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ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (translated from French): I should be remiss, Mr. President, if I did not congratulate you on your accession to the Presidency of this nineteenth session of the General Assembly, the consummation of an outstanding career which has been well served by your exceptional qualities both as diplomat and statesman. Not only have these qualities been recognized by spontaneous acclamation of the General Assembly, but you yourself have won a personal triumph. I should like once more to offer you my congratulations.

2. The ambition of our civilized century has launched mankind on an undertaking as gigantic as it is dangerous, marked by the precipitate progress of an atomic era which will achieve no real dignity unless it encourages the works of reason and uses them to build a harmonious world. But unfortunately it has instead collected together the remnants of discredited historical oppositions and fused them into a new formulation of the idea of coexistence which threatens both the primacy of, and any respect for, the principles of balance and co-operation. Will our modern world emerge unscathed from the arms race and from the ingenious refinement of the forces of destruction which, dispersed as they are throughout the remotest corners of the world, maintain tension and paralyse hope with a vision of doom?

3. The conscience of the world cannot approve the separatist moves and the divisive power of members of a community who, instead of obeying the imperative need to enrich our civilization, prefer to trick out in false finery the triumph of might over right by embarking on an undertaking which awaits in vain the precious collaboration of all and which renders it impossible for each man to receive the just reward of his own efforts.

4. In his stirring message to the Haitian nation and to the peoples of the world, delivered on the nineteenth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations,

His Excellency Dr. François Duvalier, life President of the Republic of Haiti, expressed in these terms the principle of the collective responsibility of all nations for the survival of humanity:

"At this turning point in our country, the choice is still definitely open.

"The awakening of the peoples of the world has broken up the subsoil of human geography to remould it in keeping with the rights of all States to dignity and equality."

"All nations, caught up in the hard facts of economic reality and confronted with the permanent threat to peace, whose inescapable challenge makes them all partners in the same destiny, must together write history anew, not a history which they suffer without understanding its intentions and situations, nor a history whose skilfully woven pattern involves the participants in the most unexpected implications, but a history which goes back to the spirit of common sacrifice: a work of justice without which the peace and harmony of the world will remain perpetually in jeopardy."

The nations of the world would indeed be happy to contemplate the lineaments of this golden age, this era of co-operation, which the wise and edifying words of the leader of the Duvalier revolution bring still more vividly before our eyes.

5. The fears felt in all regions of the world have in the present circumstances only served to reinforce the universality of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. More than ever, the Charter has restored the confidence shaken by inequalities, and confirmed the clear-sightedness of that retrospective wisdom which denounces ambition. If these generously inspired basic principles had been kept constantly in mind they would at least, by making clear the dangers of our scarcely consoling reality, and by restoring to the human spirit the essential elements of balance, have been able to improve relations between Powers and win their support for the principle of giving actuality to the universal ideal, and for the needs of man's future. From this point of view, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly has begun its proceedings in most inauspicious circumstances.

6. Article 19 has become both familiar and famous; the extent and nature of the controversy it has aroused, because it touches the basic interests of all participants, will make it famous for generations to come. For after two years of debate in the Assembly the issues involved, which are crucial to the balance of any collective institution, and which were solved by an agreement between the original signatories

to the Charter solemnly enshrined in Article 19 of that instrument—the famous Article 19, as we must call it; these issues have become well known to all peoples of the world and to all currents of international opinion accessible to the Press, radio and television, and are assuming the dimensions of a serious problem.

7. Because of its immediacy and urgency, which have increased during the long negotiations for which we have to thank our Secretary-General, U Thant, this problem has today acquired priority importance, or the effect of a condition precedent holding in abeyance the solution of many highly important political, social, economic and humanitarian questions and interrupting the very life of the United Nations; moreover, it has inevitably excited the interest of States and aroused the anxiety of the free world, which awaits a solution based on the responsibility of equal partners.

8. It is to be hoped that the problem will not be further obscured as a result of the debate now taking place. So long as this conforms to the principles proper to an international forum, and so long as it is directed to the achievement of a common goal, it will not give rise to misunderstandings or incidents which might threaten what has already been accomplished.

9. Is the question one of interpreting the rules of United Nations expenditure? The International Court of Justice at The Hague ruled on the merits of this question in its advisory opinion,^{1/} and the General Assembly confirmed the legal validity of that ruling by its majority vote approving a resolution [1874 (S-IV)] which was in a sense the judgement of a court of last appeal. It is thus a matter of established law that United Nations expenditure includes, in addition to the regular budgetary expenditure, the financing of peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo. In view of the mandatory nature of the General Assembly resolution, therefore, all Member States, given the irrefutable principle of collective obligations, are responsible for this expenditure.

10. On the other hand, can it be that the parties who have had recourse to arbitration, a universally recognized procedure, are refusing to accept the decision of the judges of the tribunal, although they had not previously challenged them?

11. Is it the intention of article 24, which has been invoked not without the unacknowledged purpose of complicating the debate, to give the Security Council, upon which it confers the high moral responsibility of maintaining peace, exclusive responsibility for authorizing expenditure resulting from operations decided on by the Council? That would be rather as though by thus delegating powers to other organs in order to ensure the effectiveness of United Nations action, the organ from which those powers emanate, that is the General Assembly, the original repository of rights and the expression of our common will, were revoking or renouncing those very powers.

12. That is not to say that the Charter, under Article 19, should follow the principles of internal law and rely on coercive action or the mandatory force of decisions, as organized societies do for their own protection. The Charter calls more than ever for that high spirit of understanding without which the respect for obligations undertaken by the Organization which is incumbent on each of its Members cannot exist.

13. It is the duty of each of us to work together for the success of the Organization's mission, a task in which the sole reward will be the safeguarding of peace, and to refrain from involving the United Nations in the throes of a regrettable controversy and thereby hastening the collapse of our Organization, which is already undermined by an almost chronic financial crisis which desperate efforts have not yet ended.

14. In supporting the view that Article 19 of the Charter is applicable in this case, the Republic of Haiti has underestimated neither the collective responsibility of Members nor the importance of the moral obligation resting on all of us to contribute to the work of civilization and improvement which the United Nations is carrying out.

