

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1213th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 24 September 1963,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Castiella (Spain)</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Mongi Slim (Tunisia)</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Luns (Netherlands)</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Schwalb (Peru)</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of the United Kingdom</i>	<i>18</i>

*President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. CASTIELLA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): This session of the General Assembly is being presided over by Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela. I should like, as representative of Spain, to address my opening words to him.
2. I address my good wishes not only to an illustrious friend, not only to a distinguished statesman and diplomatist whose achievements, as the head of his country's Mission to the United Nations, were doubtless the reason for his election as President of the Assembly; in his person I honour also Venezuela.
3. It is a Spaniard who speaks, and the name of any Spanish-American country arouses a profound echo in a Spaniard's soul; it brings to life a whole world of memories and hopes; it denotes something which is ours deeply, our own, an intimate possession that consists of two noble elements: understanding and affection.
4. The name Venezuela evokes for me today the beautiful picture of its countryside, the picture of the Llanos, that immense inland area which stretches out majestically like a Venezuelan Castile. It brings to mind Lake Maracaibo, at the edge of the Caribbean Sea, where Alonso de Ojeda baptized Venezuela; the profile of the gigantic Andes, the spinal column of America, a road familiar to Spaniards in former times; and finally the mighty Orinoco, with its immense volume of water, opening up at its delta, as Columbus saw it, into a thousand streams and channels where herons dwell amid groves of green mangroves, providing metaphors for the dazzling prose of Rómulo Gallegos.
5. But Venezuela is for us not simply a vast and beautiful land, or the reminder of a long common history, but also the great country of Simón Bolívar, which saw the birth of the dream of unification, the noble project of continental solidarity conceived by Bolívar nearly a century and a half ago, prophetically

foreshadowing political organizations and enterprises which we now see to be vitally necessary. I say this with the pride of a Spaniard of my times who sees in Simón Bolívar one of the great historical figures of the community to which I belong, as much our hero as the "conquistador" of old. I see in him, as in San Martín and in so many other leaders of the Spanish-American independence movement, a creole; that is to say, a Spaniard of America who, through the coming to age of his country, has become a true American and yet preserved, irrespective of the circumstances in which he is called upon to live, certain typically Spanish virtues, such as the passion for unity and the defence of the fundamental oneness of men and their equality before the law.

6. It therefore seems to me symbolic to be speaking today when the presidency is occupied by a Venezuelan: for as I speak he not only understands my words, since we share the same language, but he also appreciates the full significance of these words with which I am attempting to bring into relief the firm ties of solidarity which unite the Hispanic community of nations to which he and I belong, and which he himself described in unforgettable words in this very forum on 6 December 1960 [883rd meeting].

7. After these words of greeting, and before I continue, I should like to be allowed to dwell on a memory. I wish to speak for just a moment of a personality who has departed from us and who was very well known to many of my listeners. I speak of a man who was a passionate defender of the United Nations, and had a sincere faith in the future of the Organization and its capacity to settle international issues; a man who placed in the service of these beliefs his whole vigorous personality, his penetrating and refined intelligence, his natural inclination for dialogue and his qualities as a Spaniard, the heir of a tradition of law and statecraft, a valuable precedent for the United Nations. I refer, of course, to Mr. José Félix de Lequerica, Permanent Representative of Spain to this Organization, who died recently. I could not continue without paying to his memory, from this rostrum from which his voice was so often heard, a tribute reflecting both the emotion of an old friendship and gratitude to him as the upright, intelligent and brave defender of the cause of understanding among peoples, which might be called the cause of the United Nations.

8. I shall never forget the fervour with which Lequerica, shortly before his death, discussed with me certain passages of the Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* which had just been published, passages which represent, without any doubt, the highest moral support that the United Nations has ever received.

9. I am referring to the noble words of that unforgettable master of optimism and goodness John XXIII, in which he called for the establishment of a "world-

wide public authority";^{1/} these are moving words for any Spanish scholar because they echo certain other words—regarded as the epiphany of modern international law—which a humble Dominican, a professor at the University of Salamanca, uttered in December 1528 when dictating his *Relectio de Potestate Civili*. "The whole world, which in a sense is a republic," Francisco de Vitoria taught us, "has the authority to establish laws which are just and suitable for all, these being the provisions which make up the Law of Nations ...". This prophetic formula was given clearer definition in 1612 by another of our great masters, Francisco Suárez, in his *Tractatus de Legibus*; thus the principles which were to govern the future international organization were affirmed by the Spanish school of law.

10. It is not surprising, therefore, that Spain shares the earnest wish expressed in the Encyclical to which I have referred that this Organization "—in its structure and in its means—may become ever more equal to the spacious and lofty demands of its tasks".^{2/}

11. There are, however, considerable risks that this ambitious aim may not be realized. My delegation therefore agrees fully with the words of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his thoughtful annual report to this session, when he says that:

"One element in the strength of the United Nations is the progress towards universality that the Organization has made so steadily during recent years. I believe that this progress should be maintained and encouraged, and should not be reversed even when situations arise involving deep emotions and strong convictions. I also believe that there should be room in the United Nations for Member Governments with widely differing political, economic and social systems. It is only by providing and maintaining a common meeting-ground for all peace-loving States which accept, and are willing and able to carry out, the Charter obligations, that the Organization can fulfil one of the basic purposes of the Charter: 'to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations'." [A/5501/Add.1, section XII.]

12. This means, in our view—and this was also pointed out some days ago from this rostrum by the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson [1208th meeting]—that we cannot regard as a positive and hopeful policy for the Organization any position leading to the expulsion or voluntary withdrawal of one of its Members. The spectacle which recently presented itself in this connexion in an agency affiliated to the United Nations was alarming.

13. We consider, therefore, in harmony with the comments of the Secretary-General we have just quoted, that geographical universality is the basis and the vocation of the United Nations, and is not bound to find expression in the ideological uniformity of all Members. What is more, a requirement of that nature would destroy the universality of the Organization and, indeed, the Organization itself. The only possible policy for an institution such as ours, in the world of today and in the world of the future, is that of "heterogeneous universality", to use the expression of Professor Georg Schwarzenberger. Any would-be ideological homogeneity in this international organi-

zation can only be the product of political hegemony—that is, of imperialism, under whatever guise.

14. We would stress, however, that we do not say nor do we make any others say that everything must be sacrificed for the sake of the universality of the Organization. There are limits laid down by the Charter itself which cannot be evaded.

15. Having said this, let me pass on to certain international questions which directly affect Spain. First, there is the question of Africa. I wish to take up this subject as the representative of a country which is African as well as European.

16. Spain is in Africa not in virtue of colonialism, which is a modern phenomenon and a typical product of the nineteenth century, but for profound geographical and historical reasons. Spain has been in Africa since the first centuries of our era, and already in the third century the territory of North Africa was a province of Roman Spain—for its original name was "Nova Hispania Ulterior Tingitana". The Hispano-Romans of those days came and went between the peninsula and Tingitana along Roman roads crossing what today is called Morocco—past temples and cities whose ruins still testify today to the Roman history of Africa—and along these roads Paulus Orosius, the Spanish priest and historian, made a pilgrimage to see his master Saint Augustine, the great thinker of Christian Africa. Tangiers, the former Roman Tingis, was later the capital of the Hispano-Visigothic ducal province of Africa. All this happened long before the Arabs, in a remarkable expansionist movement testifying to their vitality and energy, reached the coast of North Africa in the eighth century and conquered the whole Southern area of the Mediterranean, having started out on this amazing imperial advance from their far-away homes in Yemen, Arabia and Syria. The people of the peninsula returned to Africa in 1415, when Ceuta, the former Septa of Hispano-Roman times, was recovered, seventy-seven years before the discovery of America. Five years later, or 279 years before the birth of the United States of America, Melilla once again became Spanish.

17. To ignore these irrefutable historical facts is to ignore that Spain is a country situated at the meeting-point of two continents, participating in the destiny of both, as is the case, for example, of Turkey, situated between Europe and Asia, of the Soviet Union, whose territory stretches half way round the world from the Baltic to the Pacific, or the United Arab Republic, likewise established on two continents. This would be to fall prey to an erroneous geo-political notion defining national sovereignty, in a kind of new Monroe Doctrine, simply on the basis of territorial continuity and at the expense of historical justification and the most obvious human considerations.

18. In reality, what has taken place in this common geographical area where Africa and Spain meet, constituting the immutable basis for Spain's claim to be African as well as European, is something quite distinct from a colonial or expansionist process. It is a meeting of two peoples and of two civilizations, which have produced, after centuries of common life, a marvellous mingling of cultures. In this mingling, the Arab people gave Spain their men and their culture. They gave it their art, still to be seen in so many Spanish towns with their "alcazares" and "alcasabas". They gave thousands of words to its vocabulary, in a splendid linguistic heritage which

^{1/} On establishing universal peace in truth, justice, charity and liberty, Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963, p. 32.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, p. 34.

accompanied their technical legacy and which reveals itself in Spanish geography in the names of towns and cities, rivers and mountains; in the terminology of the arts and of industry; and in everyday language, full of words which apart from a slight inflection or accent, are pronounced as they were and still are in the Arabic language. In return for this human and cultural contribution, Spain gave the glory of the illustrious names of Spanish Arabs such as Averroes, Ibn-Hazam and El-Idrisi; the originality of Andalusian Arab poetry, admired in all the capitals of the Islamic East; the truly Spanish beauty of the art of Cordoba or Granada, seen not only in Medina az-Zahra or the Mezquita or the Alhambra, but also reflected in the Koutoubia of Marrakesh or the mosques of Attar. And, finally, Spain has offered its solidarity and its historical recognition of the common heritage which, as the great Arab scholar Levi-Provençal pointed out, has been vigorously proclaimed by the Spaniards.

19. This ancient, deep-rooted solidarity gives a very special significance to our relations with Morocco. These relations may be affected by certain issues as always happens between countries that are neighbours, but there are few questions which cannot be solved through calm discussion. Our cordial historical links with the Arab peoples and our scrupulous fulfilment of international obligations resulted in Spain's recently being one of the chief co-operators in Morocco's independence and guarantee that in the future we shall always study the issues between us in a spirit of friendship and a desire for full understanding.

20. This was the spirit in which the recent hopeful and cordial talks took place at the meeting at Barajas between His Majesty King Hassan of Morocco and His Excellency the Head of the Spanish State, a meeting which will be the starting-point for further discussions which we believe will be fruitful.

