonialism, which was adopted in 1960, I
only to take effective measures to support the peo-
ple of Oman and South Africa, and the so-called Portuguese
Guinea, North Kalimantan, Puerto Rico, South West
Africa, Mozambique, and Swaziland in their struggle
against colonialism.

Moreover, the United Nations should not only
take a stand against racial discrimination and oppres-
sion, but should also actively prevent the crimes of genocide perpetrated before our eyes
in South Africa and the United States of America
against the colored people.

In conclusion, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania believes that, if we want the
United Nations to emerge from the unhappy
time which it has been in for the last few years, it must
become once again an international organization capable of serving
the cause of peace, national independence and inter-
national solidarity, it is high time that various force-
ful measures be taken along the following lines in
particular.

Firstly, the United Nations, all its bodies
and all its machinery from control and
manipulation by the United States of America, either alone or in coalition with any other Power,
continue its efforts for harmonizing the efforts
of equal nations to achieve the aforementioned obj-
jectives in conformity with the fundamental principles
of the Charter and their solidarity against
colonialism and neocolonialism.

Secondly, restore the lawful rights of the People's
Republic of China in the United Nations without delay
and at the same time expel the Chiang Kai-shek
government.

Thirdly, amend the Charter so as to make the
sovereign equality of all Member States, the
principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of
other countries and the prohibition of any aggression by
external forces to the people of all countries subject to the
colony IN any form or shape.

Fourthly, delete from the Charter any prov-
ision or reference which is incompatible with
the freedom and sovereignty of peoples or which in any way
weaken the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist
freedom-fighters.

Fifthly, let the United Nations support every
possible means the peoples who are victims of im-
perialist aggression use, including such measures as
protest, petition of the General Assembly and other
institutions of the United Nations, to bring about the
independence of colonial and anti-imperialist liberation movements.

Sixthly, let the People's Republic of
Albania support all the people who want to live in freedom and
be sovereign and independent, do we little
for the famous declaration against this situation,
or little for the so-called "neocolonial
independence," or little for the national
resolutions, or little in practice in every country of the world.

Seventh, we are not against the great powers or the
great peoples as States or peoples, nor are we
against the great friendship with all peoples.

But the Soviet Union and its allies are standing up
for the independence of the people of the world.

We have to stand up for the independence of the
people of the world, and we have to stand up for
the independence of the people of the world.

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But the Soviet Union and its allies are standing up
for the independence of the people of the world.
82. The new Atlantic, which maintains and is developing friendly relations with a considerable number of countries, is the principle of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect, has acquired, by its just and peaceful assembly, the expression of its openly freely and sincerely desired peace. By this very principle which makes the difference between the United Nations and the League of Nations, the Atlantic principle of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect, the Atlantic principle has succeeded in keeping the world from war and in making the world safer and more peaceful. The Atlantic principle asserts that no nation should be allowed to dominate or make war on any other nation. It asserts that all nations and peoples should have the right to live in peace and security.

83. We speak for different countries and different regimes. On the one hand, we do not do so with the same heart and minds that you, our delegation, will have when you represent us. On the other hand, we do not agree with any differences.

84. The People's Republic of Albania, faithful to its principles and to its policy of peace and friendship among peoples, to its policy of support for and solidarity with the movements of liberation and revolution, and of peaceful coexistence between peoples of different social systems, is with other peaceful countries working to achieve equal peace and to settle important international problems, to the interests of peace and development, democracy and social progress. This is why we support our delegations at the United Nations and the other international organizations.

85. The SHAVERER (Algeria): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the United States of America, we wish to express our appreciation for the efforts of the President of the Assembly in this important session of the General Assembly. Our delegation is not in the majority today, but we are here to support the principles of the Atlantic Charter and to work towards a more just and peaceful world.

86. Mr. President, our delegation was very pleased that the first announcements were able to indicate their support for the Security Council and for the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Our delegation is in agreement with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and with the Atlantic principle of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect. We believe that these principles are essential for the maintenance of peace and security.

87. Fare has apparently decreased that the Atlantic principle of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect, has acquired, by its just and peaceful assembly, the expression of its openly freely and sincerely desired peace. By this very principle which makes the difference between the United Nations and the League of Nations, the Atlantic principle of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect, the Atlantic principle has succeeded in keeping the world from war and in making the world safer and more peaceful. The Atlantic principle asserts that no nation should be allowed to dominate or make war on any other nation. It asserts that all nations and peoples should have the right to live in peace and security.