15. Unfortunately the lesson which the Republic of Haiti, a country which like the other under-developed countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa has attempted despite its own threatened and precarious economy to safeguard its voting rights in conformity with the provisions of Article 19, has drawn from the experience of this controversy is a very unedifying one.

16. May I therefore express the hope that the Assembly will understand the significance of the example of the less favoured countries, and that, in keeping with the principle of the judicial equality of partners in an international community, the Members affected by the application of Article 19 will show respect for principles and for the theory of obligations and will give convincing proof of their co-operation by making contributions to re-establish the finances of the United Nations, so that the Organization can continue to assist, at least, in maintaining the already too precarious peace and balance of the world, and to carry out, through its specialized agencies, its vast operational programme for the good of the world's peoples.

17. The United Nations will remain in jeopardy so long as an honourable solution is not found to the problem of Article 19, upon which the very life of its organs depends. We are on the horns of a dilemma: the use of delaying procedure may bring about the much-desired co-operation, but on the other hand by the end of the adjournment the conciliation of the diverging interests may have been rendered even more difficult—at a time when our century, with its rapid advances, is more and more throwing up crises of the most unpredictable nature.

18. We must mobilize the means which can be offered only by an organization which possesses both the qualities of youthful vitality and the attributes of an authority enriched by the experience of the past.

19. For after the nineteen years of our Organization's existence, which covers the entire post-war

^{1/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter). Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; ICJ reports 1962, page 151.

period, the world is still faced with an explosive situation.

20. Despite the awakening to independence of the African peoples, which with their element of contrast are bringing harmony to the ethnic composition of the United Nations, and despite the Assembly resolutions which marked the year of decolonization, apartheid continues to be enforced in all its savage rigour in the Republic of South Africa. International condemnation, to which the Haitian Government has added its own condemnation of the inhuman practices carried out against its racial brothers, whose only crime is to aspire to happiness and liberty, has failed to bring about the change of heart through which the principles of the Charter might be able to transform decline into true recovery.

21. The Mediterranean area has been no less tried by bloody events. The fruitless efforts of the Security Council are sufficient to indicate how complex are the emotional relations which exist between two communities, relations which the Powers turn to account in the shrewd calculations by which they hope to restore their supremacy. I refer to Cyprus, where incendiary bombs and fratricidal conflicts have sown disasters and sorrows whose memory is still a matter of concern to the organs of the United Nations.

22. The Haitian Government, greatly exercised, has expressed both to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and to the Security Council, its view that the United Nations must hasten measures to end this bitter situation, adding that any practical solution should preferably take into account the realities of the social and economic context in which the two groups exist, that in its opinion there is only one community, the Cypriot people, and that a federal constitution, guided by the evolution of its predecessors, should unify the States in an autonomous system which will not maintain incompatibility between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but will progressively effect the political absorption of the aftermath of history and bring about the union of the two groups in their common interest.

23. There are many other important problems on the agenda of this nineteenth session which I would beg leave not to discuss, because I am sure that you have already given them considerable thought and that all of them—those which were not resolved at previous sessions and those which are new—will be taken up in the various organs and committees of the United Nations.

24. Another equally compelling concern pervades my thoughts as I speak from this rostrum: emotion, and an attachment to my country that is more than physical, impel me to describe to you the true Haiti, as manifested in so many ways by its people.

25. In that chosen land, Haiti, with its boundless natural wealth, lives the most generous nation in history. Predestined for the noble achievements of humanity, it has always demonstrated selflessness and brotherly love. This nation, which has given freely of its blood and its energy, wasted by toil, hunger and unrelenting struggles for its imperishable ideals, has thereby ceaselessly enriched contemporary civilization.

26. In pursuing its glorious mission and in keeping with its historical tradition, it has never been content with less than the very summits of altruism, where brotherhood begins, where the birth of every new nation recalls the great epic of 1804, where the clamour for justice revives the glorious memory of our forefathers and rekindles in their sons the indomitable courage which has lighted the beacon of freedom over the cradles of all our oppressed brethren ever since the former colony of Santo Domingo was burned to the ground.

27. Savannah was a striking instance of that altruism. In one of the states of North America, Georgia, which might have been thought to be impervious to the appeal of degrading racism and which, by a surprising shift in historical direction, is today following a contrary course, more than 600 Haitians gave their lives as the tribute of brotherhood to the cause of the emancipation of the American Negro. Their lives were lost during the four years of merciless struggle of the War between the States; theirs was the same blood which only yesterday was shed in America in the name of the equality of all men without distinction as to race or colour.

28. Even more eloquent proof of that altruism is found in the testimonial offered by Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, to Alexander Petion, the first head of State of the first Negro Republic in the world, who had so often given him the material and moral help he needed for the realization of his great dream of emancipation of the peoples of Latin America. That testimonial, which should have appeared on the flyleaf of their history, was couched in the following terms:

"In my proclamation to the people of Venezuela and in the decrees which I shall have to issue, I do not know whether I may be allowed to express my heartfelt feelings towards your Excellency and to leave to posterity an unimpeachable monument to your philanthropy."

Such lofty sentiments, which are bound up with the militant action of Toussaint Louverture, James Des-salines and Miranda, nurtured the seeds of freedom and brotherhood sown by Abraham Lincoln, José Martí, Benito Juárez and so many other anonymous heroes for the benefit of the peoples of this hemisphere and the future of all mankind.

29. Those rights, essential to human dignity, have been the guideposts of our mission. When a nation stands behind its leader to secure their triumph, the vicissitudes of its history are of no consequence; the rights become all the more vigorous and universal because they acquire a sort of resistance as a result of changes in the social system. They have taken root so strongly that in the end they will become part of the world conscience and no government worthy of that name will be able to disregard them without corrupting national sentiment and renouncing its identity as a free State and its glorious past; and national policy will have to ally itself with any undertaking that seeks to champion them.

30. That explains the significance of Haitian revolutionary policy, which has become a Duvalier policy inasmuch as it has conferred upon His Excellency

Dr. François Duvalier, a leader, a scholar and a father, the exceedingly heavy burden of a lifetime presidency.

31. The realities of Haitian life demonstrate beyond any doubt the usefulness and necessity of perpetuating the personal power of Duvalier, whose slightest actions and initiatives have been so felicitous as to transform the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled into deep respect for authority. That authority, which by its firmness tempered by solicitude inspires the confidence peoples must feel in great promises, is sustained by the high regard in which it is held by a people who have long been threatened by the chronic evils of under development and have all too often been oppressed by the vestiges of an anachronistic neo-colonialism.

