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ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ZAVALA ORTIZ (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the Argentine delegation has the honour to congratulate you on your brilliant election to the presidency of this Assembly. We regard it as a recognition of your forceful personality and of your experience in the United Nations as representative of Ghana. We also regard it as an expression of full confidence in the moral authority and serenity with which you will preside over the Assembly in circumstances attended by so many issues of general concern. But your election should also be seen as a tribute to your country and your continent, whose support of the purposes and principles of the United Nations is daily more thoroughgoing.

2. At the same time, we should like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Sosa Rodríguez. His tact and devotion as President enhanced the prestige of Latin America, which at a particularly significant stage in the Organization's history we had called upon him to represent.

3. We extend our best wishes for the early recovery of the Secretary-General, U Thant, so that he may resume as soon as possible his diligent and dedicated meditation in the task of preserving harmony among the nations.

4. We welcome with pleasure and great expectations the entry into the United Nations of three new States—Malawi, Malta and Zambia. Their admission emphasizes the growing universality of the Organization and brings new national contributions to its experience and its councils.

5. The event which we have welcomed reminds us, however, of the omissions which still have to be remedied if the United Nations is to be truly representative of all national communities and if it is to

arrive at a permanent solution of the questions, left over from the war, which are still pending.

6. Peaceful reconciliation, and the decision to preserve it; good repute universally earned through devotion to law, democracy, justice and well-being—such is the basis on which the past can profitably be erased. In 1964, Argentina repeats what it said in 1920: namely, that an organization called upon to ensure future peace between the nations cannot afford to differentiate between belligerents and neutrals, so far as its members are concerned, and that it must admit to membership, on an equal footing, all sovereign States recognized as such by the international community.

7. We therefore say that the right of the German people to decide freely in regard to its country's reunification, and of the Federal Republic of Germany to be admitted to the Organization with its international entity undiminished, should be recognized.

8. Argentina brings no problems to the United Nations, except for one to which I shall refer later. Nor has it any international problems as such. Convinced of the Organization's vital importance to mankind, Argentina stands ready at all times to help by fulfilling the obligations prescribed by the United Nations, carrying out its purposes, complying with its recommendations, deferring to the will of its majority, accepting fully the consequences of the Charter, respecting each and every Member and supporting the collective effort to build a world free from war, dedicated to freedom and drawing upon all goods and services to preserve men from poverty, insecurity and exploitation.

9. Argentina fulfils that task, on the national level by its decisions and on the international level by its conduct. With the help of all its citizens, who enjoy equal rights to universal and compulsory suffrage and the secret ballot, as well as the right to think, write, trade, work and associate in trade unions, it is steadily building social democracy. We feel more secure with a system which permits peaceful access to power by any sector of the population, and the periodic correction of mistakes, with a system relying on the infallibility of government or of ruling classes. Our democracy is not wedded to any economic dogma. It is pledged to justice, efficiency and development. It sets the basic targets of the economy, but leaves it to private initiative, in principle, to attain them.

10. Internationally, our country has remained faithful to the principles evolved when it became a nation early in the nineteenth century. It believes in the equality of States. As President Illia has said, it believes, not that there are big nations to which it

owes obedience or small nations which it can rule, but that all peoples and nations merit its equal respect.

11. We have consistently adhered to the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other States, and we have jealously guarded our own nation from outside intervention. In all our international relations, we have always dealt with Governments, never with peoples—precisely in order that we should not, even inadvertently, be guilty of intervention. But all our dealings with Governments are in the interest of the peoples. As Argentines, proud of Calvo and Drago who formulated the principle of non-intervention at the beginning of this century, we could never depart from their hallowed doctrine.

12. We want to keep our old friends and make all the new friends we can, with no qualification except mutual respect. We have a deep national and human interest in establishing closer relations with the new countries of Asia and Africa, with which we have so far had little opportunity for contact. We are sure that we shall find basic areas of agreement and shall be able to join forces with them in achieving solutions satisfactory to our peoples. Argentina has no enemies among the countries of the world, for the simple reason that it does not regard itself as the enemy of any one of them.

13. Resuming the mandate handed down by its national heroes, Argentina, like all its sister nations in America, is committed to the unity of the continent. Many elements in that unity have always existed—geographical continuity, language, emancipation, ideals and common beliefs, not to speak of age-old sympathies. The other elements are being forged by the need for collective security, economic integration and preservation of a common culture.

14. Much has already been achieved in that direction—an organization of American States founded on the principles of the United Nations Charter, a Latin American common market, a Central American common market, the Charter of Alta Gracia.^{1/} At the same time, each country is continuing to contribute to that unity. Argentina, for example, has opened its rivers to two land-locked countries and made its ports available to those countries for the purpose or their access to the sea.

15. Despite distortions and institutional instability, America has shown itself to be extraordinarily consistent in its democratic ideals. No other concept has succeeded in supplanting them in the hearts of Americans—neither poverty, nor tyranny, nor economic exploitation. Fortunately, democracy has never been incriminated in America. The faults, if faults there were, have always lain elsewhere. Universal humanism and the dual contribution of an indigenous and a Western culture have kept the Continent free from resentment. America is free of hatred, both externally and internally. Precisely for that reason, it is a magnificent terrain for reconciliation.

16. For a long time, America was forgotten—thrown back on its own efforts and its own meagre resources. There can be no denying that it has served others

more than others have served it. If a balance-sheet of international financial aid in recent years were drawn up, it would be found that America was the area of the world which had received the least. We believe that due correction of this situation has begun.

17. The unity of the American continent is not designed for separation from the rest of the world. Rather is it designed to constitute a contribution to the unity of the world, to the cause of peace, to the development effort, to the equality of peoples and to the security of the human person.

18. In the belief that the national territory constitutes the geographical area for the effective expression of the national will and the individual will of each Argentine citizen, the Argentine Government has taken special pains to preserve the country's territorial integrity. We would draw the attention of the United Nations to our views, because the Organization will have to approve our ideas which, in the last analysis, are based on the principles of international justice.

19. Territorial sovereignty cannot be made conditional upon capacity to defend it or to take full advantage of it; it can be conditional only on the right of sovereignty itself. That right cannot be made contingent upon force, for in that event only strong nations would enjoy it. Fortunately, the world has progressed so far in its recognition of justice and morality that the time has come to erase the vicious theory that "might makes right" from all documents and legislation.

20. Argentina has stated that the continental shelf and the sea above it constitute an integral part of its national territory. It has confirmed its sovereignty over the Antarctic territory encompassed by its national territory, and it considers it necessary, in virtue of its sovereignty over its air space and its rights in outer space, to make the relevant reservations without prejudice to its endorsement of the idea that such space should be used for the good of Argentina and of all mankind.

21. It was in defence of its sovereignty that Argentina was moved to raise the problem which it has brought before the United Nations. In the Committee on decolonization,^{2/} the so-called Special Committee of Twenty-Four, Argentina has claimed its inalienable and inviolable rights to the Malvinas Islands, occupied by the United Kingdom since 1833, when the latter seized it by violence in time of peace from a country which had just begun life as an independent nation.

22. At that time we, as Spain's successors, were in legitimate occupation of the Malvinas Archipelago. The first establishment had been founded in 1764 by France, which later ceded it to Spain. In 1766 Great Britain founded Port Egmont on Saunders Island. In 1770 the English were evicted by the Spanish Navy, but in 1771 they reoccupied Port Egmont in implementation of an offer of reparations from Spain—the latter expressly reserving its sovereignty, which was not challenged. The English voluntarily abandoned Fort Egmont in 1774, and until 1829 made no reser-

^{1/} Signed at the first meeting of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, held at Alta Gracia, Argentina, from 24 February to 7 March 1964.

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

vation or protest despite occupation first by Spain and later by Argentina. It was only in 1829, four years before taking them by force, that England showed a renewed interest in the Islands and protested against administrative acts by Argentina. In those days there was a revival of imperialist ambitions in every corner of the globe. We were unable to defend ourselves against violence. The existing population was dispersed, and on 3 January 1833 one more act of nineteenth-century imperialism was consummated. That act of force is the reason for Great Britain's presence in the Malvinas Islands.

23. When historical research and the facts of law laid bare the precarious nature of the claims whereby the occupying Power had sought to justify its action, and when Olympian silence had to make room for self-justification, that Power invoked, in contradiction to its own case, the argument of self-determination. We returned a full and detailed reply. We would, however, recall a time-honoured principle to the effect that no one can improve his title to anything. Anyone taking possession of something unlawfully retains possession of it unlawfully—cannot, in other words, exonerate himself by means of repentance, apologies or time. Nor can he improve title by transferring it to another quarter: the recipient receives it with its original defect, since no one can transfer rights better than those which he holds.