88. As we conclude the second decade in the life of the Atlantic Charter, we are pleased to note that the United Nations has continued to make progress in the realization of its objectives. The United Nations has demonstrated once more its essential flexibility, and it has undergone the dangerous tests of inter-Alla, that for this reason it will grow even stronger.

89. The maintenance of international peace and security still remains the most urgent and demanding task of the United Nations, which is inevitable to reflect our concern with this subject. We have noted the reports of the Secretary-General on Peace-keeping Operations. Our delegation supports the United Nations in its efforts towards the establishment of peace and security, and has given considerable attention to discussions in the Assembly.

90. The Atlantic Charter has been translated into action and has led to a new era of cooperation and understanding. The principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the Atlantic principle of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect, have been reaffirmed in the Atlantic Charter, and have been reflected in the United Nations and in the other international organizations. The United Nations has made its contributions for this purpose, and the Atlantic principle continues to be a guiding principle in the work of the United Nations.

91. In the immediate crisis over Article 19 of the Atlantic Charter, the conflict over differing interpretations of the Charter and of the role of the United Nations has been a factor in the behavior of the United Nations. At the eighteenth plenary meeting of a new session with a new member of the United Nations, it was decided that the United Nations could not support a resolution or in any case this new resolution might be contrary to the Atlantic Charter.

92. At the same time, it is essential that a solution to this intractable problem be found within the framework of the Atlantic Charter, and that this solution be a step forward in the direction of peace and security. The Atlantic Charter is a step forward in the direction of peace and security, and that this solution be a step forward in the direction of peace and security.
section of the United Nations membership. Only if it were convinced will it be able to concentrate its attention on the fundamental problems affecting the majority of the States.

98. The need will now bring in new Members with first-hand knowledge of the crucial problems developing countries face; and should put into sharp focus the need for finding economic and social solutions for these problems. In particular, Jamaica hopes the Council will consider, with the co-operation of the Member States which are approaching but have not yet reached the point of self-sustaining economic growth. This is an area in which the Charter cannot begin to be achieved unless the Member States have a growth that is self-sustaining. It is also clear that fewer developing countries have managed to get any form of self-sustained growth than they were five years ago. As the gap widens between the rich countries and the poor countries, the processes of growth for the poor countries becomes more difficult.

100. Within the United Nations system the main responsibility for international policy in the fields of economic and social development rests squarely on the Economic and Social Council. The Council now has a new opportunity to take a fresh look at this responsibility, to apprise its character anew, and to gear itself for the new tasks that have come with the increase in the membership of the United Nations. It will need to strengthen its organization and improve its operating methods in order to fit its role as central coordinator of policy and central coordinating agency. The Assembly has already pointed in this direction, and we recognize that certain decisions will affect particularly the interests of some Member States. Persistence in such questioning merely invites doubts as to the real intentions of the questioners.

107. It is difficult to perceive what real progress has been made in implementing the principle which has been negotiated, agreed and incorporated into the Final Act. It is, however, on this basis that the Assembly shall not only be able to establish the basis for and eliminate barriers and other restrictions that hinder trade and consumption of products from developing countries, but to establish the basis for and eliminate barriers and other restrictions that hinder trade and consumption of products from developing countries. If the Conference had not already must move more quickly on to its next stage, it must introduce measures to ensure more remunerative prices for the exports of developing countries, and measures for the encouragement of foreign trade and for expanded opportunities for the exports from developing countries. This is the area in which action must now be taken. About the need for action and the urgency that it may have is clearly seen from the framework in the World Bank's activities in the International Development Report.

108. Without meaningful concessions from developed countries there can be no progress. Measures to improve the operational effectiveness of the United Nations Capital Development Fund, and to accelerate the implementation of the United Nations Development Programme, are urgently necessary.

114. The promotion of human rights was a major objective with which the United Nations was charged at the beginning of the present decade. It is one of the main objectives of the United Nations system, and for adequate resources of finance and personnel to be assigned to the promotion of Human Rights. It would be proper that questions such as these should be examined within the framework of the International Conference.