32. Haiti's history of poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy is a burdensome heritage for which the nation of tomorrow must not blame the workers of today. The energy which led the heroes of 1804 to overpower the bastions of slavery must not be allowed to decay. The lofty and generous vision of the future of the Haitian nation which was the dream of Toussaint Louverture must not be destroyed by the disaffection and absenteeism of his descendants. The great red beacon of the revolution which lighted our heroic past and guided our destiny as a people has rekindled the fever of achievement. It has aroused all the dynamic forces of our people, who hear only one voice, that of their leader. Thus the national consciousness invests in him the free and full exercise of sovereignty.

33. Not only does the enthusiasm of the Haitian masses continually enhance the spontaneous devotion of a whole nation to a man who symbolizes and has always symbolized its hopes, who has unfalteringly assumed the collective burden and who is recognized as father and master, but it becomes more than just an emotional loyalty: it is strengthened by one primary purpose, namely, to augment the personalized political power of the nation through which it is certain to find the means of solving its social and economic problems and of consolidating each new achievement.

34. The solution of the age-old problems of alienation and exploitation is incompatible with pluralism and partisanship, which simply provide opportunities for the enemy to undermine the revolution and the integrity of the nation. It can be achieved only by the action of personal power in organizing political life according to a system which virtually excludes any other. The lifetime presidency of His Excellency Dr. François Duvalier is both a programme and a salvation. Its main object is to bring about the rehabilitation of the Haitian and his environment.

35. The masses in the countryside, held down all too long by the concentration of wealth in the hands of a ruling minority, lived in conditions of virtual slavery: their labour was exploited, their lands despoiled, their sweat and blood wasted and their lives endangered by social injustice. Social injustice, ignorance and sickness, working hand in hand with an obsolete racism, made it easier for a privileged oligarchy seeking to direct the public good according

to its whims and ambitions to perpetrate its offensive excesses.

36. The revolution of 1946, consolidated by the Duvalier revolution of 1956, by awakening the consciousness of all social classes and by proclaiming the right of every citizen to dignity, swept away the age-old myths of class superiority fostered by neo-colonialism and demanded the just price of the blood of the descendants of former slaves sacrificed in the name of liberty and equality, who inhabit our cities, our towns and our countryside.

37. Its political philosophy, which is the measure of its achievements, is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims the faith of the peoples of the world in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in equal rights for men and women, essential to social advancement and to the achievement of better living conditions.

38. Although these principles have been constantly directed towards the building of an ideal society by overcoming the imperfections and selfish instincts which distort human relationships, nevertheless, because they are both reasonable and practical concepts governing human conduct, they have not overlooked the need for the co-operation of the political authorities, whose primary aim is to strive for the ideals they proclaim for the benefit of the people as a whole.

39. These principles have a universality akin to the essence of private law. By condemning retrogression and minority trends regarded as anti-social, anti-humanitarian and discriminatory, they unquestionably strengthen the sovereign rights of a State like Haiti, which is seeking to build a new order on the ruins of the neo-colonialism skilfully maintained by the traditional enemies of the people and, under the banner of Dessalines, to combat the eternal grave-diggers of the Haitian nation who, by accepting at face value the expressed intentions of rank interventionists, are abetting what is in fact a flagrant violation of those human rights.

40. The Duvalier revolution has developed a clearer vision of the facts and of the conditions for progress than that of the revolutionaries of 1804. Its aim is to establish genuine Haitian democracy, democracy of the people, and, notwithstanding the devastation caused by natural disasters, to initiate an era of national rebirth. The François Duvalier labour code, the François Duvalier rural code, the programme for the rehabilitation of the countryside, the literacy campaign being feverishly carried out by the national organization for community education, are not the only evidence of government action, all of it permeated by social justice.

41. Extended to the regional scale, the new Duvalier revolution is an invitation to all the sister republics of America, from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska, to rid themselves unconditionally of the infantilism and congenital impotence to which we have fallen prey as a result of our chronic under-development.

42. The revolution has brought about a reappraisal of all human values beginning with the abolition of slavery, of all resources, all achievements and all

the implications of demographic pressures and man's impact on his environment. In response to the moral demands being made at this turning point in history, it is planning a liberation from all servitudes, it demands the equitable redistribution of wealth, the revision of the concepts of solidarity and co-operation, a new stride forward in integration and the right of the peoples of America to the boons of civilization and to happiness, without which the promise of today's alliance will remain unfulfilled like illusions of progress.

43. Those are the desiderata of the Haitian revolution, which brings into close balance the programme of the rehabilitation of the Haitian people and the salvation of their sacred patrimony. That patrimony is being threatened by murderous waves of invasion directed against the territorial integrity and constitutional order of Haiti by gangs of refugees, aided and abetted by mercenaries and by the duplicity of certain foreign Powers.

44. That is Haitian reality and it is no different from that of the under-developed peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia, which are having an ever greater influence on the trends of modern civilization and imposing a practical concept of co-operation under which a balanced international community depends on the political, social and economic stability of each of its members, and recourse to force, which is really incompatible with the spirit of peace and contrary to the basic right of the sovereignty of States, is prohibited.

45. Although a calculation of the wealth of our atomic civilization shows the advances of science, technology and industry, which have built skyscrapers, super-highways and space vehicles, an appraisal of the dividends from the shares in our international community cannot but demonstrate how poorly that wealth has been managed and how the preferential basis on which it is being distributed is continuing to widen the gap between the most favoured nations and the most needy.

46. May I, in conclusion, ask this Assembly to ponder the great theory of co-operation of His Excellency François Duvalier, a wise statesman and a man deeply imbued with the values which should govern international relations. I quote:

"As I reaffirm, on behalf of the Haitian people and Government, my devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, I should like to propose to this human society, so often deluded by makeshift solutions, a more satisfactory adaptation of the principle of co-operation to the positive values and pledges of nations. Without such co-operation, we cannot foster world prosperity or stability which are the essential prerequisites for peace and friendly relations between States. Such co-operation imposes the obligation of working together on the basis of equality of rights and mutual advantage, the obligation to respect the interests and needs of other States and not to interfere in their internal affairs; the obligation, finally, to provide assistance in every way to the less favoured nations, in the interest of human dignity, preservation of the peace and the happiness of peoples."

47. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, allow me to offer you the cordial congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania on your election to the office of President of this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

48. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania sincerely welcomes the admission of three newly independent States, Malawi, Malta and Zambia. We rejoice that more than half the States Members of the United Nations have achieved national independence since the creation of our Organization, thanks to their long and heroic struggle. We are convinced that the day is not far off when the representatives of the other peoples who are struggling against colonial oppression will come to swell our ranks.

49. At this time, when we are beginning the work of the nineteenth session, we cannot but note with regret the abnormal and extraordinary circumstances in which the General Assembly is meeting this year.

50. In the present state of international tension, when in many parts of the world people are engaged in a bitter struggle against the forces of obscurantism and war at the very time when, in accordance with the Charter, the United Nations should be playing a most active and effective role in protecting the inalienable rights of peoples to freedom, equality and independence and preserving mankind from a fresh world conflict, our Organization seems to be paralysed and shaken to its very foundations.

51. The General Assembly has met without knowing what it is going to do, without having adopted an agenda, without knowing the questions it will consider or how it will proceed, without having set up its General Committee or the Main Committees, deprived of the right to consider the urgent problems of the moment and even of the right to vote; the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and the fundamental provisions of the Charter have literally been thrown overboard.

52. Worse still, the decisions relating to our work and perhaps even to the future of our Organization are being reached outside the General Assembly and without its knowledge, the role of the Assembly being reduced to merely approving without opposition, as though it was in need of a guardian or was to be a docile puppet in the hands of a certain great Power.

53. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania associates itself with the large number of delegations which find such a state of affairs unacceptable. The equality and sovereignty of Member States are the very foundations of our Organization. We have come here from all over the world to make our countries' contribution to the work of peace which, according to the Charter, is the primary purpose of our Organization, and not to stand by powerless while the United Nations disintegrates.

54. We must recognize that the United Nations has reached the present deadlock because of the wrong practices, contrary to the Charter, which have been forced upon it more than once in the past by the United States of America. That country, with the direct or indirect support of some other Member States,

has always tried, and is still trying, to use the United Nations as a convenient instrument for its own policy, which is contrary to the interests of the world's peoples and of peace. Fearing that its hold on the United Nations might be weakened by the admission of a large number of recently liberated countries, and with other shameful designs in mind, the United States is again trying to impose its own policy on the Organization under cover of a financial crisis which it has created and by the use of blackmail. My delegation is convinced that Member States like our own, to which the cause of national sovereignty and the principles of the Charter are dear, will not be made the cat's-paw of such a policy, that they will make concerted efforts to end the present impossible situation and to put the General Assembly and the whole Organization back onto the right path.

55. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has on many occasions clearly stated its attitude to the United Nations forces and to the expenditure relating to their maintenance. It is common knowledge that these forces were established and have been used for purposes which were diametrically opposed to those of the Charter and to the sovereign rights of peoples. I need only mention the case of Korea and of the Congo. My Government has always firmly opposed the use of United Nations forces against peoples and has always maintained that all expenditure relating to these forces must be borne by the aggressors. Our position, which remains unchanged, is determined by a question of principle, namely, that only action taken in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and its relevant provisions can create obligations for Member States.

56. States which are rightly refusing to pay for these forces cannot be forced to do so by a distorted interpretation of Article 19 of the Charter; such an interpretation can only serve the interests of those who wish to undermine the United Nations. The present crisis is an eloquent proof of this.

57. Our delegation feels that the Assembly should free itself from the present irregularities without further delay and tackle the important tasks that lie before it.

58. An objective consideration of the international situation compels us to admit that in several parts of the world, such as South-East Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, Europe and Cyprus, the Middle East and others, international peace and security are threatened, that the divided countries—Germany, Viet-Nam and Korea—are still constant sources of tension, that the arms race is being accelerated and that no big international problem has been solved.

59. The Charter places Member States under an obligation not to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries and to refrain from the threat or use of force against other States. Unfortunately, these principles are not respected by all Member States. Although the United States of America is one of the signatories and depositories of the United Nations Charter, it has systematically made the threat and use of force an instrument of its policy.

60. For instance, for nearly six years it has constantly been plotting and committing acts of aggression against Cuba, for the simple reason that the Cuban people have dared to carry out a revolution and to take the glorious path of socialism. As Mr. Guevara, the leader of the Cuban delegation, indicated the other day, with supporting evidence, fresh preparations for an invasion of Cuba are under way. In an attempt to justify the continued hostile activities against Cuba, Mr. Stevenson, the United States representative, stated, *inter alia*, that his country had made and was still making flights over Cuba for espionage purposes because it had been authorized to do so by the Organization of American States. That was tantamount to saying that the sovereignty of any country is at the mercy of a few resolutions passed by various regional organizations directed by Mr. Stevenson's Government. We consider this to be a very serious statement, a challenge to the national sovereignty of States, to international law and to the United Nations.

61. In reaffirming the complete solidarity of the people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania with their Cuban brothers, my delegation declares that the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to this attitude and to the aggressive activities against Cuba.

62. An extremely dangerous situation has been created in South-East Asia. For nearly twenty years South Korea has been under United States military occupation and, under cover of the United Nations flag, it has been transformed into a veritable concentration camp for the South Korean people and into a nuclear arsenal.

63. In complete disregard of the Charter, solemn agreements and of international law, the United States has intervened openly in the civil war in Laos, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cambodia pointed out to this Assembly; it is committing aggressive acts against Cambodia because that country is following an independent national policy; in South Viet-Nam, it has for several years been waging a barbarous war against the heroic people of South Viet-Nam, who are fighting for freedom, independence and self-determination. Faced with the intrepid resistance of these people, who are united in a national liberation front and determined to die rather than give in, the foreign interventionists and their puppets in Saigon are rushing headlong to catastrophe and to total and inevitable defeat. The efforts to internationalize the conflict in South Viet-Nam by bringing the countries members of SEATO and of the United Nations into it have been in vain. Recently, there have been several events and official statements which show that the United States is intending to extend the war to North Viet-Nam. As you are aware, on 5 August 1964 it committed an unprovoked act of aggression in the Gulf of Tonkin and since then, even in the last few days, its military aircraft and warships have been continuing their provocation and committing real acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Its false allegations that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is intervening in the domestic affairs of South Viet-Nam are as ridiculous as the statements made here by certain speakers who alleged

that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is responsible for the events in Laos. These allegations come from one source only—Washington—and have only one purpose—to justify the intervention in South Viet-Nam and Laos, and to prepare world opinion for aggression against North Viet-Nam.