24. If we regard self-determination as the exercise of already existing sovereignty, it cannot be recognized in the present case, because what is at issue is not a sovereign State but a colony. Nor can the settlers' right of self-determination be recognized, because they are themselves an integral part of the colonial machinery. Self-determination can be applied to existing sovereignty or nascent independence, but not to the continuation of colonialism. It can be applied, moreover, only when the territory involved is not in dispute.

25. We shall be more specific in regard to this subject when it comes up for discussion in the appropriate Committee and in the Assembly. For the present I will only add that, while Argentina has the right to claim its Malvinas because they are an integral and intrinsic part of its national territory, the United Nations has a duty to terminate colonialism even when it seeks to pose as self-determination, which is reserved for peoples that wish to retain or achieve real independence. Argentina does not and never will forget its right. It is prepared to negotiate with Great Britain the return of the Malvinas Islands, with due regard to the interests of the handful of settlers inhabiting the Archipelago. The conclusions of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four contain a recommendation that such bilateral talks be held and recognize as legitimate the application to the islands of the name Malvinas, the historic and Argentine appellation given to the Territory.

26. Like the rest of mankind, Argentina believes in peace and in its creative opportunities. It also believes that peace is attainable. While the world has so contracted as to seem small and dangers once remote have consequently come nearer, friendship, integration, solidarity, mutual assistance and collective defence have also been brought within closer range.

Nevertheless, we know that many dangers lurk and are exploited for selfish purposes. Not by opposing such a state of affairs, but only by seeking its complete abolition, can we attain our objective.

27. For defence, we provide our solidarity with like-minded friends; for peace, we supply our determination to live with all other peoples in peace and mutual respect. We repeat: we are not indifferent; we too have a militant spirit; we believe in a system of ethics, a way of life, a humanitarian and democratic ideal. But we do not try to impose our views on others, nor would we allow them to impose theirs on us. Co-existence is not abdication, submission to contagion, or self-complication. It simply means accepting a reality which facts have permanently or temporarily imposed upon us, but which none of us is entitled to change by violent methods.

28. The peoples of the world, more sensible than their ideologists, will find, in friendly discussion of their ideas and problems, opportunities to improve the truth. The problem lies not in ideologies as such. Reality has drained the colour from fanaticism, failure has toppled infallibility, and performance has muted the boastful tone of promises. The problem resides in what lies behind ideologies. The distribution of military, economic and moral power makes it impossible for any particular nationalism to impose itself on the world through any one of those sectors of power. On the other hand, an ideology opens doors, windows and cracks through which to infiltrate into other countries. In assessing the dangers to peace, a great mistake has been to regard as ideological conflicts what are really conflicts provoked by expansionist nationalism in ideological disguise.

29. Our peoples believe in nationalism that exalts love of country, stimulates the overcoming of problems and mobilizes the effort, capacity and zeal required for the achievement of national unity. Our peoples, moreover, have learnt how to combine this unity with effort on the regional and on the world plane. That is why they detest any exclusive or expansionist nationalism, whatever its guise, colour or slogan.

30. With this concern for peace, Argentina draws attention to the compelling and urgent need for machinery which, improving on that established by Chapter V of the Charter, will make it possible to find a peaceful solution for all latent or actual disputes between nations. Until such machinery is perfected and applied to all disputes, war will continue to present itself as a solution, especially to those who are in the wrong. At the very least, the "cold war" will continue to waste energies, resources and opportunities for the peace and well-being of mankind.

31. Time and again in the name of sovereignty the compulsory settlement of disputes by reference to the appropriate machinery has been postponed, at great risk. Though jealous of its sovereignty, Argentina has always favoured the settlement of problems by peaceful means. It has taken this stand, with its sister nations of America, ever since the last century. In the League of Nations Assembly on 17 November 1920, Mr. Pueyrredón, the Argentine Foreign Minister, on instructions from President Yrigoyen, said: "We are in favour of the principle of compulsory arbitra-

tion in all disputes except in questions affecting the political construction of States, and we declare ourselves partisans of a Court of Justice equipped with judicial powers."

32. Argentina has only two outstanding territorial problems; and acting in concert with the sister Republic of Chile, it submitted one to an arbitrator appointed early in the present century, and the other to the International Court of Justice.

33. Sovereignty runs no risk when confronted with right, because it is itself the basic right and the essence of all other rights. On the other hand, it runs a risk when faced by naked force and intemperate foreign demands. If sovereignty had to rely on its own strength, it would become a privilege of the strong and would cease to be the most sacred right of all nations. Furthermore, no one has a right to war. War is nowadays, morally and materially, a world-embracing phenomenon. Only mankind as a whole can consent to it.

34. There is another circumstance which I would mention. The annihilating power of nuclear weapons has, of course, bred fear in all men and sharpened an instinctive desire for peace and self-preservation; but it has created a tendency to tolerate, or disregard, conventional war. The position has become so confused that conventional war might easily come to be regarded as blameless war, given its relatively minor power of destruction. We do not want merely to dilute war; we wish to abolish it. We cannot agree to nuclear pacifism becoming active toleration of conventional war. We do not want the dove of peace to be equipped with conventional arms and ammunition. We cannot leave responsibility for peace solely in the hands of those countries which possess atomic weapons; responsibility for world peace must be assumed by all nations. Moreover, experts have given us ample warning that no war today can be completely free from the haunting possibility of the use of nuclear weapons, or be confined to limited nuclear hostilities, if only because the inexperience of armies and the incalculable range of any war's effects leave the way open for fatal mistakes.

35. Our agenda for peace must also include other forms of warfare, such as revolutionary war, permanent revolution and subversive aggression. Conventional war may possibly be an attack not directed against a country's sovereignty. But revolutionary war is primarily an attack insidiously directed against the sovereignty, the right to freedom from interference, and the right to self-determination, of peoples. Revolution cannot be exported. It is possible to do everything on a world basis, except replace the national will. An imported revolution is a command from abroad. The world would have gained very little if it passed from colonialism to "satellitism".

36. The Argentine people respects, and has faith in, all races. Our national entity, which is a compound of the most varied ethnic ingredients, is an instance of the unifying power of tolerance, mutual respect and humanism. Hardly had our revolution begun, in the last century, when the Argentine nation proclaimed that all men living on Argentine soil, whatever their origin, were born free and equal. We are happy to

have been born and to have grown up in that belief. We regard racism as destructive of national unity and as potentially aggressive. For that reason, Argentine penal law prescribes severe penalties for all forms of racial and religious discrimination.

37. Racism, however, has not disappeared from the world, since some believe in it and others use it. We feel bound to state that racism may take on a new lease of life, either because there are those who believe that the so-called dominant races must remain dominant, or because there are some who are interested in propagating the belief that the oppressed races must take revenge. Either way the result would be a cataclysm, and that must be avoided. Any struggle to destroy God's creation—and man is His noblest creature—would be savage; but, more than that, it would be futile. No race would predominate, because only man, with the help of truth and justice, can predominate. Human cruelty can destroy, lay waste and kill; but it cannot create a void. Man cannot destroy man altogether. God, in His merciful persistence, would rebuild. Nations and races would rise again, for they are not built of distinctions, differences and inequalities. They are varieties of a common, universal beauty.

38. Another of man's preoccupations, apart from peace, is development. All countries are anxious for development. It has assumed such political importance that some have made an ideology of it, while others regard it as an idea with its own motive force. Optimism is buttressed by statistics. This is because estimates are prepared for each economic unit with reference to the past. If, however, development were measured comparatively, by world standards, we should find that differences between countries and between peoples, far from being reduced, have in some cases been intensified. Development was chosen as a preferred short-cut to the reducing of differences and to the securing of approximate equality of enjoyment, security and well-being for all human beings. The concept of "one world" has eliminated the domestic yardstick and compelled the adoption of an international yardstick. Moreover, no one is attracted by the idea of a national distribution of poverty and need.

39. All the same, the developing countries listened to the recommendations addressed to them for national readjustments designed to enable them to make proper use of their means of production, with the encouragement of a measure of financial assistance. No great economic change resulted therefrom. Financial aid, despite the goodwill with which it was supplied to them, did not solve the problem but rather increased their external indebtedness. There seemed to be a reluctance to recognize that if structural readjustments had to be made in the developing countries, similar readjustments would be necessary in the developed countries, simply because the two categories were economically interdependent. Development, in its economic processes, is a problem of income and markets. If the already low income of developing countries is withheld or taken back by the industrialized countries, the formers' capital development becomes impossible. Income is withheld when a fair price is not paid for a primary product. Income is taken back when the price charged for

industrial products is proportionately higher than the price paid for primary products.

40. At the same time, development is economic expansion through market growth. For this, markets in industrialized countries are essential. The Charter of Alta Gracia, framed by the countries of Latin America and supported by seventy-seven countries at Geneva, pointed with exemplary objectivity to the problems and their solutions.