21. Next to the Spanish Sahara, which throughout the centuries has formed a common area with our Canary Islands, lies the vast desert, where Spain is also to be found showing a spirit of friendly co-operation. This desert, which was once the "inviolable kingdom of silence", is now making itself heard in the world's council chambers and demanding that all interested countries consider, with imagination and ingenuity, appropriate techniques for utilizing the resources shut up in its immense empty spaces and the way to find an effective formula for technical co-operation unbound by the old linear divisions of jurisdiction along parallels and meridians, the legacy of times which are being overtaken by present-day events and by the new prospects opening up before the almost unexplored areas of Africa.

22. All these considerations show clearly that Africa is very close to Spain both geographically and historically. I wish now to demonstrate that Spanish influence in Africa does not correspond at all to the model of modern colonialism. We have an example of this in Spanish Equatorial Africa, where the process of self-determination, a principle solemnly proclaimed by my Government, has already begun.

23. The United Nations and the General Assembly have received detailed information on all aspects, political as well as economic, social and cultural, of Fernando Póo and Río Muni. I should like, however, to give a few figures and to mention a few facts which speak for themselves and of which we are proud because they provide the best definition of Spanish policy in this region of Africa.

24. The Spanish territories in Equatorial Africa are situated in the Gulf of Guinea, in other words, in one of the unhealthiest areas in the world where malaria, yellow fever, leprosy, sleeping sickness and tuberculosis have traditionally decimated and enfeebled the population. Yet the Spanish Government's public health policy—which was the most urgent and in human terms the most important policy to be developed—has resulted in a death rate for the Spanish territories of only 7.8 per 1,000, in comparison with a figure of 27 per 1,000 for the areas of tropical Africa. Practically it has succeeded in wiping out sleeping sickness, is on the way to eliminating leprosy, has launched a mass campaign against malaria, reduced hospital mortality to 20 per 1,000 (the lowest figure in Africa), organized an exemplary and very strict sanitary inspection and brought almost all the maternity clinic services up to standard. It is not surprising that this public health work has resulted in an annual population increase of 2.6 per cent, somewhat higher than that shown by the statistics of the other areas.

25. Parellel with these efforts ranking immediately next in urgency was education, on which Spain again concentrated all its energies. Today in Fernando Póo and Río Muni one out of every seven inhabitants is literate. Although comparisons may be invidious, I must say, in order to indicate the significance of this figure, that it is similar to the figure given for the most advanced countries of Africa. The new generations are almost entirely literate, and a dense network of educational institutions covering various grades and special disciplines has already begun to produce a group of advanced students who are pursuing their studies in universities, special schools and other centres of technical and higher education in Spain and in the military academies where the officers of our army are trained.

26. The economic progress of our territories is equally important. A general increase in the production of the characteristic products of the area and other new products and a substantial development of communications has led to an increase in the wealth of the inhabitants, which today amounts to a per capita income of \$246 for Fernando Póo and \$91 for Río Muni; the former figure, according to the information supplied by the Organization for European Co-operation and Development (OECD), is comparable to that of some European and American States, and both figures are higher than those of not a few countries.

27. All that wealth goes back entirely to the territories which originally produce it, and Spain adds subsidies for the maintenance of African prices and the carrying out of local economic plans. As the culmination of this effort, there is in progress an Economic Development Plan providing for an investment of 1,652 million pesetas in the public sector over four years, with a cumulative growth rate of 7.6 per cent.

28. This burden on our national economy is accepted enthusiastically and generously in the interest of the inhabitants of our territories and with the sole desire of ensuring them an open and hopeful future, and not an inheritance of disorder and suffering, in short, with a spirit characteristic of the tradition of Spain—the founder of a family of nations to which it has bequeathed the legacy of its civilization.

29. But I do not wish to talk only about past history or refer only to the work that has been done. I wish

also, and this is the most important, to announce future action. Although Napoleon defined a politician as "a merchant of hope", I am not going to make some vague illusions; rather I shall explain to you the positive measures which, beginning on 1 January 1964, Spain will put into effect in our Equatorial Guinea. In accordance with the principle, which we support, of the self-determination of peoples, the Spanish Government has already sent to the Cortes —to Parliament—the text of a Fundamental Act which establishes the autonomy of Fernando Póo and Río Muni. This means that Spain, acting in a peaceful atmosphere and not under the pressure of coercion, is going farther than the aspirations of the inhabitants of its African territories and considers that the fitting moment has come for them to govern themselves.

30. Consequently, the Act which the Government has prepared grants to persons born in the African territories very broad autonomy in the management of their own affairs and transfers the executive power to a body which will be known as the Government Council and will be composed entirely of indigenous inhabitants of the territory, headed by a President. A General Assembly, representative of the population, will exercise legislative power in matters of specific interest to the territories, and an independent judicial power will administer justice. Lastly, in economic matters Equatorial Guinea will have an autonomous budget, under which its entire income will be invested in the area, in addition to the development aid furnished by Spain through indirect subsidies and direct investments. This scheme of independent government remains subject, naturally, to the developments which may seem advisable in time and to the decisions which those concerned may take under that principle of self-determination of peoples on which the scheme is based.

31. We are grateful for the good faith of all those who have credited us with their confidence and contributed to that climate of internal peace in which our proposals have taken shape, making Spain perhaps the only country to have carried out this process in Africa without tension, relying solely upon its conscience and sense of responsibility.

32. In this Spanish action in Equatorial Africa, we can see what Spain is able to accomplish when it is confronted not with violence and passion but with peace, calm and discussion.

33. Outside the limits of our direct action, we also offer our sincere friendship to the new African countries which have become members of the international community, with the wish that their independence and prosperity may be strengthened through political systems freely chosen in accordance with sociological realities.

34. In the African regional organizations we also offer our co-operation in support of any effective means for the development of nations, but we shall firmly oppose any decision which serves as a cloak for illegitimate interests and which hazards the loss of peace and international coexistence. We must defend international order and not permit demagoguery or aggression to disturb or endanger it. We consider that the best guarantee of the independence and progress of the new States will be found in international order.

35. At this point I must remind you that Portugal is now the chief defendant when Africa is mentioned.

It is significant and worth considering that Portugal is the last European nation still governing vast provinces under its sovereignty in African territory. I say that it is significant, because Portugal was also the first European Power to establish its presence in Africa more than five centuries ago when, as we recalled earlier, the modern idea of colonialism did not exist and the Portuguese presence meant the opening of some roads and territories to civilization and the beginning of the African peoples' awareness that they lived in a world in which intercourse was becoming imperative; it was, in short, the first chapter of a history which today enables us to be here, speaking about Africa with Africans. It is not surprising, then, that Portugal has remained staunchly in its African position, not wishing to abandon those lands with the unconcern and haste with which it might abandon a business venture which was going badly or a share in a bankrupt joint stock company. For Portugal its African provinces are not a business venture undertaken with that nineteenth-century colonialist attitude which is being eradicated today with much justice. Portugal was already governing those provinces in another spirit and with another standard, with an idea of mission, when many European nations still did not exist as political units and when, of course, the vast majority of African nationalities had not been imagined. If those historical facts were calmly analysed instead of our being presented with emotional and rudimentary attitudes, the judgement delivered with respect to Portugal would undoubtedly be very different.

36. May I ask, without any intention of engaging in polemics, what the precise charge against Portugal is. Let us examine the facts dispassionately. There can be no accusation of racial discrimination, since this attitude is something which Portugal, like Spain, has never known. Rather, we should remember the sincere centuries-old attempt of the Portuguese to build within their overseas and metropolitan borders a multiracial and egalitarian society which acknowledges the human diversity of its people in a Christian manner. It would be worthwhile comparing this attitude with the tendency to discrimination, scorn and even racial hatred which exists among many men of our day and within many countries of the world. Is the charge against Portugal that it lets economic considerations govern its work? In a unanimous and firm statement, Mr. Oliveira Salazar recently told the world that "overseas Portugal may be the victim of attacks but it is not for sale". Is the charge against Portugal that its presence in Africa is unlawful? History denies this charge. Is the charge perhaps simply that it does not practise self-determination? I ask, in turn, whether aggression artificially prepared outside its borders, whether violence provoked in territories which Portugal heretofore governed peacefully, facilitates the process of self-determination. We see that it is not so; we see that the only thing achieved by such inhuman methods is a hardening of positions. We feel that self-determination, to have meaning and to become an established fact, can never be imposed from outside. At any event, let us imagine what progress Portugal might have been able to make in this direction if it had not been attacked and if it had not had to attend urgently to fulfilling that primary duty of any civilized State—the restoration of order and peace.

37. Apparently the subject of Africa engenders passions and arouses guilt feelings, but it does not call

forth serene and objective judgements or calmly courageous attitudes.

38. In defending Portugal here, I am not only defending a country with which Spain has an unalterable fraternal tie but also asking for calm and for confidence in what a country with its historical and cultural tradition may and will accomplish in the face, not of violence, but of peace and meeting its responsibility, which it has never renounced.

39. I sincerely believe that we have the authority to speak here, not only because of the compelling reasons of historical brotherhood which unite us with Portugal and because of our position on colonialism but also because of a much more pertinent fact—the fact that we in Spain have a colony on our own territory.

40. We have a colonial issue which is small but grave, because it is a real cancer which upsets the economy of our Southern region and is supported exclusively at our expense. It is still more serious because it has weighed for many generations on our national spirit. And its name has a harsh sound for all of my countrymen: Gibraltar.

41. All Spaniards from the eighteenth century to the present, Government and opposition, right and left, reigning monarchs and labour leaders, great thinkers and humble men of the city or village, forming an impressive roster of distinguished figures in our history which there is no need to recite now, have defended and tirelessly demanded the return to Spain of the Rock of Gibraltar.

42. But we have barred one path—that of violence. Therefore, we have repeatedly shown our desire to initiate conversations on this subject with the United Kingdom, a country whose friendship we have known and know how to value. That does not mean, however, that we are going to show weakness either in reclaiming Gibraltar or in any other question that, like Gibraltar, affects our national interests.