116. The essential requirement for the success of this Conference is, of course, that it should be adequately prepared. My Government hopes that the question of adequate preparation for the Conference will receive the attention it deserves when the relevant item is considered during this session.

117. I could not close this address without referring to the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories, which have been joined in three new Member States into the United Nations this year. It is in this capacity that we emphasize the Organization's goal of universality and the success of its programme of decolonization. Jamaica looks forward to the early independence of the new remaining territories in Africa which are still under colonial rule. We are also especially supportive of the remaining territories in the Caribbean where independence is yet to come.
of the nineteenth session. The milestone was com-
memorated at San Francisco and even there the process of discussion and decision in the United Nations system, we are much concerned with the process of reviewing our methods and reorganizing the United Nations system. This is a good beginning. Let us keep those things which we have found to be sound, reject what is not, and devise new avenues and new methods where necessary. There are welcome initiatives in the maintenance of peace, but we also recognize the need for longer-term conditions for peace. The third decade in the life of the United Nations must be marked by a lasting international commitment to persistent disputes and to build a framework for international security and the heightened well-being of mankind.

120. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) [translated from Spanish]: On behalf of my Government, my delegation and myself, it is with the sincere pleasure that I convey to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations on your election to preside over the deliberations of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We view this election both as a tribute paid to a great country, which is bound to mine by strong and immutable ties of friendship, and as a proof of the general confidence placed in you because of your outstanding personal qualities.

121. This Assembly is beginning at a time when our troubled world is faced with serious threats to the security of the peoples of the United Nations and the continent of Asia. In these circumstances, our most urgent collective task is to offer our complete cooperation and full support to the regional organizations and the best and strongest efforts to work together in common accord until we find the formulae which will avert war and stabilize the peace that has been shattered. On the maintenance and preservation of peace depends our ability to continue our ceaseless efforts to reach and maintain the great masses of humanity and the great majority of Member States at levels of living and that social progress to which so far have been enjoyed in practice only by a small number of countries.

122. The continent I mentioned is now faced with the growing dangers of a configuration in which an unforeseen new war which will cause states may become involved. At this critical juncture, we reaffirm our faith and confidence that those great two Members of our United Nations and the great majority of States are prepared to be able to find their own efforts and with the help of our Organization ways and means of resolving that threat. I have said: to say, not on blood-drenched battlefields but through reasonable and fruitful discussions.

123. On this same continent of Asia we are wit- nesses to an extraordinary situation. If the universally accepted principles and the postulates which constitute the basis of relations between States and the benefits and conditions sought by all countries, a war such as this would not have occurred and the Republic of Viet-Nam would have been able to follow the path of development without outside interference. However, although it is painful to say so, we must recognize that those standards and postulates, which are respected by most countries are for other merely a dead letter. In this particular case, I refer especially to the principles of self-determination and the benefits, which will satisfy our legitimate rights and the rights of peoples and allow us truly to enjoy international respect and representation and achieve a better standards of life in larger dimensions.

124. Against the threat of the forces of aggression, the version, which we have not found itself left alone to defend itself. Our country stands beside it, giving material aid and moral support while at the apparent lateness of the hour, we are confident that justice will prevail and that the sincere and repeated efforts of the United Nations and the negotiating table will find a favorable response among Governments which so far have been unwilling to listen.

125. During this year, a sister nation in the Western hemisphere, the Dominican Republic, dear to our hearts, like all the members of the great American family, underwent a grave crisis that might have threatened the foundations of its Christian and democratic political organization. In this case, the regional organization adopted decisions of the greatest importance whose constructive results may already be appreciated and which have allowed the Dominican Republic to weather the crisis. It is now returning to normal, having kept its institutions intact and above all, having preserved the life of its children, which, at one time, seemed destined to be spilled in a fratricidal civil war of enormous proportions.

126. We must admit that such decisions were opposed by certain persons and local regional organization. For our part, we readily accept the possibility of dissident or opposing views, for these are typical of free societies and in no way jeopardize the amicable mutual relationships between their members.

127. In this Assembly we may all congratulate our countries, the marked improvements in our respective countries and the good-will throughout the world, that this Holy Week of Peace, Pope Paul VI, has brought to our members. We are absolutely certain that few messages will be so easily understood and as they will be received by the people of the world, as that which will be delivered by the Supreme Pontiff within a few days and in this very hall.