41. It was, of course, highly gratifying that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development^{3/} examined for the first time in history the problems of primary materials, manufactures and financing linked to development, as well as the institutional machinery to deal with them in the future. But none of the problems was resolved. None of the economic systems accepted responsibility for a solution. At Geneva the world was not seen to be divided ideologically between countries with market economies and countries with centrally-planned economies. This time the division was between rich and poor countries, between satisfied and needy countries. We have, however, not lost faith. We have faith in the industrialized countries' sense of fair play. We have faith in the solidarity of the seventy-seven countries. The latter not only constitute the most powerful group—as regards numbers, universality and human content—ever to have been formed within the United Nations family; they have shown maturity and judgement in their attitude. This was seen in the discussion of a system of voting which was designed to reconcile all the interests at stake, without prejudice to the effectiveness of the new institutional machinery contemplated, or to the principle of "one State, one vote".

42. Argentina is prepared to continue its firm support for the principles of the Alta Gracia Charter and the Geneva decisions, its resulting solidarity with the group of seventy-seven countries, and its wholehearted efforts for the elimination of inequalities between nations and peoples through the process of development.

43. I have thus explained to you Argentina's anxious concern for the future of mankind. I would merely add that we are fully determined, even at the cost of national sacrifices, to discharge our responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations. We are sure that no country will evade its obligations. If obligations are not fulfilled within the Organization, they are unlikely to be fulfilled outside it and the United Nations will have lost, vis-à-vis the world, that power of persuasion which, when all is said and done, is the only effective guarantee of world peace.

44. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to congratulate you on your election to this high position and to wish you success.

45. The States Members of the United Nations have gathered for their joint meetings more than twenty times. That is an impressive figure. It gives grounds for undertaking a certain review of the road that has been travelled and, most important, for defining the

tasks that face the United Nations and for considering how best they may be dealt with.

46. As for the Soviet Union, it has come to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, as in the past, with its Leninist policy of peace and defence of the rights of the peoples to independent and free development. On our side there is, and will be, no lack of readiness to utilize the opportunities afforded by the United Nations for the relaxation of international tension, for international co-operation and for the development of relations among States with different social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

47. Two very important propositions are proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. One says that the peoples of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind. The other proposition reads that the United Nations should be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common ends of its participants.

48. Were the Charter being drafted now, and not when the last shots of the great battle against the fascist aggressors were still resounding, it could hardly be put better. In reviewing the work of the United Nations, we must consider its activities first of all from the standpoint of the fulfilment of these provisions of the Charter. We must be mindful of them every time the United Nations determines its attitude to some serious event, of which there are not a few in the modern world with its more than 120 States.

49. It is true that up to now international complications, no matter how acute and dangerous they may have become, have nevertheless not crossed the fateful line. But where is the guarantee that with a new outburst of international tension this line will not be crossed? There can be no such guarantees, as long as the fundamental international problems on which peace most of all depends remain unsolved.

50. What most alarms the peoples of the world is the arms race, the like of which has never before been seen. Information which would reveal the full armaments picture is kept under lock and key. But even so it is common knowledge that, month after month, fresh piles of armaments—nuclear weapons, missiles, bombers, tanks, submarines—are pouring from the atomic factories, from the production lines and from the shipyards. Nor can it be denied that scientific and technological thinking and many of the best scientists and engineers are employed on the creation of ever more destructive types of weapons.

51. Thus, colossal amounts of human effort, energy, knowledge and material resources are being wasted on something which is not only of no use to people but, on the contrary, threatens them with untold calamities. The utter abnormality of this situation is still further underlined by the fact that statements in favour of disarmament are dispensed ever more generously with each passing year, whereas the gap between such statements and disarmament itself is constantly widening.

52. The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which was entrusted by the coun-

^{3/} United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Geneva, 23 March-15 June 1964).

tries represented in the United Nations with preparing agreements on disarmament, has been in session at Geneva for almost three years now. Five times it has submitted reports on its work to the General Assembly. What can one read in these reports? Always the same thing: the participants arrived on the shores of Lake Geneva, had meetings, prepared a report, and then recessed. But one cannot find in these reports any indication of the drafting of agreements or even a single one of the questions considered by the Committee. The results of the negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee are absolutely unsatisfactory. Thus it seems that at Geneva, where so many watches famous for their faultless action are made, time has stood still.

53. What is the reason for the obviously unfavourable state of affairs in the disarmament negotiations? To call a spade a spade, it has to be admitted that everything turns on the attitude of "certain" NATO States, which do not want disarmament.

54. The times are now such that even opponents of disarmament are not opposed to flirting with this demand of the peoples. They will tell you that the desire to save mankind from the threat of nuclear war and the gigantic burden of military expenditure is one of the loftiest expressions of the human spirit. Sometimes they go even further and state that the radical solution for this problem would be general and complete disarmament. But as soon as specific questions are put forward for discussion, as soon as one goes from words to deeds, arguments of quite a different sort emerge, which are in fact aimed at proving that disarmament is impossible. The number of arguments used in this connexion is not very large—just two or three theses repeated in various combinations.

55. It is said, for example, that disarmament is impossible without international control. But who is maintaining that control is not necessary? The Soviet Union is in favour of control, the strictest and most exacting control, but control over disarmament, if our partners in the negotiations took the same view, there would be no problem.

56. In reality, however, things are different. Readiness for disarmament is measured in homoeopathic doses, whereas control measures are prescribed on a downright horse-doctoring scale.

57. What, for example, is the essence of the latest United States proposals in the Eighteen-Nation Committee? It is to leave untouched the stockpiles of nuclear bombs and not even to prevent their further accumulation, to take virtually no action regarding conventional weapons, to leave military bases in alien territories intact, and to restrict ourselves to "freezing" certain types of available delivery vehicles. Whereas for control it is proposed to open wide all doors. In other words, you find out everything you are interested in, reconnoitre the defences of the other side, and then act as seems most advantageous. That is the meaning of control without disarmament, which can only lull the vigilance of the peoples but cannot bring them real security.

58. Another argument put forward is the following: in the actual process of disarmament, before all weapons have been destroyed, some country or group

of countries may fall victim to aggression. A far-fetched argument indeed! As if it were not easier to unleash aggression when armaments are on the increase; as if security in an armed world were greater than in a world where national military machines were being scrapped. But there is an answer to this artificial objection, too, in the Soviet Government's well-known proposal to leave a limited number of missiles at the disposal of the Soviet Union and the United States, in their own territories, until the whole process of disarmament is completed. It is sometimes asked how many such missiles should be left. Well, we are ready to discuss this with our partners. Name some figures, and let us get down to a business-like and practical discussion of the question.

59. Voices may still be heard—in fact we heard them at the conference table at Geneva—asserting that it is difficult to contemplate disarmament since man, by his very nature, remains pugnacious and unaccommodating. You must wait for human nature, so unflatteringly described, to change. One might ask what physical and intellectual qualities man must acquire in order to live in a world without armaments. For our part we think that agreement on disarmament can be reached before everyone turns into an angel. Attempts to place the nations longing for peace on the same level as a handful of profiteers who wax rich on military preparations and put their narrow interests before the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind only show how destitute of ideas the advocates of the arms race are.

60. None of the arguments advanced as evidence that disarmament is impossible can be reflected as in the least convincing. It is not at all that disarmament is materially impossible; the trouble is that those forces which do not want it are still influential. But can the interests of profit gained in the manufacture of arms be allowed to prevail over the desire of the peoples to protect themselves from the threat of nuclear war? No, that can certainly not be allowed.

61. Let those Western statesmen who oppose proposals aimed at real disarmament take up the proposals of the Soviet Union once again, and let them see whether their attitude to these proposals is not determined by preconceived ideas. And above all, let them ask themselves seriously whether it is the socialist countries alone that would gain from disarmament. No one who gives the matter serious thought can fail to admit that all countries and all peoples will gain by disarmament. Disarmament will also help the newly liberated peoples to overcome their age-old backwardness, inherited from colonialism. The economic programme of disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union opens up good prospects in this regard.

62. The Soviet Government does not take the view that, since others are not ready for a radical settlement of the disarmament problem, one may drift with the stream and do nothing to check the arms race. The Soviet Union is ready to negotiate for an agreement on general and complete disarmament. But it also favours measures which, as a start, would at least slow down the arms race and reduce its scope. In diplomatic language such measures are called partial. Their significance lies in the fact that they reduce international tension and create more favour-

able conditions for disarmament, and also for the settlement of other outstanding international issues.

63. The Soviet Government is submitting for consideration by the General Assembly a memorandum on measures for the further reduction of international tension and limitation of the arms race [A/5827]. Our proposals have been drafted to take into account the views expressed by a number of States in negotiations both within the Eighteen-Nation Committee and outside it. We trust the General Assembly will give thorough consideration to these proposals.

64. In submitting this memorandum, the Soviet Government is acting on the assumption that real possibilities exist for carrying out a number of partial measures on an agreed basis. It proposes going further in the direction of reducing the military budgets of the great Powers and the strength of foreign military forces stationed in Europe. As is known, something has already been done in this respect.