43. Nevertheless, the Spaniards have shown concerning Gibraltar and many other issues the serenity, caution and calm of those who are sure of the justice of their cause. Despite repeated military attempts in other epochs to recover Gibraltar, our generation has given an exceptional demonstration of respect for peaceful procedures and confidence that all disputes between States can be settled in that manner—respect and confidence which now are directed towards the United Nations, because it is the appropriate body for settling international disputes.

44. We therefore hope and believe that in our friendly conversations with the United Kingdom—which, if it were deemed necessary, could come under the competence of this Organization—the just claim for Gibraltar which we present can be settled satisfactorily, bearing in mind the legitimate interest of all parties involved in the case of Gibraltar.

45. I feel that I must make a very brief reference at this moment to the claims of other nations of Spanish origin, nations which, too, it is but just to say have shown that they can confront these issues with calm and resolute confidence, refusing also to give way to the easy solution of resorting to violence.

46. We have spoken of Africa, we have just alluded to our brother Spanish nations in America and we have done so because Spain, which both geographically

and historically is a European nation, has traditionally felt the mission of creating bonds of understanding and comprehension among different races, cultures and continents. In this respect, we could put to ourselves the question that was asked by the great Spanish philosopher, Ortega y Gasset, namely: "What is Spain? What is this Spain, this spiritual promontory of Europe, as if it were the prow of the soul of this continent?" There can be no doubt regarding the answer. Spain is a deeply European country, and because it is so and because it feels that it is the spiritual forerunner of the Continent, it is inspired at the same time with a universal mission.

47. I shall not now define the idea of Europe. It is an idea that has captivated the imagination and the intelligence of the most brilliant Western thinkers for thousands of years. But I should only like to point out that the attitude adopted towards Europe by the Spain of today: its friendly relations with the peoples of Europe, its membership of numerous European inter-governmental organizations, its opening of its doors to the enormous flow of European tourists who annually visit us, its economic, technical, professional and human interchanges with its continental neighbours, and, last of all, its application for entry into the European Common Market—all these are not opportunist decisions made by a specific political régime, but are, on the contrary, the natural reflection of the unanimous feelings of the Spanish people of today and of all times.

48. I do not consider it necessary to recapitulate the European history of Spain, nor to give you an inventory of the cultural legacy that Spain has left to Europe. Nor do I need to refer to Spain's great historical passion for European unity, so fittingly represented by that outstanding Spaniard, Emperor Charles V, of whom Schlegel said that he was "the man who in his heart and in his spirit took over, led and understood Europe".

49. It is this Europe, loyal to itself, that we Spaniards want to serve without political prejudices, without dogmatic or restrictive definitions and without transforming our idea of what Europe is into something like a club reserving arbitrarily the right of admission for we know that the political formulae of our times are in constant evolution, that no one has the monopoly of Europe and that what really and truly remains standing is the solidarity in various fundamental beliefs and in a spiritual inheritance of which Spain feels it is as legitimate an heir as any other European nation.

50. It is precisely this higher interest which, within any given country, compels its rulers to act as if they were above party interests, or possible ideological or sentimental attachments. This idea should also prevail in Europe so that its leaders too may lay aside highly questionable political prejudices or narrow-minded nationalisms, and think only of the common task of solidarity on which the real destiny of Europe depends.

51. You may rest assured that this is the spirit in which Spain approaches Europe. The mere prospect of European integration, the sole announcement of Spain's intention to become as close a part of Europe as possible, has already been sufficient to create in the Spanish community a desire to improve the structures which had been weighing down upon us as a heavy heritage of the past. It has given us an im-

pulse towards evolution and progress for which we have great hopes and which forms part of the permanent European mission of Spain.

52. It is this mission which leads us to meditate with anxiety on the great questions which Europe has to face today. We believe that Europe cannot in the long run bear serious mutilations such as that of the division of Germany or that of the isolation of a series of countries situated in the eastern part of the continent.

53. Spain defends, as it has always done, the re-unionification that Germany claims—and by peaceful means—and Spain believes that the division of that great nation, far from being a guarantee of peace—as some with unforgivable political shortsightedness contend—is a danger for the stability of the continent and an obstacle to its progress.

54. Regarding the nations of Eastern Europe which have been artificially separated from the rest of Europe, nations which suffer in silence, and which bravely and tenaciously preserve their essence as Europeans as if it were a hidden treasure, Spain does not forget them; we know they form a great part of Europe's glorious past and they undoubtedly will be a part of its happier future. I repeat, for these countries we only desire that in a not too distant future they may find the occasion to decide their destiny for themselves. God grant that our generation may once again behold a Europe in open interchange from North to South and from East to West; a Europe in which every man is free, with no walls or frontiers to intercept the great currents of the spirit.

55. This idea of an open and free Europe forms part of our general concern for the West, at whose service the project of an Atlantic Community has appeared, which is for us nothing more than a platform for co-operation between Europe and the two Americas. In speaking thus of two Americas, Spain wishes to stress its belief that in this inter-continental dialogue, Spanish America cannot be omitted; it is a vast portion of the Western Hemisphere where 200 million people of our race live, and who, because of their multiracial characteristics, form a positive factor for understanding among all peoples.

56. Having thus reiterated our will to be present in Europe and the overwhelming meaning we attach to this, we wish once again to point out that, in the atmosphere of relaxed tension which fortunately we are enjoying during these last weeks, Spain does not seek to form part of any military alliance of which she has no need for herself. If one day in the future she should take part in any agreement of this kind, it would be because she had been asked to do so, because she had obtained the unanimous assent of those countries which had signed it, and because she was convinced that she was contributing effectively to the general interest, which is tantamount to saying the true cause of peace.

57. It is also from a defensive point of view and, therefore, with an essentially pacific intention that we conceive our special ties of co-operation with the United States. The Agreements of 1953, which are at present under discussion between both parties never responded and do not respond, to interests which are solely American much less solely Spanish. They were due to a general need, and we unhesitatingly declare that as regards military collaboration they only have any meaning so long as the menace of external ag-

gression against our two countries and against the whole West remains.

58. Nevertheless, the friendship between Spain and the United States exceeds the limits of any contractual tie, since it is based on the mutual recognition of the services which both countries have rendered to world peace and order, though in areas of varying scope.

59. It is within these co-ordinates of our foreign policy that we must place the accession of Spain, thus sharing the hopes of nearly the entire world, to the treaty which the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.^{3/} Spain does not feel towards anyone what Churchill described as "the fear of friendship". Still less does Spain have any misgivings because the great nuclear Powers have finally begun to listen to the voice of reason or, better still, to the wishes expressed by all the countries of the world and to the dictates of our collective moral conscience.

60. We can, therefore, end our statement with our spirits enlightened by well-founded hopes of peace, with our minds ready to enter into conversations. But at the same time, we must be alert because, as a Spanish classical writer, Francisco de Quevedo, said, "to slumber is to leave a door open to war and discord; to keep watch leads to peace and security".

61. Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me first of all to offer to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Tunisian delegation, our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. Venezuela, which you have so ably represented during the last few years, and with which Tunisia entertains the most friendly relations, is one of those Latin American countries which have always worked for international co-operation and have consistently supported the United Nations. Your personal qualities as a skilled diplomat, your devotion to the principles enshrined in the Charter and your respect for the rules of our Organization have earned you the goodwill and esteem of all delegations. In entrusting to you the heavy responsibility of presiding over the eighteenth session, we are convinced that your experience and talents will enable you to shoulder that responsibility with competence and dignity, ensuring the full success of our work.

62. The present session has undoubtedly begun under favourable auspices. The relaxation of international tension which has taken shape during 1963 has permitted the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty providing for a partial nuclear test ban. This is a possible avenue to peace without armaments that we must explore and widen, while continuing with energy and tenacity our march towards general and complete disarmament.

63. The cold war between the two military blocs has become considerably less intense. It must now be finally brought to an end, by establishing the necessary conditions for a truly peaceful coexistence founded on mutual respect and confidence.

64. Thus, hope is reviving. Nevertheless, the major problems which continue to confront us have yet to be solved. The delay in solving some of them has led to increasingly dangerous situations, which must be

^{3/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

ended, urgently and decisively. What is more, the international tension of the past ten years has complicated certain problems and made their solution a delicate and difficult matter; it has also created others, which have badly shaken the foundations of the United Nations and still represent a dangerous threat to international peace and security.

65. For us, therefore, the eighteenth session will be a very important one. The task before it promises to be difficult and complex, requiring from us all a constant effort in the way of imagination and conciliation in the search for solutions consistent with the principles and the spirit of the Charter.

66. Tunisia, like other States, welcomed the conclusion by the three Powers principally concerned of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere and outer space, on the ground and under water. The Tunisian Government was among the first to accede to the Treaty, in order to demonstrate the importance it attached to that instrument as an initial act which presaged a series of agreements culminating in general and complete disarmament. We are above all aware that the simultaneous accession to the Treaty of about a hundred States lends it an indisputably international character and gives evidence of an irreversible trend towards disarmament and peace.

67. Nevertheless, the prohibitions contained in the Treaty are not enough. It is important that this first step be quickly followed by others, with a view to securing the abandonment of nuclear testing in all elements, the banning of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and the destruction of existing stockpiles. Conventional weapons, too, must be reduced to an absolute minimum. A judicious system of effective international control must be established, so as to re-create the confidence that is so indispensable in this sphere.

68. The Moscow Treaty, which holds out the hope of these developments, was concluded thanks to the joint efforts of the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom and thanks to their high sense of compromise and conciliation. But the part played by the United Nations in preparing an atmosphere favourable to this agreement must not be forgotten. Nor should we minimize the importance of the sometimes stormy discussions which took place in this very hall throughout many years, and latterly in the Disarmament Committee at Geneva.^{4/} The active contribution of the small and medium-sized nations, particularly the non-aligned countries, to those discussions led to a lessening of antagonism and prepared the ground for a meeting of minds. It behoves us therefore, during the present session, to redouble our efforts and to maintain this momentum until our objective is finally achieved.

69. We are pleased to note, in this connexion, the goodwill shown by the President of the United States of America in his distinguished speech to the General Assembly of last Friday [1209th meeting], and in particular his reaffirmed willingness to seek common ground for understanding in the field of disarmament, and in many other fields, together with the other Powers concerned. His offer to co-operate with the Soviet Union in the joint exploration of outer space and in the organizing of a joint expedition to the moon

is, in this context, a point which deserves to be stressed with satisfaction.