128. At this session our Assembly must take up a large number of items on our agenda, which are only so postponed for a whole year because, for obvious reasons, the nineteenth session could not follow the normal course, and the one which are only too well known to all Member States, but I do wish to stress that, in spite of the difficulties of the previous year, we shall achieve the important decisions for many years in establishing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as an organ of the General Assembly [resolution 1955 (XIX)].

129. In this new body, and above all in the effectiveness of its action, resides the hope of those States which have been able to follow the path of development without outside interference. However, it is the wish of the United Nations, this shadow has been rapidly disappearing. Although the once-dominated peoples in growing and impressive numbers, but through their own efforts and in becoming masters of their own sovereign destinies, it is no less certain that colonialism still exists in many parts of the world, and unimpugning, as we shall continue to fight in the future to achieve the complete eradication of this evil.

130. Similarly, we are fighting and shall continue to fight with equal tenacity to eradicate neocolonialism, which manifests itself most cruelly in the attempt to impose white supremacy upon the backward. We shall dwell on these and other subjects, because in these cases too my country's position has been repeatedly explained, both in the Assembly and in the Main Committees.

131. The General Assembly is, of course, the organ which gives each delegation the widest scope for the expression of its opinions and points of view on each agenda item, particularly during the exhaustive debates that take place, occasionally in the plenary meetings but usually in the Main Committees. During the general debate, held before the Assembly gets down to its business, each State should confine itself to outlining its general policy and philosophy. That does not prevent us, however, from mentioning certain problems that we feel should go further to bring the attention of Member States with the aim of awakening the spirit of understanding and the readiness to cooperate, so that we may be able to do this when reason on one side and our cause is based on legitimate rights. I shall give an example of this.

132. In the meantime, we note with gratification the constant in the Organization's membership. Soon after the opening of this session, three new members were accredited. We extend a warm and cordial welcome to the peoples of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, and to their representatives in this Assembly; we are sure that they will make a valuable contribution to the work of our Organization.

133. At previous sessions we expressed our conviction that it is only natural that the results of the political and economic interdependence among nations make international cooperation and solidarity in source of wealth for all. In this sense, it makes it impossible for some countries to be comfortable and happy while others, near or far, are having less and less. It makes it impossible for the developed countries to remain calm and contented elsewhere there are countries which are less developed, and for which it is impossible for the developed countries to remain so happy because they have all that is needed for the happiness of so many people. It is possible to achieve positive results which may well serve as an example to other regions and other States.

134. Interested by feelings of continental unity, the countries of our continent are beginning to undertake the efforts to conclude a treaty that will ensure the effective demilitarization of this region. The importance of the previous achievements and the need to achieve positive results which may well serve as an example to other regions and other States.

135. Whether we admit it or not, the fact is that whereas colonialism exists in many parts of the world, even in the recent past this colonialism cast its shadow over large areas of the world, we must recognize that, since the advent of the United Nations, this shadow has been rapidly disappearing. Although the once-dominated peoples in growing and impressive numbers, but through their own efforts and in becoming masters of their own sovereign destinies, it is no less certain that colonialism still exists in many parts of the world, and unimpugning, as we shall continue to fight in the future to achieve the complete eradication of this evil.

136. Similarly, we are fighting and shall continue to fight with equal tenacity to eradicate neocolonialism, which manifest itself most cruelly in the attempt to impose white supremacy upon the backward. We shall dwell on these and other subjects, because in these cases too my country's position has been repeatedly explained, both in the Assembly and in the Main Committees.
briefly every year of Paraguay's progress, for the well-being of our Organization depends on the well-being of all its members.

141. The year between the nineteenth and twentieth session of the General Assembly, Paraguay's progress and development have been very striking. Paraguay, the democratic system that characterizes its form of government has ensured peace, employment, and a general respect for the law. The vigilance of the Government's actions by the opposition parties and wide freedom of the press have created a stable and equitable society benefiting its own people.

142. In the economic sphere, Paraguay has maintained the stability of its currency since 1957 and will continue to do so. Furthermore, the payments its monetary reserves have grown, enabling it to increase its contribution to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and to buy bonds from it. Paraguay has made notable progress in building roads, schools, hospitals, in other public works and in the establishment of new industries.