65. The slowing down of the arms race is the purpose of the proposals, contained in the Soviet memorandum, for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the prevention of their further spread, the establishment of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world, the inclusion of underground explosions in the ban on weapons testing, and the elimination of one at least of the vehicles for delivering nuclear weapons, namely, bomber aircraft. There is now also urgent need to dismantle foreign bases in alien territories, to conclude a non-aggression pact between the NATO States and the Warsaw Treaty States, and to adopt certain other practical measures.

66. The Soviet Government supports the proposal by the Polish People's Republic for the freezing of nuclear armaments in Central Europe.

67. Various proposals are being put forward as to which forum is most suitable for disarmament negotiations and what aspects of the problem should be given priority in the immediate future. In the view of the Soviet Government, the present situation calls for the convening of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all the countries of the world, as proposed by the Cairo Conference of non-aligned countries.^{4/} The proposal by the Government of the People's Republic of China to convene a conference of world Heads of State to discuss the complete prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons, and to reach agreement on the renunciation by States of the use of such weapons as a first step, deserves positive consideration. This coincides with what the Soviet Government, too, has repeatedly proposed.

68. The Soviet Government is prepared to participate in further discussions, in any forum and at any level including the highest, of the problems of general and complete disarmament, the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, and measures for limiting the arms race.

69. All those who have spoken from this rostrum have ascribed due importance to the task of disarmament and the search for ways to bring about a further

reduction of international tension. The representatives of Powers whose activities outside the United Nations follow entirely different direction are no exception in this respect. It is surely no secret to anyone that, as the current session of the General Assembly drew near, efforts to set up, in one form or another, a so-called NATO multilateral nuclear force became more and more intensive.

70. The picture is strange. On the one hand, the representatives of some leading NATO Powers try to convince everyone that they are opposed to making nuclear weapons available to other States and that they would like to reach agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. On the other hand they say that they cannot resist the demands of some of their allies who are clamouring for nuclear weapons, or, at least, for access to them. However, since it is on a NATO bloc basis that a new group of countries is being given access to nuclear weapons, they maintain that this in no way amounts to the spread of nuclear weapons.

71. But do the authors themselves believe that their arguments are convincing and logical? It looks as if, for the sake of appearances, they have agreed to keep the front door of the NATO nuclear club closed, but at the same time are ready to open wide the back door to some of their allies.

72. It is difficult to avoid the impression that some sort of performance is being played out before everyone's eyes. One character says to another: "You have nuclear weapons; share them with me or else you'll be sorry—I'll start making my own." Another character looks at the audience and tries to calm them by saying that there is no other solution except to yield to the demands of the first. Both of them, however, make no mention of the fact that the text of their dialogue was written beforehand and that the entire performance was necessary in order to persuade and reassure the credulous. The final scene of the play has not yet been written. It may turn out to be different from what the two characters mentioned imagine.

73. Let us unite in saying that no one should make nuclear weapons available to anyone else and that no one should accept them from anyone else, including those provided through military alliances. Otherwise, nuclear weapons will spread all over the world and, as they do so, the threat to peace will grow in geometrical progression.

74. It may seem to some that the military measures planned by certain NATO countries are a purely European and even West European affair, and that the farther a country is situated from Europe the more secure it may feel. Yes, some may think, this is undoubtedly a challenge to the Soviet people and the Poles, to Czechs and Yugoslavs, to Frenchmen and Englishmen, to Turks and Greeks, to the inhabitants of the Scandinavian countries—a challenge to all the peoples of Europe. But the creation of a multilateral nuclear force should be a cause of concern not only for Europeans. It is by no means always that the international situation can be divided into separate parts: Europe here; Asia and Africa there; the Western Hemisphere in yet another compartment. If the situation in Europe deteriorates, the political

^{4/} Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

climate of the entire planet is affected. And, vice versa, whenever the war clouds thicken in other parts of the world, Europe grows feverish also.

75. It must be clearly said that the creation of a NATO multilateral nuclear force would mean a further spread of nuclear weapons, and consequently such an action runs counter to the interests of peace. Schemes of this kind play primarily into the hands of those in the Federal Republic of Germany which are demanding a revision of European frontiers and are associating the realization of those demands with acquiring access to nuclear weapons.

76. The States Members of the United Nations must fully understand that plans for the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force constitute the major obstacle militating against an agreement to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons, to which the Soviet Union is prepared to become a party. Everyone must surely understand that, if such an agreement is not concluded, all countries—nuclear and non-nuclear—will be the losers.

77. The revanchist claims and the ever more insistent attempts of the Federal Republic of Germany to acquire nuclear weapons impart special urgency and significance to the problem of ensuring European security and achieving a German peace settlement, a problem whose solution is being constantly sought by the Soviet Union.

78. History has known three German Reichs which in one way or another followed the same policy of militarism and expansionism. The Third—Hitlerite—Reich brought untold misery to the peoples of the world, particularly those of Europe, and ended in utter catastrophe. The German Reich no longer exists. No matter how often fingers are traced over a 1937 map of Germany, the mirage which still befoes the minds of some people on the Rhine will not materialize either into "Reich number three and a half" or into "Reich number four".

79. There are two German States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic; and it is the latter which pursues a policy dictated by a feeling of responsibility for the strengthening of peace in Central Europe. It is this obvious fact which must be the starting-point for all attempts to ensure European security and to find a solution for the problems of a German peace settlement.

80. To this day, some people are busy fomenting hatred and estrangement between the two German States and seeking to impede agreement and co-operation even where there are, in fact, no controversial issues. Indeed, the very facts of life call for normal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, in the interests both of their national affairs and of a relaxation of tension and the strengthening of peace. These goals would also be served by the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to full membership of the United Nations—a step which, in our view, has long been necessary.

81. The people of the Soviet Union know that the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany also want

to live in peace. And our country is ready to develop normal, good-neighbourly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. When the Soviet Union raises the question of ensuring European security and bringing about a German peace settlement, it has in mind not something directed against the Federal Republic of Germany, but action which would serve the vital interests of both our countries, as well as those of all the other States which are not unaffected by how the situation in Central Europe develops.

82. In condemning the plans for the establishment of a NATO multilateral nuclear force, the Soviet Union states quite frankly that the realization of those plans will make the unification of Germany still more difficult. Those who are really concerned about the unification of Germany, and do not merely pay elaborate lip-service to it, must understand that the creation of multilateral nuclear forces would be a further obstacle to achieving rapprochement and agreement between the two German States. In short, a NATO multilateral nuclear force and the cause of German unification are incompatible.

83. Much is expected from the present session of the General Assembly by the peoples of newly independent States and by those of colonial countries which are striving for the complete elimination of colonialism in whatever form it manifests itself. Of course, there are in this hall representatives of States who do not like to deal with this problem. They may say: Why should we return time and again to this problem, since the United Nations has already adopted the well-known Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]? No, one cannot conceal the fact that the question of liberation of the peoples is far from settled, that millions of people and dozens of territories remain under foreign domination and that such a shameful vestige of colonialism as apartheid has not yet been eradicated.

84. The Soviet Union is consistent in its support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the right freely to determine their own destiny. It unequivocally associates itself with the demand for the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism put forward by the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Cairo; it does so because this demand is one which has been made by the Soviet State since the time of the great Lenin.

85. The abrogation of inequitable treaties imposed by the former parent States on a number of young countries, the dismantling of foreign military bases on their territory, the cessation of all foreign interference in the political and economic life of these countries—all these are legitimate and just demands which must be satisfied without delay. One can dam the flow of mighty rivers, one can tame the enormous power of the atom, but one cannot curb the energy of the peoples in their march towards freedom, independence and social progress.

86. The year 1965 must become the year in which all colonial régimes are eliminated, down to the very last one. It would be well if the next session of the General Assembly—a jubilee session—were marked by the completion of this great historic process.

87. In the Caribbean area and in South-East Asia, in the Congo and in Cyprus, there live peoples that speak different languages and that are at different levels of social development, but that find themselves threatened by one and the same danger: interference in the internal affairs of these countries and peoples by those who have not yet renounced the policy of diktat and domination. The Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries quite rightly included the following in its decisions:

"Economic pressure and domination, interference, racial discrimination, subversion, intervention and the threat of force are neo-colonialist devices against which the newly-independent nations have to defend themselves. The Conference condemns all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the world."

88. How true these words! Beneath them are the signatures of almost fifty States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to which we are ready to add our own.