70. The good intentions that we have observed on both sides for some time now were confirmed, in our opinion, by the speech delivered in the General Assembly last Thursday [1208th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. In our view, his proposal for the holding of a summit meeting with all the other members of the Disarmament Committee at Geneva is of particular interest and capable of facilitating the final settlement of the disarmament question, which is still the subject of greatest concern to all nations.

71. A year ago, the General Assembly for the first time unanimously adopted a declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament [resolution 1837 (XVII)], thereby inaugurating both within the Secretariat and at the level of national Governments a series of studies with a view to determining in what respects general and complete disarmament might affect or influence the rate of achievement of the economic and social objectives of national development plans. Such studies will in the near future lead the international community to prepare an economic programme for disarmament, thanks to which the objectives which we have set ourselves within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade will be attained and, let us hope, surpassed.

72. The Moscow Treaty on a partial nuclear test ban will, no doubt, provide the best possible stimulant for intensified research on the use, for purposes of economic and social development, of the human, financial and technological resources released by disarmament.

73. Yet another significant event, which the United Nations has made a sustained effort to help bring about, will take place next year—namely, the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

74. For almost twenty years—more accurately, since the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment,^{5/} which gave birth to GATT—the prevailing international trade structure has seemed to be out of line with the growing needs of the developing countries.

75. How can we reconcile today the need for the uninterrupted commercial and economic expansion of the developing countries with the policy of regional protectionism in which certain industrial countries take isolated refuge, with the constant decline in the price of primary products exported by the developing countries, and with the self-sufficiency towards which economic or trade groups in the developed countries are increasingly gravitating?

76. It is certainly necessary to work out a new order of international trade that will guarantee to the developing countries remunerative prices for their exports and the best conditions as to price, quality and credit for their imports of capital goods, ensure for them an increasing share in world trade, and enable them to find the financial and technical resources needed for their economic growth.

77. An international trade order adapted to the needs of the developing countries can be neither entirely

^{4/} Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

^{5/} Held at Havana, from 21 November 1947 to 24 March 1948.

liberal nor entirely protectionist; it must be flexible enough to provide as many special solutions as there are specific situations.

78. It is a task for the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to lay down the basis of the new philosophy of international commercial and economic co-operation. The success of the Conference, to the preparation of which my country has devoted the greatest care, will determine the success of the United Nations Development Decade.

79. The industrialization of the developing countries is also in the forefront of our preoccupations. For some six years the United Nations, through the Special Fund, the Technical Assistance Board, the Industrial Development Centre and the efforts of the specialized agencies, has been conducting a noteworthy research and pre-investment campaign in regard to the industrialization of the developing countries.

80. The work of the recent United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas^{6/} has enabled a vast amount of information to be assembled, and the way to be prepared for the evolving of a satisfactory international policy, concerning the transfer of technological knowledge for the benefit of the developing countries.

81. Our continent of Africa, which at the recent Conference of Heads of African States and Governments^{7/} clearly affirmed its intention to industrialize itself, needs now more than ever the co-operation of the United Nations in the various spheres of industrial development. It is important that an increasing number of bilateral, regional and multilateral programmes for the industrialization of Africa should be evolved. This industrialization will be greatly assisted by the African Development Bank.

82. But because we believe in joint rather than in individual endeavour, because we also believe in the fullest utilization of existing resources, because, in a word, we believe in international co-operation, we have constantly stressed, here and elsewhere, the need for preparing industrial development plans or programmes that are regionally integrated and co-ordinated; in the specific field of industrialization, we successfully supported in the Committee for Industrial Development the plan for the establishment of a North African Centre for Industrial Studies,^{8/} the purpose of which is precisely to conduct research in industrial integration among the Maghreb countries, thus preparing the way for a harmonized and co-ordinated North African economy.

83. As regards the flow of capital to the developing countries, I should like to stress the inadequacy of the funds at the disposal of those countries. The establishment of a United Nations capital development fund would supplement the efforts and the valuable contribution made by the Special Fund. This year, we must seek flexible formulae to enable the industrialized countries to support a compromise project, extending the powers of the Special Fund beyond mere pre-investment. Given adequate financial means, the Special Fund should, for instance, be able to concern

itself progressively with the partial financing of industrial investment in the developing countries.

84. United Nations action, both in the field of investment and in that of international trade, must encourage the developing peoples in their aspiration to well-being and progress.

85. In our view, human dignity requires that mankind should be freed once and for all from hunger, disease and ignorance. This noble purpose can be achieved only through the instituting of social justice, in both the national and the international domain, through the liberation of the peoples, and through the consolidation and exercise of their full sovereignty and their independence.

86. There is one sphere—in our opinion, of prime importance—in which the effects of the "détente" can reveal themselves most happily: that of decolonization. It is our profound belief that here, too, there now exist possibilities of imposing a final solution in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. The attenuation of the cold war should allow the great Powers to combine their efforts in giving full effect to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and thus lead the colonial Powers to a final settlement of the problem. For it is by no means true that colonialism is simply an unpleasant memory which now belongs to history. In Africa, almost one third of the continent is still suffering from colonial domination, and this part of the continent which is still in subjection is neither the least rich nor the least hospitable. That is why colonial questions again, this year, occupy a large part—even, in our view, the most important part—of our Assembly's agenda.

87. It is now three years since the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] was adopted almost unanimously by the General Assembly. For the past two years a Special Committee has been at work reviewing the situation in those territories, yet in certain cases no definite results have been obtained. The hope which we have expressed, on several occasions, that the United Nations may by peaceful means achieve complete and rapid decolonization throughout the world is beginning to dwindle. Must we resign ourselves to counting essentially, for the permanent abolition of the colonial system, on the struggle carried on by the subject peoples themselves? The fact is that the colonial system is today still desperately resisting, especially in Africa. The Portuguese Government persists in denying the peoples' right to self-determination and refusing to negotiate with the true representatives of the peoples combating its domination. Even the United Kingdom Government, which in the still recent past gave us proof of its realism in matters of colonial policy, is stubbornly shirking its responsibilities and continuing to advocate for Southern Rhodesia an out-of-date policy consisting in excessive consideration for the interests of a European minority that is altogether too attached to its colonial conceptions and racial convictions.

88. This situation was of the utmost concern to the Heads of African States who met at Addis Ababa last May, and it led them to a number of decisions of great range and undeniable gravity. Thus it was decided that all the necessary assistance should be given to colonized peoples fighting for their countries' independence, and that every kind of action, diplomatic

^{6/} Conference held at Geneva from 4 to 20 February 1963.

^{7/} Conference held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963.

^{8/} See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 14, para. 114.*

or other, should be taken to speed the progress of the colonized countries towards their liberation, which we should dearly like to see achieved in peace and amity. In connexion with those decisions, four Foreign Ministers were appointed by the Conference of Heads of African States to defend the cause of Africa before the Security Council. My colleagues and I have tried, dispassionately but firmly, to draw the attention of the United Nations and, through it, of world opinion to the situation existing in southern Africa. We also wished to draw the attention of the permanent members of the Security Council, on whom the Charter lays special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, to the seriousness of such a situation.

89. The two decisions adopted by the Council on the subject, on 31 July^{9/} and on 7 August 1963,^{10/} reinforced the decisions taken by the Heads of African States at Addis Ababa and the decisions arrived at two months later by their Foreign Ministers at Dakar.^{11/}

90. Some of these resolutions have already been implemented. The Government of the Republic of Tunisia, for its part, has decided to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal and to recognize the Government of Angola in exile, presided over by Mr. Holden Roberto, who is today the undisputed leader of the Angolan people in their struggle.

91. Furthermore, the Tunisian Government maintains no relations whatsoever with the Government of the Republic of South Africa, at which the Addis Ababa decisions were also directed, both because of its colonialist policy in regard to South West Africa and because of its racist policy, judged by all to be shameful and revolting. Apartheid is not merely a violation of human rights; it is an affront to the dignity of Africa, and a challenge to our Organization. It is not enough to condemn South Africa's intolerable racism. The United Nations must take the measures provided for in the Charter to lead the Government of South Africa to a healthier conception of its responsibilities towards mankind and towards this Organization, in conformity with the Charter.

92. During this session we must define the policy which the Organization should pursue in order to put an end to apartheid in South Africa and gain independence for South West Africa. The time has come to liquidate the colonial system swiftly and finally, not only in Africa but also in South America, in Aden, in Oman and in every other place where it exists.

93. It is difficult to imagine that a country can support the United Nations and the principles of the Charter and yet can hesitate between friendship and the respect owed to those principles when certain vital problems such as that of decolonization are at issue.

94. Decolonization is certainly an essential preliminary to the establishment of a durable peace. The great Powers should take advantage of the favourable atmosphere which reigns at this session and make a definitive contribution to the work of decolonization, which continues to be the overriding

concern of the majority of States Members of the United Nations.

95. The problem of the Arabs of Palestine, whom a foreign colony established on an essentially racist basis has maintained in the status of permanent refugees ever since 1948, should be given a rapid and final solution in accordance with the principles of right and justice. Considered objectively, this problem has undoubtedly the same racist and colonialist character as that of the problem which continues to confront the Africans in South Africa.

96. The situation in the Congo also deserves special attention. Thanks to the efforts made by the United Nations since the first Security Council resolution, dated 14 July 1960,^{12/} the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo have been preserved. A regular central Government has been set up, and today a certain stability has been achieved.

97. Nevertheless, the situation continues to be an anxious one. The Congolese National Army does not yet seem able to ensure the maintenance of order and respect for the law. Unfortunately the Congolese Government thought it necessary, in connexion with the reorganization of the army, to request assistance provided on a bilateral basis by countries belonging to a single bloc. This choice has naturally given rise to legitimate apprehension.

98. In his report to the Security Council^{13/} the Secretary-General, faced with a lack of funds, has raised the question of the ending of United Nations action in that country on 31 December 1963. He has received a request from the central Government of the Congo for the maintenance of United Nations forces until the end of June 1964, so as to enable it to hold fresh elections early next year; the new Government resulting from those elections should be in a position to guarantee order and stability in the country.

99. From the outset, Tunisia has contributed in large measure to the success of the United Nations action in the Congo, placing its material, financial and human resources at the Organization's service. It would be sincerely sorry if, for want of financial means, the United Nations were obliged to put an untimely end to an action which, in spite of everything, has produced undoubted benefits both for the Congo and Africa and for the maintenance of international peace and security.

