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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, since Rome has been the keynote of our Assembly every since your election, it will not be inappropriate for me to recall that our two countries have known one another for a very long time with varying fortunes—to be exact, since the Punic wars led to an exchange, first of ambassadors, and then of blows delivered by two great generals, Hannibal on the one side and Scipio on the other, who achieved some successes in the course of a "secular dialogue". Then the Pax Romana found in our granaries the wheat it needed. Later it was Sicily's turn to be visited by us, and the vicissitudes of history served only to bind our two countries and our peoples ever closer together. You can well imagine, therefore, that your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its twentieth session gives the Tunisian delegation cause for special satisfaction.

2. The great honour the Assembly has done you is a tribute to your eminent personal qualities, to your great experience in international affairs and to your dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter—all virtues which I have had the honour to observe in person during an all too brief visit to Italy. Lastly it is a well-deserved homage which we all pay to your country for the dedication it has always shown to the ideals of the United Nations. Allow me therefore to offer my most sincere congratulations on this happy occasion, and to express the firm conviction that you will guide our debates with distinction and authority and thus enable the United Nations to live up to mankind's expectations at this session.

3. I should also like to express to His Excellency Mr. Quaison-Sackey, President of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, the deep appreciation of the Tunisian delegation for the wisdom and competence with which he presided over the deliberations of a particularly difficult session.

4. May I also be permitted to welcome three new States—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, which have just been admitted to membership in the Organization. I am sure that these three countries will bring fruitful co-operation and a useful contribution to the work of the United Nations.

5. We have always maintained that if the Organization wished to retain its dynamism and accomplish its historic task successfully, its structure would have to be adapted to the changes that have taken place in the world since the birth of the United Nations in 1945.

6. It is therefore with genuine satisfaction that we welcome the important new step that has been taken in the desired direction—the increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Our satisfaction is all the greater since the adoption of that measure accords with the wishes of the small States and especially those of Africa and Asia. Indeed, the members of the Afro-Asian family first suggested this step in 1959 and have been campaigning for it for years. Thanks to their efforts, and thanks to the spirit of co-operation shown by Member States, it has been possible to take an important decision, to make an important change in our structure, which has helped to remedy a kind of injustice and especially to give the African continent a legitimate place in the great family of nations.

7. A crisis which could have proved fatal to the Organization has abated, and it is a great relief to see the United Nations emerge at last, invigorated by the struggle and tempered by its difficulties, after a period of hesitation and pessimism.

8. It is a pleasant task for me to pay a tribute to the efforts made by the Secretary-General, as well as by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, to facilitate the resumption of our work in a more serene and confident atmosphere and to restore the necessary basis for sincere and fruitful co-operation among Member States.

9. The Committee was also able to reach agreement on some of the questions confronting it and to find a proper solution to our immediate problems, thanks to the dedication of its members to the cause of the United Nations and certainly thanks to the co-operation of all Member States and their devotion to the cause of peace. I would mention in particular the permanent members of the Security Council. Realizing that the Organization had a leading role to play in a world anxious that the United Nations should possess the vitality to meet new needs and live up to its calling, they say that the survival of our civilization is infinitely more important than narrow considerations

of national prestige and that the strengthening of the Organization is the best protection against any danger of a collapse of international ethics or disintegration of the order which we wish to make universal. They were thus able to transcend their differences and overcome their prejudices for the good of the United Nations.

10. It is comforting to see that the faith of Member States in the United Nations is general and that, far from having impaired it, the temporary crisis has made it the corner-stone of an order based on stability and dignity. It is thus acknowledged that the United Nations should be able progressively to provide effective means of maintaining peace and to play a leading role in that field.

11. Admittedly, there is still some disagreement about the sharing of responsibilities among the various United Nations bodies so that, taking account of past difficulties and future needs, they may fulfil their undisputed vocation in this very important matter of peace-keeping.

12. My country has been unstinting in its support for the Organization in this area. Despite its limited resources and the demands of the fierce struggle it is waging to promote human, economic and social welfare, it has contributed—whenever requested and whenever possible—to all the regular and exceptional activities of the United Nations, both financially and at the military level. Now, as in the past, it is continuing to work for the strengthening of the Organization and the attainment of the principles of the Charter. And from this rostrum it reiterates its profession of faith: Tunisia is at the disposal of the United Nations.

13. We therefore hope that at this session, the General Assembly will give serious attention to the question of peace-keeping operations and will clearly lay down the guidelines for this particular activity, in the light of past experience, taking account of the special position of the great Powers in the political situation of our present-day world and also of the special circumstances of States which have made action by the Security Council necessary, and of the principle of international solidarity and even collective responsibility of all Members of this Organization.

14. Several proposals deserving of careful study have been submitted to the General Assembly. In our opinion it would be useful for the Assembly to establish a committee to consider this problem and to seek satisfactory solutions, bearing in mind that this question must be settled by a formula which receives the unanimous support of Member States. Only at this price can the Organization continue to be an effective collective instrument for strengthening peace and security throughout the world, for maintaining them or—God forbid!—for restoring them.

15. The supreme goal of the United Nations is still the building of a world order capable of serving as the foundation of a world rid of hatred, prejudice and fear. This universality which we hope to achieve makes it our duty to take account of the right of all peoples to participate in our deliberations and to make a contribution to the consolidation of peace

and the development of international co-operation. Prohibitions and exclusiveness in international relations can only prejudice the attainment of our goals. We therefore greatly hope to see all countries, without discrimination, gain access to the Organization, enjoy the rights proclaimed in the Charter and undertake the obligations which membership in the United Nations imposes on all Member States. Only at this price will the United Nations be able effectively to exercise its authority and will we be able to deal seriously and, above all, realistically with all the questions which affect the fate of mankind.

16. Viewed from the standpoint of universality, the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is, in our view, justified beyond all doubt. Whatever reservations many of us may entertain about some of its actions, and whatever others may feel about its behaviour at the international level, it is nevertheless high time that we allowed this country, which plays an important role in the world and which has attained the status of a nuclear Power, to take its rightful place among Member States.

17. It is obvious that the absence of the People's Republic of China deprives us of the useful contribution which that country could make to the strengthening of world peace and security. Its absence confronts us, moreover, with the risk that some United Nations decisions may prove totally ineffective because that country has not subscribed to the obligations of the Charter, does not take part in our deliberations and thus does not feel bound by them. We had a striking, if subtle, illustration of this several days ago in the tragic events which stained the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

18. The considerable advances made in science and technology, the continual improvement of conventional weapons and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons have changed the political climate of our age by subjecting the world to a kind of latent tension which may degenerate at any moment into an international crisis with consequences which we would not like to foresee. The situation is all the more serious inasmuch as there is no reason not to expect that, sooner or later, the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons will increase.

19. Disarmament is certainly one of the urgent tasks before us if we wish to save our peoples from fear and allow them to devote themselves in peace and stability to increasing the prosperity and well-being of mankind. The great hopes raised by the signing of the Moscow Treaty^{1/} and by the subsequent adoption of unilateral and reciprocal measures are unfortunately beginning to fade. The Eighteen-Nation Committee,^{2/} despite the recommendations of the Assembly and the efforts which were exerted, has not been able to achieve positive results. Nevertheless, we fervently hope that the great Powers will silence their prejudices and their mutual distrust and together

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed 5 August 1963.

^{2/} Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, held at Geneva.

make new progress towards disarmament and the reduction of tension.

20. I think it is essential at present for us to work together to implement the two resolutions adopted by the Disarmament Commission at its last meeting.^{3/} These two resolutions are the result of several weeks of deliberations during which it became clear that there was an urgent need to put an end to the arms race and halt the serious threat which nuclear weapons represent for the future of mankind.

21. It is clear that the convening of a world conference, as envisaged in the first resolution, might speed up the disarmament process and help us to progress towards a relaxation of international tension. Such a conference would also have the advantage of bringing together all the countries of the world without distinction and would allow them to express their views and take part in the formulation of any decisions which might be made.

22. In his statement at the opening of the Conference of the 54th Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Secretary-General said:

"It seems to me essential therefore, that when the world disarmament conference is held, it should take place under conditions which would make it possible for all countries, if they so wished, to participate in its deliberations. This would be, in my view, a very significant step forward in the relaxation of international tension and the reduction of the feeling of insecurity which prevails in various parts of the world."

Those were the words of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We therefore have high hopes that the Assembly will respond to the wishes of the Disarmament Commission and will ensure that a world conference is held as soon as is reasonably possible.

23. The conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and an agreement banning all nuclear tests, with which the second resolution adopted by the Disarmament Commission is concerned, is also a matter of urgency. It is essential that these two agreements should be concluded as soon as possible if we are to contain the evil and make real progress towards disarmament. Unfortunately time is not always on our side. The longer we put off concluding such agreements, the greater the risk of seeing the number of nuclear Powers increase and the chances of achieving general and complete disarmament—which remains our supreme objective—decrease.