64. We vigorously denounce these tendentious allegations and dangerous plans. It is a well known fact that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, a most peace-loving country, has scrupulously respected the Geneva agreements on Indo-China^{2/} and that it is another Power that has intervened in the civil war in Viet-Nam and Laos, has sent its armed forces and made war on the people of South Viet-Nam, and is bombing the Laotian people and provoking Cambodia. There is no doubt that the extension of the war to North Viet-Nam would only hasten the inevitable defeat of the aggressors and arouse even more violent indignation against them among the peoples of the entire world.

65. The people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania reaffirm their strong support for the independent countries and for the peoples of South-East Asia that are struggling against imperialism. We call for the immediate cessation of all forms of United States intervention in this area. We protest against any attempt to use the United Nations, its organs or its name in connexion with the countries of Indo-China. We consider that the only just way to peace in Indo-China and to the peaceful unification of Viet-Nam lies in the immediate withdrawal of the United States interventionist forces from this area, the strict application of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China and of the 1962 agreements on Laos,^{3/} and the complete cessation of aggressive acts against peace-loving Cambodia. Similarly, the withdrawal of the United States armed forces from South Korea continues to be the essential condition for the freedom, independence and self-determination of the South Korean people and for the peaceful unification of Korea.

66. In the heart of Africa, the heroic people of Patrice Lumumba's Congo are still being persecuted and murdered although their only crime is that they want to be free and independent.

67. For nearly eighty years, the soil of the Congo has been drenched in the blood of the millions of its children who have been massacred by the colonialists in the name of Western civilization. During the last four years, Patrice Lumumba and his compatriots have been murdered by the imperialists under cover of the United Nations flag. Recently at Stanleyville the Congolese patriots were machine-gunned by the same aggressors in the name of the humanitarian feelings of the white race. The aim has always been the same: to crush and eliminate the national liberation movement and to retain the rich uranium, copper and diamond deposits of the Congo in the Western monopolies.

68. The attack on Stanleyville was a gross violation of international law and of the obligations incumbent on all States Members of the United Nations. It has filled all nations with indignation. It constitutes an attack directed against all African peoples and a serious threat to international security.

69. In expressing the deep sympathy of the Albanian people for the Congolese people's struggle for liberation, the Albanian delegation associates itself with the delegations of the countries which are asking that foreign intervention in the Congo should cease forthwith and that the Congolese people should be left to solve their own problems in freedom.

70. The German problem is a crucial problem for European and world security. The Albanian Government considers that the interests of peace and security require the early conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, with the two existing German sovereign States, or even with the German Democratic Republic alone, and that the question of West Berlin should be settled on that basis. Any delay in this matter and any bargaining with the Bonn Government at the expense of the German people is a disservice to those people and to the cause of peace; it encourages the expansionist designs harboured by the vindictive militarists in power in West Germany against the German Democratic Republic and other neighbouring countries; and it precludes a just solution of the German problem itself.

71. We reaffirm our support for the simultaneous admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations.

72. The resounding victories of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America over colonialism are of great historical significance. The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed independent peoples is moving rapidly towards certain and final victory. Meanwhile, however, tens of millions of human beings are still suffering under the colonial yoke in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and we cannot agree with those who claim that colonialism is about to die a natural death and that, in the interests of peaceful coexistence, the oppressed peoples should endure the colonial yoke and wait until they are offered freedom by the colonialists. Events in South Viet-Nam, the Congo, North Borneo, Southern Arabia, the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana and South Africa prove that the colonialists and neo-colonialist Powers not only are unwilling to implement the United Nations Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples but have formed a coalition, a "holy alliance" against the peoples fighting for their freedom.

73. Racism is another abhorrent form of oppression of coloured people by Whites. In South Africa the fascist policies of apartheid are applied with increasing severity, while in the land of Abraham Lincoln the Blacks are subjected to humiliating segregation and are the victims of persecution and lynching. We feel that where South Africa is concerned the General Assembly should not be content with recommendations which are not heeded by the allies and partners of the South African racists, but should declare

^{2/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

^{3/} Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

apartheid to be incompatible with membership of the United Nations, with the attendant consequences.

74. As it has officially informed the United Nations, the Albanian Government has had no relations with South Africa and will maintain that position until the South African Government abandons its apartheid policies.

75. The People's Republic of Albania has supported and will always support the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations. This struggle has now entered the phase of complete victory and the efforts of the Powers which have a stake in maintaining the colonial system either in its old form or in the form of neo-colonialism are doomed to failure.

76. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that unless we want the 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples to remain a mere wish, the General Assembly should take effective steps to make a real contribution to the struggle of the peoples for the total liquidation of the colonial system.

77. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that every nation is entitled to take the appropriate steps to protect and consolidate its political and economic sovereignty. The big oil, copper, tin, rubber and coffee monopolies are bastions of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The efforts of the independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America to take over and work their natural resources for their own benefit are not only legitimate but essential to the development of their national economies.

78. The experience of several countries, including Albania, shows that the national economy can be consolidated and can flourish by developing its productive capacity and relying on its own strength. We consider that the recently liberated countries need foreign economic aid, too, but such aid should be fair and fraternal and should be used for the consolidation of the national independence of the recipient countries, for the cause of the liberation of peoples and their progress, and for the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The small developing countries of Africa and other continents rightly reject aid to which conditions are attached or which is given as alms or used to rob them of their natural resources, to exert pressure upon them or to plan intrigues against them. As we maintained at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development^{4/} we consider that international trade, too, should develop on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and should further the progress of the recently liberated countries and not the neo-colonialist interests and designs of the former metropolitan countries and industrialized countries.

79. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has never slackened its efforts towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, that just demand of peace-loving peoples and countries. We must draw attention to the fact that the negotiations of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on

Disarmament at Geneva have so far led to no results. We cannot ignore the fact that, while disappointing negotiations are taking place in Geneva, the Western Powers, and first and foremost the United States of America, are intensifying the arms race and taking further steps along the path to war.

80. The illusions that were so loudly propagated last year with regard to the Moscow Treaty^{5/} have not lasted long. At the last session of the General Assembly the Albanian delegation denounced the fraudulent and dangerous nature of the treaty, which was heralded as a great success on the road to disarmament. The facts have shown—and this point has been stressed in many statements from this rostrum during the current session—that the treaty has not slowed down the arms race at all but that on the contrary it has given the United States of America legal sanction to continue the underground tests which it requires in order to develop the production of new nuclear missiles to the full and to continue the policy of atomic blackmail. It is noteworthy that on 5 August 1964, the very day on which the United States Government made a peaceful statement to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty, that same Government launched an unprovoked attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in the Gulf of Tonkin. Current events in various parts of the globe are proving once again that imperialism pays lip service to pacifism in order to hoodwink the peoples of the world and to conceal its aggressive acts.

81. Similarly, the so-called agreement on the limitation of the production of fissionable material is a hoax. Since the United States has an excess production of such material, it is interested in slowing down production. The agreement in question in no way affects existing stocks or the manufacture of nuclear weapons; it does not ban their use nor does it in any way reduce the danger of a nuclear war. The rulers of the United States boast that in the past four years it has greatly increased its investment in military preparations, that it is the strongest country in history and that by 1970 it will have two and a half times as many nuclear warheads as at present.

82. It is understandable that a Government which proclaims such a programme should not be in favour of disarmament.

83. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania reaffirms its unswerving opposition to the United States plan to establish what is called the multilateral nuclear force, which would provide West Germany with nuclear weapons and which constitutes a very serious threat to the security of Europe and to peace in general.

84. The countless military bases of the United States on foreign soil and its warships equipped with nuclear weapons and operating on the seas and oceans constitute a permanent danger to international peace and security. We consider the liquidation of military bases abroad, including the abrogation of unfair treaties imposed on certain countries in order to transform their territories into military bases, to be a

^{4/} Held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

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

condition of overriding importance and immediate urgency for world peace and security. Consequently, the Albanian Government whole-heartedly supports the Governments which rightly demand the liquidation of United States military bases on their national territory and the abrogation of the unjust treaties relating to them.

85. The emergence of the People's Republic of China as a nuclear Power has dealt a serious blow to the policy of monopoly and nuclear blackmail pursued by United States imperialism. We regard this development as a positive factor in the defence of the peoples and of peace, and we sincerely support the proposal by the Government of the People's Republic of China that a conference of Heads of State of the entire world should be convened to discuss the question of banning and finally eliminating nuclear weapons.

86. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that in the disarmament problem the time has come to move from closed and erratic negotiations to practical measures. Disarmament can only be achieved if a united front is established among all peace-loving States and peoples in order to expose and isolate the foes of disarmament and force them to accept it.

87. The Albanian delegation fully agrees with the other delegations which have pointed out that one of the basic causes of the weakness of the United Nations is the absence of the People's Republic of China, a country of 700 million inhabitants, a founder Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council. Today there is no gainsaying that the struggle for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China concerns all Member States which are anxious to make the United Nations a true instrument for peace and international co-operation, in accordance with the Charter, and which are seriously interested in settling the great problems of our time.

88. Nobody can claim that the United Nations is universal without China, or that China is represented in the Organization because its seat has been usurped by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The attempts by the United States to pass off the island of Taiwan, which they have occupied by force, as China and to propagate the absurd theory of the "two Chinas" or of "one China and one Taiwan" so as to sever the island of Taiwan from China and perpetuate their occupation of the island, will never be successful. China is one and indivisible; it is the People's Republic of China; Taiwan is an integral part of China and its union with the mother country is a domestic affair of China. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China is competent to represent China and to assume and discharge obligations on China's behalf.

89. Those who for fifteen years have tried in every possible way to keep China out of the United Nations and to isolate it have not done it any harm or hampered it in its march forward as a great socialist Power and in the steady expansion of its international relations. They have merely done serious harm to the United Nations and have found themselves isolated in their turn. The hopes of those who expected that

natural calamities, blockades and aggressive imperialist acts would subjugate the great Chinese people were soon dashed. Not only has China not been brought to its knees but through self-denial it has surmounted all obstacles. It is having growing success in all fields and among its achievements the first nuclear explosion is evidence of the level of its economic, scientific and technical development. In announcing the nuclear explosion of 16 October 1964, the Chinese Government, faithful to its policy of peace, solemnly declared that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

90. Those who are against the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are so short of arguments that at this session they are repeating the old anti-Chinese slanders about Tibet and the border dispute with India, which no longer deceive anybody.

91. It is regrettable that the representative of India should have seen fit in this Assembly, in the absence of the parties concerned, to hurl unjust and groundless accusations against the People's Republic of China, whose peaceful policy has been acknowledged here in the last few days by several speakers, including the representatives of neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Cambodia and Indonesia.

92. It is well established that in October 1962 it was not China, as the representative of India claimed, but India which "committed a massive and premeditated aggression" against China, that it is India which is still—this is public knowledge—making active preparation, with the aid of certain great Powers, for war against the People's Republic of China, it is India which continues to occupy part of Chinese territory and which is violating the national sovereignty of China with provocative intent.

93. It is common knowledge that before and after the events of autumn 1962 the Chinese Government made untiring efforts to settle the border problem with India by peaceful means, as it had done with its other neighbours, such as Burma, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and that it was the Indian Government which refused; it is the Indian Government, too, and not the Chinese Government, which refuses to take the recommendations of the six-nation Colombo Conference^{6/} as a basis for negotiation.

94. We have felt it our duty to correct a distortion of the truth, without going into the details, which are not unfamiliar to the General Assembly. We wish to express our hope that in the end the Government of India will make a positive response to the goodwill of which the Government of the People's Republic of China has so often given proof and that together they will arrive at a negotiated settlement of their border problem, in the interests of those two great Asian countries themselves and of world peace.

95. The People's Republic of Albania maintains relations of close friendship with the People's Republic of China. We know very well and intimately the new China and its marvellous people, who are advancing along the path of socialism, adding splendid new pages to their glorious history.

