

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NINETEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1301st
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 14 December 1964,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Item 9 of the provisional agenda:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Herrarte (Guatemala)</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Rapacki (Poland)</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Swaran Singh (India)</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Avaro (Gabon)</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of the United Kingdom</i>	<i>16</i>

President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY
(Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, it is a great honour for me to offer you, on behalf of the Government of Guatemala and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations on the well-earned distinction conferred on you by this world body in choosing you to direct its work as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly of our Organization.

2. My déléation, like all the other delegations present here, is convinced that you will succeed in guiding and bringing the difficult and important work of the Assembly to a happy conclusion. Your wisdom, your great personal talents and your experience of United Nations work make this a certainty.

3. Last year, when I had the honour to speak here in the world's most distinguished forum, I affirmed my country's faith in the destiny of the United Nations. I expressed our hope, and that of all nations great and small, that the machinery of our world Organization would, by practical, efficacious and intelligent measures succeed in warding off and eliminating threats and violence between peoples and States; that it would prevent acts of aggression and other international disturbances; use peaceful means, in conformity with the principles of justice and law, to settle international disputes or situations liable to lead to war; promote friendly relations among nations on a basis of respect for the rights and liberties of peoples and take the necessary steps to strengthen universal coexistence; solve the major international social and economic, cultural and humanitarian problems—that it would, in short, ensure that human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all, regardless of race, language or religion, were maintained intact.

4. Nevertheless, we must ask ourselves what the real significance is of this debate to which we return

year after year to expound the universal, national and regional problems we are facing. What else can it be but to take stock in order to see what headway we have made along the difficult road of our hopes and how far we still have to travel?

5. We have steadfastly maintained our faith in the destiny of Latin America. We belong to this regional group—our "bailiwick", as the distinguished President of Chile might say—and we belong to it not only geographically but because of our common origin and destiny. Although we are descended from the Hispanic branch, we are also proud of our native blood, which has made, so to speak, an unpublicized contribution to the Western civilization which we all share. We Latin Americans have inherited the profound Hispanic sense of the brotherhood of man, one exponent of which was Father Vitoria, and throughout the great events of human history we have shown our deep-rooted faith in the principles of international justice, our love for the freedom and independence of peoples and our sincere desire to co-operate in solving the major problems of international peace and security. We have therefore been in the forefront of the fight against colonialism, without resorting to demagoguery or hypocrisy; we have effectively assisted, inside and outside this Organization, the independence of peoples oppressed by other Powers which today enjoy all the rights of free peoples. We have contributed to the peaceful settlement of disputes and, leaving aside a few incidents which are now past history, our continent can rightly be called the continent of peace. We have made a valuable contribution to the establishment of the great international bodies, both regional and world-wide. It should not be forgotten that the American regional organization was the first great international organization. We took an active part in the former League of Nations and our contribution was invaluable in the creation and subsequent development of this new universal Organization in which the hopes of the world are placed. The Latin American group, as our countries, taken as a whole, are called, has fought many hard battles in defence of just causes, when the remaining countries, later to become free, had to remain silent.

6. Are we now to rest on our laurels? Are we to continue thus, fighting occasional battles, following our own instincts, in love with the outside world but uninterested in ourselves, selfish and indifferent towards everything we have in common? In a world which is growing smaller every day and in which the forces of destruction are becoming more powerful, neighbouring and kindred peoples are striving to draw closer together.

7. In recent years integration seems to have become the magic word. The developed countries, like the

so-called under-developed countries are trying to form associations. The European Common Market is an example of the first and the admirable solidarity of the African countries an example of the second. Countries are uniting not only for economic reasons, in the face of the prodigious development of the new industrial revolution, but also for political reasons deriving from economic factors and from the unfortunate dualism dividing the world. Latin America is an assemblage of countries somewhat unequal as regards their levels of development but with a common foundation. After a century of independence we have a certain amount of political experience. We do not have the maturity of the European countries but our deeply rooted human sense of brotherhood makes it very easy for us to understand our historical destiny.

8. Our economic development is also unequal, but we are all under-developed because of our low level of industrialization, our inadequate markets and our complicated social patterns. With such a historical and social basis we are the human group most ready for integration. What are we waiting for? The progress we have made is small indeed, while our agricultural products, our only exports, are often denied fair opportunities on international markets. Moreover, on the political level, international communism is responsible for disrupting our political and economic development.

9. True, there is a Latin American Free Trade Association and a Central American common market. It is true that, in order to present a united front in our economic policy, we held several meetings this year and we went to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development^{1/} with a co-ordinated position. It is also true that the United States has energetically continued President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress programme and that the European countries are beginning to show greater interest in assisting and investing in Latin America. But this is not enough. The process of integration must be speeded up. Adequate instruments must be created and old, worn-out nationalist formulas discarded. The requirements are: fairness and friendliness, the abandonment of attitudes of superiority, of claims to hegemony, of contempt or disregard for the dignity of small countries; complete and effective solidarity in our disputes with foreign Powers, especially as regards territorial claims; in short, sincere and disinterested friendship.

10. Guatemala believes it has always fulfilled this duty. It has always given and will continue to give its full support to American countries which are involved in territorial disputes with Powers outside the continent; it has always shown its unshakable solidarity in support of common objectives, whether political or economic; it has respected the principles and standards of our American system; it has scrupulously complied with international agreements and has always been vigilant, honourable and active in defending our principles and our way of life against threats of whatever kind.

11. What I am recommending for Latin America is already being done on a small scale in Central America.

The words "Central America" themselves sum up a complete historical and political process. We are on the threshold of real economic integration and we also hope to achieve political integration. The rapid progress of economic integration, which has amazed outside observers, is due not only to our common endeavour to restore an ancient national bond which was destroyed by our foolish disputes but also to our urgent need for joint defence, especially in economic matters. None of this would be possible, however, without fairness and friendliness, without our sincere and disinterested friendship. Accordingly, in spite of small differences, we have forged ahead not only towards economic integration but also towards political and cultural integration. We are now preparing a far-reaching educational and cultural agreement and we are drawing up a new charter of the Organization of Central American States, which, we hope, will be more dynamic than its predecessor. We have organized a Central American Defence Council to protect us against foreign aggression. We cannot therefore be accused of impatience if we are already thinking of setting up supranational organizations to complete the integration process. My Government had the honour of submitting draft principles for the Central American community which provide for the setting up of these organs and for the representation of our community abroad.

12. Towards the end of 1963, with the object of creating a closer association among the sister republics of Central America as a necessary first step towards the goal of complete integration, some of the Foreign Ministers of the Central American republics were kind enough to assign to me the preparation of a document constituting the basis for this association. On 16 December 1963, I had the honour to submit for consideration by my distinguished Central American colleagues the draft principles for the Central American community, drawn up in accordance with the instructions I had received.

13. The draft consists of a preamble and five chapters. The preamble deals with the establishment of the community. Chapter I contains basic provisions, such as recognition of a common nationality and personality, maintenance of the autonomy and independence of member States, respect for the principle of non-intervention, and a commitment to joint defence against any external aggression. Chapter II deals with the human aspects of the community and its activities: nationality, migration, unrestricted freedom of work, the validity of educational and professional qualifications and the exercise of professions. Chapter III deals with community action in both external and internal affairs: joint diplomatic and consular representation, mandatory Central American jurisdiction, unification of legislation, legal aid, and implementation of the various integration programmes. Chapter IV lays down the structure of the community, which is to consist of three organs: the Central American Congress, the Permanent Executive Commission and the Central American Court of Justice. Chapter V deals with the machinery for bringing the agreement into force.

14. These draft principles for the Central American community were considered by a special commission which warmly welcomed them, made very few amend-

^{1/} Conference held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

ments and prepared a report which is to be taken up at the next meeting of the Central American Foreign Ministers.

15. This, in broad outline, is the present stage reached in Central American integration, which gives added strength to our faith in the future common destiny of Central America, for the welfare of that part of the continent and as a contribution to universal progress and improvement. Time will tell whether we are mature enough yet to take the crucial step to which I have just referred. I would, however, urge the Central American Governments to smooth out every difficulty, to settle all differences, to overcome all obstacles in the way of this real and effective community which will be the beginning of a free and united Central America that can fulfil its high destiny and serve as a principle and example to the great Latin American community.