143. In the social sphere, the benefits of social security have been extended progressively to additional groups of workers, while land reform, carried out without expropriation or famine, is extending the benefits of land ownership to agricultural workers. I must, however, point out that this illustration of the Assembly's efforts by the entire Paraguayan nation, by its admirable people and by its Government, is not confined to the land reform, but also includes the extension of social security to the self-exploitation of geographical positions and to the inhabitants of the vast territories which are based on the natural wealth of the nation. The situation is one of unprecedented proportions. The grievances of the agricultural workers and those in need of living must be settled in a way that is equitable for all the peoples of the world.

144. I do, however, intend to refer to the United Nations flag, used in the international river on which we reside, or world market, to secure the fruits of the region of Paraguay, a land of natural and topographical beauty.

145. Paraguay is not only a relatively underdeveloped country, one of the more developed countries, motivated by a spirit of solidarity or even of enlightened self-interest should help or at least not harm; it is also a country which as a result of historical and geographical factors is situated in the middle of the region of the world. It is the fact that the country of Paraguay constitutes its only water link with the sea is a benefit and curtailed.

146. In an unprecedented effort, the Paraguayan Government has tried to build and improve approximately 2,000 kilometers of road, designed to link our country to its neighbors. It is the only road that has been built, and has had a fleet of over thirty modern, specially designed cargo ships and auxiliary vessels, which is already in operation.

147. On the Paraná, an international river flowing through Paraguay and constituting its only water link with Brazil, the ships flying the Paraguayan flag have reached many requirements and are equipped to avoid abuses of sovereignty jurisdictional powers and especially very high communities such as the Intensive use of powerful, large and powerful vessels, which make them useful for this serious cause.

148. In order to reach world markets, Paraguay's goods must travel down 6,000 kilometers of international rivers in shallow-draft vessels to the ports located in the north of the country with seaports, and, as if that were not enough, the loading difficulties, shipping the Paraguayan goods by rail is still subject to prohibitory treatment and conditions which compare unfavorably with similar goods shipped by ships flying other flags.

149. We are not asking for any favors, privileges, or special concessions. We are not trying to renew, and our national dignity would make us reject those who might seek to set themselves up as benefactors or protectors. We are seeking justice, we need equality; we want our right to free navigation on the international rivers which flow through the land to be properly recognized and respected, in the same way that right that is guaranteed and respected in the case of ships of other countries sailing under the same regime.

150. I regret that in this era of international travel it is necessary for me to draw your attention to the situation of our ships, which have been subject to discriminatory treatment and conditions which constitute an injustice inherent in the contract between the parities of the international river on which we reside, or world market, and the state. It is a fact that the granting of this right to free navigation on international rivers is not a right that is recognized in international law as established in the Treaty of Paris (1814), at the Congresses of Vienna (1814-1815), and the Congresses of Berlin (1878), and various inter-American conferences, in the definitions of the Inter-American Juridical Committee and the Inter-American Council of Jurists and in international treaties.

151. No matter how incredibly anachronistic it may seem, however, it is an indisputable fact that Paraguay's right to free navigation on an international river which flows through its territory and which constitutes its only water link with the sea is being denied and curtailed.

152. My Government hopes that this situation will be rectified as it is a fact that Paraguay is endowed with a very high community. It is the fact that the happiness of peoples and harmonization among nations cannot be built on injustice, inequality, and discrimination. I believe that the United Nations should do all in its power to see that this situation is corrected. If it is not, the Paraguayan flag will be forced to fly under conditions that are not equal to the conditions under which the flags of other nations fly.

153. In conclusion, I wish to express the sincere hope that the work of this Assembly will be crowned with success.
wishes of the people of Cyprus. It cannot be solved if the sovereignty of Cyprus is not accepted; it cannot be solved if there is an attempt to curtail that sovereignty; it cannot be solved if it is an attempt to limit the sovereignty of Cyprus by any means. The problem cannot be solved if there is any attempt to break up Cyprus, which has a long and glorious history, all through the ages, has been kept intact as one single entity, despite the fact that it is only comparatively recently that there have been people of a different ethnic origin in Cyprus.