100. In recent years the admission of new States to the United Nations, and the new international problems which it is the Organization's duty to solve, have made it increasingly difficult for the General Assembly to complete its agenda during the three months usually allowed for its ordinary sessions. At the last session, moved by the desire to speed up the Assembly's debates and to improve the organization of its work, we proposed the inclusion in the Assembly's agenda of the question of the improvement of its methods of work.^{14/} In our opinion such an improvement might result in greater effectiveness and a saving of time. The favourable response of the General Assembly to our appeal has caused us great

^{9/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5386.

^{10/} *Ibid.*, document S/5386.

^{11/} Conference of the Organization of African Unity, 2-12 August 1963.

^{12/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4387.

^{13/} *Ibid.*, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5428.

^{14/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 86, document A/5165.

satisfaction. The Ad Hoc Committee on the Improvement of the Methods of Work of the General Assembly has submitted a comprehensive report [A/5423] accompanied by specific proposals concerning steps that might be taken to improve the present organization of our Assembly's work. It seems to us that that Committee's final recommendations, while not infringing the fundamental democratic rules which should prevail in the General Assembly, contain proposals likely to help Presidents of the Assembly and Chairmen of Committees to interpret the rules of procedure more effectively. We earnestly hope that the report will be adopted unanimously.

101. Our Organization, which is a living and dynamic body, constantly and faithfully follows the evolution which is proceeding in the world. With a view to attaining the objectives laid down by the Charter, it must continually adapt itself to the changes which have taken place since 1945. Thus it should move in the direction of universality and admit every nation which can make a useful contribution to the consolidation of international peace, security and co-operation. Hence the People's Republic of China should not be perpetually excluded from the Organization. Furthermore, the structures of the United Nations should follow the pattern of its new composition, which has resulted from the developments of the past decade and is very different from what it was at the time of the Organization's establishment. The imbalance which affects its principal organs should be corrected. Today, for instance, there are thirty-two African Member States, whereas in 1945 only three African States were Members of the United Nations. The principle of equitable geographical distribution in the membership of the principal organs of our Organization is being completely disregarded, particularly so far as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are concerned. It is becoming increasingly urgent and necessary to enlarge those two principal organs. The relevant Articles of the Charter should consequently be changed.

102. We greatly regret that the necessary amendments cannot be adopted immediately. We hope, however, that by the time its twentieth anniversary is celebrated the United Nations will have made all the desirable adjustments in this respect. In the meantime it is urgently necessary to find a compromise solution at the present session which would give the African continent a permanent fair share of the seats filled by election in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

103. We also hope that, when the twentieth anniversary has been reached, other adjustments will have been made regarding the scope of the exercise of the right of veto in the Security Council. The possibility might be envisaged, for example, of giving certain General Assembly resolutions a binding character. Such resolutions, classified in advance as mandatory, would have to be adopted by a special procedure and would require a certain majority. Other interesting suggestions on the subject have been made from this rostrum by the Prime Minister of Canada [1208th meeting].

104. It is permissible to hope that the relaxation of international tension, already welcomed by us all, will encourage a search for formulae which will enable the United Nations to keep in step with the times and improve its methods of action.

105. Similarly, a satisfactory solution should be found at the present session for the problem of financing extraordinary expenditure by the United Nations—a solution leading to an honourable settlement which would render it possible, first to put an end to the present situation and to eliminate the deficit in the United Nations budget, and secondly to draw up an acceptable formula to ensure the financing of future peace-keeping operations. In the search for such a formula, consideration must be given to the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council, to the particular situation of the States whose activities have necessitated the action decided upon by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and to the notion of international solidarity and the principle of the collective responsibility of all Members of the United Nations.

106. The United Nations must remain dynamic and progressive, not only in its structures and its methods of action, but also in its basic conceptions in relation to the principles which are laid down in the Charter and by which its activities are continually inspired. In the wording of the Charter the idea of an armed peace, which was previously accepted, has fortunately been replaced by that of a disarmed peace which we hope to establish on firm foundations and whose initiation we are welcoming at the opening of this session.

107. The idea of colonial peace under the sign of paternalism has yielded place to that of peaceful decolonization and the right of all peoples, without any distinction, to settle their own affairs. It is agreed nowadays that international peace and security are threatened not only when a Member State is the victim of armed attack by another Member State, but also when a colonial Power, stubbornly refusing to accept the principle of self-determination, forces a colonized people to fight for the recovery of its dignity and independence.

108. We note the same development with regard to the implementation of the principle of racial equality, which is recognized by the Charter. Respect for this principle, to which all Member States have subscribed under the Charter, cannot be regarded as a mere moral obligation when we are confronted by a State which makes racial supremacy a State dogma and segregation a fundamental principle of its policy.

109. The apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa not only constitutes a colonial problem; it disturbs the harmony between peoples and threatens international peace and security at the very moment when other Governments, including particularly that of the United States of America, are courageously striving—in the latter case, within the country itself—to put an end to the anachronism of racial discrimination.

110. Respect for the equality of rights of men and peoples, without any distinction of race, necessarily implies the need to regard the persistent violation of this principle by a Member State no longer as a matter within its domestic jurisdiction, but as a circumstance involving the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

111. A welcome development in that direction, relating to the scope and consequences of certain principles laid down in the Charter, is taking place within the Organization. We hope that it may become more

clearly defined, so as to reinforce the United Nations and strengthen the confidence placed in it by all nations.

112. Since our last session a new organization, which is in line with the spirit and the letter of the Charter, has come into being in Africa: I refer to the Organization of African Unity, whose charter was signed at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963 by all the Heads of States and Governments of that continent. This is an important international event. It opens up wide prospects for African unity and constitutes joint recognition of Africa's internal problems and of the problems which face it in its relations with the rest of the world.

113. The purposes of the Organization of African Unity are to complete and consolidate the independence of the continent, to organize inter-African co-operation in the political, economic and social fields, and to promote and facilitate African development. It is also designed to maintain and develop co-operation with all countries, on a basis of friendship and mutual respect. The Organization of African Unity, which is profoundly devoted to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter, will, I am sure, make an effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the progress of international co-operation on the basis of law and justice.

114. The eighteenth session has opened in a felicitous atmosphere of "détente" and of confidence regained. I hope that under your vigilant leadership it will be able to find positive and appropriate solutions for all the problems which appear on our agenda, solutions to which, even in their details, the Tunisian delegation will make a sincere and honest contribution.

115. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Mr. President, this eighteenth session of the General Assembly being under your distinguished presidency, I feel particularly privileged and happy to extend to you the warmest congratulations of my country, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, two of whose three partners are, as you know, close neighbours of Venezuela, your country. Above the more conventional links of friendship and trade which exist between us, we value the deeper bonds which—even before Brion and Piar from our country took part in the glorious liberation of Venezuela—had existed in so many ways and which, we sincerely hope, will continue for many years to come.

116. It is for these reasons, as well as because of my great esteem for you, Mr. President, that I feel particularly happy and proud to see this session placed under your able guidance.

117. The settlement of the basic conflicts that decide the fate of the world is a task for which the United Nations is not equipped. When the authors of our Charter granted to five great Powers the right of veto in the Security Council they thereby ruled out any attempt at such an ambitious undertaking. That is why, for more than a decade and a half, we have been doomed to carry the burden of the East-West conflict without being able to shift it from our shoulders.

118. This time, as so many speakers before me have pointed out, our hope for improvement would seem to be better founded than it has been in the past. In the political sky we see some faint rays that may herald a new dawn; the course of this session will show whether we can expect the sunrise. How different

our world would look if the threatening gloom of world conflict should disappear.

119. The test-ban agreement, now signed by so many countries—my own among them—is a first step in the right direction; many more will have to be taken. It takes a long time for mutual trust to be restored. My Government fully intends to support every effort that can strengthen peace and freedom in the world and promote the development of constructive forces.

120. Although our Organization by itself will not be able, at this or at any other session of the General Assembly, to solve the great conflict that holds our world divided, it can, by working steadfastly and progressively step by step, reduce its intensity. It is for that reason that disarmament and the problems of nuclear power must continue to play a prominent part in our discussions. For that reason too, a climate of mutual trust must be encouraged here.

121. In conflicts of smaller dimensions, of course, the United Nations can intervene. In the Congo, in the Middle East and in Asia, several operations have been undertaken during the past few years. None of these has escaped criticism and none of them has given full satisfaction to all parties concerned, but on the whole I would say that they have proved the United Nations ability to extend the area of peace in the world by mobilizing world opinion and taking action for the prevention of potential conflicts and the mediation of existing ones.

122. For my country, acceptance of the agreement with Indonesia concerning West New Guinea was not an easy matter. Nevertheless, I wish to state that the period of seven months of United Nations administration has proved its merits. For the first time in history, the Secretary-General was entrusted with the entire administration of a large territory. When he transferred it to Indonesia, the first phase of United Nations involvement in West New Guinea ended. The second phase remains; it will continue until the United Nations has completed the task it solemnly undertook a year ago: to see to it that the Papuan people are given the opportunity of exercising their right of self-determination before 31 December 1969.

123. We may reasonably expect that there will be other cases in which the United Nations will be called upon to exercise a peace-keeping function. If so, the method applied by the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority in West New Guinea, under which the costs were shared and paid in advance by the two countries concerned, may well serve as a precedent to be followed; such an arrangement can prevent friction at a later stage.

124. In cases where this method cannot be applied, it would seem to be a counsel of wisdom to remember that war is always more costly than peace, even in terms of money. My Government expects that all Members of the United Nations will therefore heed the opinion given by the International Court of Justice and contribute their fair share towards the costs of the Organization's peace-keeping operations. I fully endorse the words which the preceding speaker, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, has just said in this respect.

125. I take pleasure in being able to announce that the Netherlands Government, desirous of demonstrating its faith in the peace-restoring powers of the United Nations, has just informed the Secretary-

General that it has now placed a contingent of the Marine Corps of the Royal Netherlands Navy at the disposal of the Organization. This Corps is an élite corps and has a centuries-old tradition of service. It formed part of the first international police force employed by the League of Nations, some thirty years ago; to supervise the peaceful solution, by means of a plebiscite, of one of the problems left over from the first world war.