16. My delegation, like many others—I venture to say the vast majority—is satisfied with the work done by the United Nations for dependent territories. This work deserves our admiration and respect, since many peoples now enjoy independence and liberty, have their own Government and self-determination, without the Organization's having done anything to violate the territorial integrity of States, which is explicitly stated to be inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The decision taken in this Assembly, at its fifteenth session, regarding the independence of colonial peoples, is one which we must recall with immense pride. That decision is set forth in resolution 1514 which marks the end of colonialism in the world today, despite any arguments the colonial Powers may advance to perpetuate their rule.

17. We took part whole-heartedly in that brilliant discussion. In order to prevent any subterfuges on the part of the colonial Powers, or any last-minute stratagems to take advantage of the political inexperience of the oppressed peoples, and in view of the not uncommon fact that many of those Powers occupied territories that they had snatched from weaker or smaller countries, we proposed an amendment which, although it was withdrawn, did serve to clarify properly the meaning of paragraph 6 of the above-mentioned resolution, namely, preservation of the territorial integrity of States that had thus been despoiled. As the representative of Uruguay so wisely said in Sub-Committee III (of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples), dealing with the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), that paragraph has "universalized" the American doctrine regarding "occupied territories" which has taken shape in the course of various American conferences.

18. The subterfuges used by some colonial Powers to defend themselves by granting alleged self-determination to peoples in the occupied territories are obvious manoeuvres and are being generally and deservedly repudiated. We are, therefore, firmly on the side of the Argentine Republic in the case of the Malvinas, just as we are on the side of Spain in the case of Gibraltar, not only as a duty consonant with American solidarity, but also for reasons of justice and fairness.

19. In speaking of colonialism, I must mention once again Guatemala's tragic experience due to the usurpation by the United Kingdom of our territory of Belize. In my statement in this Assembly last year, I outlined the history of these depredations. I will not try your patience now with a repetition of the facts, since you are already fairly familiar with them. I will just mention the following points. Taking advantage of a period of intense political agitation following upon my country's independence, the British broadened the scope of some simple concessions to cut timber granted by Spain to British subjects, under which Spain expressly retained its sovereignty and subjected concessionaires to rigid limitations. These concessions ceased to have a *raison d'être*, but the British proceeded to seize Central American territory. Their aim was obvious, for Central America offered immense possibilities for inter-oceanic communication. A powerful and imperialistic United Kingdom confronted a weak Central America, which had only recently become independent. Its Machiavellianism was carried to the extreme of intriguing against the unity of the Central American Republic, since that made it easier to seize its different parts. Central America disintegrated, but owing to the balance of power in the world at that time—remember the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—the United Kingdom was prevented from achieving its ambition to seize the Central American isthmus.

20. As regards the old Spanish concessions, however, the pressure was too strong, and Guatemala was compelled to sign a treaty,^{2/} masquerading as a boundary treaty, whereby it ceded to the United Kingdom 22,000 square kilometres along the Caribbean seaboard. In exchange for this generous concession, the United Kingdom undertook to construct a highway that would link the capital of Guatemala with a point on the Atlantic coast of that country. The United Kingdom never fulfilled its obligation. The Guatemalans now wonder whether it ever intended to do so. Conditions therefore reverted to the *status quo* preceding the signing of the treaty, which became inoperative because of the United Kingdom's failure to comply therewith.

21. Belize has thus been wrested from Guatemalan territory, but it has also been wrested from Central American territory. This is of concern to the whole of America, because this has long been the continent of freedom, whose sons fought and died for that right. But it is also of concern to the United Nations, because the colonial problem has been fully debated here and resolutions have been adopted to put an end to colonialism as an iniquitous, corrupting and cruel system.

22. The history of the United Kingdom's occupation of this part of Guatemalan territory is a classic example of colonial exploitation, which displays certain common characteristics wherever it occurs: exploitation of the colony for the purposes of the metropolitan country, the plundering of its natural resources until they are exhausted, and the maintenance of colonial domination by force and by intimidation of the local population. All this occurred in Belize. The British

^{2/} Convention between Great Britain and Guatemala relating to the boundary of British Honduras, signed in Guatemala, 30 April 1859.

mercilessly exploited the territory's abundant resources and now that the economy is ruined and there is little possibility of rehabilitation, which makes the colonial budget burdensome to maintain, the British are seeking to shirk their responsibilities and give Belize semi-independent status which would place it in an even poorer and more difficult situation than its present one, miserable enough as it is. The local inhabitants, conditioned by long years of British indoctrination and deceived by the promise of a better future, are docilely playing into the hands of the British in their latest game.

23. However these machinations of the United Kingdom, which are designed to release it from its financial commitments in Belize and at the same time make a mockery of my country's rights to that part of our territory, will not succeed. Whether the colonial Power likes it or not, Belize is part of the historical, geographical and economic reality of Guatemala, and its future is inextricably linked to that of the rest of the isthmus. Its resources are the same; the only market for its products is the Central American market; its development plans will be successful only if they are carried out in conjunction with those of the neighbouring Guatemalan region; and its only hope of progress and true liberty lies in putting an end to colonialism in any form and in linking its destiny with that of Guatemala, and ultimately Central America, with its bright prospects.

24. We still hope, as we have always hoped, that this long-standing and grievous dispute may be settled under international law by the means intended to govern the relations between civilized countries, but we decline any responsibility for the results if, in settling the question of Belize, my country's rights are disregarded.

25. As far as the developing nations are concerned, the most important event of the year was undoubtedly the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which met at Geneva for more than three months. The Latin American countries placed great hopes in that Conference and spent some time preparing the views they would be putting before the Conference. It was a magnificent example of solidarity, of a marriage of views, and of the possibilities of facing our joint problems with courage. The Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr. Raúl Prebisch, had already expressed the idea that the Conference should be imbued with a mystique, that it constituted "an act of faith in the possibility of persuading, of making these ideas sink in where they should sink in, and in the possibility of provoking constructive reactions". That act of faith was certainly prepared for at the preliminary meetings of the Latin American countries: at the meeting of experts at Brasilia, and at the meeting at Alta Gracia, where the Ad Hoc Committee on Latin American Co-ordination met.

26. At those meetings truly revolutionary conclusions were reached with regard to the modern concept of international trade, and solutions were formulated which, if they could be carried out, would close the enormous gap between the poor and the powerful countries, not through the generosity of the latter, but for the sake of justice and even in the self-

interest of a world that is seeking balance and self-adjustment.

27. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was, of course, unable to fulfil these splendid ideals; nor could it be expected to adopt any convention incorporating new concepts of international trade, thus breaking with an age-old, selfish tradition. However, the great importance attached to the Conference, in view of the change of thinking that has been observed, is largely due to the solidarity and receptivity shown by the seventy-seven developing nations. They gave a very clear picture of the enormous handicap under which they labour in their trade with the economically developed countries, a handicap that will become increasingly greater if an immediate solution is not sought; and while they have realized the gravity of the problem, they are not in complete agreement as regards the remedy. It is encouraging to think that 120 States should have held a discussion and reached conclusions of far-reaching consequence for the life and development of society; it is gratifying, too, that so many countries, differing from each other in their political, social and economic structures and in their stages of development, should have arrived at a meeting of minds and should be well on the way towards achieving genuine progress in the unfortunate under-developed areas of this world of ours, all this thanks to the efforts of our Organization.

28. We consider it of great importance to create continuing international machinery for examining and solving problems of world trade and economic development and we therefore feel that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development must be established as an organ of the General Assembly, and that a trade and development board and a permanent secretariat within the United Nations should be set up, as has been recommended. In general, we consider that the recommendations of the Conference need to be studied very attentively at this session of the General Assembly, which now bears the heavy responsibility of taking final decisions on the matter. My delegation wishes now to endorse the Joint Declaration^{3/} of the seventy-seven developing nations, which state that international co-operation in the fields of trade and development "must serve as a decisive instrument for ending the division of the world into areas of affluence and intolerable poverty". As the Declaration says, this task is the outstanding challenge of our times, and the injustice and neglect of centuries need to be redressed.