89. The Soviet Union emphatically condemns the constant provocations against the Republic of Cuba, and we are convinced that many States represented in this hall share these feelings. The collusion which was engineered under notorious pressure in the Organization of American States in connexion with Cuba violates international standards and the United Nations Charter. Indeed, the decision taken at the session of the Organization of American States at Washington even contains military threats against Cuba. Is this anything but an expression of aggressive policies against a small sovereign State? The measures of economic blockade against Cuba are also incompatible with the principles of the United Nations, as clearly emerges from the decisions of the World Conference on Trade and Development recently held at Geneva. The Republic of Cuba is a full-fledged Member of the United Nations, and the United Nations should raise its voice in defence of Cuba's sovereign rights. We cannot overlook the attempt by a major Power of the Western Hemisphere to disregard the commitments which it has itself assumed under the United Nations Charter.

90. The Soviet Government has frequently expressed its complete solidarity with and firm support for the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba and its people, and has repeatedly called for measures to normalize the situation in the Caribbean; its declarations in support of Cuba remain valid.

91. Recently the world witnessed dangerous acts of provocation in the Gulf of Tonkin. A few days ago, United States military aircraft and ships again raided and bombarded the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. These aggressive actions arouse indignation. The Soviet Union condemns them, and gives warning that it cannot remain indifferent to the fate of a fraternal socialist country and is prepared to provide it with all necessary assistance. Those who resort to such actions should know that they are starting a dangerous game.

92. The Soviet Union deems it necessary to emphasize that the armed intervention of the United States of America in the affairs of South Viet-Nam with a view to suppressing the national liberation struggle

of the people of South Viet-Nam, and the plans—of which rumours have been heard—to expand the military conflict in South Viet-Nam, are fraught with grave threats to the preservation of peace throughout South-East Asia—and not only there.

93. If we add to this attempts to undermine the Geneva Agreements on Laos, the constant violations of the frontier and sovereignty of Cambodia, the miserable colonialist intrigues in connexion with the establishment of Malaysia, then it becomes even clearer how much inflammable material has accumulated in that part of the world through the fault of those for whom the United Nations Charter and the rights of peoples are inapplicable when they run counter to the policy of colonial domination and the extraction of the wealth of others.

94. It is difficult to imagine a more flagrant form of interference in the internal affairs of an independent State than the combined action of the colonizers in the Congo, which was carried out by Belgian paratroopers taken to Stanleyville in American military transport aircraft from British-controlled Ascension Island. We may be sure, however, that the people of the Congo has not yet said its final word and that it will defend its right to freedom and independence from those who, in their death grip, are clinging to the copper, diamonds, cobalt and uranium that are the property of the Congolese people.

95. The Soviet Government expresses its full sympathy with the efforts of the African States to put an end to military and any other intervention by the colonizers in the affairs of the Congo and to bring about the immediate withdrawal from the Congo of all foreign military personnel, including mercenaries, who even now are massacring Congolese patriots.

96. One need not have particularly keen insight to understand that, if the national movement in the Congo were crushed, the colonialist coalition would be encouraged to embark on shady enterprises against other African States and their recently won freedom and independence. In order to thwart such provocations, the solidarity of States and peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism must be strengthened.

97. The Soviet Union supports the Republic of Cyprus in its defence of its independence and territorial integrity. The question of Cyprus cannot be resolved except on the basis of preserving the independence and territorial integrity and respecting the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, and of safeguarding the lawful rights of the two ethnic communities in Cyprus.

98. Guided by its policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to draw the attention of the World's States to the fact that territorial disputes are one of the sources of international complications and friction [A/5751]. Territorial claims and border disputes between States differ, of course, in their nature. One must not confuse the question of territorial disputes between sovereign States with the right of countries and peoples to struggle for their freedom and independence, for the final liberation of their territories from the colonial yoke or from foreign occupation. But in respect of territorial disputes between sovereign States there

can be no two opinions, provided, of course, that the interest of preserving peace is regarded as paramount: all such questions, as well as any other disputes between States, should be resolved not by force of arms but solely by peaceful means.

99. It has been, and remains, the unswerving desire of the Soviet Union to strengthen the United Nations and to enhance its role in international affairs. We attach great importance to the United Nations at the time when it had just been created and when memories of the failure of the League of Nations were still fresh in people's minds. Together with the other founder Members of the United Nations, we desired the proper conclusions to be drawn from the sad experience of its predecessor. Can it be said that the United Nations has always been equal to the tasks laid down by its Charter? No, it cannot. By no means everything is running smoothly in the United Nations.

100. Thus at present, in the general debate and behind the scenes in the Assembly, there is a great deal of verbal sword-play about a subject whose great and fundamental significance no one, of course, will dispute. I refer, it is hardly necessary to say, to the United Nations armed forces and everything connected with that matter. On what basis should United Nations peace-keeping forces be formed? Who is to make the final decision about their use? What complexion will their Command take? The questions on this subject multiply, and the answers multiply even more.

101. It looks as if someone were reasoning like this: Let us vote in favour of the United Nations armed forces acting in circumvention of the Security Council. There is nothing simpler: just press the green button of the new voting machine installed this year in the General Assembly hall, and then let us see what will be the outcome of this violation of the Charter; perhaps we may get away with it. It may be easy to yield to pressure or to the temptation to play with a voting machine. But a country will, as a result, inevitably find itself in a difficult position where its own security is at stake and where, as has happened more than once in the past, it has to seek help and support from those who are now defending the United Nations Charter, the only reliable basis for the Organization's activities and entire structure.

102. We are firmly convinced that co-operation between States in the United Nations should not be determined by momentary considerations which may encourage premature decisions, prevent thorough consideration of the future aspects of a problem, and produce combinations prejudicial to the vital interests of the Organization. No; such co-operation can be based only on factors of lasting importance, and must be in line with the high principles and aims in the name of which the United Nations was established.

103. The Soviet Government is against any State or small group of States regarding the United Nations as, so to speak, its subsidiary. We are convinced that the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations concurs in our view. The feeling of responsibility for the fate of this Organization, and comprehension of the importance of the cause for which it was established, are growing, as is the national consciousness of the States—including the newly-

liberated countries—which every year swell the ranks of the United Nations. This is a good sign.

104. As for the Soviet Union, it supports the idea that the United Nations should work with greater efficiency for the good of the world. The Soviet Government's proposals for the strengthening of the United Nations are well known. We have brought them to the attention of all States Members of the Organization. It seems to us that if we approach the activities and tasks of the United Nations—including the conduct and financing of operations to preserve international peace and security in accordance with the Charter—as the Soviet Union proposes, many difficulties which the Organization has had to face in the past would disappear. We take a firm stand on this position, not because the Soviet Union seeks any special advantages for itself, but because we regard the United Nations as a collective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and we wish it to be effective and authoritative.

105. The situation in which the People's Republic of China has so far been deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations while its seat is occupied by the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek is abnormal and contrary to the interests of peace. The Soviet Union firmly and resolutely advocates the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and opposes any attempt to force through the concept of "two Chinas"; we favour the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives from the United Nations. There is only one China—the People's Republic of China. The island of Taiwan, which is an inalienable part of China, must be returned to the People's Republic of China.

106. The improvement of the international situation and the development of relations between States generally go hand in hand with a revival of trade and all other economic ties. A conspicuous feature of 1964 has been the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It is important to consolidate the positive results of the work of that Conference.

107. Any changes for the better in the international situation naturally depend not only on whether success has been achieved in resolving international problems which affect many countries, but also on how direct relations between States, and especially between major Powers, develop.

108. If we turn our attention, say, to the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America—countries which stand at opposite poles of social development—there too, in our opinion, we have sufficiently broad fields for co-operation. The joint adoption of measures to avert the threat of war; the expansion of trade relations; the peaceful conquest of outer space; the exchange of scientific, technical and cultural achievements—in each of these fields many untapped possibilities still exist.

109. True, we also have forms of relations with the United States about which we might say that it will be better if we never have to put them to use. For example, the direct line of communications between Moscow and Washington for quick contact in the event of an international crisis is kept in constant operational readiness. To verify that the line is in good

working order, the Soviet operators frequently transmit extracts from A Sportsman's Sketches by the well-known Russian writer I. S. Turgenev. It is said that these texts have aroused among the American operators great interest in classical Russian literature. The Americans from time to time transmit the results of baseball games. Well, this is also a form of cultural exchange. The line has never been used for its real purpose. Probably nobody will object if this is always so.

110. The Soviet Government is ready to develop in every way its relations with all countries which, in turn, seek to do the same. This applies to countries, among others, such as major Powers, like France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Japan. It applies to States which are neighbours of the Soviet Union and with which we have every possibility of living in harmony and developing mutually beneficial co-operation. It applies to any State, large or small, whether it is far from or near to our country.

111. The Soviet Union's policy in international affairs is consistent and clear. It is a policy of ensuring peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism in our country, of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, and the friendship and brotherly ties between them. It is a policy of support for national liberation movements, of the development in every possible way of solidarity and co-operation with the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is a policy of affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence with countries having a different social system, of saving mankind from the threat of a world war. The Soviet Government holds to its well-tested policy in all the complexities and changes of international life, since it stems from the very nature of the Soviet socialist State.