^{6/} Held from 10 to 12 December 1962.

36. The peaceful policy of China is well known to many Members of the United Nations, whether or not they have relations with that country. It is known to all peoples. Its great achievements in socialist construction of the country, the tangible results of its just policy of good neighbourliness, the support it gives to peoples struggling for their national liberation, its international relations that are constantly expanding, its leading role in the formulation and application of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, its contribution to the maintenance of world peace, its efforts to bring about the peaceful settlement of international problems and differences and the restraint it has shown with regard to the ceaseless provocations and aggressive actions of the United States are the best evidence of its peaceful policy. Today, more than ever, it is obvious that without the participation of China, whose positive role as a great world Power is growing continually in the international arena, the United Nations cannot be effective and international problems cannot be solved.

97. The representatives of several countries have persistently asked from this rostrum that the unprincipled obstructionism of the United States in the matter of the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations should be brought to an end and that our Organization should be allowed to profit from the contribution and undeniable experience of the People's Republic of China in the solution of the great problems of peace and in the progress of human society.

98. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania hopes that at its present session the General Assembly will put an end to the distressing situation in which China's seat in the United Nations is occupied by a person who represents no one and that by an overwhelming majority it will expel the followers of Chiang Kai-shek and invite the true representatives of the great Chinese people, the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, to take their lawful place in the United Nations and in all its organs.

99. Nineteen years have passed since the end of the Second World War, which caused so much suffering to the peoples of the world. The threat of a new world war remains, but in the meantime profoundly revolutionary events have occurred which have swung the balance of forces in favour of the forces of peace and have aroused the courage and confidence of the peoples in their struggle for peace, national independence and social advancement.

100. On 29 November 1964 the Albanian people, who were among the first victims of nazi-fascist aggression and who suffered extremely heavy losses in life and property during their struggle for national liberation, celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the people's liberation and revolution.

101. In the history of our nation, the date 29 November 1944 marks the dividing line between two worlds, the world in which our nation was always trampled underfoot by the "powerful" and had no rights, and that in which it has raised itself to the position of all-powerful master of its own destiny.

102. At the time of the liberation, Albania, after centuries of slavery and plunder was a backward country, covered with innumerable ruins and scars left by the fascist and nazi aggressors. The course followed by our people during these last twenty years has been fraught with obstacles and difficulties. The Albanian people have always faced enemies, difficulties and obstacles with their heads held high. That is how they received and defeated the fascist and nazi invaders and how they have for twenty years victoriously resisted the imperialists and their lackeys, their ceaseless provocation, their blackmail and their blockades. That is how they have escaped from the backwardness which was their legacy from the past and have achieved tremendous results in all fields, while at the same time successfully facing attacks from outside on the territorial integrity and national independence of their country.

103. From being a backward agricultural country, Albania has now become an industrial agricultural country and is making continual progress. Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, those chronic ills of all under-developed countries, have been eliminated in Albania once and for all. I do not want to take up too much of the General Assembly's time but I should like to mention that at present industrial production in my country is about thirty-three times greater than it was in 1938, agricultural output has more than doubled and one out of every four inhabitants is going to school. Every year, at Tirana University, more than four times as many students with higher qualifications graduate as were produced in fifteen years under the old anti-people régime. Throughout Albania a wide network of health institutions has been established to provide free services for the whole population and the standard of living is incomparably higher than before the liberation. The national income is 5.3 times greater than in 1938. The expectation of life rose from thirty-eight years in 1938 to sixty-five years in 1960. In our country a new way of life has been born and is thriving under the sun of socialism.

104. Albania is no longer, as it once was, a territory of concessions to be bartered about by the imperialist Powers, but an independent and sovereign socialist country, an active element and force for peace and progress in international affairs. The new Albania has entered upon the third decade of its existence and, under the tried direction of the Labour Party of Albania and its Government, it is advancing along the path of socialism towards peace and the certain prospect of a radiant future. Its example shows that the path of socialism is open even to small and backward countries such as Albania once was and that it is the path which leads to true independence and the building of a happy and prosperous life.

105. The experience of the struggle for national liberation and the peaceful construction of Albania during the last twenty years has shown that even a small people, led by a staunch revolutionary party, can gain freedom and national independence against a powerful and superior enemy if it is determined to win, whatever the sacrifice; that once free it can defend and consolidate its conquests and build a happy and prosperous life, despite the attacks of

the imperialists and their lackeys, if it is united and conscious of the cause it is defending, if it keeps power and economic resources in its own hands and if it relies in the first place on its own forces; that even a small country can become a factor for peace and progress if adheres firmly to a just policy based on solid principles.

106. Our position is that relations between States, regardless of the fact that some are large and others small, must be based on the principles of equality, non-interference, respect for each other's national sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The fact that a country is small is neither a sin nor something to be ashamed of, just as the fact of being large does not give large countries the right to be arrogant towards small countries and trample on their rights.

107. We are in favour of normal relations with our neighbours and other countries, but Albania has not accepted and never will accept inequality, the "Diktat" or imposed conditions in its relations with other countries. The Albanian people dearly love peace, but above everything they love freedom and their popular system of government and that is why they are devoting themselves with all their energy to building a happy life, while at the same time remaining vigilant.

108. The People's Republic of Albania is making a sincere effort to ensure that among the countries in the region of the Balkans and the Adriatic, to which it belongs, there are good neighbourly relations of benefit to both sides, that imperialist aggression and the threat of a new world war are everywhere frustrated and that international peace and security are safeguarded and consolidated.

109. Speaking on 28 November 1964, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the liberation, Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Labour Party of Albania, said, among other things:

"In the future, too, our Party and our Government will steadfastly follow a policy of peace, a policy of friendship and close fraternal co-operation on a Marxist-Leninist basis and a policy of the principles of proletarian internationalism with the peoples of the socialist countries, a policy of friendship and solidarity with the peoples who are fighting for their freedom and independence, in particular with our brother Arab peoples, with the peoples of black Africa, Asia and Latin America, and with all anti-imperialist forces. Our people defend their sovereignty, freedom and independence with resolution and vigour. They show the greatest respect for the sovereignty, freedom and independence of other peoples. On this basis, our Party and our Government are always ready, as in the past, to strengthen their ties of friendship and co-operation with all other countries, including neighbouring countries."