29. Recently, an atomic bomb was exploded by a country which, owing to its aggressive policy, is not a Member of the United Nations. Its policies are incompatible with the principles of this Organization, particularly with the first and most basic of those principles, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. The echoes of this explosion have aroused fear throughout the world. And so the world is faced with yet another danger, which the United Nations has to meet with determination and courage. In the meantime, the United Nations must continue

^{3/} See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), annexes, annex B, I, (a).

to boycott the country in question and to offer the Republic of China its firm and outright support, since the island of Formosa is a bulwark of liberty and of respect for basic human rights, a bastion that the free world must defend and protect.

30. By showing indifference to the tragic problems of Korea, Viet-Nam, Germany and China, we could find ourselves in a real crisis. In spite of the gravity of these problems, hopes for a rapid and satisfactory solution to the first three have not vanished altogether. These have been discussed and claims and concessions have been made. But as regards the Chinese drama, there has been no congress, no assembly, no encouraging geographical parallel on which to pin our hopes, there is no legal permit enabling parts of different sections of a single people to communicate with each other.

31. Once again, at this nineteenth regular session of the General Assembly, we are faced with the unfounded claims of the Peking régime, which wishes either to have dual representation or to deprive the Republic of China of the rights which it has acquired over a long period of time and history, thus ending its representation and replacing it by another delegation whose presence here might be justified by some principle or other but not that of legitimacy. The free peoples of the world have opposed the move to deprive the Chinese people of the position they now hold in the United Nations, and this opposition, besides being based on rules of law (be it natural, positive, or international), is also based on hard facts. The Guatemalan delegation would now like briefly to outline those facts in this Assembly.

32. First, it has not escaped the world's notice that the Peking régime, by its acts of aggression in South Korea in 1950, in Laos in 1953, in Tibet in 1959, in India in 1959 and 1962 and recently, once again, in Laos and South Viet-Nam, in defiance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, has clearly shown that it is not the most suitable one to oust the Republic of China, which, since the 1945 Conference at which this Organization was founded, has been representing a section of mankind that is imbued with noble purposes and a love of peace and progress.

33. Secondly, the Peking régime today, after a show of almost uncontrollable force, hopes to win a seat of honour which will give it international representation and complete authority, even though this system of government would have nothing but contempt for those countries which devote their economic resources, their sweat, energy and courage to the pursuit of peace through work and freedom, instead of to the pursuit of violence.

34. Unfortunately, when speaking of divided countries, we must also mention that other great European country which is divided by a wall of shame, separating the free world of Western Germany, vigorous, economically strong, respectful of human rights, from another world, surrounded by barbed wire, tanks and other instruments of war, ready to crush with bloody brutality any attempt at rebellion, of which we had a sufficiently eloquent example in martyred Hungary. The two Germanys are separated by a gap of centuries: in one there is progress, health

and energy; in the other, terror, misery and people ready to escape from such a hard life as soon as the way is open.

35. It may appear strange that unarmed, peace-loving countries, loyal to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, should meet together at the highest international level, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in order to discuss disarmament. However, to think along those lines would mean that we were ignoring those very same purposes and principles of the United Nations, whereas the peoples constituting the United Nations, in solemnly proclaiming the Charter at San Francisco, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. That is why, being aware of their international responsibilities, all countries have the right to discuss disarmament and to point out the tragic consequences for mankind if drastic steps are not taken rapidly and courageously to halt the arms race and to find an effective way of liquidating the most powerful nuclear weapons which threaten to destroy the world. When the time for mass destruction comes, there will be no distinction between powerful and small countries, between armed and defenceless countries. That is why the latter countries are precisely the ones which must urge the great Powers to reach a radical and honest general agreement on disarmament for the protection of mankind. Of course, in using the word "honest", we must mention the essential fact that any disarmament agreement between the great Powers must involve proper open inspection.

36. My delegation is thus doing its duty in setting forth its ideas, its points of view, its proposals and its hopes regarding some of the major problems facing the world today, particularly those that are closely linked with my country's policies or life or which are of such vital importance that they affect all mankind. It is not a sign of indifference if I do not refer to the other items that will be dealt with at this session, or which are of concern to many friendly countries. Not being able to do so, however, I wish it to be placed on record that Guatemala is firmly planted among the free and democratic countries and follows a clear-cut and definite policy of absolute respect for international commitments. We are sympathetic to the countries which seek to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism, firm in our determination to fight for international peace and security, faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter, champions of the right of weak countries to a better fate, and hopeful that universal justice and harmony will triumph.

37. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me to join in the congratulations which have been offered to you on the occasion of your election to an honourable and responsible office and, at the same time, to express Poland's respect for your country. Ghana, and the group of States with which it associates its efforts in international politics, has become an important factor contributing to the peace and progress of the world.

38. Today, peace and progress are indissolubly linked. That is how we understand the resolutions adopted by the Cairo Conference.^{4/}

39. The final elimination of all forms of colonial dependence, respect for the sovereignty of peoples and for their right to choose the form of development and way of life which suit them best, equitable division of labour and of the fruits of labour among nations, co-operation and peaceful competition in keeping with those principles, the settlement of international disputes by negotiation, disarmament, lasting peace—this is the approach which not only can protect us all from nuclear disaster, but will also place at the service of mankind the most progressive ideas and the mightiest resources of modern science and technology.

40. Peaceful coexistence, thus understood, constitutes one of the basic principles of Poland's foreign policy. Together with our neighbours and allies, we are determined to pursue this policy of peaceful coexistence with no less persistence than before.

41. Peaceful coexistence, however, does not depend on us alone. It depends on the other parties, on all parties concerned. It is an inescapable fact that any action contrary to the principles of peaceful coexistence undermines confidence in this coexistence, particularly among those against whom it is directed. Unfortunately, the policy of the Western Powers has been and continues to be characterized by such actions.

42. Hence, while working resolutely for the cause of peaceful coexistence, it is not without concern that we ask where the West is now heading.

43. We are not, of course, trying to ignore the positive side of the picture. We know that there is a growing awareness in the Western countries, too, of the fact that a nuclear war can bring no advantage to any nation, to any social class, or to any family. We know that the system based on the so-called "policy from a position of strength" is disintegrating. I used the word "system" because I mean the whole concept underlying the word policy of the United States, with regard to the socialist countries and to the emancipation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of Western Europe as well. This whole concept was doomed because it was contrary to the inexorable forward march of the forces of socialism, contrary to the irreversible process of decay of colonialism, contrary to the economic laws of the capitalist world itself, and, finally, contrary to the sense of self-preservation innate in mankind, whose conscience is awakening in the face of the growing threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

44. The point is, what conclusions are being drawn in the West, particularly in the United States, from the bankruptcy of the system based on the policy of a position of strength? Notwithstanding the underlying motives, which may be different from ours, we are interested to see that there are signs showing that a search is being made for a new course of action—more realistic and more compatible with the requirements

of peaceful competition. Pronouncements to this effect have been made by prominent statesmen in the West, including the United States.

45. We welcomed, not without hope, the Moscow partial test-ban treaty^{5/}—the agreement not to station nuclear devices in outer space—and other similar agreements. But we are looking for more convincing evidence of a new approach and for still more meaningful agreements. These would seem to be all the easier to attain since the people of the United States, at the recent elections, expressed themselves in favour of relaxing tension and against "brinkmanship".

46. However, we note that certain powerful groups profiting from armaments, from colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and from their dominant position in Western Europe, persistently continue to uphold the policy of "positions of strength", and attempt to restore it in its most acute forms. The pressure from these groups continues in all possible forms and on all continents. Suffice it to mention the most flagrant examples. As regards Cuba: contempt for the principle of sovereignty, brutal pressure, subversion, continuing threats. As regards the Congo: a bloody and revolting military crusade in the classic old colonialist tradition. As regards South Viet-Nam: long years of armed intervention in a futile undertaking aimed at breaking the people's will, and now, in order to break the deadlock, acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and threats to spread the war to the territory of that country; those who make these threats must realize the resolute opposition which they will encounter and what the consequences may be. As regards Europe: plans for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force designed to subordinate Western Europe and directed against the socialist countries.