112. Of course, so long as the arms race unfortunately continues and so long as actions are taken which endanger the preservation of peace, our country must see to the strengthening of its own security. We shall be able to repel encroachment on the socialist countries and on our friends and allies, and to stand up for our common cause, for the ideals of socialism, freedom and progress. Any aggressor will meet with our monolithic strength.

113. From representatives of more aggressively-minded circles in certain countries we sometimes hear appeals not to hold back from extreme measures, even to the extent of bombing of foreign territories, the landing of troops, and so on. They assert that this is a true reflection of "resoluteness" and "firmness". But in politics these qualities have nothing in common with the bravado of a duellist waiting for the opponent to falter. In the world of today—at the present stage of development of military technology—genuine resoluteness, firmness and courage are not measured by Philistine standards. Whoever is ready to plunge headlong into the abyss, carrying others with him, shows not resoluteness but irresponsibility and short-sightedness. Firmness is shown, not by him who pins his hopes on threats and sabre-rattling, but by him who firmly and confidently pursues a policy of averting war and does not allow himself to be diverted from this course. Genuine

courage in politics, as opposed to a pretence of courage, is the ability to weigh one's actions and their possible consequences coolly; it consists in having the presence of mind and the will to resist and repel those who, under cover of talk about firmness, resoluteness and courage, advocate reckless ventures.

114. The last year and a half has been marked by a certain easing of international tension. It would probably be correct to say that the inertia which until recently held back any initiative towards normalizing international relations has now to some extent been overcome. A number of cases have justified the method which has been called the policy of mutual example, whereby States do not conclude formal agreements but take the necessary measures simultaneously on the basis of mutual understanding, looking each other, as it were, in the face.

115. But probably all will agree that what has been achieved has led us only to the beginning of the road. We must make further progress, in order to save the world from the dangers created by the arms race, by foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a number of countries and peoples, and by the remaining tension in the relations between dozens of States. In any case, this is only a stage on the long road, a sure guide to which, for our policies, is constituted by the historic propositions proclaimed by the Twentieth and Twenty-second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—namely, that there is no longer any fatal inevitability of world war and that the present generation is capable of averting a thermonuclear war, of preventing it from breaking out.

116. We know full well that forces are at work in the world—and very influential forces—which persistently cultivate the idea that the peoples are unable to resolve the international problems crucial to the maintenance of peace, and which seek to hypnotize the peoples with their pessimism. Who does not remember, for example, the state of prostration which overcame certain circles in the West during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Second World War and, more especially, during the initial period of the war, when Hitler seemed to be going from success to success? At that time those circles watched the avalanche of Hitler's divisions and air armada as a sparrow watches a boa constrictor, and lamented that there was nothing to be done. But when the Soviet Army, supported by the might of our entire people, ground down Hitler's invading hordes in fire and metal, it became clear to all that the critical point had been passed and that the day of the anti-Hitler coalition's great victory over the forces of fascism was inevitably drawing near.

117. We mention this because even now we frequently encounter similar views. However hard one struggles to solve important international problems, however much one appeals to the interests of peace and the interests of peoples—nothing will come of it, say the proponents of this fatalistic philosophy which is designed to disarm the peoples ideologically, politically and morally.

118. Translated into practical terms, this philosophy means that, if today tens of thousands of millions of

dollars, roubles, pounds sterling, francs and marks are diverted from peaceful needs to military purposes, even more will be so diverted tomorrow; if today no foundations have been built for a lasting peace, they will not be built tomorrow either. But there is a great danger in such an approach to the conduct of international affairs. It serves only the interests of the enemies of peace.

119. The Soviet Government categorically rejects it, and will continue its unrelenting struggle against any attempts to undermine the peoples' confidence in their own strength and to deprive them of their hope for the normalization of the international situation and for the strengthening of peace. It has indeed happened before, and may happen again, that the main obstacle to the settlement of urgent international problems proves to be, not the difficulty actually inherent in these problems, but the artificially cultivated disbelief in the possibility of reaching an agreement and resolving them. We are convinced, however, that there are no international problems which are insoluble; their situation is not impossible, although it may be complicated. Such problems include disarmament, the question of ensuring security in Europe and a German peace settlement, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of foreign troops from national territories, the abolition of foreign military bases, and the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

120. The policy of the peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems serves not only the interests of the Soviet Union but also, the Soviet Government is firmly convinced, the interests of all other countries. This policy may not offer simple and easy solutions to international problems; but it is the only one which can produce solutions that are genuine and reliable, the only one which can serve as a basis for a truly lasting peace.

121. I would express the hope that the nineteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will, by its productive work, facilitate further progress in the development of international co-operation, in the defence of the inalienable rights of peoples, and in the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

122. Mr. ODUBER (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, on behalf of the people and Government of Costa Rica I am happy to extend to you our warmest congratulations on the well-deserved honour with which the General Assembly has invested you in recognition of your distinguished record in the United Nations. Through you we likewise pay tribute to Ghana, that young and vigorous African nation which in so short a time has won so distinguished a place in the United Nations family.

123. Before making my contribution to the general debate, I should like to express the deep gratitude of the people and Government of Costa Rica to U Thant and his assistants for having established the Fund for emergency assistance for Costa Rica and for having set in motion technical assistance programmes of the Organization and its specialized agencies in connexion with the serious consequences suffered by our economy and the life of our country as a result of

continued volcanic eruptions and floods. The creation of the Fund would not have been possible without the generous voluntary contributions made by the States Members of the Organization. I should like to stress in particular the beneficial effect of resolution 1049 (XXXVII) adopted unanimously by the Economic and Social Council at Geneva during its 1964 summer session, and the constructive initiative which the staff of the United Nations Secretariat took in the form of personal participation in this collective effort. All these manifestations of international solidarity have lessened the sufferings of our people, and have earned its gratitude.

124. The atomic explosion which took place in continental China in October 1964 once more brings all countries represented here face to face with the threat stemming from nuclear weapons. After a short period of relative calm, following the signature of the nuclear test ban Treaty,^{5/} we are again exposed to the risk of contamination of the atmosphere and to the possibility of a war that would annihilate mankind. For small countries like Costa Rica, which has pursued its disarmament policy to the unusual extreme of eliminating the army as a permanent institution, the Chinese atomic explosion constitutes a serious warning which we less-developed States Members of the Organization should not underestimate. Costa Rica desires and hopes for the adoption of measures designed to prohibit nuclear tests and to secure a treaty of general disarmament under United Nations control. It urges that the fantastic sums spent on the production of arms and the maintenance of armies be devoted to projects and investments for development and social progress. We therefore attach exceptional importance, as a first step, to the signature of the partial test ban Treaty and to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

125. Costa Rica shares the anxiety which international discord and tension create in men of goodwill in regard to the future of the United Nations. To the best of our ability, we shall in the future co-operate, as we have co-operated so far, to the end that the problems giving rise to these tensions may be set on peaceful lines towards effective solutions. For the *raison d'être* of the United Nations is that, despite the complexity of certain questions which cause disagreement among the Powers, the Organization, as an instrument for peace and progress, continues to represent the only hope for the world. Peace and progress are not achieved on the basis of compromises which neutralize the action of all of us who meet here on the instructions of our respective Governments. Compromises based on inaction can, for short periods, serve the cause of international co-operation, provided that remedies for delicate situations are sought. But if, during those periods of paralysis, it is not possible to reach decisions based on understanding and mutual concessions; if we fail to take advantage of the calm they provide in order to consider problems serenely, with an open mind, and if the desire for prestige prevails over respect for obligations under the Charter and over the will to build a better and fairer world, then those periods

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

of inaction will be prolonged, and millions of men and women who look to the United Nations as the greatest promoter of co-operation and peace will lose their confidence in the Organization.

126. With a view to preventing this, the great Powers must realize that we, the less powerful nations, are here not in order to be mute, passive witnesses of their quarrels but in order to share their responsibilities in seeking effective agreements. My delegation and my country believe that it is our duty, at the present time, respectfully but firmly to state this consideration in this Assembly. We are sure that in so doing we are interpreting the feelings of many other nations which, like our own, view with growing concern agreements or conventions which condemn us to immobility when the world expects this Organization to make constant progress toward the relative perfection that can be expected from human labour and effort.

127. In support of the affirmation that Costa Rica has contributed enthusiastically to international harmony, I would briefly recall our participation in the missions which have been and are dealing with the questions of Viet-Nam and Oman, our activity in the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and Costa Rica's attitude and contributions to the Organization's efforts to effect the complete decolonization of all territories and countries. In this connexion I wish to welcome, on behalf of my people and my Government, the new sovereign nations that joined us, on the first day of this month, as States Members of our Organization. Malawi, Malta and Zambia represent the most recent proof of the positive and beneficial action of the United Nations in the peaceful struggle against the domination of one people by another. We are convinced that the voices and attitudes of their lawful representatives will be united with those of the spokesmen of other States in favour of world-wide justice and understanding.