110. Adhering to this just policy, which has preserved its independence and inviolability, which has won it friends and sympathy among the peoples of the whole world, the People's Republic of Albania is making

its contribution to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to the struggle to maintain peace and to free peoples from all oppression, exploitation and discrimination.

111. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania hopes that the General Assembly will soon find a way out of its present deadlock and that, through the decisions it is called upon to take on the important problems awaiting its consideration, it will strengthen the United Nations and do useful work for international peace and security, the maintenance of which, according to the Charter, is the primary purpose of the United Nations.

112. Mr. CALLEJAS (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): Once again, the General Assembly of the United Nations is gathered here. Once again, it is facing critical problems in various parts of the world. It is to be hoped that once again—and on this occasion under your wise guidance—reason and law will prevail in the search for peaceful solutions.

113. In spite of the legal equality of States—a premise which is the foundation of this Assembly—we cannot ignore the fact that there are countries large and small. At this time, my country is a small voice in the concert of nations. By itself, it can be no more than an echo of one or other of the ideological currents in which the world of today is floundering. However, mankind being as it is, it is also an undeniable fact that the weak are more numerous than the strong.

114. For the first time in history, thanks to the existence of the United Nations, we, the weak, have the opportunity not only to express our ideas with complete freedom but also to exert a decisive influence on the course of world events. While it is true that we lack economic and military resources, it is no less true that we have at our disposal the inexhaustible resources of law. Our strength, therefore, must not be reckoned in numbers alone. A few weak voices, raised in harmony, would make these walls resound and would carry to the ends of the earth a message filled with tolerance and serenity.

115. On this occasion, Honduras confirms its traditional respect for international law as the only means of coexistence between States, and formally offers its sincere co-operation in all endeavours to achieve effective understanding between the peoples of the world on the basis of respect for the legal order and for the dignity of the individual.

116. Accordingly, the Government of Honduras once again declares its respect for the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, but at the same time reiterates its firm determination to oppose, by all necessary means, any foreign intervention in its territory.

117. Likewise, my Government reaffirms its support for the Organization of American States, and proudly declares its unshakeable intention of respecting and implementing all resolutions emanating from that Organization, in accordance with the various inter-American treaties now in force.

118. The fact that we have many problems to grapple with today must not lead us to adopt an attitude of pessimism and defeat. Mankind has always lived in

a state of crisis, and yet has progressed, and is progressing, towards the refinement of certain absolute values which increasingly serve as an inspiration and a goal in human relationships.

119. We cannot conceal our concern at those events which still constitute painful deviations from our slow progress towards a higher morality. We cannot but repudiate the existence of systems and ideologies which deny the equality of all before the law and deprive the individual of his most precious rights. So long as a man's legal capacity depends on the colour of his skin, as the baneful policy of apartheid proclaims; so long as there is religious persecution; so long as peoples are denied the right to determine their own destiny as is the case in Germany today, we cannot rest in our efforts to bring a ray of hope to all the oppressed communities of the earth.

120. Fortunately, the manifestations of freedom in all its forms cannot be suppressed indefinitely behind a "wall of shame" or before the blood-stained wall of the firing squad. Armed intervention in order to impose a totalitarian and dehumanized doctrine on a people can only be the last desperate resort when the power of conviction has failed. The forces of reason and justice are destroying the foundations of a system which has fed on the poverty and the sufferings of peoples and which itself will be so transformed that the supreme principles of law and genuine international coexistence will triumph within that system also. In this connexion, I wish to state that Honduras eagerly welcomes the United Nations plans for the International Co-operation Year, which it hopes will see a strengthening of the United Nations in place of a tragic decline in its potential.

121. My Government considers it urgently necessary that the industrialized nations, and especially those which share the principles of Western philosophy, should co-operate resolutely with the developing countries in order to raise the living standards of the less privileged peoples.

122. Honduras takes a sanguine view of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and is confident that the General Assembly will endorse the Conference's recommendations. Our optimism is based on the fact that the less developed countries succeeded for the first time in subordinating their own individual interests to the broader interests of the group. This is a clear sign that we have at last understood that we ourselves must make the greatest efforts and sacrifices in order to bring about the economic and social progress of our peoples.

123. It is not by indiscriminately importing foreign ideas and techniques that we shall succeed in solving our greatest problems. The vast number of methods and systems which the developed countries have tried out, with greater or lesser success, indicates to us that we must first of all evaluate our own methods

and systems, only later introducing whatever changes are considered necessary in each country.

124. The delegation of Honduras, noting the general desire for progress, will submit a draft resolution designed to increase co-operation for economic development, which we hope will be honoured with the co-sponsorship of many delegations.

125. There is another item on our Assembly's crowded agenda on which I should like to comment briefly. I refer to the world campaign for universal literacy. My Government has followed with profound interest the debates on this subject at the thirteenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO;^{7/} at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, we voted in favour of resolution 1937 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963, setting up a working group composed of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Director-General of UNESCO and the heads of the financial organs of the United Nations family; and today we are extremely pleased to see that the recommendations made by that group and the General Conference debate constitute a great step forward, in that the world campaign for universal literacy has been transformed from a project that was over-ambitious—although none the less desirable for that—into a programme of action which will demonstrate to States—including both those participating actively in it and those following it closely—how to eradicate once and for all this enormous cancer afflicting mankind. We support the action taken by the General Conference of UNESCO, and we hope that this Assembly will contribute effectively to the process of eradicating illiteracy throughout the world.

126. My delegation feels honoured to inform the Assembly that the Government of Honduras has approved the biggest educational programme in its history, with the aim of tackling the serious problem of illiteracy. Honduras appeals to international solidarity for help in solving this basic problem of its development.

127. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Honduras, to express the most sincere congratulations to the delegations of Malawi, Malta and Zambia on their recent admission to the United Nations. I am sure that their voices will constitute serenity and wisdom to our future deliberations. Permit me also, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high office which you now occupy and to wish you every success in your delicate and difficult duties.

128. I close my statement with a message of hope and optimism, as expressed in the words of a distinguished educator: "Let us put man right, and the world will be right."

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

^{7/} Held in Paris from 20 October to 19 November 1964.