47. These are closely related events which have implications for the relations between the East and the West, between the West and the "third world", and even within the West itself.

48. It is our deep conviction that, if all those who work for peace and for the independence of nations and all those with common sense in Western Europe and the United States understand the present situation in time, it will be possible to stop the dangerous chain reaction of tension, acts of violence and the arms race, and to set off another chain reaction, that of "détente", agreements and disarmament.

49. I need scarcely dwell upon the importance of maintaining peace in Europe for the cause of peace throughout the world. This year was marked by two anniversaries: the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Second World War. Today, in that same continent of Europe, shaken as it is by political controversies, two powerful forces confront each other and two arsenals belonging respectively to the two opposing groups of States and containing the most modern means of instant and mass destruction.

50. On several occasions I have had to utter a warning from this rostrum, inspired not by resentment

^{4/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Cairo, 5-10 October 1964.

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

but by the experience of my nation in the course of its tragic history and by a sober analysis of the international situation. I would be only too glad if there were no longer any reason for such words of warning.

51. But, I regret to say, we are now facing a new danger. I mean the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons in Europe itself, for the time being under the guise of the multilateral nuclear force. If this danger materialized, the discussion of a universal treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons would be a futile exercise. It should also be fully realized that setting up a multilateral force would have even more serious consequences. It would upset the balance between the two sides—if not the military balance, at least the political one. In such an eventuality, no one could expect the socialist countries to refrain from taking appropriate measures.

52. The creation of a multilateral force would usher in a new period of tension and a new phase of the arms race in Europe. The present division of the world into two opposing military blocs would become wider and more acute, despite the unflagging efforts of Poland and all the socialist countries to replace that division by a system of collective security. It would make any agreement between East and West more difficult, to say the least. The value of the long disarmament negotiations might also be questioned, if they were to be nothing but a lulling accompaniment to unilateral military moves and an accelerated arms race.

53. As has always happened in the past, whenever steps to arm West Germany have been taken within NATO, we are now being told that the creation of the multilateral force would prevent West Germany from acquiring independent armaments.

54. What a strange line of reasoning that is. If it is true that the Federal Republic does not want independently to become the possessor of nuclear weapons, why does it reject the proposal for a denuclearized zone in Central Europe? Why is it reluctant, to put it mildly, to accept the proposal for the "freezing" of nuclear armaments in that area? There is no guarantee that the Federal Republic of Germany would not use the multilateral force to strengthen its position within the Western Alliance still further or that playing upon the controversies between its allies, it would not secure for itself independent control over nuclear weapons.

55. In point of fact, the proposed creation of the multilateral force is only one part of the entire, more than obsolete, policy of the Western German Government and of the policy of the Western Powers on the German question. This policy can be summed up as follows: the arming of West Germany; non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic; and constantly renewed territorial claims by the Federal Republic of Germany against Poland and Germany's other Eastern neighbours, while West Germany's allies—with the exception of France—dodge the issue when it comes to recognizing the finality of the Polish-German frontier. This policy ultimately creates the false and, at the same time, extremely dangerous illusion that the road eastward lies open to imperialism.

56. We are aware that many West Germans desire peace and good relations with neighbouring countries. However, the present policy of the Federal Republic of Germany and of its allies is based on the most expansionist West German elements; it counts on them, encourages them and strengthens them.

57. It is being alleged by statesmen of the Federal Republic and its allies that the purpose of that policy is the self-determination and reunification of the German nation. There are no two roads to the unification of Germany. The road followed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is not the road leading to self-determination, but the road of preparation for the annexation of the German Democratic Republic. That is why we are faced with the refusal to conclude a peace treaty with the two German States; that is why a non-aggression pact between the States members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty is rejected. A policy aimed at annexation cannot lead to the unification of Germany. It can lead only to the brink of the abyss.

58. There is no real prospect for the reunification of Germany other than by a historical process that can develop only in an atmosphere of relaxed tension, in a Europe, where mutual security and confidence are strengthened, which could lead to closer co-operation and a gradual rapprochement between the two German States; the means of achieving this have been proposed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

59. The Federal Republic of Germany, by making unification a prior condition for the acceptance of any proposal for relaxing tension and disarming Europe, is trying to create a vicious circle out of the issues involved—the relaxation of tension and disarmament and the question of Germany's unification.

60. The renunciation of nuclear weapons by Germany and the Central European countries, recognition of the existence of two German States and recognition of the finality of Germany's frontiers are essential requirements, and their fulfilment, far from being incompatible with the aim of unification, constitutes a starting-point for a move in that direction. Furthermore, their fulfilment is an urgent necessity for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

61. The peaceful development of mankind can be best safeguarded by general and complete disarmament. Poland participates in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. It is not our fault that the Committee's activities have not yet led to any successful results. We remain ready to participate in any negotiation which might bring us closer to a solution of this extremely important problem. We view favourably the very interesting suggestion, recently made by the non-aligned States at the Cairo Conference, that a world disarmament conference should be convened. We also welcome the proposal of the People's Republic of China for the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, or at least an effective ban on their use.

62. It is of paramount importance that the efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament should be made in an atmosphere of relaxed tension and coupled with at least partial and regional disarmament

measures. That is the essential purpose of the proposals contained in the memorandum [A/5827] submitted here a few days ago by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Andrei Gromyko.

63. We believe that the most urgent measures are those which would enable any further proliferation of nuclear weapons to be prevented. The idea of non-dissemination is simple: the nuclear Powers should in no way, either directly or indirectly, facilitate the nuclear armament of other countries, and the non-nuclear States should forgo the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons. It is in that spirit that we state our readiness to take part in the preparation of a universal treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons.

64. At the same time, we support the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones in different regions of the world. To halt the race for weapons of mass destruction in the regions where the risks of an explosion are the greatest is a particularly pressing matter. These are the reasons which prompted the Polish Government to put forward its plan for the denuclearization of Central Europe. This plan has lost none of its urgency. But time is short. The minimum requirement is to halt the nuclear arms race in that region. To that end, Mr. Gomulka recently advanced a new proposal to "freeze" the existing nuclear potential at its present level in the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the two German States. Other States would be able to accede to such an agreement. This plan is simple and it does not endanger the security of any party.

65. We are also ready to enter into constructive negotiations on methods of exercising the proposed control, the scope of the "freeze" of nuclear weapons and the relationship between this "freeze" and the size of conventional forces.

66. We also believe that the time has come to examine the problem of European security as a whole. We ought to study the advisability of convening a conference of all European States for this purpose, with, of course, the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States. If deemed useful, preparations for such a conference might be made by representatives appointed by the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, and possibly, if so desired, by representatives of European States not belonging to either of the two groups.

67. Besides disarmament, we have to deal with another crucial issue of our times: the final elimination of colonialism and of the consequences of long years of dependence to which the peoples of three great continents have been subjected. As long as this problem remains unsolved and the liberated countries are not economically and socially developed, their independence cannot be fully safeguarded. As long as this problem remains unsolved, prospects for the normal development of the world economy and the elimination of all sources of conflict will remain bleak.

68. This last task can be accomplished by improving world trade as a whole and by organizing economic co-operation between the developing countries, the developed capitalist countries and the socialist States

on the basis of new principles. None of these essential elements of contemporary international economic relations can be disregarded.

69. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has been one of the most important events in this sphere in recent years. In spite of some shortcomings, some vague formulations and the inadequacy of a number of proposed measures, the Conference has brought many lasting values into international relations, and it can therefore be regarded as a real success for the United Nations. For the first time in history, an effort has been made to bring about a radical change in the international division of labour through the accelerated development of the economically weak countries and through the diversification of their economies and trade.

70. Let me assure the General Assembly that the Polish Government will do its utmost to ensure that the recommendations of the Conference will not remain a dead letter. We shall continue to expand our trade relations with the developing countries as well as with the capitalist countries. But we trust that the various obstacles and discriminatory practices now existing will cease to hamper mutually advantageous trade.