128. I would not wish to conclude this part of my contribution to the general debate without expressing my country's satisfaction at the resolution adopted by the Committee of Twenty-four on the question of the Malvinas Islands. Costa Rica will welcome with all its heart the return of that territory to the nation of Argentina and consequently to the continent, of the Americas, to which it belongs because of the dictates of history and geography. Furthermore, on the basis of justice and of affection for our mother country, we feel sure that the decision on Gibraltar adopted by the Committee of Twenty-four has opened the way to a solution, bringing justice to Spain and honour to the United Kingdom, of a long-standing and painful dispute between these two great countries which are our friends.

129. In the field of human rights, my country, which has always endeavoured to promote and comply with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has further intensified its efforts since it had the honour to be elected a member of the Commission on Human Rights. In that Commission, our efforts have centred on the draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and on the draft declaration on the elimination of

all forms of religious intolerance. We hope that both instruments will be discussed and adopted without delay.

130. For many years the United Nations has been working on two Covenants on Human Rights, which have not yet taken final form or been put into effect. We must move forward rapidly and resolutely, by means of these Covenants, towards the fullest implementation of the Universal Declaration adopted in Paris in 1948—and not solely for humanitarian reasons. The implementation of the provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights represents a basic factor of human progress; conversely, failure to implement them impedes development. The United Nations recognized and proclaimed that fact in 1962, in adopting the programme for the Development Decade. Thus, to oppose the complete implementation of human rights is tantamount to delaying the progress of the world's peoples. Costa Rica believes that the arguments which are invoked to the detriment of human rights, in the name of State sovereignty, are anachronistic. The defence of the rights of peoples and individuals, which the United Nations has accepted as one of its fundamental objectives, cannot be exercised unless Member States recognize and apply that concept. My country believes that at this session of the General Assembly a decisive step must be taken to complete the Covenants and finalize measures for implementing them. Although we realize that the Covenants deserve careful consideration, this does not mean that we can contemplate, with equanimity, undue prolongation of their study.

131. The less developed nations of the world made great efforts for the translation into fact of the idea of holding a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. They hoped from it, and continue to hope from its outcome, results that will help to rescue them from the economic and social backwardness into which they had been plunged by a combination of adverse circumstances, ranging from colonial exploitation to geo-atmospheric factors beyond their control. The less privileged nations wish to progress as they should—that is, through their agreements and principles in the field of international trade, with a harnessing of their full productive capacity, and not on the basis of exclusive protectionism or of aid from the developed countries. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held for this purpose at Geneva from March to June of this year which is now closing, drafted a Final Act and drew up a series of recommendations which should be adopted during the current session of the General Assembly. Costa Rica trusts that what was agreed to by all States Members of the United Nations at Geneva will now be ratified as a matter of priority.

132. I would recall that the preparation of the Conference on Trade and Development required more than one year of work and discussion. The planned procedure called for a second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held early in 1966. For this we have barely a year in which to make preparations, which may be as arduous and difficult as they were in the case of the first Conference. Furthermore, we have to establish the other organs contemplated at Geneva: the Trade and Development

Board, its appropriate committees and working groups, and the secretariat. In addition, we have to solve questions which at Geneva were left pending, such as the organization of markets for primary commodities, preferential tariffs for the industrial products of the developing countries, maritime transport questions, a system guaranteeing private investment against political risks, and several other matters of paramount importance in connexion with the establishment of a new code of international trade in furtherance of the development of peoples. It will be the task of the Trade and Development Board, once it is constituted, to implement the recommendations of the Conference, when these have been ratified by the General Assembly. All this means that we must act quickly.

133. During the past weeks, the Latin American countries have observed with growing concern events and attitudes that might lead to undesirable splits among the less developed countries which, at the Geneva Conference, had presented to the world the moving spectacle of unflinching solidarity. Only if they remain united will the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America be able to look forward to the application of more equitable procedures in international trade. We cannot expect fair prices for our primary products, or an expansion of our new industries, so long as there is an enormous gap between the living standards of workers in the developing regions and those of workers in the economically advanced countries. All innovations—and many are needed—for the adoption of new principles in international trade must aim at the most rapid and substantial improvement in the living conditions of the peoples of continents which, because they were the scene of colonial activities, are now a prey to the fell effects of poverty and need. Anything else would be dangerous, deceptive and, far from solving the problems which today divide the world into the minority group of the privileged and the vast mass of the underprivileged, would aggravate them.

134. Costa Rica is convinced that, once peace among the great Powers has been achieved and controlled disarmament initiated in all countries, the United Nations will be basically transformed into a forum for the discussion of questions of international justice, one of which—the question of trade—requires urgent solution.

135. We must substantially strengthen the regional agencies. The Organization of American States and the Organization of African Unity are better equipped to deal with their own problems than countries which are not members of them. Other regional bodies should likewise be established and strengthened. In that way the United Nations would be able to devote priority attention to problems of greater importance and world-wide scope, such as human rights, disarmament, economic and trade relations between countries or groups of countries, systems of assistance, multilateral agreements of all types, etc., while the regional organizations would be left to deal primarily with matters of relatively less importance—a process whereby, incidentally, world peace would be strengthened. In this connexion Costa Rica, together with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, is exerting itself to improve the inter-American system,

and places great hope in the special conference which is to be held for that purpose at Rio de Janeiro in March 1965.

136. My delegation believes that all the developing countries which are Members of the United Nations should strive to persuade the more powerful States to abandon their nuclear armaments programmes under fully established and guaranteed agreements, to sign the nuclear test ban Treaty and to advance gradually towards complete demilitarization. In that way the United Nations will attain to its full effect as an instrument for the progress and advancement of the developing peoples.

137. I would conclude by appealing most sincerely to all the countries which took part in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to combine, even more closely, in our noble struggle for peace and for the simultaneous progress of all peoples of the world.

138. Mr. ARAM (Iran): Mr. President, may I add my own sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly to those of the speakers who have preceded me. Your unanimous election to this high office is another welcome manifestation of the universal recognition of Africa's vital role in world affairs and of the position of respect which African countries have come to occupy in the international community. I am confident that under your capable leadership the deliberations of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly will be particularly successful.

139. Ever since the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty some sixteen months ago, those of us who have spoken before the Assembly have done so against a background of diminishing tension in world affairs. This welcome development is responsible for the continued atmosphere of détente in which our present Assembly convenes, for perhaps the most comforting feature which has emerged from the many important changes on the international scene since the last session has been the repeated assurances of the leaders of both East and West—and this has been reaffirmed today by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union—that co-existence and the search for a permanent peace will continue to form the guiding principles of their foreign policies. This is an assurance which my delegation and indeed all peace-loving nations of the world have wholeheartedly welcomed.

140. This favourable trend of events in international affairs, however, has suffered certain notable setbacks in the course of the past year. Of these, I may refer to the situation in Cyprus, a development which the Iranian Government views with grave concern. On this issue we should like to express our deep sympathy with our Turkish brothers in their efforts to preserve the legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriots. The trouble arose when the validity of the constitutional arrangements of Cyprus were brought into question. These arrangements, which embodied safeguards for the Turkish Cypriots, were made for the purpose of maintaining harmony and peace between the two communities.

141. On 4 March 1964 the Security Council [1102nd meeting], recognizing that this was not a local dis-

pute, unanimously adopted a resolution^{6/} recommending the establishment of a peace-keeping force—in our opinion a very proper and necessary decision. We believe, however, that the present mandate of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus is limited to such an extent as to make it less effective than it might be. The Government of Iran believes that the presence of the United Nations in Cyprus must be made effective, in order to prevent a catastrophe and to create a quiet atmosphere conducive to an acceptable solution and to the restoration of peace and amity in that region.

142. Peace is an indispensable condition for human progress and its preservation in an international system of sovereign equality, if it is to be more than pious rhetoric, requires constant vigilance. I believe that it is not difficult to agree that, in order to preserve peace until true disarmament becomes a reality, the United Nations should have at its disposal a permanent force capable of guaranteeing the rule of law in international relations. Indeed, many nations have for some time been advocating the creation of a truly international United Nations force composed of armed units of smaller Member nations. In his address at New York University on 4 June 1964 His Majesty the Shahanshah spoke as follows concerning reliable arrangements for such a force:

"A United Nations force is not, of course, the answer to all the problems of keeping the peace; there can hardly be a question, however, that in the future, as in the past, occasions will be many when such a force will be generally agreed to be required as an auxiliary to the United Nations efforts of international pacification on the political level. The earmarking of small continents for service in an international force at the call of the United Nations which some of the Scandinavian countries and Canada have undertaken is a step in the right direction. Iran is prepared to join them in this enlightened policy, and to hold in readiness a detachment of the Iranian Army for service in such an emergency in any part of the world."