126. Although some technical details still remain to be worked out, the Netherlands offer can be summed up as follows: first, an initial contingent of about 300 men is held ready for action within twenty-four hours; secondly, this contingent consists of an infantry unit equipped with machine guns, mortars and recoilless guns and supported by reconnaissance, intelligence, medical and communications personnel. In respect of logistics and administration the contingent is self-supporting, within the framework of the United Nations supply organization; thirdly, within a matter of days further contingents will, if necessary, be ready for action; fourthly, qualified staff officers are ready to be attached immediately to the headquarters of a United Nations force of which the Netherlands Marine Corps contingent will form part; fifthly, so long as the units are not in fact placed at the disposal of the United Nations, no costs will be charged to the Organization.

127. My country has previously taken part in various United Nations operations: one of them was the United Nations operation in Lebanon; we are still co-operating in the Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine; and we have a field hospital unit in the Congo.

128. Our experience of, and confidence in, the ability of the Secretary-General and his staff have prompted us to make this new offer.

129. We trust that, with the aid of a wide choice from stand-by forces of as many countries as possible, carefully trained for United Nations tasks, it will be possible to put out political brush fires before they turn into general conflagrations.

130. Necessary as the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations may be, they do not, by themselves, create the conditions under which economic development and growth towards prosperity can take place. It goes without saying that a Marine Corps cannot bring prosperity to underprivileged countries. In the Netherlands, at the beginning of this year, we started training a corps of young volunteers to work in such less developed countries as may wish to make use of their services, and there to share their skills with the inhabitants. The first group are on the point of leaving for Africa, where they will assist the farmers in a valley of Cameroon in the application of agricultural techniques. They will thus play their part in the performance of that immense task, incumbent on us all, which the Charter describes as the promotion of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

131. The Netherlands Government harbours great expectations from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which will be held next spring. There we must give a great push forward; together we must analyse where our insight failed and why assistance programmes were sometimes bogged down. It is becoming increasingly evident that one-sided concentration on the transfer of capital is not enough for the promotion of development. It can even be

harmful because it tends to obscure the importance of solving the underlying problems of stagnant development. Capital by itself is of no use when the channels through which it has to flow are clogged. In spite of the great needs of the less developed countries, there is a shortage of sound projects into which the available capital could be injected. It is unprofitable to debate whether the donor or the receiver countries are responsible for this state of affairs, but it is a fact that in many cases the conditions for quick and effective use of capital are absent and that too little has been done to create these conditions. Transfer of knowledge and cultivation of the ability to organize are prerequisites for the investment of development capital. This is where the United Nations Special Fund is doing such valuable work, although the need for more remains imperative. The multi-lateral relationship between more and less developed countries may be adversely affected when the world is caught in a net of tied loans. Such a situation will have its effects on trade policies and it will alter the pattern of the world economy. Finally, the question arises: is there really much point in talking about credits and credit conditions when the foreseeable burden of interest and repayment will eventually be so high as to absorb the entire foreign currency income of the debtor country?

132. Solutions to these problems are being sought by national Governments and by our friend Mr. Prebisch and his advisers. We are intensely interested in the new insights in the problems of development which they will provide. To a large extent these insights will determine the course of the Development Decade.

133. This is the twelfth time that I am privileged to attend the General Assembly as head of the Netherlands delegation. When I spoke in this hall in 1952, I was addressing 60 members; now they number 111. This increase is a reason for rejoicing, because it means that so many more countries have achieved independent status. At the same time it gives us cause to be careful because the sum of all our separate aspirations, aims and ambitions has been doubled. Thus, while our mutual relations have become more inextricably interwoven, the scope left for individual, independent, action has shrunk. There is less room for our national stringings, but this restriction is compensated by the benefits derived from joint action on a plane transcending that of nationalism. The attainment of this benefit, however, is contingent on our ability to moderate our demands and to be content with less than what we might consider our due. Such self restraint does not come easily, but that we may "live" we must learn to "let live". At the beginning of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly I pray to the Almighty that He may grant us wisdom.

134. Mr. SCHWALB (Peru) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I should like first of all to convey to you on behalf of my delegation and myself our very sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly for this session. It is an honour not only for you yourself, in recognition of your outstanding qualities, but also for your country, Venezuela, cradle of the Liberator, and for all America. We are sure that in discharging the responsibilities of your high office you will guide the discussions with your characteristic wisdom, intelligence and energy. For all these reasons, Mr. President, accept once again my heartiest congratulations.

135. It is a great honour for me, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, to come to this rostrum, for the United Nations is a magnificent embodiment of the international democratic spirit and an expression of the desire for peace felt by all the peoples of the globe. I bring to this forum both an assurance of Peru's heartfelt friendship and the news of profound economic and social changes being wrought in my country by the Government of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry. This new administration is striving to overcome, by legal and democratic means, the excessive and increasing inequality which exists in my country, as it does in other developing nations, between the haves and the have-nots. That, to us, is the meaning of democracy. It consists not only in respect for legal forms, but also in respect for the legitimate ideals and aspirations of the people, who are desirous of achieving full social justice.

136. I have not come to make these remarks in the general debate as a mere formality demanded by tradition, and I trust you will not regard them merely as a customary gesture, but will see that my desire is—in moderate but unambiguous language—to go to the very heart of some of the basic problems relating to the social and economic structure of my country and to convey with all the clarity of which I am capable my Government's firm intention to overcome them. I feel, however, that I would be failing in another of my duties to the General Assembly if I did not also place these problems in the world context of the United Nations, with a view to sharing with countries and regions similarly afflicted the experience we are now acquiring in the process of facing up to our difficulties. And as I speak of our own affairs I wish to ask you all for understanding and help, for it is only through international solidarity that we can lay the groundwork for a new and more humane world order, with greater justice for all.

137. It is not therefore my intention merely to analyse an international policy with which the Assembly is already familiar, since—with Peru's contribution—the United Nations has written its own history; I have come to this rostrum to say that my country, in accordance with the will of its people, of which the Government is the interpreter and which the Government is prepared to carry out, has started on its march to conquer the future. In this endeavour it hopes that it can count, like other countries in a similar position, on the collaboration of the industrialized countries, a collaboration which is indispensable if Peru is to progress beyond its present level of development and overcome within a reasonable space of time its worst ills, which are bred by ignorance, disease and poverty.

138. This, I believe, is the very place in which we should speak of these matters and in which we are entitled to be heard when, as in the present case, we have a vital message to convey. The Charter signed at San Francisco recognizes the legal equality of all our nations and, in a lofty spirit and in beautiful language, calls for social justice. At its third session held in Paris, in 1948, the United Nations proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 (III)]. But as we look at reality we see that this is not enough. Entire continents—represented with distinction in this hall—are a prey to poverty and illiteracy. There is a stark contrast between the ideals enunciated in the Charter and the Declaration, and the brutal reality which we cannot deny and which

we are pained by and ashamed of. We have attained legal equality, but no more than that; and we cannot rest content with this achievement because we are dedicated to an unremitting struggle against injustice—for human rights look beautiful on paper and are comforting as an ideal, but to try to implement them can be most discouraging.

139. We cannot achieve peaceful coexistence on the international plane as long as we allow profound inequalities to exist within our countries. We shall not have world peace unless we first achieve peace within our own boundaries, where it is directly threatened by economic imbalances and social injustice. We cannot possibly expect brotherly relations among the nations unless we first develop them within each nation. Such national brotherhood will not emerge until the day on which we guarantee to every person his inalienable right to education, health, housing and paid employment, and a practical possibility of satisfying at least his minimum needs in that regard.

140. We do not expect the solutions to come entirely from abroad, for we are aware of our own obligations and of the need to discharge them. But we require help, for our economy is not strong enough to cope single-handed with the great problems we must solve. We are suffering from the impact of a population explosion which has some alarming aspects. For reasons rooted in the distant past, the obstacles in the way of our economic development can hardly be overcome with our own limited economic and technical resources alone. We need help—help which takes the form, not of a largess, but of sincere, whole-hearted and generous co-operation, since we have sufficient natural resources successfully to overcome our difficulties. We realize that backwardness—a condition from which all the world's nations suffer in one way or another—is essentially a many-sided problem and must be attacked from many sides. Consequently, each nation must undertake its share of the common task, playing its strategic role in the campaign against the ills which beset us all. Peru is ready to do its part in a vast co-operative effort. Now that its entire people has expressed its will to be the master of its own destiny and the architect of its future security, my country hopes to receive such help in order to meet its acute and urgent needs and to be able to contribute its due share to the collective endeavour for world peace.

141. While at first sight these might seem to be political principles, they are actually ethical concepts, valid throughout the history of mankind and through the length and breadth of the world.

142. It is the purpose of the United Nations, in accordance with its Charter, to achieve justice through international solidarity and peace through spiritual and material progress. Having thus briefly summarized the main objectives of the Organization, I should like to digress for a moment to tell you that in Peru, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, there has recently been established a new order which seeks to attain the same goals and which in so doing may cause profound repercussions in States with a similar economic and social structure.

143. The newly constituted Government of my country directs its policy towards the elimination of an evil which we consider one of the most serious in the world today: the excessive and growing inequality between the rich and the poor. To meet our people's

legitimate desire, which brooks no delay, we are seeking to correct this imbalance and to bring about true, genuine social justice. But we shall not change this situation or combat this great evil by violent or arbitrary means. We are a law-abiding State, a sound democracy. In attacking it, we shall scrupulously observe the rules of law and ethics, and we are therefore engaged in carrying out basic structural reforms in the organization of the State, the machinery of government, the methods of production and the system of land tenure and cultivation.

144. We appreciate the fact that every nation in the process of development must mobilize all the forces within its territory, both in the public and in the private sector, in order to do away with poverty in all its forms and manifestations. That is what we are doing in Peru, and our effort must surely be of interest to a world organization created for that same purpose. Continuing a tradition bequeathed to us by one of the two great civilizations which between them have shaped the Peruvian people, we are organizing work on a community basis for the general benefit. Turning to our past for inspiration, and using modern techniques, we have revived in our country that collective activity, that popular action, which made the Inca Empire great and to which, in large measure, it owed its remarkable triumph over its hostile and forbidding natural surroundings. This is no passing whim; we are guided by the need to turn the wise lessons of history to good account, so that a future full of hope and glowing prospects may open up before us.