71. We attach great importance to the promotion and extension of all forms of bilateral co-operation and economic, cultural, scientific and technical exchanges, and to the political contacts necessary for better mutual understanding. Our policy of improving and strengthening bilateral relations has met with a favourable response in many countries, on all continents. It goes without saying that such a policy is beneficial to both sides; but it is obviously also of universal value. After all, good bilateral relations are, in the aggregate, part and parcel of over-all international co-operation; they enrich and strengthen it and are the essential factor in peaceful coexistence.

72. The changes taking place in the world find their reflection in the life of our Organization, though not always in time or completely. Much has changed since the foundations of the United Nations were laid at San Francisco. Since then, the influence and position of the community of socialist States in the world have grown. As a result of the collapse of the colonial system, dozens of nations have been able to join our Organization. This year we warmly welcome to our midst the representatives of Malawi, Malta and Zambia.

73. In view of the general international situation and the activities of our Organization, the absence in the United Nations of the representatives of a lawful Member State and a permanent member of the Security Council, the absence of those who alone, to the exclusion of all others, are authorized to represent the one and indivisible Chinese State, appears even more absurd. This point cannot fail to be understood even by those who find it expedient or necessary to continue to oppose a solution to this question, which is crucial to the role that the United Nations can play in international life. I feel sure that realism will triumph over hypocrisy and glib demagoguery. The sooner this happens the better.

74. With regard to the States which are not yet Members of the United Nations, we believe that the admission of the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—to our Organization should be hastened. In any case, as the Secretary-General, U Thant, has pertinently suggested in the introduction to his report to this session [A/5801/Add.1], no country or State should be deprived of the opportunity to send observers to United Nations Headquarters or be discriminated against as far as contacts with our Organization are concerned.

75. For all Members of the Organization, great and small, the Charter of the United Nations is the basis for joint action to ensure peaceful coexistence. The proper functioning of the United Nations depends, of course, on the concerted action of the great Powers. But there is a close interdependence between the actions of the great Powers and those of all the other States. None of us can shirk his share of responsibility.

76. Gone are the days when the provisions of the Charter could be interpreted unilaterally by those who had long taken advantage of the automatic majority. Hence, it is all the more necessary today to examine and apply effectively the provisions of the Charter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, including the provisions for the establishment and operation of United Nations forces. That is why we fully endorse the proposals contained in the Soviet memorandum of 13 July 1964 [A/5721].

77. There is no doubt that the United Nations can and must play a greater practical role in the strengthening of peaceful coexistence.

78. The year 1965, which will mark the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter and of the beginning of the work of the United Nations, is to be celebrated as International Co-operation Year. We would like to hope that at this session the General Assembly will overcome its temporary difficulties and prepare the ground for this co-operation.

79. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish, first of all, to express to you our sincerest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. You are no stranger to this Assembly, nor are you a stranger to my delegation. During your tenure as the head of the delegation of Ghana, you have been an esteemed colleague, both at the United Nations and outside. It is only proper and fitting that, when the fires of freedom and independence are lit in almost all parts of Africa, a representative of that great continent should preside over the deliberations of the Assembly. We consider ourselves fortunate that we should be guided by your wisdom and experience and may I pledge the fullest co-operation of my delegation to you in the discharge of your onerous duties.

80. I should also like to extend a warm welcome to the new Members of the United Nations—Malawi, Malta and Zambia. I congratulate the people and the leaders of these independent countries for the orderly and peaceful manner in which they have achieved their independence. We wish them all success in the difficult task that lies ahead in developing their

economy and improving the social and economic life of their people. We are confident that these three new Members will contribute greatly to our work in the United Nations in the cause of world peace.

81. Important developments have taken place during the period since we met here last year. For India, it has been a sad year. The passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru has been a cruel blow. His message, however, continues to inspire all those striving for peace and international understanding for the freedom and dignity of individuals and nations.

82. The most important problems facing the world today are: the problem of war and peace; the problem of colonialism and racialism, and the growing economic disparity between the developed and developing countries. These problems are in some way inter-related. There can be no lasting peace so long as colonialism and racialism are not eradicated completely and unless purposeful steps are taken to reduce the economic disparity. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that attempts are at least being made to tackle all these three problems effectively in this Organization, though the success achieved has so far not been commensurate with the efforts made. We have, however, to persevere and work hard towards achieving these objectives.

83. It is unfortunate that, at a time when the international community has embarked on a determined policy of reducing the risks of war and of building up confidence among nations, the People's Republic of China has thought it fit to maintain war as an instrument of national policy and to question the principles of peaceful coexistence. The People's Republic of China committed a massive and premeditated aggression in 1962 on India—a country which, as the Assembly is well aware, has consistently tried to befriend China. This wanton attack was not only against the spirit of Bandung but was also against all canons of international behaviour. Despite the sincere efforts made by six non-aligned African-Asian countries, the Chinese forces continue to be in occupation of 14,500 square miles of Indian territory and fourteen to fifteen divisions of the Chinese Army stand poised on India's northern borders. The People's Republic of China's preparations for war thus still continue and so also its violations on our territory and air space.

84. The problem of war and peace is the most important one for our Organization. The advent of nuclear weapons has changed the nature of war, not merely in quantitative but in qualitative terms. Nuclear war has become more dangerous; it is evident that it will destroy all that man has succeeded in constructing on this planet. The nuclear age demands that the great Powers adhere to the medium of negotiations as the only valid basis for settling differences, however fundamental and acute these might be.

85. The concept of peaceful coexistence has now been accepted by an overwhelming majority, if unfortunately not all, of the governments of the world. Peaceful coexistence was the central theme of the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo in October 1964. The Conference declared its deep conviction that in the present circumstances

mankind must regard this as the only means of strengthening world peace and has further suggested that the General Assembly of the United Nations should adopt, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, a declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It was their hope that such a code supported by the whole world would result in the consolidation of peace and security.

86. The "détente" which came about in the international situation towards the end of 1962 and whose high point was the signing of the Moscow Test-Ban Treaty in August 1963, seems to be at an end. The deterioration of the situation in South-East Asia, and the emergence of new conflicts in the Mediterranean, the heart of Africa and indeed on our own borders, are each of them capable of escalation which might ultimately lead to a general conflagration.

87. Disarmament remains one of the most important issues before the Assembly. The Moscow test-ban treaty, the hot-line between Washington and Moscow and the joint United States-Soviet Union declaration not to place nuclear weapons in orbit in outer space had together raised hopes for an acceleration in the process of disarmament. Not only has there been no further progress towards bringing the underground tests within the scope of the Moscow treaty, but we have now witnessed a fresh explosion in the atmosphere which was banned under the treaty. We have always felt that, as long as bigger and more destructive nuclear weapons were being tested, the pre-conditions did not exist for serious and purposeful negotiations on disarmament. This was one of the principal reasons why we concentrated for so many years in the General Assembly on an agreement to ban nuclear tests. The need for an agreement to ban nuclear tests was foreseen by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as early as 1954. The question was carefully considered at the Bandung Conference of African-Asian States in 1955. The People's Republic of China was one of the signatories to the Bandung Declaration which stated, *inter alia*:

"Pending total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, this Conference appealed to all powers concerned to reach an agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons."

88. Since then, this world Organization has discussed the matter year after year culminating in the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1762 (XVII) condemning all nuclear tests. The partial test-ban treaty has now been acceded to by well over a hundred States. The Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Nations called upon all States to accede to the treaty and to abide by its provisions in the interest of peace and the welfare of humanity. In defiance of this overwhelming world opinion and in utter disregard of the Bandung Declaration signed by it, China has exploded a nuclear device thereby reversing the hopeful trends and adding once again to the dangerous pollution of the atmosphere. Consistent with the attitude of this Assembly on nuclear tests and particularly in the spirit of General Assembly resolution 1762 (XVII), India cannot but condemn the nuclear tests conducted by the People's Republic of China. This action of China is fraught with dangerous consequences. It may well start a fresh nuclear race among countries which

admittedly possess nuclear capability at the present time. The risk of proliferation has thus been many times increased.