24. Although it did not achieve any appreciable results, the Eighteen-Nation Committee has earned our gratitude. Its virtue has been to maintain and continue to maintain the dialogue between the nuclear Powers and to prepare the conditions which are necessary for any discussion to be fruitful and to lead to happy initiatives in the field of disarmament.

25. I should not like to let pass without comment the grave events now taking place in Asia.

26. The war in Viet-Nam is growing and becoming increasingly deadly. Tunisia was one of the seventeen countries which, at Belgrade, addressed an appeal to the parties concerned in an effort to make them accept negotiation and return to the paths of peace. Unfortunately, all appeals have thus far been in vain. I must stress, among others, the appeal made by the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. It is high time for all the parties concerned to return to their senses and remember that what Viet-Nam needs above all is peace.

27. Since 1945 this country has been devastated, first by a murderous war of liberation. The conditions prevailing in 1954 at the time of the Geneva Conference^{4/} brought about the division of the country which was, in principle, to be provisional. However, the attitude of the party in the north precluded the establishment of a real peace. A policy of intervention, encouraged and sustained by the expansionism of the People's Republic of China, baptized this genuine war of conquest in South-East Asia, with the catchword "liberation"—which, I might add, had already been achieved. Can the Viet-Nameese Government really be criticized for having called on any of its friends willing to share its concern and its desire to maintain its integrity?

28. I sincerely hope that the parties concerned will soon heed the voice of reason, and by means of negotiation, will find a satisfactory solution to this agonizing problem, a solution that is in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

29. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General for his many endeavours, and his untiring efforts to restore peace in Viet-Nam. We owe him a great deal.

30. In the same part of the world, a real war has divided two sister nations of Asia: India and Pakistan. We deeply deplore this situation which, despite the appeals of the Security Council and the intervention of the Secretary-General, deteriorated steadily until just recently, and we have the impression that it is not all over yet. However, while we may be gratified at the Security Council's prompt reaction and at the firmness of its decisions, while it is urgently necessary to contain the evil and put an end to the hostilities which can do nothing but harm to both countries, and while it is important for the present to ensure that the cease fire is respected, it is no less important to seek, in the root causes of this crisis, for a just solution; for that is the only solution there can be.

31. The Security Council examined the subject of this dispute sixteen years ago and advocated that the people of Kashmir should be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. It is regrettable that this decision has still not been implemented.

32. We are convinced that it is not too late to remedy this situation and believe that the law of the United Nations must again assert its authority and serve as a basis for the settlement of a dispute which, if it

^{3/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1964, documents DC/224 and DC/225.

^{4/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

continues, can no longer involve only India and Pakistan; quite the contrary, as the recent developments have shown, the road would be wide open for interference and intervention that would gravely imperil the harmony and stability of South-East Asia.

33. Relying on its ties of friendship with both India and Pakistan, Tunisia earnestly appeals to both these States to end their dialogue of the deaf and resume the close relations dictated by their common destiny.

34. The Tunisian Government would like to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his stubborn optimism and his persistent efforts which have again served to demonstrate that this Organization is the sanctuary of peace.

35. Despite the seriousness and the urgency of some current international problems which are threatening world peace and sometimes the very future of mankind, it is our duty not to lose sight of the pitiful lot of the peoples who are still under colonial domination.

36. When we joined the United Nations, we all undertook an obligation to respect the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. There can be no delay of or exception to the exercise of this right. My country did not shrink from taking up arms in the defence of that inalienable right when persuasion and peaceful negotiation showed themselves to be fruitless and hopeless. Since its independence, Tunisia has striven by every possible means to make that right prevail throughout the world and has given unstinting and unconditional support to all those who are fighting to recover their dignity and their freedom.

37. While we welcome with great joy and satisfaction the inclusion in the membership of the United Nations of an every-increasing number of countries liberated from the colonial era, we are nevertheless obliged to note that millions of persons are still the victims of suffering from the oppression and restrictions of foreign rule and are awaiting, with increasingly demanding impatience, the day when they will be able to join us and participate in building a universal community of free and sovereign nations.

38. We regret to note that some colonial Powers have not yet succeeded in ridding themselves of an outmoded outlook and still maintain beneath their yoke oppressed peoples who are exploited in the interests of those Powers. Five years after the Assembly's adoption of its historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the decisions of the Special Committee on decolonization^{5/} and the resolutions of the General Assembly have still not yet been heeded by the colonial Powers and the latter are simply ignoring them. We deeply deplore this fact. Any rapid implementation of the provisions of the Declaration, which was to open an era of sincere and hopeful co-operation, has been rejected by these colonial Powers which, with manifold excuses, refuse to give their full co-operation to the Organization and still postpone until

a distant and even uncertain tomorrow the emancipation of the territories under their domination.

39. The time has come, we feel, since no rapid liberation of the colonial territories is taking place, to allow the Special Committee to draw up, as it were, a definitive time-table for decolonization so that mankind may rid himself quickly and finally of this stigma.

40. However, it must be recognized that, in spite of the opposition and inertia with which it is faced, the Committee has done its best to fulfil its mandate. This year, the Committee of Twenty-Four even travelled to the heart of Africa to hear the grievances of those who are still suffering the rigours of foreign domination.

41. It is the bounden duty of all Member States to co-operate with the United Nations in its peaceful efforts aimed at the liberation of peoples. In this connexion, what was done in the case of the Cook Islands, despite the reservations voiced concerning the procedure followed in consulting the population, might be held up to those colonial Powers which remain deaf to all our appeals, as an example of goodwill and co-operation.

42. On the other hand, in spite of the constitutional arrangements providing for their independence, the peoples of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland remain in a precarious and unstable situation because they are exposed to the threat of annexation to South Africa.

43. Moreover, the administering Power in Southern Rhodesia, while it has made many statements, has thus far evaded the Assembly's calls for the convening of a constitutional conference in which, in our opinion, all the political leaders of the Territory should participate. It says it is unable to guarantee the rights of the African majority and it has allowed a racist minority to strengthen its hold over more than 3.5 million Africans. Encouraged by the administering Powers's passive attitude, the *de facto* authorities in Southern Rhodesia, reflecting the attitude of their South African mentors, have continued to threaten and defy that Power, with the encouragement of the Portuguese Government, who believe that they can turn the situation to account. We believe there is still time for the United Kingdom to pull itself together and use its prerogatives to restore power in Salisbury to a healthier and more democratic level, thus avoiding a conflagration with unpredictable consequences for the peace of Africa and the world.

44. In another area, the situation in Aden and the southern part of the Arabian peninsula continues to be of concern to my Government. There would be more peace in that area if a final solution could be found under which those territories were allowed to effectively exercise their rights in practice and to achieve their legitimate aspirations.

45. For many years, a struggle for national liberation has been waged in most territories under Portuguese domination. There again, the Lisbon Government's blindness and obstinacy are without limit. In pursuing its colonialist policy, Portugal has placed itself beyond the pale of the international community. In

^{5/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

a great number of the United Nations bodies, its presence is already barely tolerated. Not only does Portugal not recognize the right of our fellow Africans of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence; it is also systematically oppressing the populations under its administration, inhumanly exploiting their labour and their country's wealth, and is maintaining them in a social and economic condition which is alarming, to say the least.

46. We appeal to all States—and particularly those which are still giving financial assistance to these colonial régimes—to join us in this joint effort at persuasion which must, if necessary, be reinforced by measures such as will lead the Lisbon and Pretoria Governments to abandon their policy of defiance and grant all peoples under their administration the right to self-determination and independence. Portugal and South Africa would be the first to benefit from this.

47. The situation in South West Africa is also causing my Government profound concern. It is all the more alarming because Pretoria's racist measures are being continually strengthened. There too, the South African Government's attitude is one of continued defiance of our Organization, its resolutions and its decisions. In this case, where a dishonest administering Power has arrogated to itself the right to dispose of a people, we trust that justice may be heard, thus preventing the outbreak of a struggle whose effects will be felt beyond the limits of South African territory. The Assembly's discussion of this question warrants all our attention and our efforts and should lead to a solution worthy of the United Nations.

48. The efforts of the Special Committee on Apartheid,^{6/} the information it has supplied and the reports it has submitted, demonstrate a praiseworthy perseverance and patience. Not a day passes, in fact, that we do not hear of new racial laws, further repressive measures and fresh persecutions of a racist nature. The Pretoria régime has reacted with ill-tempered defiance to every decision of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Far from listening to our appeals, our warnings or even the advice of its friends, it has continued to increase and strengthen its military and police potential, and to plot against the security of its neighbours with the assistance of its loyal customers. Recently, exceeding even what might be termed the unholy alliance between the Salazar, Verwoerd and Smith régimes, a tripartite agreement has apparently been entered into to dominate the southern part of Africa, at the expense of the neighbouring territories.

49. We believe the time for discussions and academic statements is now past. For more than two years we have continually repeated that, in view of the failure of all peaceful efforts, we must envisage effective measures to deal with the mentality of the Pretoria leaders, a mentality which endangers peace and security in Africa and therefore in the entire world.