That is the policy of Iran as declared by the Shahanshah. We believe that in this ever-changing world the United Nations should have a permanent international peace force at its disposal to be used on the authority of the Security Council or the General Assembly.

143. These remarks bring me to the question of the finances of the United Nations. In both monetary and human terms, the United Nations operation in the Congo has become the most costly single action undertaken by the world Organization. Bringing the civil war to an end and assisting the newly-independent State taxed the resources of the United Nations. The lives of many brave men were lost. But, in the words of Secretary-General U Thant:

"The presence of the United Nations force has been the decisive factor in preserving the territorial integrity of the country."^{7/}

^{6/} Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1964, document S/5575.

^{7/} Ibid., Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5784, para. 139.

144. Such peace-keeping operations of the United Nations require money. The adequate allocation of funds for these tasks which serve the common good should transcend all other national and ideological considerations. Iran is willing, as it has always been, to support these actions with its resources, moral and material. The Government of Iran fervently hopes that the question of financing such operations which involve heavy expenditures will be worked out with the widest possible measure of agreement among all Member States.

145. In this connexion I should like to pay tribute to our Secretary-General for his constant endeavours, since he has assumed office, to resolve the financial difficulties of the United Nations, thus maintaining the Organization's primary role of preserving peace.

146. The enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council which has been finally approved is a source of great satisfaction to my Government. Only in this way could the composition of two such important organs of the United Nations be adjusted to ensure a more just and equitable representation from all areas of the world. I am confident that the ratification of this decision by the Members of the United Nations will proceed with all the speed it deserves, and that the expansion of these two Councils will serve to increase their efficacy. My Government is gratified that thirty-five nations have already ratified the amendments to the Charter. Iran has also given parliamentary approval to these changes and ardently hopes that all Members of the Organization, and the great Powers in particular, will see fit to ratify these amendments at an early date.

147. I wish now to turn to a subject of great concern not to my country alone but to the greater number of nations that are represented here, comprising the overwhelming majority of mankind. I wish to submit once again for the consideration of the Assembly the question of under-development and the plight of the developing countries.

148. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in 1964 provided the less developed countries with yet another opportunity to put before the world community certain major aspects of their struggle against their present socio-economic conditions and to seek, in co-operation with the more advanced nations, adequate solutions to their problems.

149. What the developing countries have always sought is an expansion of their trade on a fair and rational basis. This should in no way be interpreted as a quest for charity; for what we are seeking is neither a challenge to the prosperity of the developed countries, nor the reopening of that chapter of history in which the African-Asian countries believe they can find the source of their economic retardation. What the developing countries ask is in the name of justice and in the light of the conviction that lasting universal peace can only be achieved when the evil of under-development has been banished forever.

150. Indeed, the tragedy of under-development presents all the more astonishing and paradoxical a picture when the astronomical sums that are still devoted to enlarging the nuclear arsenal and to the arms race are also taken into consideration. At the United Nations

Conference on Trade and Development the Iranian delegation suggested the immediate diversion of from 1 to 3 per cent of the military expenditure of the great Powers into a fund to be created for the execution of any plan aimed at the improvement of international trade and the acceleration of economic development.

151. We still believe that any initiative in this direction would not only be welcomed as an historic step in the establishment of a new order based upon the concept of the long-term interest of all, but that it would allow us for the first time to take the only realistic approach to a permanent solution of the problem of under-development.

152. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the seventy-five participating developing nations, facing common problems and bound by a vast identity of interests, forged the foundations of a new unity indispensable for achieving the adoption of fresh attitudes and new approaches in the international economic field. This unity they also regarded as an instrument for enlarging the area of co-operative endeavour in the international sphere, for securing mutually beneficial relationships with the rest of the world, as well as for increasing co-operation amongst themselves.

153. It was in the spirit of promoting such common regional endeavours and further to strengthen their efforts towards development through active and sustained collaboration that the Shahanshah and the Presidents of Pakistan and Turkey met in Istanbul on 21 July 1964, to lay the firm foundations for political, economic and cultural co-operation among their three countries on a scale unprecedented in the history of the region.

154. The establishment of Regional Co-operation for Development which was the outcome of the Istanbul Conference, will contribute immeasurably to accelerating the economic growth and welfare of 150 million people of the three countries already bound inseparably by close historic ties of amity and brotherhood.

155. Extensive programmes are already under way in the spheres of communication, transportation, petroleum, trade, tourism, joint enterprises and cultural co-operation, in order, when necessary, to establish social, economic and cultural ties between Iran, Pakistan and Turkey and to improve existing relations.

156. I am fully confident that the free association of our three countries, which is a fine embodiment of the spirit of the Charter and which supplements the proven brotherhood of our three peoples, will open new vistas of hope and opportunity, thus strengthening the foundations of peace and accelerating the prosperity of the whole region.

157. For yet another year the world has witnessed the complete disregard for the most fundamental human rights and liberties with which the Governments of the Union of South Africa and Portugal have pursued their misguided policies of apartheid and the suppression of African freedom. On the other hand, the irreversible trend of history towards the liberation of the former colonial peoples is proving, ever more convincingly,

that it is only through an intelligent understanding of the nature of colonial problems possible to combine an enlightened concept of self-interest with that of the legitimate aspirations of the former colonial peoples for freedom and independence.

158. The Iranian Government as a member of the Special Committee will persevere to achieve the emancipation of all colonial peoples. We shall continue in our endeavours to this end more vigorously than ever before, until the shameful anachronism of a colonial Africa has been completely obliterated.

159. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, one of the gravest misfortunes besetting mankind today, which bears directly and heavily upon the question of under-development and ranks in magnitude and urgency with it, is the plight of some 700 million inhabitants of the world plagued by the scourge of illiteracy. Their ignorance, which in itself is an outrage to human conscience and the dignity of man, constitutes one of the most formidable barriers to the social and economic advancement of the developing nations.

160. In the light of the conviction that more vigorous and concerted international endeavours were urgently needed to complement national campaigns against illiteracy, the Shahanshah, who had been concerned for a number of years with the problem of world illiteracy and was encouraged by the success and the achievements of the literacy corps of Iran, proposed through UNESCO the convening of a World Congress of Education Ministers of member countries in Teheran. In response to His Majesty's initiative, twenty-eight countries at the thirteenth session of the UNESCO Conference submitted a resolution welcoming and accepting the proposal, which was adopted by acclamation. The Iranian delegation is deeply gratified that His Majesty's personal messages to the Heads of State of member countries of UNESCO as well as his invitation to convene the Congress in the autumn of 1965 in Teheran, have been so warmly welcomed. We are convinced that the convening of such a Congress will demonstrate to the world the heavy responsibility which the Governments of the developing countries have assumed in the battle against illiteracy, as indeed they have done in their attempts at economic development.

161. Our efforts to achieve a speedier implementation of programmes of economic development have by no means been confined to increased co-operation on the international scene. Within Iran the relentless pursuit of the objectives of our revolution, initiated nearly two years ago by my sovereign and overwhelmingly supported by the Iranian people, have brought us nearer than ever to the realization of a society liberated from its archaic structure and striving resolutely to achieve the political and material advancement of its people.

162. To the elaborate six-point reform programmes which formed the blueprint of our revolutionary changes, the details of which I had the honour to apprise the General Assembly at the eighteenth session, [1211th meeting], have now been added other equally significant measures whose effect will be to utilize our human and material resources to the maximum extent.

163. The outstanding success of the literacy corps in Iran, under which secondary school graduates eligible for military service have been given responsibility for combating illiteracy in distant rural areas, has led my Government to launch similar schemes to promote health and development.

164. The health and development corps thus combine the services of literate conscripts with the knowledge and acquired skills of medical graduates, engineers and agricultural experts to provide free medical care, construction aid and expert agricultural advice in the remotest parts of the country.

165. Thus the armed forces of Iran, in addition to their duty of carrying arms in the defence of our independence and territorial integrity, have now been entrusted with new and far-reaching responsibilities in our concerted national endeavours for accelerated development and for the realization of a better life.

166. Finally, may I be permitted, in anticipation of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Year, to express the hope that we, the peoples of the United Nations, with rededicated faith and renewed energy in a spirit of great sincerity and trust, shall

continue to seek solutions to the many issues that confront world peace; and that we shall succeed in banishing from the world the evils of hunger, disease, illiteracy and poverty—indeed, of under-development. For I am confident that in its heart of hearts, which is the United Nations, the world will, as it surely must, find its salvation.

167. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of the United Kingdom in the exercise of his right of reply.

168. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): My delegation listened with close attention to the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Argentina. The Foreign Minister raised one matter which makes it necessary for my delegation to exercise its right of reply, namely the question of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands.

169. I wish to state formally that the United Kingdom Government has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands and that my Government fully reserves its position on this question.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.