89. The Assembly must take serious notice of this development and consider ways and means of preventing the risk of further proliferation. The Cairo Declaration signed by Heads of State or Government of forty-eight non-aligned countries has called upon all States to accede to the Moscow treaty partially banning the testing of nuclear weapons and to abide by its provisions in the interest of peace and welfare of humanity. The Conference has also urged the extension of the Moscow treaty so as to include underground tests and the discontinuance of such tests pending the extension of the agreement. It is the considered view of my delegation that the positive measures suggested in that Declaration should form the guidelines for further action by the Assembly. During this session we would suggest the adoption by the Assembly of resolutions which would reiterate its condemnation of all nuclear tests, urge cessation of all further tests, call upon all States who have not already done so to accede to the Moscow treaty and request the United States and the Soviet Union to reach an agreement prohibiting underground tests. Now that technique has advanced far enough to make underground tests comparatively easy of detection, my delegation hopes and believes that the time has come for bringing underground tests within the scope of the Moscow treaty.

90. India has asked for the inscription of an item on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/5758] on the agenda of the current session of the Assembly. The importance of non-proliferation cannot be over-emphasized. This question is as important as that of banning nuclear tests. We feel that the Assembly should direct the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to discuss the question of non-proliferation as a matter of highest priority. We appeal to the nuclear Powers to abstain from policies leading to the dissemination of nuclear weapons and technology among those States which do not at present possess them. The non-nuclear States, on the other hand, should declare their readiness not to produce, acquire or test any nuclear weapons.

91. While on the subject of disarmament, I welcome the latest proposals of the Soviet Union referred to by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in his statement [1292nd meeting]. They deserve the careful consideration of the Assembly and of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Disarmament, as we all know, is a very complex problem and if it is to come about, we must ensure that it embraces both nuclear and conventional aspects.

92. The Government and people of India had the privilege and honour of welcoming His Holiness Pope Paul VI in India early this month. His messages are of special significance in the context of the prevailing atmosphere of tension in the world. In a message to a special audience to newsmen in Bombay on 4 December 1964, the Pope said:

"We entrust you our special message to the world. Would that nations could cease the armaments race and devote their resources and energies instead to

fraternal assistance of developing countries. Would that every nation thinking 'thought of peace and not of affliction' or war, would contribute even part of its expenditure for arms to a new world fund for the relief of many problems of nutrition, clothing, shelter and medical care which affect so many people.

"From the peaceful altar of the Eucharistic Congress, may this, our anguished cry, go forth to all Governments of the world and may God inspire them to undertake this peaceful battle against sufferings of their less fortunate brothers."

93. As I said earlier, there are many areas of conflict in the world today which could lead to a general conflagration. In such a dangerous situation, it is of vital importance for States to renounce the use of force in the settlement of disputes. All States Members of the United Nations have subscribed to this idea by signing or adhering to the Charter. Even those who are as yet outside the United Nations have been loud in claiming that they stand for peace and prosperity in our planet. The basic assumption from which we proceed is that once all States accept the idea of settlement of international disputes solely by peaceful means, we would then have taken a major step towards creating an atmosphere in which international peace and security could be maintained effectively. For this reason, we welcome the initiative of the Soviet Union in submitting an item for the agenda of the current session of the Assembly entitled "Renunciation by States of the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes and questions concerning frontiers" [A/5751]. At a time when frontier disputes are threatening international peace and security, it is of utmost importance that the General Assembly should declare that force shall not be used in the settlement of such disputes. The Organization of African Unity has declared that the frontiers existing at the time of independence shall be respected. The Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States has laid down that "the established frontiers of States shall be inviolable". The Assembly should welcome these declarations.

94. We have been closely following the developments in the Congo and are greatly concerned about the present situation there. India has always been strongly in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops and mercenaries from the Congo. We continue to hold the view that outside interference which infringes the interest and sovereignty of the Congolese people should end immediately. In this context we support the Organization of African Unity in its efforts to restore peace and harmony in this strife-torn land and bring about national reconciliation.

95. The situation in Cyprus threatened peace in the Mediterranean a few months ago. We hope that the Powers concerned will show restraint and prevent a further deterioration in the uneasy peace now prevailing there. India is of the view that Cyprus is entitled to, and should enjoy, its sovereignty and independence without threat or use of force by any foreign Power and without any foreign intervention or interference.

96. Most speakers before me have dwelt, in one way or another and at some length, on the problem of United Nations peace-keeping operations. We met here on 1 December in an atmosphere of confrontation. I am glad the confrontation has been avoided. It would indeed have been disastrous for the Assembly and the Organization itself if we had decided to vote on the question of whether or not Article 19 of the Charter was applicable to the Members who had not contributed towards the costs of peace-keeping operations in the Congo and Gaza. The result of the vote either way would undoubtedly have led to considerable diminution in the strength and vitality of our Organization. While we ourselves believe in collective responsibility and have contributed millions of dollars towards the costs of peace-keeping operations, and have also supplied thousands of troops and tons of material to the United Nations, we at the same time recognize that no Member State can be compelled to contribute either troops or funds to such operations.

97. If the confrontation has been avoided, it is because ultimately the two Powers concerned have themselves realized that such a confrontation, which would have led to the break-up of the United Nations, was in no one's interest. Also, the mediatory efforts of various groups of Members and the devoted attention which our Secretary-General gave to the problem, were of the greatest help. However, the Assembly cannot rest content with the situation as it obtains today. There are many items on our agenda which need early attention. Therefore, it must act quickly to bring about a solution of the problem of past arrears and also concern itself with how best to proceed with the consideration of the political and constitutional problems relating to United Nations peace-keeping operations. One procedure which immediately comes to my mind is to entrust this political and constitutional problem to the Working Group of twenty-one members as it is constituted at present with some slight increase in its membership, if necessary, but certainly with wider terms of reference.

98. Whatever the forum in which the problem is discussed in detail, it seems to my delegation that certain basic factors will have to be kept in mind. The primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lies with the Security Council. It is our hope that an expanded Security Council as envisaged in resolution 1991 (XVIII) would be much more representative of the wishes of a large majority of Member States and would function accordingly.

99. Over the past few years the General Assembly has played an increasing role in the field of peace-keeping. My delegation hopes that the examination of the political and constitutional problem by the Working Group will result in a precise definition of the scope of the functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in this respect so that the situation which assumed such threatening proportions when we met for the current session may not occur.

100. Recently some attention has been devoted to the technical aspects, as distinct from political and constitutional implications, of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. In his introduction to the annual report [A/5801/Add.1], the Secretary-General has

also referred to this matter. While we ourselves are still not in favour of setting apart certain military units for service with the United Nations, we have no objection, in principle, to a technical study which might lead to "more efficient and more economical peace-keeping operations in the future". However, my delegation is not sure that the present is the most appropriate time for a study of this kind, as the political and the constitutional problem is still to be examined by the Working Group.

101. The amendments to the Charter recommended in resolution 1991 (XVIII) would, if ratified, expand the non-permanent membership of the Security Council to ten and the membership of the Economic and Social Council to twenty-seven. In our view, the proposed expansion in the membership of the two Councils would serve to give them a broader base by including a larger number of African-Asian and other developing countries. India has already ratified the amendments and so have a number of other States. However, the ratifications still fall short of the necessary two-thirds. What is more, none of the permanent members of the Security Council has so far ratified them. We are, however, glad to note that the Soviet Union has indicated its willingness to ratify the amendments. We hope that France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America would similarly move to accept the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the membership of the United Nations.

102. Among the major problems before the United Nations are the questions of the eradication of colonialism and racialism, the worst manifestation of which is to be witnessed in the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa. My delegation's stand on these issues is well known both in the United Nations and outside. It is our conviction that the continued existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in any form, in any part of the world, is contrary to the ideals of the United Nations Charter, prevents the development of international co-operation, and impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples. Having ourselves waged a struggle against colonialism, we are passionately devoted to the elimination of colonial rule everywhere at the earliest possible date. It is a source of great satisfaction to us that the number of independent countries in Asia and Africa increases each year, and the process of liberation has now become irresistible and irreversible. Most of the colonial Powers have realised that they live in a changing world and that, if they are to win the goodwill and friendship of other nations, they must heed the demands of the colonial people. To resist these demands would be to invite trouble and conflict.