50. Those who preach patience and advise moderation but do not offer any alternative solution should have

^{6/} Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

realized, however, that Africa can no longer tolerate a situation in which, with the support of some and the complacency of others, the Pretoria régime holds 40 million Africans in slavery. Economic sanctions alone can thwart the forces of evil in South Africa and thereby discourage its neighbours over the border, who are increasingly hopeful of establishing some day a fundamentally racist régime. Economic sanctions alone can lead Mr. Verwoerd to a more decent policy and can lessen the threat he constitutes to peace in Africa.

51. World conscience has been revolted by the apartheid policy and finds it difficult to understand the reluctance of the great Powers to apply economic sanctions, which alone are capable of making the Pretoria Government adopt a wiser course. It is even less able to understand why these same Powers—through their extensive trading and investment—should provide aid and assistance which can only result in consolidating the fascist régime of Pretoria and increasing the misery of the people of South Africa.

52. Nearly eighteen years after the trial of strength which shook the Holy Land of Palestine and replaced the indigenous population with a colony of settlers from the four corners of the world, the situation in that area, far from leading to an equitable settlement, is daily deteriorating. The plundered Arab population, driven out of the land of its ancestors, is still living in hope, its eyes turned sadly towards paradise lost. The people lie sunk in misery and continue to eke out an existence thanks to international charity. As the years go by, their condition is deteriorating because of the usurper's obstinate refusal to heed the Organization's resolutions on the subject and, because of the consequent impossibility of finding a lawful and equitable solution to their tragic problem.

53. Time cannot extinguish the right of the Arab people of Palestine to their country, nor can it justify aggression or plundering in the eyes of the world. Everyone is aware, unfortunately, of the facts of this tragedy, which demonstrates the triumph of brute force, aggression and flagrant violation of the law of the United Nations, a law which we would all like to see prevail. To see United Nations decisions flouted by the one nation which, since it owes its existence to the United Nations, should be most anxious to carry them out, is dangerous indeed. The Organization must cease compromising and must abandon its passive attitude, for if that attitude became permanent it would be fatal to the Organization's mission and to the cause of peace in the entire area.

54. At this time when the Organization is waging an unceasing struggle against all forms of racial discrimination and is endeavouring to overcome the bastions of colonialism, is it not paradoxical to see the people of Palestine, the victims of injustice, living as exiles at their own doorstep, because of the obstinacy of an unscrupulous aggressor who pays scant heed to the decisions of the United Nations? The Organization is threatened by a disease which will prove fatal if this inertia bordering on complacency continues: the precarious balance in the area will be upset and will give place to armed conflict and chaos. The

recent fighting between India and Pakistan are a distressing proof of this.

55. In recalling the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations, the Tunisian delegation is not merely doing its duty as a Member of the United Nations family; it is convinced that it is showing a sense of practical justice and of equity towards the people and the institutions involved.

56. The world economic situation is still a matter of constant concern to all Member States and particularly to those countries which, like my own, are engaged in the hard struggle to develop. The young nations which have achieved independence in the last ten years have had to cope with the numerous and complex problems of the war against poverty, ignorance and hunger, in short, with the problems of under-development. This painful situation, in which millions of human beings find themselves, presents a problem of international solidarity which has not been overlooked by the Organization.

57. In pursuance of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the General Assembly adopted, at its sixteenth session, resolution 1710 (XVI) entitled "United Nations Development Decade"; it established a framework for carrying out the measures required

"to accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth of the economy of the individual nations and their social advancement so as to attain in each under-developed country a substantial increase in the rate of growth, with each country setting its own target, taking as the objective a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 per cent at the end of the Decade."

58. Since that time, the Organization has not failed to implement those provisions of the resolution which concerned it. As an indication of the magnitude of the tasks performed, it is sufficient to mention the convening of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology,^{7/} the work done by the regional commissions, the increasing number of projects financed by the Special Fund, the development of technical assistance programmes and, even more recently, the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.^{8/}

59. On examining the results achieved, now that we have almost reached the end of the first half of the Decade, we are compelled to note with deep concern that, barring a miracle, the 5 per cent rate of growth of national income of developing countries, which had been set as the target for the end of the Decade, will be only partially attained. Indeed, the World Economic Survey, 1964^{9/} submitted by the Secretary-General to the last session of the Economic and Social Council, reveals that in spite of progress

in the main sectors, many developing countries have not succeeded, or have succeeded only in very small measure, in overcoming the serious economic difficulties in 1964. Unfortunately, the outlook for 1965 does not seem any brighter.

60. The root causes of this situation spring from the many and various bottle-necks with which we are confronted nationally and internationally every time we launch a development project. They include such factors as the population explosion, the rising demand for consumer goods, the chronic balance of payments deficit resulting from the fall in export prices and the concomitant rise in import costs due to the very fact of increased structural investments, the consequent dwindling of our financial resources, inflation and so forth.

61. All these difficulties were examined by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The outlines of solutions are set forth in the many recommendations and resolutions to be found in the Final Act of the Conference which constitutes, for us in the smaller countries, a veritable charter for harmonious and—we hope—rapid development.

62. Unfortunately, the richer and more highly developed countries—admittedly, they did not approve all the resolutions—do not seem to be making the necessary efforts to overcome all the obstacles which hinder the implementation of those recommendations and to adopt all the measures likely to assist the developing countries in their march towards progress and some degree of well-being.

63. We dare to hope that when the report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development^{10/} is under consideration by the Assembly, the representatives of the richer, industrialized and highly developed countries will show a greater sense of realism and solidarity which alone, in our opinion, can buttress the international co-operation underpinning world security and peace.

64. What the Assembly has to do is not to go back on decisions that have been taken nor to reconsider all the questions for which the Conference, we believe, has already suggested solutions but rather to determine the means for the attainment of the desired ends in a spirit of mutual understanding of the interests involved. By so doing, we shall have acted to consolidate our new trade organization and enable its work to be carried forward with maximum efficiency and chances of success.

65. Other economic problems will be considered by the Assembly at the present session. My country has followed with the greatest attention the efforts of the United Nations and, in particular, the Committee on Industrial Development, the Special Fund and the specialized agencies to promote the industrialization of the developing countries.

66. While it is true that all initiatives taken in this field are still in the exploratory and survey stage, it is nevertheless remarkable that this idea which

^{7/} United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less-developed Areas, held at Geneva from 4 to 20 February 1963.

^{8/} Conference held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

^{9/} World Economic Survey, 1964, Part I. Development Plans: Appraisal of targets and progress in developing countries; United Nations publication, Sales No.: 65.II.C.1. Economic World Survey, 1964, Part II. Current Economic Development; United Nations publication, Sales No.: 65.II.C.2.

^{10/} 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).

until recently seemed absurd and unworkable because of its implications for the economies of the industrialized countries, has gained acceptance now as an effective means of rapid and harmonious development.

67. It is important, therefore, that these efforts should continue and that they should be more effectively co-ordinated in a specialized agency so that they may result as rapidly as possible in national and regional industrialization programmes which take into account the resources and possibilities of each of the countries concerned as well as the absorptive capacities of local and world markets.

68. It was in the light of such considerations that four North African countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya), conscious of the need for joint action, decided to co-ordinate and harmonize their economic efforts particularly in the field of industrialization which is foremost in the plans of their four Governments. The four-year plan which my country has launched this year is a token of the magnitude of the tasks to which we have addressed ourselves and of the serious and realistic manner in which we are trying to get this great region of Africa moving in the direction of development.

69. We hope that the United Nations and the specialized agencies will take our efforts, which sometimes exceed our means, into consideration and will give to our programmes the particular attention they deserve in order that international co-operation may be able to play the proper role assigned to it under the Charter.

70. I would not like to end this not every systematic review of economic questions without paying a tribute to the work accomplished by the Special Fund and by the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in the fields of pre-investment, training and research. My Government has warmly welcomed Economic and Social Council resolution 1020 (XXXVII), which was based on the relevant proposals of the Secretary-General for the consolidation of the two programmes into a single United Nations Development Programme. In the view of my delegation, this resolution, which could not be considered at the nineteenth session because of the crisis which paralysed our work, should be given high priority in this Assembly in order to enable the management of the two programmes to make their arrangements as early as possible. The Members of the United Nations have already had an opportunity to express their views on this question and there seems to be general agreement on the desirability of such consolidation, on the reasons for it and on the objectives that we have set ourselves. All that remains, therefore, is to rationalize the activities of the two programmes, to simplify organizational arrangements and procedures and to facilitate over-all planning and the necessary co-ordination of the various types of assistance.

71. My delegation believes that the draft resolution [see A/5755] submitted to the Assembly by the Economic and Social Council will be adopted within the next few days in fulfilment of the wishes of all the developing countries and of the hopes expressed by the Secretary-General.

72. Those are some of the ideas which my delegation wished to put forward today while reserving the right to make its modest contribution during the course of this session.

73. A few weeks ago we celebrated at San Francisco the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. Twenty years! An age for bold and generous action. Let us ensure that the United Nations, in its anxiety to show somewhat greater maturity and wisdom, does not fall into the more serious error of adopting a sceptical or world-weary attitude leading to indifference toward such urgent problems as peace-keeping and to such lofty aims as the fulfilment of man's vocation.

74. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Allow me first, Mr. President, to congratulate you on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation upon your election as President of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, and to express the wish that, under your guidance, this jubilee session may successfully carry out its important tasks.

75. At the same time, I should like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who made tremendous efforts, in particularly difficult circumstances, to restore normal working conditions in the General Assembly, and to wish him every success in his work for the prosperity of our friend, Ghana, and for the cause of peace.

76. I greet the new Members of the United Nations—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore.

77. The Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the wise decision of the Governments of India and Pakistan, in response to the appeal of the Security Council, to cease hostilities which could have brought both sides nothing but losses and damage and might have been exploited by outside interests. We also greatly appreciate the efforts of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General, U Thant, as well as the initiative taken in the interest of peace by the USSR Government, which offered to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan and to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

78. It is with concern that we follow the alarming developments which could nullify the results achieved. We should like to believe that the common sense and wisdom which led to the cease-fire will continue to be demonstrated and will lead to a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two great countries, with which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic maintains and wishes further to develop friendly relations.

79. The General Assembly has convened to resume its work in the year marking the twentieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations.

80. Twenty years, ago, the freedom-loving peoples, taught by the frightful but victorious experience of their heroic struggle against the fascist aggressors, laid down and solemnly embodied in the United Nations Charter the noble ideals of building a world free from war and oppression, in which all peoples would be able freely to settle their own affairs and, through

the development of peaceful co-operation in all spheres, to achieve economic, scientific, cultural and social progress.

81. The whole course of development since the war has been marked by the struggle for the achievement of these ideals. Their practical realization is particularly necessary in view of the existence of thermonuclear weapons, with their unprecedented destructive power. This progressive, peaceful programme has in our time a real chance of being implemented, since it is resolutely supported by such forces as the socialist countries, the new States which have emerged from the ruins of the colonial system, and peace-loving peoples in all the other countries of the world, which are continuing to work untiringly to carry it out. It is not an easy struggle, but it has already produced undeniable positive results.

82. Over the past twenty years, despite the attempts of the imperialist forces to impose the "cold war" policy on the world and to subordinate the United Nations to that policy, the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States having different social structures has been winning every wider recognition as the only proper basis of international relations at the present stage of human development, the only basis consistent with the genuine interests of the peoples.

83. Despite the obstinate resistance of the forces of colonialism, the national liberation movement has achieved historic successes in its arduous struggle for freedom and independence. This is reflected in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session in 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)].

84. Despite the countless manoeuvres of those who display unwillingness and lack of goodwill in the disarmament negotiations, the idea of general and complete disarmament under strict international control has met with a powerful response among the peoples and has also been endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly.

85. Despite the constant endeavours to maintain and further aggravate the inequalities in international economic and trade relations, there has been increasingly broad understanding of and support for the principles of completely equal and mutually advantageous international economic co-operation and trade among all nations, without discrimination—principles on which we have always acted and which were recognized by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development last year.

86. Despite the endeavours of foreign monopolies to maintain or to expand their economic positions in the newly independent countries, and thus in practice to compel those countries to continue serving as raw-materials appendages of the wealthy metropolitan countries, the developing countries are more and more vigorously paving the way to independent and planned economic development.

87. A general survey of the twenty years since the Second World War very clearly reveals a basic trend in world development marked by the strengthening

of socialist positions, the rise of the national-liberation movement and the progressive movement in general, and the growth of the forces active in the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. It is precisely this development which is contributing to the recognition of progressive principles of progress and is creating the necessary conditions for the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

88. However, there are forces which do not like the constructive development taking place in the world, because it runs counter to their power interests. Consequently they are opposing it in every way. This year in particular we have witnessed intensified efforts to stop and reverse the process of reducing international tension; there has been a return to the overt use of force, to aggression and armed intervention against peace-loving peoples.

89. These are not accidental phenomena, but manifestations of a global concept of the policy of strength, which is openly proclaimed and systematically applied by its authors against weaker States, in defiance of the fundamental and universally recognized principles of international law which must govern the relations between States and peoples. Under the slogan of anti-communism, they usurp the right to decide the fate of peoples throughout the world, to dictate to them how to order their political and social affairs, and to impose upon them governmental régimes headed by their own puppets.

90. The most striking manifestation of this policy is the present United States aggression in Viet-Nam, initiated and conducted by means which are universally condemned. At this very session we have heard attempts to justify that aggression. But what are the facts?

91. The United States has systematically violated the Geneva Agreements of 1954^{11/} since the time of their conclusion. Contrary to the explicit provisions of those agreements, it established and continues to establish bases for military aggression on South Viet-Nameese territory, where it stations troops whose numbers at the present time exceed 130,000 men and are still growing. It prevented the holding of free elections in 1956, thereby depriving the Viet-Nameese people of the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination. In its attempt to maintain in power a mercenary and anti-popular clique, whose present representative in a statement for the Western Press has called Hitler his model, the United States is brutally suppressing the South Viet-Nameese people's struggle for national liberation. Using bombs, napalm and gas, it is killing the fighters for freedom and the defenceless civilian population. But because even by this means it is not succeeding in breaking the resistance of the South Viet-Nameese people, it has embarked upon overt aggression against the peace-loving Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. United States air attacks on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are destroying the fruits of the people's labour,

^{11/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

factories, schools and hospitals, and are sowing death and destruction among the inhabitants.

92. At the same time, however, the United States talks even here of the defence of democracy and the freedom of the people of South Viet-Nam, and of its readiness for peace negotiations. Yet what value can such statements have, if at the same time the United States persistently increases the size and armaments of its interventionist army, intensifies its bombing raids, takes over the direction of military operations against the population of South Viet-Nam, seeks to involve other countries in those operations and is clearly heading towards a further intensification of its aggressive acts?

93. These acts are a manifestation of the arbitrary use of armed force in international affairs, which is forbidden by the Charter, and they constitute an extremely serious threat to world peace and security.

94. The cessation of United States aggression in Viet-Nam without any preconditions whatsoever is the most urgent demand at the present time. The proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, as the sole representative of the South Viet-Nameese people, indicate the correct way to a peaceful settlement of the problem of Viet-Nam.

95. It is essential that the United States should cease its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, fully respect and consistently observe the provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina, withdraw its military units and the military units of its allies from South Viet-Nam, remove its military equipment, respect the right of the Viet-Nameese people to peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, and recognize that South Viet-Nameese affairs must be settled by the Viet-Nameese people themselves.

96. The Czechoslovak people, their National Assembly and their Government resolutely condemn United States aggression and express their solidarity with the fraternal Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam by offering it the necessary assistance and support.

97. Our full support is also given to the just struggle of the Korean people for the immediate withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the country and for the peaceful unification of their homeland without foreign intervention.

98. Another typical example of the contemporary methods of United States foreign policy, aimed at slowing progress and preventing peoples from settling their own national affairs, is the recent military intervention of the United States in the Dominican Republic. It is not surprising that this action, undertaken under the absurd pretexts which we all know, should have encountered sharp criticism and censure throughout the world, and even in the United States itself.

99. Yet another manifestation of that policy is the continued policy of hostility towards the free and heroic people and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

100. The imperialists are continuing their flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of the Congolese

people. With the help of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, they are supporting the repressive acts of the Portuguese colonizers in Angola and Mozambique and racist oppression in South Africa. They are suppressing the struggle for national liberation in other countries and regions also.

101. This policy of lawlessness and force is not only in sharp contradiction to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, but it also constitutes a flagrant violation of the very bases of international law and of the principles underlying relations among sovereign States. It is therefore understandable and natural that it should be arousing increasingly widespread and resolute opposition.

102. At the present time, the security of the peoples of Europe, their peaceful co-operation and peace throughout the world are being seriously threatened by the plans for the establishment of a NATO joint nuclear force. What, exactly, is the danger?

103. It is now common knowledge that the purpose of the plans for the nuclear integration of NATO, whether in the form of so-called multilateral forces or of Atlantic nuclear forces, is to make nuclear weapons accessible to the West German militarists and revanchists, on whose consciences rests the responsibility for unleashing two world catastrophes and who have not reconciled themselves to the results of the Second World War, do not recognize the consequences of the defeat of Hitler's fascism, are making territorial claims on other States and seeking to have frontiers changed, and thereby constitute the principal threat to peace and security in Europe.

104. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, far from opposing the provocative activities of these forces, directly identifies itself with them, supports the claims of the revanchist organizations and, in addition to everything else, stubbornly refuses to recognize that the criminal Munich diktat was invalid from the outset. It is significant that during the recent election campaign in the Federal Republic of Germany, the well-known chauvinistic slogans of a "greater Germany" were very much in evidence.

105. This dangerous policy is to be put into effect precisely with the help of nuclear weapons. That is why the West German Government is making such efforts to obtain such weapons directly or indirectly through the NATO joint nuclear force.