145. With this end in view, it has been decided to organize in the provinces of the Republic central stations for machinery, tools and equipment, to be used by the people on a co-operative basis. There will be shoulders put to the wheel, for the benefit of the community. There will be a fine collective effort, to which the State will contribute technical guidance and supplies in the exact amounts needed to make the most of the labour supplied by the people of villages, hamlets and towns.

146. Local roads, aqueducts and schools will be built, and a multitude of other projects will be carried out which the central Government, were it forced to rely on its own scant resources, would take years to complete. The people themselves are asking us for work, for useful undertakings, for culture. They show a desire for progress which is deeply moving, palpable and full of promise. Crushed by poverty and bogged down in ignorance, they do not ask for weapons in order to revolt, but for tools in order to work for a better and more just fatherland. Can it be that Peru, with its traditional customs and its common problems, is the only nation eager to solve its difficulties in this manner? I wonder whether this idea does not bear within it the seeds of progress and collective well-being which should be harvested by the United Nations and then broadcast to the vast under-developed regions of the world? We are discharging a duty of international solidarity in bringing these plans before the General Assembly so that, through its agency, they may be communicated to other nations at a similar, or lower, stage of economic and social development.

147. Progress in agriculture is a *sine qua non* for the improvement of national levels of living. Peoples living under archaic land systems cannot be expected to advance. For this reason Peru, which for centuries has suffered from the ill effects of just such an anti-

quoted system, is now shaking off this dead weight which hampers its progress and is embarking, with an unshakable resolution, on a country-wide land reform.

148. It should be noted that Peru intends to carry out this reform by lawful and democratic methods. Neither violence nor arbitrary rule—let me repeat—are instruments of good government. To effect substantive changes in the system of land tenure and cultivation, adequate provisions have been adopted, worked out in technical detail and peacefully implemented. The Government has formulated administrative measures which are to be carried out at once, and has prepared a land reform bill which awaits the approval of the Parliament. It believes that it will thus take a long step towards rescuing the masses from the pauperization in which they have been held by exploitation and ignorance for many years.

149. This reform is not an end in itself, but a sound method of raising the people's level of living, giving them back their dignity and making of them a determining factor in the nation's economic activity. A process of accelerated industrialization is out of the question unless we first, or simultaneously, develop a population of consumers, whose purchasing power will give impetus and a *raison d'être* to the industries we develop. That can be achieved only through a radical alteration of the land system, a first step in the search for a better life and in the moral and material advancement of man.

150. We shall attempt at the same time to reform enterprises, that modern means of channelling commercial, agricultural and industrial investment capital for purposes of collective progress. We deem it essential to humanize them, to improve relations between capital and labour and to give adequate participation to the technicians, employees and workers whose skills and exertions contribute to the process of production and the creation of wealth.

151. We believe in the system of free enterprise, so long as circumstances permit, and our legislation protects and safeguards the domestic and the foreign investor. We shall improve our laws in this regard, inasmuch as a country such as Peru, starved for development capital, needs to attract and stimulate industrialists with a sense of social responsibility and progressive views.

152. But we believe also that, precisely because they hold such views, foreign investors must understand the new role they will be called upon to play in the economic and social evolution of the communities which welcome them with open arms. It is no longer enough that foreign enterprises in the developing countries should comply with fiscal and social legislation. If they are to play their proper role, they must go further; they must, in the broadest and most positive form, engage in reinvestment and diversification of activity, especially when, as is true in most cases, their present scope of activity is limited to the exploitation of non-renewable resources. While an industrial process which exhausts natural resources may benefit the State, in essence it despoils the heritage of future generations. We have no right to engage in it unless we replace by other means the wealth we thus extract.

153. Let us who live today merit the blessings of our descendants by the wisdom of our policy, the foresightedness of our actions and the justice of our

laws! It is within this Organization, upon which centres modern man's desire for justice, that we must make this appeal, and we make it without any mental reservations or misgiving, with the sole intention of recommending, for the good of all, what we have learned from the inexhaustible store of our own experience.

154. Taxes are not, and should not be, solely a means of raising for the Treasury the funds it requires. They are also a means of securing justice by distributing the burden fairly among the various groups which constitute society. Moreover, taxation is an effective means of economic development and social improvement, since it can be used to organize production, to stimulate activities which are in the public interest and to discourage activities which promote the interests of individuals or single groups. In the process of national economic development, tax reform is of paramount importance because of its social significance. Aware of this, the new Government of Peru has also undertaken a reform of the national tax structure. The purpose is, without slowing down the normal activities of industry and trade, to promote justice in the private economic sector which has so powerful an effect on the life of a nation.

155. In addition, with equal resolution and with the same desire for justice, the Peruvian Government has started what it calls a "credit revolution"—a policy of democratizing credit by bringing it within the reach of the needier classes for important social purposes. Hitherto in our society money, in the form of credit, has been a privilege of the few. In these circumstances, it was impossible to launch a policy of economic development for the benefit of the underprivileged; consequently, the "credit revolution" has the merit of restoring a natural order of things by making credit, through a reform of banking resources, accessible to the great masses of the people who urgently require State assistance in order to be able to satisfy their basic needs for family comfort and a better life. This is an important part of the message I have come to convey, one I could not omit from my statement in the general debate, since it shows the Peruvian Government's determination to effect a peaceful revolution, in conformity with the principles which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

156. To sum up this portion of my statement—before I turn to the system of outside aid which will have an enormous influence on the evolution of our economic development policies—permit me to say that in our view the resolution of our crisis depends in large measure on the new spirit with which the peoples of America and, I would venture to say, all non-industrialized nations, are imbued.

157. This new spirit depends on three factors: (a) a realistic, courageous, prudent and dynamic programme of changes that must be made; (b) resolute, intelligent, patriotic and generous co-operation of the moneyed and educated classes, conscious of their duty in the world of today and of the imperative need for structural changes; and (c) the co-operation of the people, such as I have described, consisting in the mobilization of all the inhabitants of the country, in all regions and in all occupations, to work shoulder to shoulder for the common good, under the slogan dictated to us by our pride in our ancestors: popular action.

158. We are confident that, because of Peru's traditional culture and patriotic unity, we can rely on the help of the classes which have been in the past and are today responsible for the development and the economy of our fatherland. This joint effort would represent a genuine response of the soul of the nation to the exigencies of these historic times. In the past few years, in an endeavour unprecedented in our political history in this century, our present Chief of State visited every village in Peru, with its grim, desolate and inhospitable terrain, in a pilgrimage the purpose of which was educative rather than political, the object of which was to spread the truth rather than to gain political adherents. The self-abnegation, the sincerity and the constructive spirit of that campaign fired the people with enthusiasm, and they responded nobly, offering their labour and their energies to build a better and more prosperous country under the leadership of a new, revolutionary, and deeply Christian administration. It is an honour for me to say these things on this solemn occasion so that the world may have a better understanding of the meaning and scope of a regenerating movement, the admirable effects of which are destined to make themselves felt beyond our national borders.

159. Passing to the international plane, I must state that my Government considers the extensive co-operation between the industrialized and the developing countries to be the best way of preventing the benefits of the astounding triumphs of science and technology from being concentrated in a few privileged and prosperous areas with a low birth-rate. That would increasingly worsen the plight of the poor regions which, paradoxically, have the world's highest birth-rates. Unless something is done along these lines, the multiplication of the human race which, according to the canons of religion, may be called upon to undertake, will become a malignant growth, like cancer which multiplies the morbid cells in an ailing organism. And this cannot be allowed to happen.

160. History teaches us that the magnificent Graeco-Roman civilization was destroyed by struggles between rich and poor in the republics of antiquity. It would be blind stupidity not to bear this lesson in mind and to prevent any recurrence of this phenomenon, at the international level, resulting from the contrast between the abundance enjoyed by some and the backwardness besetting others. International co-operation is certainly one of the noblest undertakings of our times, but it is also the most beneficial for all. It cannot be said to operate in one direction only and to benefit only the needy. International co-operation, which benefits the developing nations, also contributes to the progress of the other nations and serves to strengthen world peace, which is an unqualified blessing for all mankind.

161. The division of labour, in the sense that certain peoples always act as suppliers of raw materials for others who produce manufactured goods, is now an unfair, obsolete and unacceptable concept. As a country becomes industrialized, it increases its capacity not only to produce but also to consume a larger and more varied quantity of goods and services. This means that in due course there will be greater and more efficient economic activity in the other countries which preceded it in the industrial stage of evolution. The examples of Canada in relation to the United States of America, of Australia and New Zealand within the Commonwealth, and of Europe as a whole

within the Common Market prove that it is in the interest of the powerful countries to have prosperous instead of indigent or wretched customers. No one can be happy when surrounded by others who are unhappy, and no one can live in safety close to explosive areas. Hence co-operation for economic development is one of the major guarantees of world peace.

162. This co-operation is feasible and desirable only if the country which needs it most has made the necessary effort and taken the action required to overcome the difficulties created by its under-development. Only when it has shown its will to do so can it, in all decency, expect international co-operation without jeopardizing its complete independence. In America a great regional plan has emerged—the Alliance for Progress—to which the United States, in accordance with its well-conceived policy, is contributing its financial and technical assistance. The Head of the Peruvian Government, recognizing the merits of this endeavour, has, however, expressed the friendly but frank opinion that it is essential to divest the Alliance of the excessive red tape in which it is caught up, and to dispense with the rather exaggerated desire for perfection, typical of commercial banking, which has so far impeded assistance and the financing of development. It is essential to ensure that this great joint undertaking has the dynamism and technique which the urgency of Latin America's problems requires.

163. Our Government has also drawn attention to the desirability of planning economic development at the regional level, without prejudice to the aid given to certain individual projects, because, while there are circumstances peculiar to every nation, there are also requirements shared by all of them which could and should be faced together in order to avoid the dissipation and squandering of economic and technical resources. In this connexion, it is our view that spreading economic assistance to an excessive degree over projects which sometimes compete with each other might lead, among other harmful consequences, to the wasteful dispersal of the limited resources available to the international credit agencies.