103. Whilst many dependent countries have attained independence, colonialism in some of its worst manifestations is still evident on the continent of Africa, where territories like Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique are still groaning under the yoke of colonialism. As long as colonial rule continues in any part of Africa or Asia or anywhere else, we cannot rest on our laurels and must assist the peoples of these territories to attain their independence. The courageous peoples of these territories have our warmest support in their struggle for freedom and

independence. There can be no peace and coexistence between colonialism and freedom. Our support and sympathies lie entirely with the subject peoples everywhere.

104. The question of Southern Rhodesia has been discussed in various forums of this Organisation and is constantly under review in the Special Committee.^{6/} The views of the Government of India with regard to Southern Rhodesia are well known. We are totally opposed to independence being granted to the minority Government in Southern Rhodesia and we have stated that, if a unilateral declaration of independence by the minority Government became a reality, the Government of India would not recognize it. It is our view that the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia must follow and not precede the establishment of majority rule in the territory. We have, therefore, welcomed the clear statement of the United Kingdom Government that a unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith Government would be considered by the United Kingdom as an act of rebellion against the Crown.

105. Portugal today presides over the largest colonial empire that exists in the world. The Cairo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries has declared its determination to ensure that the peoples of the territories under Portuguese colonial rule must immediately be given independence, without any conditions or reservations. My delegation joins other delegations from Africa and Asia in condemning the Government of Portugal for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

106. The people of South West Africa have suffered long under the reactionary régime of South Africa. We are entirely against the attempts of South Africa to annex the mandated territory of South West Africa. South Africa is attempting to influence public opinion in some Western countries by providing facilities for profitable investment of capital from those countries in South West Africa. The investments, as a recent United Nations study has shown, have little or nothing to do with bettering the lot of the indigenous people of South West Africa. It should be the responsibility and duty of all countries to see that they do not become, even unwittingly, partners in the South African game of exploiting and annexing the mandated territory of South West Africa.

107. As I said earlier, the problem of apartheid is one of the most serious problems before this Organization and it has occupied our minds for the past eighteen years. India was the first country to bring the issue of the racial policies of the Republic of South Africa before the United Nations. The struggle for racial equality in South Africa is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi and we have, ever since,

^{6/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

been in the vanguard of the struggle. For eight years now, this Organization has put up with the flagrant disrespect and disregard that South Africa has shown for the Charter and for world opinion. The Government of South Africa is blindly stepping from one heinous act to another, and the growing hate and frustration of the indigenous people must inevitably lead to violence and war. This Organization cannot remain a silent spectator of what is going on in South Africa. The people and the Government of India are wholeheartedly behind the indigenous people, whose lives are being poisoned by a minority government which represents no one but itself. For our part, we have taken all necessary measures against the South African Government. India was the first country to break trade and diplomatic relations with South Africa. Most recently, we were the first Member State to respond to the appeal of the Chairman of the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa for assistance to the victims of those policies. We hope other nations will generously contribute and respond to this appeal.

108. Whilst a majority of the countries in Asia and Africa are conducting a political and economic boycott of South Africa, there are other nations which, in disregard of General Assembly resolutions, still continue to trade with South Africa. As a matter of fact, the economy of South Africa during the last few years has been strengthened rather than weakened. For this unfortunate development the powerful trading partners of South Africa cannot avoid responsibility. If the trading partners of South Africa were to withhold their co-operation and conduct an economic boycott, we have no doubt that the South African Government would have no option but to make drastic changes in its racial policy. If we are to hope for an early and peaceful solution of the racial problem in South Africa, every kind of pressure has to be applied on the Government of that country so that conditions may be created for the solution of this problem without conflict and bloodshed.

109. I turn now to the ever urgent yet unresolved problem of economic development. As the Secretary-General has reminded this Assembly year after year, "... the present division of the world into rich and poor countries is, ... much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds".^{7/}

110. The importance that the international community attaches to this problem is evidenced by the fact that no less than sixteen items on the agenda of this session are devoted to economic development. These items will doubtless be debated in detail at the appropriate time in the Second Committee, but today I would like to focus attention on one issue only—what can the Member States of the United Nations do to fulfil the hopes and aspirations which were evoked by the historic United Nations Conference on Trade and Development?

111. In his introduction to this year's annual report, U Thant has rightly called this Conference "one of

the most important events since the establishment of the United Nations" [A/5801/Add.1, sect. IV]. When the Government of India sent its delegation to Geneva to attend the Conference, it did so in the hope of playing a part in finding ways and means to attain the rate of economic growth that had been set as the target for the Development Decade. We wanted to urge the view that only a fundamental change in the pattern of international economic relationships could free the world from the stranglehold which traditionally stagnant societies exercise over the rate of economic development.

112. In Geneva, however, we were rather disappointed to find that our colleagues from the developed countries seemed to be somewhat unprepared to meet the challenge of the situation. Many of them seemed instinctively to get together to protect the interests which appeared, in their view, to be threatened. Even so, the Conference was able to view the global picture in its proper perspective and to appreciate the fact that the only hope for the developed and the developing countries alike lay in the quest for a new economic order. While it was generally recognized that the primary responsibility lay with each country for its own economic growth, the goal of world prosperity could only be reached if the international community also accepted its share of responsibility.

113. The Final Act of the Conference is the beginning of a new chapter of concrete action by each and every one of us. The Conference gave its findings on the state of the world economy; it evolved a series of guide-lines for national and international action; it formulated a number of hopeful suggestions for dealing with commodity problems, for promoting trade in manufactures and semi-manufactures and for financing the development of trade and the promotion of economic growth. At the same time, since not all of these suggestions had been adopted by unanimity, the Conference also recommended the establishment of continuing machinery to carry on its unfinished business. It is, therefore, imperative for this Assembly to take the first possible opportunity to establish the continuing machinery recommended by the Trade Conference. We are happy to note that some useful preparatory work has already been completed by the Secretary-General, as evidenced by the unanimous recommendations of the Committee set up by him to devise special conciliation procedures in the new organization. Once the Conference has been set up as an organ of the General Assembly, we earnestly hope that every effort will be made to implement its recommendations. The Member States of the United Nations should decide, in the free exercise of their own sovereign will, to adopt such recommendations as part of their own economic policies, and take the positive steps necessary to develop the determination of their own peoples to contribute their utmost to a better world economic order.

114. Before concluding, I would wish to draw attention to the International Co-operation Year which is to be celebrated in 1965—the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is making the suggestion in favour of the Inter-

^{7/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, document A/5201/Add.1, sect. VI.

national Co-operation Year to the Assembly in November 1961, said:

"... We live in this world of conflicts and yet the world goes on, undoubtedly because of the co-operation of nations and individuals.

"The essential thing about this world is co-operation, and even today, between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields, there is a vast amount of co-operation. ... Perhaps it would be a truer picture if the co-operating elements in the world today were put forward and we were made to think that the world depends on co-operation and not on conflict." [1051st meeting, paras. 36 and 37.]

The truth of these words cannot be over-emphasized.

115. The programme of the International Co-operation Year has been drawn up by Member States with the intention of providing a valuable opportunity for bringing about a greater awareness of the extensive co-operation among nations and to make possible a concerted effort to expand co-operation throughout the world. Most of the work of this Assembly will now be done during 1965. It is my earnest hope that in the coming year we will be able to move forward from coexistence to co-operation.

116. Mr. AVARO (Gabon) (translated from French): Now that the General Assembly has just entrusted you by acclamation with the arduous task of guiding its work, allow me, Mr. President, to associate myself with the speakers who preceded me in offering you the Gabon delegation's most sincere and heartfelt congratulations.

117. The great honour bestowed upon you bears witness to your abilities and great competence as a human being, and is a reward for your untiring and continual efforts, as a distinguished diplomat, to contribute effectively and constructively to the Organization's work and to ensure the triumph of the noble ideals proclaimed in our Charter. Your being chosen is also a source of considerable gratification to Africa which sees, in the tribute paid to one of its most brilliant sons, the first signs of its complete and final rehabilitation. With full awareness of your heavy responsibilities, you will, I am sure, prudently, ably, effectively and realistically assume the critical duties of the office to which you have been elected. I remain confident that it is the unanimous desire of the Members of this Assembly to help you to accomplish your mission, thus bringing the work of our present session to a successful conclusion.