106. Unfortunately, these aspirations are being sympathetically received in government circles in the United States and other countries. In reply to our warnings about the danger involved, we hear soothing assertions that the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force would help to restrain or control the eagerness of the West German militarists to gain possession of nuclear weapons. This alone shows that the authors of these plans recognize the dangerous character of Germany militarism. And recent statements by official West German representatives provide an object lesson to those who, blinded by their anti-communism, are prepared to make concessions to the German militarists. For instance, on 9 July 1965, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Schröder, stated the following in justifica-

tion of the Federal Republic's demands for access to nuclear weapons:

"If this comes about through the creation of a multilateral Atlantic deterrent force or through some equivalent solution, then, so far as its allies are concerned, Germany could renounce the acquisition of nuclear weapons of its own."

107. Obviously, the Federal Republic of Germany is seeking access to nuclear weapons and sees such access in a joint NATO nuclear force as an alternative to the acquisition of its own nuclear weapons, a possibility which it continues to hold in reserve. The danger of such a policy is becoming increasingly clear to realistically minded people even in the west.

108. Active efforts are called for to improve the situation in Europe and restore it to normal. The right course was indicated by the member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in January 1965. They strongly urged the States members of NATO to renounce their plans for the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force in any form, and resolutely declared that if those plans were put into effect they would be confronted with a serious threat to peace and security in Europe and would be compelled to take the necessary defensive measures to provide for their own security.

109. The fundamental prerequisite for the safeguarding of peace in Europe is a German peace settlement. A major factor in preserving peace in Europe is the inviolability of existing frontiers in Europe, including the frontiers between the two German States.

110. One of those States, the German Democratic Republic, in the spirit of its constructive, peace-loving foreign policy, has already put forward a number of practical proposals for the settlement of the German question and the problems of European security. Recently, for example, the Government of the German Democratic Republic again reaffirmed its readiness to join a denuclearized zone in Central Europe and proposed that both German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—should renounce the production, acquisition or use of nuclear weapons or the stationing of such weapons on their territories.

111. It would be desirable for the Federal Republic of Germany, too, to embark on a realistic policy, corresponding to the needs and requirements of peaceful development in Europe today. Such a policy would also serve the interests of the German people themselves, and would give West Germany the opportunity to develop normal relations with all European countries. Czechoslovakia has repeatedly expressed a favourable attitude towards such normalization.

112. The Czechoslovak Government has also supported and continues to support all other constructive proposals aimed at strengthening European security, especially proposals for the convening of all-European conference on European security, and is actively striving to ensure that relations between European socialist and capitalist States develop in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

113. All outstanding international problems of our day can be settled sensibly and justly only on the basis of strict observance of the main principles of the United Nations Charter. In order to ensure the uninterrupted development of peaceful international relations, it is particularly necessary to take steps to end the use or threat of force in relations between States and armed intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

114. It is precisely aggressive and interventionist acts of this kind in various parts of the world, to which I have already referred, which are aggravating the international situation today and creating a threat to peace and security.

115. We therefore believe that the twentieth session of the General Assembly should urgently and solemnly reaffirm those principles of the Charter whose violation is increasing tension in the world, and call upon the States Members of the United Nations to refrain unconditionally from all actions contrary to those principles and to conduct their policy in accordance with the principles arising out of the Charter.

116. I have in mind, first and foremost, the inalienable right of every State and people to freedom and independence and to the defence of their sovereignty, and the duty of States to be guided by the principles of mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of another State. The duty to observe those principles is absolutely unconditional, and cannot be evaded under any pretext whatsoever, political, ideological or economic. This serves the interests of all peace-loving countries, and of good and friendly relations among them.

117. For these reasons the Czechoslovak delegation considers the draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty, submitted by the USSR delegation to the present session of the General Assembly [1336th meeting], to be extremely topical and urgent. We fully support it and hope that it will be considered and adopted by the General Assembly.

118. The United Nations cannot be satisfied with the progress thus far of the disarmament negotiations, which have also been affected by the aggravation of the international situation. Two or three years ago, particularly after the signing of the Moscow Treaty, there were indications that the discussions on this question might finally lead to practical and constructive results. However, the reluctance of the Western Powers to move in that direction—expressed also in a series of clearly unacceptable proposals and demands—dashed the hopes which the peace-loving peoples had placed in the disarmament talks. The situation prevailing in the Eighteen-Nation Committee provides eloquent and alarming evidence of the present wholly unsatisfactory state of affairs.

119. At the present time, a large number of very practical plans and proposals have been submitted; their adoption could open the way, in one sphere or another, to genuine disarmament.

120. A most urgent problem with which we should deal before all else at this session is that of concluding

an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

121. The spread of nuclear weapons and their transfer to other countries would inevitably lead to a still wider and more intensive race to manufacture these weapons of mass destruction and would, of course, increase the possibility of the outbreak of nuclear war. Under modern conditions, a nuclear war started in one part of the world could very quickly expand into a world-wide nuclear conflict, with all the frightful and fatal consequences which that would entail. We therefore welcome the submission by the Soviet delegation of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [A/5976] for the consideration of the present session of the General Assembly. In that draft, principles which have already been generally accepted in previous resolutions of the General Assembly are formulated in precise terms, in the form of obligations which signatory States would assume. We have before us a draft treaty whose adoption could become a reliable guarantee that once concluded a treaty prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons would leave no loop-hole for evasion.

122. In contrast to this, the draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons recently submitted by the United States delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva^{12/} is clearly motivated by the desire to legitimize the plans for the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force within NATO, and possibly in other military blocs. Obviously such a draft cannot form the basis for an agreement on a genuine prohibition of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The reaction which it encountered in the Eighteen-Nation Committee itself fully confirms that conclusion.

123. The adoption of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the implementation of even some of the specific measures of disarmament, the proposals for which are well known, would undoubtedly help pave the way for more successful negotiations on general and complete disarmament, which remain our chief task and chief objective.

124. The adoption of a pledge not to use nuclear weapons would contribute significantly to averting the threat of a nuclear war. It could become the logical starting point of a process which would lead to the final elimination of such weapons from military arsenals, to their complete liquidation and prohibition. Another appropriate step would be the adoption of a decision to prohibit underground nuclear tests. A new proposal aimed at expediting agreement on this matter is contained in a draft submitted by the United Arab Republic to the Eighteen-Nation Committee,^{13/} and is being carefully studied by our delegation.

125. Our session should also further the discussion and adoption of proposals for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States. The urgency of this matter is underscored by the fact

that the numerous bases of certain Western Powers are being used, as we all know, as springboards for aggression against the sovereign territories of independent States and against the national liberation movement.

126. A world conference on disarmament, in which all States would take part—regardless of whether or not they were Members of the United Nations—as proposed in Cairo in 1964 by the second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries,^{14/} might serve as an inspiration to further disarmament talks. We therefore support the Disarmament Commission's recommendation of 11 June 1965 that the twentieth session of the General Assembly should examine that proposal forthwith, and we consider that such a conference should be held next year.

127. Prominent on the General Assembly's agenda is the question of the struggle to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and all manifestations of neo-colonialism. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always spoken out resolutely in favour of the removal of all vestiges of the shameful colonial system. At this session we shall again exert every effort to bring about the speedy elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa, the Near and Middle East, Asia, the Caribbean and other regions. We shall also support an effective struggle against racism in South Africa, Rhodesia and other countries. All energies must be concentrated on overcoming the opposition and obstacles by which the colonialists and those who assist them are trying to halt the completion of decolonization. The General Assembly must take decisive measures to promote more rapid and consistent fulfilment of the requirements of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

128. One of the principal tasks of the present day is to eliminate the grievous consequences of former colonial domination of the economies of developing countries. The economic backwardness caused by the colonial Powers is the main reason for the fact that, despite all the efforts of the Governments of the developing countries, the great difference in economic levels and living standards between the industrially developed and the developing countries, far from decreasing, is becoming even greater.

129. It is therefore quite natural to demand that those who are responsible for the economic backwardness of the developing countries should contribute substantially to removing that difference. The efforts of the developing countries to achieve full exercise of their sovereignty over their internal resources, to mobilize those resources as fully as possible and to develop their economies, have our active support. To the best of our ability, we have helped and will continue to help to accelerate their economic development.

130. At the same time, we shall continue our efforts to ensure that the United Nations performs its great tasks in this important sphere more effectively.

131. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should, given the good will of all States,

^{12/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, section A.

^{13/} Ibid., annex 1, section F.

^{14/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

contribute substantially to removing the distortions due to the colonial system, eliminating the economic backwardness of the developing countries and achieving an equitable international division of labour. The Conference on Trade and Development must also deal with questions concerning trade relations between countries having different social and economic systems and work to eliminate the disproportions and discrimination which still exist in the sphere of international economic and trade relations. A further prerequisite for successful work by the Conference on Trade and Development is the participation of all countries wishing to be included in its activities.

132. With the establishment of the Conference on Trade and Development it has become necessary to review the division of labour and to alter the structure and working methods of various United Nations organs in the economic and social spheres. The expanded Economic and Social Council will have a particularly important role. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will endeavour to ensure that the work of the main United Nations organs and the specialized agencies in the economic and social spheres is appropriately and effectively directed towards the fulfilment of their main tasks.