165. With regard to the sufferings of the Turkish refugees in Cyprus as a result of the fighting, my Government, as recently as 24 September 1965, made new proposals and announced a new programme. It was offered in a statement by the President of Cyprus, firstly, to repair or totally reconstruct any Turkish houses which may have been damaged or destroyed in any village. I am not going to get into a dispute with the Foreign Minister of Turkey as to the actual number of houses destroyed, just as I am sure he would not quarrel with me about the actual number of houses destroyed by Turkish bombings. Secondly, my Government offered to give financial assistance for the rehabilitation of all the Turkish Cypriots who have been forced by the Turkish leadership to abandon their villages. Thirdly, it offered to provide them with the means for the exercise of their professions, or callings, and to assist them to find work, as well as to give financial assistance to those who, owing to incapacity, are unable to work. Fourthly, it offered to take all the necessary measures for their complete safety and protection.

166. These proposals refer only to the part of the Turkish Cypriot population which is in this difficult situation at the moment. As is well known, the majority of the Turkish population are living peacefully, intermarried with their Greek compatriots, working together in perfect harmony as they did previously. It is completely false to suggest that the Greeks and the Turks in Cyprus have always been kept apart. This was another idea—a wrong one—which was introduced today by the Foreign Minister of Turkey. There was no division previously.

167. As to how the division started, as to how the division was promoted, as to how the division was further pursued and as to how the division has become the object of the policy of other countries—we shall have ample opportunity to deal with that at the appropriate time in this Committee, and probably later on in a plenary meeting.

168. I want to conclude with a quotation from the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey. He said this morning:

"The Charter" — is, the Charter of the United Nations—embodies the profound aspiration of all humanity and the principles it enunciates are the criteria by which the action of any State, great or small, is judged by world public opinion". [13443rd meeting, para. 52].

I quite agree with him and I would invite him to agree with me that the Charter of the United Nations should be fully and totally respected in the case of Cyprus.

169. Cyprus cannot be regarded, I submit, as a second-class Member of the United Nations, and is that very sovereignty which will in the case of Cyprus a second-class Member of the United Nations or is Cyprus a fully sovereign State entitled to the same rights as every State in this Hall, enjoying the same privileges and having the same principles upon it? Only if one approaches the problem of Cyprus in the United Nations in this way, not in the way some people may approach it—from the standpoint whether or not it pleases them, as the Foreign Minister of Malta said recently in this regard, it is a lasting solution. We, the people and Government of Cyprus, are the first to look forward to the day when a lasting solution will be found to this problem in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

170. The President (translated from French) [...] upon the representative of the United Kingdom who asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

171. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In exercise of my right of reply, I wish to make a very short statement with reference to the speeches made today [13443rd meeting] by the representatives of Malta and Lebanon in regard to Aden. There will be no opportunities of dealing with this question, and I have no wish to delay the proceedings of the Assembly going over past events or dealing in any detail with the present situation in Southern Arabia. I should however, like to emphasize certain facts.

172. First, it has been the policy of my Government to bring together a score of states to the colony of Aden to form a single, viable, independent State in Southern Arabia. Remarkable progress has already been made. The aim of bringing South Arabia to independence as a unified sovereign State not later than 1968 has been agreed and announced, and my Government has made every effort and will continue to make every effort to achieve this purpose by consultation and co-operation with all concerned. Thirdly, it efforts to achieve this purpose have been jeopardized in Aden by a terrorist campaign employing the weapons of assassination and attacks on civilians, including women and children; by the refusal of Aden Ministers to condemn this terrorism, and by their public support of the externally controlled organization of the terrorist campaign. Fourthly, in order to restore order it has consequently become necessary to suspend the Constitution of Aden State alone. The Federal Constitution remains in full effect and the British High Commissioner, for the time being, is empowered to govern Aden State directly.

173. It is my Government's earnest hope that this action in restoring effective government in Aden will create an atmosphere of renewed public confidence in which externally inspired terrorism can no longer flourish and in which orderly progress towards self independence can be possible.

174. The President (translated from French) call upon the representative of Turkey, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

175. Mr. ISK (Turkey) (translated from French) regret that I am obliged to return to the rostrum wish than to see the problem of Cyprus settled in a manner which will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. We do not believe that, behind the facade of principles, ideas can be defended, which are mankind condemnations. An attempt to defend the sovereignty of a State cannot be coupled with an attempt to put an end to its independence. Turkey has undertaken to respect the independence of the island, and it shall respect it as long as the rights of the Turkish community on the island are not violated.