118. The strict application of Article 19 of the Charter might compromise that work and everything should therefore be done to avoid that danger and to remove, once and for all, the threat of a split in our Organization, whose primary goal is to bring nations together for the maintenance of world peace. Thus no effort should be spared to reconcile points of view and find reasonable solutions acceptable to all, so that our deliberations may be as harmonious as those of the last session.

119. In this connexion, I wish to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to His Excellency Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, Ambassador of the

Republic of Venezuela and your predecessor in the office of President of the General Assembly, who guided its deliberations with skill.

120. Another source of much gratification to the delegation of Gabon is the admission of three new members to the Organization: two of them come from Africa, and the third from an island which has often served as a link between Europe and our continent. In the name of my Government, I am thrilled and pleased to greet the States of Malawi, Malta and Zambia which are joining our great family. The Gabon delegation considers that this event will strengthen our Organization, not merely because of the increase in its membership, but especially because of the new life which these young States can breathe into it. In addition, the restoration of the national sovereignty and independence of our brother States of Malawi and Zambia is a great comfort and example for the territories still under foreign domination, which are fighting so bitterly for their liberation.

121. In this context, I should like to draw attention to the headway made towards self-determination by our neighbouring and brother State, equatorial Guinea, which, I trust, will soon take its place among us.

122. The decolonization process initiated by the Madrid Government to emancipate the peoples of Río Muni and Fernando Poo, is being closely watched by the people and Government of Gabon. In carrying out a liberal policy towards these African territories, a policy defined by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Castiella, in a statement he made during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly [1213th meeting], the Spanish Government has already granted these territories internal autonomy, the final step before their complete emancipation. The territorial assembly and the local Government, which have already been set up, are to prepare these territories for self-government. My Government would like to reiterate its congratulations to the Spanish Government on its realistic and humane policy towards our brothers and neighbours.

123. This wise policy should also serve as an example to all other Governments which have established their rule over overseas territories. In Africa, the peoples now living under the hard and implacable law of colonialism are, unfortunately, all too numerous. In spite of all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and of numerous appeals, especially those made from this rostrum, Portugal obstinately refuses to hear the voice of reason and continues to deny freedom to millions of human beings who demand only the right to a free and independent existence.

124. Mr. Salazar's reactionary Government, ignoring these repeated appeals, is building up its military forces and potential. Strong Portuguese armed forces have been stationed in the territories in revolt in order to carry out bloody repression against the peaceful populations of the Portuguese-occupied territories.

125. In South Africa, Mr. Verwoerd's apartheid policy is also becoming more and more inhuman. The means employed by the South African leaders to deprive the indigenous inhabitants of their right to a free existence include arbitrary laws on segregation,

sentences and executions. Not only does the South African Government defy the United Nations resolutions calling for the abolition of the despicable policy of apartheid, but, thanks to the support from outside, it also feels entitled to intensify its unjust policy. It has been said over and over again that the application of economic sanctions is the only way to prevail upon the Pretoria Government to change its policy. Since South Africa is not in a position to be economically self-sufficient, the only effective weapon at our disposal to bring pressure to bear on it is, in our opinion, economic isolation.

126. So long as millions of men continue to be persecuted, scorned, and treated as outcasts, Africa will not know tranquillity, and world peace will continue to be threatened. My Government therefore solemnly appeals to the great Powers from this rostrum to realize at last the serious danger that apartheid represents for the world and to take the necessary steps to exert effective pressure on the Pretoria Government, in order to force it to abandon its senseless, criminal policy.

127. In view of this state of affairs, and in accordance with the recommendations of the Organization of African Unity, the Government of Gabon has decreed practical measures to break off all trade with Portugal and South Africa and to forbid their aircraft or ships from calling in the territory of Gabon. We hope that our example will be followed by all those who still maintain trade relations with those countries.

128. Again on the African continent, it is regrettable to note that a foreign and racist minority in Southern Rhodesia is using delaying tactics in order to keep the power in its own hands, thus depriving most of the native population of their legitimate right to self-government. The United Kingdom, the administering Power, has thus far succeeded in thwarting all these attempts; we firmly hope that it will not allow itself to be deceived by the Rhodesian colonists' trickery but will continue to oppose them and to favour the holding of free and general elections.

129. Among the other causes of tension threatening the stability of the world, there is the problem of the divided Nations. After the last world-shaking convulsions following the conflict of 1939-1945, a number of States found themselves divided and the very existence of other States has been under constant threat. The right of peoples freely to choose their own destiny is one of the basic principles laid down in the Charter. Therefore, it is unjust and unacceptable, in our day and age, for nations of ancient civilization and culture, which have proved their political maturity, to be condemned to live divided and outside our Organization. Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam are among the countries suffering from this iniquity. It is incumbent on us to redouble our efforts to put an end to this state of affairs.

130. Moreover, it is our Organization's duty to put an end to the territorial disputes which are at the root of the conflict between Israel and its neighbours. In my Government's view, that conflict can be settled only by negotiation. As far as the problem of China's representation in the United Nations is concerned, the Government of Gabon will continue to support

the Republic of China, a founding Member of the Organization.

131. If the use of force in the settlement of disputes is to be categorically condemned, so must the use of subversion. The Government of Gabon, faithful to the spirit of the United Nations Charter and to the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, strongly condemns all interference in the internal affairs of other States and also subversive activities, whether practised by neighbouring States or not. The principle of non-interference must also be applied to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is beset with serious internal difficulties. Gabon therefore approves of the Malagasy Government's initiative in requesting the inclusion in this session's agenda of an item on the "observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities" [A/5757 and Corr.1 and Add.1].

132. Further, the Gabon Republic, in signing the Moscow nuclear test-ban treaty thereby sought to indicate that it unequivocally condemns the use and testing of these frightful weapons, which can only lead to the destruction of the human race. We are also opposed to the production of all other weapons of mass destruction, the accumulation and dissemination of which are tantamount to a sword of Damocles.

133. In a world where more than two thirds of humanity is suffering from hunger, it is sad and discouraging to note that prosperous nations are devoting a large part of their resources to the manufacture of these weapons. Could not those resources and that labour be devoted to feeding the hungry, caring for the suffering, and providing work for the rising generations in our developing countries? We note not only that this is not so but that, on the contrary, the gap dividing the developed countries and the under-developed countries is widening for want of effective economic and financial co-operation.

134. The recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has, however, inspired some hopes which my Government would like to see fulfilled. While the developed countries, with their sound and better established economy based on the diversification of their production and industrial potential, see a regular growth in their national income, the developing countries, unfortunately, stand helplessly by while their economies stagnate owing to inadequate industrialization and too small a return on the raw materials which they produce. In our view, not even the inclusion, in the objectives of GATT, of the elimination of obstacles to trade in tropical products would be enough to bring about any marked increase in the developing countries' export receipts; and it seems doubtful whether the present distortions can ever be eliminated entirely. That is why, at that Conference, the spokesman of the Government of Gabon favoured the application of three series of measures to remedy this situation: stimulation of trade in agricultural and mineral commodities; simultaneous development of international financial assistance; promotion and decreasing protection of industrialization and the

opening of markets for the developing countries' manufactures.

135. Those are the few points which the Gabon delegation wished to cover in the Assembly. The Government of Gabon continues to be convinced that the serious problems that weigh upon us can be solved within the United Nations, provided, however, that the spirit of sincere co-operation, to which I alluded at the beginning of my statement, continues to inspire our work.

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

137. Mr. KING (United Kingdom): My delegation is compelled to exercise its right of reply to the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Guatemala on the subject of the Territory of British Honduras. Many of these remarks appeared to us to be regrettably tendentious and misleading. I shall not attempt to discuss them in detail since to do so might appear to lend some substance to a claim which the United Kingdom Government considers to be completely unfounded. I must, however, state formally that the United Kingdom Government has no doubts whatsoever as to its sovereignty over British Honduras, and I fully reserve my Government's position on that subject.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.