133. The twenty years that the United Nations has existed have given us sufficient experience to be able realistically to evaluate its role and its potential in the modern world. We do not close our eyes to the serious mistakes that the Organization has made in the past or to the deficiencies from which it still suffers. However, we are convinced that these can and must be eliminated, so that the United Nations can accomplish the mission which it was given twenty years ago.

134. We were gratified that the sound and realistic forces in the United Nations succeeded in ending the abnormal situation in which the last session of the General Assembly was placed. We must not be content with that, however. The very history of the paralysis which gripped the nineteenth session of the General Assembly revealed the deeper causes of crisis in the United Nations, and, at the same time, demonstrated that resolute, purposeful and united action by all Member States which have a genuinely serious and sincere desire to make our Organization more effective is essential if the Charter is to be implemented consistently in its activities.

135. The United Nations has the potential to remedy its existing shortcomings. Its membership has reached 117, as against 51 at the time of its establishment. A new feature is, above all, the fact that there has been a significant increase in the influence within the Organization of countries which are pursuing a peaceful and progressive policy with every increasing persistence. The time has passed when the well-known "voting machine" held sway in the United Nations.

136. We are happy to note that amendments to the Charter have entered into force, under which the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have been expanded and which will help to achieve more equitable representation of the new independent States of Asia and Africa in those organs.

137. Increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations presupposes and requires that the Organization finally shed all the accretions from the time of the cold war, that violations of the Charter be brought to an end and that all United Nations activities in the future be carried out in strict accordance with that fundamental document.

138. In order to help bring about a more consistent application of the fundamental principles of the Charter, the Czechoslovak delegation, at the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly [1129th meeting], submitted a proposal for the preparation of a declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence. We consider that the present session of the General Assembly should continue to work on the preparation of that declaration so that it may be formally adopted as soon as possible, in the interests of strengthening the foundations of international law, so frequently violated at the present time.

139. In the same spirit, the Czechoslovak Government last year [1294th meeting] expressed its positive approach to the solution of the problem of strengthening the means available to the United Nations for the protection of international security in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Our basic position on this question is that the Security Council is the United Nations body which by its competence, membership and procedure, is exclusively authorized to take decisions on behalf of the Organization regarding actions to maintain or restore peace.

140. We believe that instead of inventing various artificial devices which would go beyond the framework of the Charter and violate it, we should concentrate our efforts on ensuring that in this field also the fullest possible use is made of all the resources and possibilities available under the United Nations Charter.

141. Here I have in mind, above all, the implementation of such provisions of the Charter as, for instance, Article 43, which deals with the conclusion of agreements between Members and the Security Council to make available contingents of armed forces necessary for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security. Such an approach would spare the United Nations many of the difficulties which have occurred in the past, and would lead to the establishment of a sound and practical basis for the solution of the fundamental political and material aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations. In this way, by consistently implementing the provisions of the Charter, the Organization would strengthen its means for the protection of the freedom and independence of all peace-loving peoples. There would be no possibility of those means being misused to the detriment of the national liberation movement or of the progressive and peaceful forces in the world.

142. The work of our Organization is greatly hampered by the fact that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, whose Government is the only lawful representative of China, have not yet been restored in the United Nations. The prestige, authority and effectiveness of the United Nations are being undermined by the present situation, in which China's seat in United Nations organs is unlawfully

occupied by a representative of Chiang Kai-shek. The solution of this question can therefore not be postponed any longer.

143. In order genuinely to strengthen the United Nations and to afford it the real possibility of responding effectively to the urgent needs created by present international developments, it is absolutely essential that the Organization should consistently respect the principle of universality. The United Nations must therefore put an end to political discrimination against certain countries which are not yet Members, and proceed to a just solution of the question of their admission as full Members of the Organization. The importance of observing the principle of universality was rightly stressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization this year [A/6001/Add.1].

144. I have set out the views of the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the most urgent problems of the international situation today, and on the main tasks facing the United Nations at the twentieth session of its General Assembly.

145. Our views are based on the peaceful principles of the foreign policy of socialist Czechoslovakia, whose people this year celebrated the twentieth anniversary of their country's liberation from Nazi slavery by the Soviet Army. The Czech people are resolved to continue building up their country by constructive work, to live in peace and friendship with all peoples and to make their contribution to the struggle for lasting peace and progress in the world.

146. At the present session of the General Assembly, as at previous sessions, our delegation will endeavour to give effective support to such solutions of the Assembly's important tasks as would help in relaxing international tension and strengthening peace throughout the world, put an end to imperialist aggressions and interventions and enhance the freedom, independence and all-round development of peoples.

147. Mr. ZAVALA ORTIZ (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): It is an honour and a pleasure for the Argentine delegation to offer its congratulations to the President on his appointment to preside over the General Assembly, from which mankind is anxiously awaiting constructive decisions in the interests of peace. We are delighted that the Assembly has once again made a wise choice. It has elected a President who, like his predecessors, is a model of intelligence, experience, diplomatic wisdom and militancy in the cause of freedom. I have no doubt, however, that the Assembly also wished to give this leading place in the international community to his country, Italy—a country so dear to all Argentinians—and to Western Europe, whose historic influence upon the world is constantly being added to as a result of the individuality of its nations and the maturity of its peoples.

148. We cordially welcome into the international family the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands, countries which, having won the independence to which they are entitled, are honouring us by joining the United Nations. Their arrival among us is a heartwarming event in a world which abounds in

injustices. For we should recognize that, while independence achieved without war is a national triumph, it is also a victory for the universal movement in favour of freedom. The power of justice often brings such victories, and we must strengthen it in order to win many other victories which have long been awaited. For this reason, we regret that the emancipating force of justice has not yet reached certain American lands where the colonial system still anachronistically survives.

149. Even in Latin America there are territories which have been subjected by foreign Powers to colonial régimes and which are consequently the subject of study by the Committee of Twenty-Four under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

150. In the Organization of American States, a fundamental distinction has been made with regard to these territories. During the discussion of the admission of new members at the First Special Inter-American Conference, resolution I, entitled the "Act of Washington", was adopted; that resolution opens the doors to new States which attain their independence but expressly lays down in operative paragraph 3:

"That the Council of the Organization shall not take any decisions with respect to a request for admission on the part of a political entity whose territory, in whole or in part, is subject, prior to the date of this resolution, to litigation or claim between an extracontinental country and one or more member states of the Organization of American States, until the dispute has been ended by some peaceful procedure." ^{15/}

151. As the United Nations is well aware, this is the case of our Malvinas Islands. There, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is illegally administering an integral part of our national territory, which it occupied by violence after it had evicted the Argentine authorities peacefully exercising the right of sovereignty there as the indisputable heirs to the territorial rights of the Spanish mother country.

152. In other words, the Malvinas Islands never formed part of the territory of the United Kingdom. Nor can they ever have constituted a colony, in the conventional sense of the term, since no legal rights could be created which would give validity to occupation of the Islands or affect Argentina's right to the restoration of its territorial integrity.

153. In these circumstances, there is no legal basis for speaking of self-determination; Argentina has always recognized that all the peoples of the world have that right, but it is a pre-condition of self-determination that it takes place in one's own territory and not in territory obtained by dispossessing others. To allow the future of the Malvinas archipelago to be decided by those occupying it would mean leaving it in the hands of people who were placed there by the United Kingdom. It would mean leaving it exclusively to the United Kingdom to resolve the

^{15/} See Final Act, First Special Inter-American Conference, Organization of American States, held at Washington, D.C., from 16 to 18 December 1964.

problem. It would be as if one were to allow a person who had dispossessed another to confirm his own rights of ownership. For, clearly, the settlers are representatives of British power. Why so? Simply because Britain drove out the original population, replaced it and isolated the Islands. It fenced them off from the world. It placed them out of bounds, behind a British padlock.

154. The Committee of Twenty-Four duly considered the problem and, after hearing the parties, recognized the existence of a dispute. Sub-paragraph (c) of its recommendations to the General Assembly reads:

"The Special Committee notes the existence of a dispute between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and that of Argentina concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)".

Sub-paragraph (d) adds:

"The Special Committee invites the Governments of the United Kingdom and Argentina to enter into negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to this problem . . .".^{16/}

155. Argentina hopes to provide the Assembly with all the evidence required to prove the soundness of this recommendation and the validity of our claim. It will do so at the appropriate time before the Committee concerned. However, in conformity with the spirit of the recommendation and with its traditional belief in the peaceful solution of problems, Argentina has invited the United Kingdom to enter into conversations aimed at settling the dispute. It hopes that the United Kingdom is in agreement with this approach.

156. The Argentine Government is ready to continue to co-operate fully in fulfilling the noble purpose of the United Nations and implementing its decisions. We believe that the United Nations is the essential and the most suitable instrument for bringing about an international legal order regulated by justice and strengthened by security and by mutual respect among all nations.