164. Let me refer to one important example to clarify my ideas on this subject. A few moments ago I spoke about land reform. Now this aspect of economic and social development offers an excellent opportunity for planning on the regional scale and for assistance in the form of international credit. For the Latin American nations the agrarian problem is a common denominator which enables them to think of common solutions. If land is to be expropriated in order to correct the defects of the ownership system, then fair compensation must be paid to the owners. This is proclaimed in our constitutions. But it is difficult to pay the price in cash because of the magnitude of the expense involved and because of the danger of inflation which it would create. Payment in bonds is the solution generally adopted in the poor countries. However, a bond is a security which is subject to the many vicissitudes of depreciation which may convert the original fair price into a final unfair price. And that is not the intention of the law. Thus mistrust of payment in bonds weakens the effectiveness of the reform, because our countries have fragile economies in which the risk of devaluation is always present owing to unforeseeable political or financial factors. Here is where international co-operation

should play its part, and for this purpose we have proposed the establishment of an international institute of regional credit, the purpose of which would be to organize the joint backing of all countries of the continent for the national bonds issued in respect of each land reform; and we also propose, if this is feasible, the exchange of national bonds for international bonds which would, in their turn, have, as a guarantee that the obligations of the issue would be complied with, the collective backing of a system of great economic capacity, namely, the Alliance for Progress. In this way, on the basis of credit and without the movement of capital, the Latin American countries as a whole, intent on solving the common problem of land reform, can have recourse to an effective method of international co-operation which does not involve the fragmentation of the credit agencies' resources thanks to the material and moral solvency of an international organization established for the purpose.

165. The foregoing explains our position as regards the need to ensure that economic development plans are financed, to an increasing degree, at the continental or regional level, in order to avoid, as far as possible, the dispersal of funds. We also think that assistance in the form of credit should, in the light of national experience, be provided in various ways and assume different forms. Thus, for example, the financing of local projects through municipal authorities enables us Latin Americans to make use of bodies with which our people are closely familiar. Again, in a given country regional requirements which cover a wider radius have in modern times led to the establishment of governmental or semi-governmental organs with a large measure of autonomy, their own juridical personality and wide executive powers. They are therefore eminently suited to supervise the execution of regional economic development projects efficiently and at less expense. Lastly, projects of national proportions and scope call for planning at the State level, and credit should therefore take the form of loans to the Government, or to bodies recommended or vouched for by the Government because of their competence and wide fields of action.

166. But we must not speak of projects for material progress as if they were the sole factor contributing to human advancement. We must also devote attention to the raising of cultural and educational levels through international co-operation. An example of this would be the campaign to eradicate illiteracy, a monstrous evil which spreads over most of the world, the elimination of which should be tackled like a world crusade through the United Nations. We ought to plan an aggressive campaign for this purpose, a campaign against ignorance, in which we could pool our efforts in the ruthless struggle to stamp out this blight. There are, of course, specialized bodies of the United Nations already dealing with the problem, but we still fail to see, and perhaps it is partly our own fault, the giant strides forward that we all expected from the dynamic action of these bodies.

167. As regards the financing of development and technical assistance to the developing countries, co-operation on a much vaster scale must be forthcoming from the European countries, the creators of a great universal culture and the instigators of the technological revolution which has, for the last two centuries, led man to triumph over nature. The present wealth and astounding success of these nations, after the catastrophe of the war, show how much mankind

can expect from such a vast reservoir of energies and skills.

168. But neither the United States of America, nor Europe, nor the highly industrialized countries of the world in general will provide effective assistance unless, at the same time, they eliminate from international trade the factors which depress the prices of raw materials and restrict the markets for them. Statistics show conclusively that the tremendous losses sustained by Latin America in the last few years owing to the deterioration in the terms of trade are far greater than the amounts received as credit for development. This being so, it must be stated in all frankness that the assistance is unrealistic, false and misleading. What will it avail the so-called recipients if, at the same time, they are impoverished by falling prices for their primary commodities or if fluctuations in these prices undermine their economies? Nor is assistance of any avail to them if the marketing of these commodities is prohibited or hampered by customs duties, quotas or discriminatory practices of a similar nature. Under a plan for international co-operation, these and other practices, such as dumping and special privileges to the detriment of third parties, are inconceivable. This must be said very loudly and very clearly: if the industrialized countries genuinely wish to further the economic development of the developing countries, in the interest not only of the latter but also in their own interest, they must help to liberalize international trade and to stabilize prices generally. Otherwise, whatever may be said concerning the economic development of the poor regions of the world will be meaningless.

169. In conclusion, allow me to set aside economic questions for a moment and to refer briefly to some political and legal problems with which the United Nations is confronted. The United Nations is on the verge of achieving the universality which is its very essence. The family of nations must be all-embracing and cannot exclude any countries other than those which do not have the moral qualities demanded by the Charter: that they be peace-loving and able and willing to carry out their international obligations.

170. There are three nations which are divided today: in Europe, there is Germany whose tremendous contribution to culture and economic development is common knowledge; in Asia, there are two countries whose culture goes back thousands of years—Korea and Viet-Nam. There is a general desire to bring about the unification of these nations; this unification can be achieved only by an honest democratic process which reflects the true feelings of their citizens. We have the moral obligation to promote the self-determination of peoples. Our organization, exercising its high authority and offering its technical services, could co-operate in the democratic processes which would lead to the unification which all proclaim they desire. Once unified, these nations would immediately be admitted to the United Nations to play their appointed role.

171. The primary objective of the United Nations, as I said at the beginning of my statement, is to maintain international peace. Peace does not consist simply in the coexistence of the various sovereign Powers and in refraining from acts or threats of violence. There is more to peace than this negative aspect. True peace demands mutual understanding and effective co-operation in the pursuit of common objec-

tives and interests. There is also something else which is fundamental: scrupulous respect not only for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of every country, but also for its economic structure and culture. This concept of peace is of interest not only to the great Powers, which must develop their economic structures, adapt them to the needs of the times and, of their own volition, express their personalities in the family of nations, but also to the other nations of the world.

172. The United Nations Charter has considered the reduction of armaments as a means of achieving general and complete disarmament. In recent years, noteworthy debates have clearly established that disarmament cannot come about miraculously by a fiat capable of immediate execution. Disarmament entails a step-by-step process, which ensures that the necessary balance is maintained between the Powers, and the stages or steps necessitated by a form of control which involves strict inspection both of the items which are eliminated or destroyed and of those which remain for a later stage. The General Assembly, in adopting the resolution setting up the Committee on Disarmament, has laid down the principle that, in applying the step-by-step procedure, no country may gain an advantage over the others.

173. Trust is essential for disarmament, but it can only emerge from facts which create or justify it, such as the existence and effectiveness of a control body. Trust should not precede control; on the contrary, it is the guarantees of the efficacy of control which breed genuine trust.

174. An important step forward has been taken with the nuclear test ban treaty signed at Moscow, which, in addition to halting the frenzied competition which could have led to conflict, will also spare mankind from the effects of radiation which threaten the health of this and future generations.

175. It is with legitimate satisfaction that Peru recalls the position adopted by its delegation in the Disarmament Commission in 1956, when it was a member of that body by virtue of its membership in the Security Council. At that time we drew attention to the grave dangers which these tests constituted for mankind and stressed that they must be prohibited by law. Accordingly, when the tests began again, Peru reiterated its condemnation on humanitarian grounds and because of the increase in international tension. In pursuance of this policy, my country has signed the treaty, concluded in Moscow, which, it is to be hoped, will create a new international atmosphere. The procedure to be decided on for avoiding surprise attacks will also contribute to the same objective, as will any agreements which are indicative of a closer proximity of views, which will be hailed by the world at large.

176. The banning of nuclear weapons from certain areas or continents constitutes gradual progress towards an agreement for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. A nuclear ban, laid down in a regional or continental agreement, provided that the treaties already in force are respected, demands an undertaking on the part of the nuclear Powers to respect the legitimate inviolability of the territory, territorial waters and air space of the regions concerned and of their ways of life. This reciprocity is not only logical but also strictly based on law.

177. The exploration of outer space is one of the great triumphs of modern science. Incalculable benefits may derive from the peaceful application of the discoveries which are now being made but which may also involve the danger that international competition may emerge aimed at gaining supremacy in space and using it as a base or centre for an ultimate weapon. The General Assembly, aware of this dilemma, established a committee under resolution 1472 A (XIV) to study the peaceful uses of outer space and formulate the legal principles which should govern this matter. That resolution proclaimed the principle that outer space should be used only for the benefit of mankind.

178. The delegation of Peru has explained its position in these discussions and has emphasized that, while all States should be free to explore outer space, they should all be prohibited from claiming dominion over it. Outer space, thus open to all countries for exploration, should therefore be subject to an authority which only the United Nations can exercise.

179. It has been rightly said that the present stage in the history of the United Nations is characterized by the inclusion in its membership of the young countries of Africa and Asia. The Latin American countries have hailed this event in a spirit of fraternal solidarity and filled with hope. The principle of self-determination, a doctrine which dates back to the dawn of our independence, triumphed in Latin America in the nineteenth century and in Africa and Asia in the twentieth. The delegation of Peru cordially and fraternally welcomes the new countries and looks forward with every confidence to the positive contribution which they will make to peace, co-operation and justice. It is only fair that they should find in the United Nations a forum and environment in which to express their personalities in the family of nations.

180. Peru has the classic prerequisites for economic development: natural resources consisting of a rich sub-soil, a bountiful sea, fertile land and luxuriant forests, as well as human resources, amounting to

ten million human beings who want the implements with which to work and uphold the peace. But my country—proud and dignified, independent and peace-loving—also has moral resources, to which its history and international conduct bear witness. With its civilization, dating back thousands of years, and its admirable culture, it needs only capital resources and technical assistance. It confidently expects to receive them from the powerful nations which, in giving them, will be protecting themselves. With these resources, and respecting these nations but demanding the same respect and consideration in return, it will create its own greatness, as other now more fortunate and prosperous peoples have done.

181. Once the causes and effects of the evil have thus been overcome, the republican system of government and democratic principles, which we so steadfastly uphold, will cease to be threatened, as they are, by the violent and justified resentment which poverty breeds, and by the political doctrines exported from many latitudes, and we shall be able to work, as the United Nations Charter and the Bogotá Charter^{15/} enjoin us to do, for a fruitful peace and Christian brotherhood.

182. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

183. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): During that part of his speech in which he spoke about Gibraltar, the representative of Spain referred to his country's claim to Gibraltar. In this connexion I wish to state that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has no doubt concerning its sovereignty over the territory of Gibraltar, and I wish formally to reserve its rights in this connexion.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

^{15/} Charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá on 30 April 1948.