157. We do not deny the difficulties. It will not mean simply reaching agreement among a few countries, but regulating a world in which there are a multitude of nations, of needs and of aspirations. It was formerly thought that all problems should be resolved at the national level. Consequently the thing most prized and protected by the international organization of the time was sovereignty. Now, however, national objectives cannot be achieved within the boundaries of nations and are pursued in a wider context at the regional or world level. Consequently, without prejudice to sovereignty, the object which we are seeking and which constitutes a necessity at the international level is collective security.

158. It is no simple task, of course, to harmonize as rapidly as we would wish all the varied national, social and human demands which characterize the modern world. It is all the more difficult when, despite

its claims to universality, the United Nations does not encompass the whole earth. I drew attention last year to the fact that, even though we are building for peace and leaving the past behind, countries as important as the Federal Republic of Germany are not Members of the Organization. Other countries, both large and small, are also outside the membership. The universality of the United Nations requires us to ensure that it includes all countries, provided they are ready, as we who belong to it are ready, to accept its goals, to respect its decisions and to shoulder their responsibilities. The United Nations should avoid a situation in which a rival to it would be set up, for there is no doubt that the world would then be fatally split asunder.

159. Nor is it easy to unify our world while there remain in the Charter certain privileges that violate the principle of the legal equality of Member States.

160. In spite of all these difficulties and frustrations, Argentina has faith in the United Nations. For it has faith in justice, in morality, in friendship and in mutual respect among nations. We need to show patience and tolerance. God made man, but man made the world with its varied opportunities, inclinations and potentialities. To unite all this, we need the faith which God implanted in us.

161. We should all welcome the success of the United Nations in bringing about an agreement to halt the tragic confrontation of two proud nations, India and Pakistan, and the conciliatory and respectful willingness shown by the Governments of those two countries to reach a provisional solution. My Government has no doubt that this same goodwill and desire for peace will be helpful in the quest for a permanent solution. It warmly congratulates the Organization and is confident that the Governments of Pakistan and India will do their best to comply with the cease-fire decision.

162. Argentina, which has co-operated in the past in peace operations, has placed ten officers at the disposal of the Organization to assist in supervising the cease-fire in Kashmir, and it has made the necessary arrangements for them to travel to their duty station as soon as possible.

163. If the United Nations is to achieve its purposes, a definitive solution to the problem of the financing of its peace-keeping operations must be found. We hope that the goodwill shown by all countries in finding an emergency solution, which has made it possible for us to consider in this Assembly fundamental issues of world concern, will continue to be forthcoming so that this problem may be entirely resolved.

164. We consider that the United Nations should make proper use of regional organizations. The universal scope of the Organization's jurisdiction is very clearly affirmed by both the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Moreover, the unity of the world, the inter-relation between its problems and the fact that events occurring anywhere have repercussions throughout the globe make such universality essential.

165. The Charter has also provided, however, for the regional distribution of responsibility, perhaps

^{16/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I), document A/5800/Rev.1, chapter XXIII, para. 59.

because it was rightly thought that problems could thus be resolved more rapidly and less publicly. For it is undeniable that a problem seems to assume greater gravity once it comes before the United Nations. The fact that the United Nations is in the public eye attracts attention to the problem and, because of this, the positions of the parties harden. In a regional organization, on the other hand, there is a more intimate atmosphere, in which tensions are eased. There is also another element, the existence of a regional consciousness, which facilitates the search for a solution. This circumstance coincides, on a broader plane, with the movement towards regional integration which is taking place and which should be aided and encouraged; the Argentine Government is working confidently to promote such integration.

166. For all these reasons, we believe that we should not speak of conflicts of competence or priorities of competence, but should try to devise procedures which will enable the purposes of the Charter to be achieved efficiently and rapidly.

167. There cannot be jurisdictional jealousies within the United Nations, for it represents the entire world. Consequently, the Argentine Government would never advocate no join in an attempt to oppose a regional competence to that of the Organization. It believes, however, that conflicts can be solved more rapidly, and in a context more free from the effects of the cold war, by regional bodies in the first instance. Naturally, we regard the regional approach not as a goal but as a stage. We know that the world is one, but just as there are independent and sovereign nations within the world so we must recognize also that there are regions anxious to preserve their own characters.

168. On analysing the international situation objectively, we find that, alongside other factors which are sufficiently well known and accepted, there are three main sources of threats to and breaches of the peace. Thus our first conclusion is: we must not suppose that there is only one single cause or that we are faced with a simple conflict between good and evil. For this reason, we feel that to place all the fault on one side is to approach the solution wrongly.

169. As a tactic, it may seem good to lay the blame always on the same party, but if we are to treat the problem honestly we must recognize that all of us bear our share of responsibility although, of course, some bear a heavier responsibility and have less excuse than others, for in some cases it may be a question of mistakes or negligence and in other cases of deliberate aggressiveness.

170. The three principal sources of disturbance of peace, which may exist together or separately, are subversive aggression or revolutionary war, failure to refer conflicts to appropriate machinery in order to resolve them by peaceful means, and the under-development of a large part of the world. For example, Viet-Nam, that noble and brave nation, is suffering the combined effects of these three causes of disturbance, because the conditions of a profound state of under-development, subversive aggression

and the failure to refer the conflict to appropriate machinery, are all undoubtedly present. It is highly unfortunate that account is not taken of the fact that conflicts spread, and that if the dangerous factors are not removed immediately the world may find itself involved in a tragic situation. Our naivety or apathy may lead us to believe that we are far away from the danger, but the aggressors know well that we are all within their reach.

171. In historic circumstances, in which the peoples, with their own ideals and motivations, have decided to bring about their emancipation and their political, economic and social transformation, subversive aggression is taking advantage of authentic national movements in order to infect revolutions with the ideological ingredients and alien impulses of revolutionary war. Revolution is national or it is not revolution. A so-called international revolution is no more than a foreign invasion carried out by political means, which may or may not be assisted by military means.

172. As has been pointed out on many occasions, this type of war is not waged in the conventional manner of open warfare with flags unfurled. It is waged in more subtle ways and with all the variety of methods which modern political, military and social techniques make possible. It is waged not by warfare as such but by revolution. It is waged not through invasion by foreign armies but through the organization of armies within nations. It is waged not by attacking the nation as a state, but by attacking, undermining and sabotaging the nation as a system, as an organization, as an institutional order and as an organized community.

173. People desiring to carry out their own revolution must therefore either refrain from doing so in order to prevent intervention by foreign forces or carry it out in a manner acceptable to foreigners. This shows the extremely reactionary effect of subversive aggression, since it tends to frustrate the true revolutionary impulse of peoples and to impose political forms and institutions not chosen by them.

174. Furthermore, revolutionary war inevitably provokes war itself. Thus far it has been conventional warfare, but no one can say what it will be tomorrow. What is always certain, however, is that it leads to one kind of warfare or another. But if it is clear that no one has the right to carry revolution to another country, then it must be equally clear that no one has the right to prevent a national revolution from being carried out. If one is tantamount to aggressive intervention that unleashes an international war, the other is an illegal intervention that provokes national rebellion.

175. Only the United Nations or the regional bodies are competent to assess the situation and to decide what action should be taken. Any unilateral intervention, no matter how well-intentioned, would run counter to the principles and guarantees essential to international security.

176. We have already said, and we reiterate, that Argentina believes in peaceful coexistence. But such coexistence is a deceit if it is accompanied by subversive aggression. In other words, coexistence must be based on an identity of views and must not

be one-sided. To maintain that coexistence will follow the armed struggle—or to use the former to bring about the latter—is to show in advance that one believes neither in coexistence nor in peace. We are unfortunately witnessing a division of the world into those who wish to respect one another and those who wish to impose their will.

177. The Argentine nation coexists peacefully within its national borders. Views are respected and beliefs are freely professed. Although over 90 per cent of the population is Catholic, there are churches of a great variety of faiths. Our nationality has been woven from the threads of all races, who have found respect, security and equality in our country. All human rights are fully respected in Argentina.

178. We are therefore ready for friendly international coexistence, but we are also prepared to defend our way of life, to improve it and to affirm our national sovereignty with firmness and determination. We have no enemies. We do not wish to have any. We expect friendship from everyone, or at least respect for our independence and respect for the sovereignty of others.

179. This question of the historical vocation of the Americas, and consequently of Argentina, leads me to the subject of the peaceful settlement of conflicts. At the nineteenth session of the General Assembly [1292nd meeting] I spoke of the compelling and urgent need for machinery which, improving on that established by Chapter VI of the Charter, would make it possible to find a peaceful solution for all latent or actual disputes between nations.

180. I should like to repeat the proposal my delegation made at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We recognize that some problems are political while others are legal; but if they cause international conflicts, then they must all come under some jurisdiction which may be distributed among the political and judicial organs of the United Nations or of the regional organizations.

181. In our view, the problems facing the world today arise from the need to adapt the United Nations to the new situation which prevails, a situation that differs greatly from that envisaged when the Charter was signed at San Francisco. We endorsed the requirement that the United Nations should be universal in character. We are equally convinced that the Charter should be amended in order to adapt it to this new situation. In the meantime, however, we feel that it is imperative that all necessary steps be taken to prevent the uncontrolled action of disturbing forces from shattering the precarious and fragile balance of peace and security that has thus far been achieved and maintained with so much difficulty. To that end, we propose that all conflicts should be subject to an international jurisdiction which may be either political or juridical.

182. For this, it will obviously be necessary to set up a highly flexible system which will be adaptable to circumstances. For example, with regard to Argentina, the first steps towards a settlement of its dispute with the United Kingdom over the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) are being taken in the Committee of Twenty-Four.

183. Sovereignty should have less to fear from law than from force, from the international community than from international disorder, particularly in a society where there is an individualistic distribution of power. How then can a settlement with the strong be reached? Peaceful settlement is not only a means of protecting the weak, it is also a practical means of placing on an equal footing nations that are unequal in power.

184. Accordingly, we consider it desirable to make a specific proposal concerning judicial jurisdiction. Under Article 93, paragraph 1, of the Charter, "all Members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice". However, of the large number of Member States, as of 16 June 1964—when the latest Yearbook of the Court was published—only thirty-eight had recognized as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court. In addition, only thirty-eight cases were submitted to the Court between 1946 and 1964.

185. There is obviously a reluctance to submit disputes to the International Court. The Organization cannot, however, allow such a situation to continue. Therefore, my Government is proposing a treaty that will deal with certain reservations expressed by States in accepting as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court under Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute. This was the method adopted in the proposals put forward by New Zealand and Venezuela at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held at San Francisco in 1945.

186. The draft treaty could be prepared on the following lines: the States parties to the treaty would recognize as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

- (a) The interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) Any question of international law;
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

187. Unless expressly recognized by the parties in respect of each dispute, such jurisdiction would not be exercised in the following cases:

- (1) Disputes concerning questions which, in accordance with international law, come within the domestic jurisdiction of States.
- (2) Disputes where the parties have agreed or are about to agree to have recourse to one or other of the means of peaceful settlement provided for in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.
- (3) Disputes in respect of which the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations is exercising the functions provided for in the Charter.
- (4) Disputes arising prior to the signing of the treaty or those relating to facts or situations antedating the treaty.

188. For this reason, we warmly welcomed the United Kingdom's request [A/5964] this year for the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "Peaceful

settlement of disputes", calling for a broad study of the problem, whose programme should be established in the light of the discussion of the item by the General Assembly.

189. Once again the attention of the Assembly is drawn to economic problems. In spite of all hopes and efforts, we have not made much progress in the economic development of countries, which has been described as one of the most urgent and fundamental objectives. This leads to the belief that there is still some lack of interest in the development of countries and that attention has been concentrated instead on the prevention of military conflicts. In other words, it would appear that some are of the opinion that under-development is not an active factor that can lead to aggression and breach of the peace, although it is well known that it is.

190. We are concerned at the continuing economic and social imbalances in vast areas of the world, but we are even more concerned at the fact that in recent years these differences have become more marked in both absolute and relative terms. This trend can be seen in the evolution of international and national events and is substantiated by statistics, although the latter must of necessity be incomplete since they refer to a very recent period. There are of course some happy exceptions. Argentina may be one of them, but my Government does not view the problem selfishly from the standpoint of its own interests but rather with concern for the interests of all.

191. As I said, the problem of development has become more serious. I would be remiss in performing my duty arising from my Government's concern for peace and justice in the world if I failed to assure the General Assembly of the Argentine people's solidarity with those peoples and to appeal to the Organization to redouble its efforts of national and international co-operation in the economic and social fields.

192. Let us look at the figures and compare the situation of the developing countries during the first five years of the United Nations Development Decade with the 1950-1960 decade and with the developed countries' figures. As regards production, in terms of the rate of increase in gross product, per capita, the outlook is even more unfavourable owing to the growth of population of the developing countries. Between 1955 and 1960, the demographic growth rate was 2.3 per cent, but in the last few years the figure has risen to 2.5 per cent. In the developed countries, on the other hand, the figure has remained constant at 1.3 per cent. In other words, whereas during the second half of the 1950-1960 decade the rate of increase in gross product per capita in both groups of countries was 2 per cent, it has recently risen to 3 per cent in the developed countries, while it has dropped to 1.5 per cent in the developing countries.

193. As regards agricultural production, in the case of the developing countries the increase was less in the first half of the present decade than in the second half of the 1950-1960 decade, despite a slight improvement in 1963-1964. There is thus

an increasing discrepancy between the world's food needs—which increase as the population increases—and its food production.

194. I would remind you that when the post-war international system was being planned, the first meeting to be held, on the original initiative of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was the one which met in May 1943, at Hot Springs, to establish the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), because of the importance which the President of the United States attached to food production.

195. The World Food Programme clearly has not solved any of the outstanding problems. The conclusions of FAO as published in a recent report may be summarized as follows:

(a) Within a few years, a large section of mankind will lack adequate nutrition;

(b) An increasing amount of the world's food production will not be distributed through normal channels, owing to insufficient purchasing power in the developing countries;

(c) For essentially technological reasons and as a result of economic under-development, the domestic production of a large number of developing countries will be incapable of meeting those needs which will increase considerably, owing to population growth; it is estimated that the population of those countries will have increased by 56 per cent by the end of 1980.

196. All those considerations have led the Argentine Government to reorient its policies. In recent years, Argentina, an efficient food-producing country, has constantly had to face protectionism, subsidies and unfair competition from other countries. It has therefore been fully justified in calling upon all concerned, and the developed countries in particular, at every possible opportunity, to take steps to ensure that their agricultural policies do not impede the expansion of the agricultural production of the temperate-zone countries. It does so not only because it knows that such methods are incompatible with the principles of international trade so frequently cited in GATT, but also because of its concern that the continuation of such practices will discourage an expansion of the agricultural economies of the temperate-zone countries, for that will lead, sooner or later, to a reduction in the world's supply of essential foodstuffs.

197. While continuing to uphold these views, the Argentine Government put forward at the Alta Gracia meeting^{17/} convened in March 1964 by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, and again at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, a proposal for a world food fund to replace the World Food Programme. This proposal is intended primarily to solve the problem of hunger that affects countless millions of human beings. The basic principles of the fund would be as follows:

(a) The activities undertaken would be multilateral in character. The fund would assume the responsibil-

^{17/} First Meeting of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, held at Alta Gracia, Argentina, from 24 February to 7 March 1964.

ities now borne by those countries granting bilateral food aid. Any continuing bilateral aid would have to be co-ordinated with the fund's activities.

(b) Participation in the fund would be universal. For this purpose, the participating countries would be divided into four groups: first, developing countries that lack adequate food supplies and have inadequate purchasing power; secondly, developing countries able to export foodstuffs; thirdly, industrial countries with food surpluses; and fourthly, industrial countries which import food.

(c) The resources of the fund would consist of contributions in cash or kind, depending on the group to which the country in question belonged.

(d) To achieve its aim of large-scale operations, the fund would be considerably larger than the present Programme.

(e) The fund's activities on behalf of a recipient country would come to an end when the country's level of economic development allowed it to satisfy its needs by market means.

(f) The system would be reviewed in five-years' time.

198. Turning to other comparative data, I might mention that in industrial production a more marked advance has taken place in the developing countries, compensation for the agricultural situation. At the same time it should be noted that while a growth rate of 8.1 per cent was recorded in the second half of the 1950-1960 decade, the corresponding figure for the period 1960-1964 was only 7 per cent. Meanwhile, the advanced countries have shown an increase in both fields by comparison with the figures for the previous decade.

199. The trade picture is no brighter. The total value of exports from the developing countries rose from \$27,400 million in 1960 to \$34,000 million in 1964—a growth rate of 5.6 per cent, which is almost double the rate for the period 1955-1960. However, during the same period, the developed market economy countries showed a growth rate of 8.3 per cent, while the countries with planned economies achieved a rate of 7.5 per cent.

200. The developed market economy countries increased their trade from \$82,800 million in 1960 to \$113,000 million in 1964 while the planned economies increased theirs from \$15,000 million to \$20,000 million during the same period. Thus in world trade the growth of the developing countries fell below the average for other areas, and their share in over-all trade declined from 26 per cent in 1955 to 22 per cent in 1960, and to a bare 20 per cent in 1964.

201. With regard to financial assistance, according to information supplied by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the flow of long-term private capital to the developing countries had slowed down by the end of the 1950-1960 decade in relation to the early post-war years. Although such assistance picked up a little in 1964, it is still considerably below the 1961 level.

202. The flow of public capital increased from an average of \$1,900 million during the period

1950-1955 to \$2,800 million in 1956 and to over \$5,600 million in 1961. Since then, however, the figure has levelled off and even declined. Although, according to the same source, contributions from the international financial organizations help to improve this situation, since their disbursements exceed the contributions received from the developed countries, it should also be pointed out that the flow in the opposite direction has increased more rapidly as a result of the growing rate of payment on bilateral and multilateral debts.

203. It should be noted that the total servicing of public and private foreign debts, together with other private capital earnings but excluding capital exported by nationals of the developing countries, accounts for one-third of the financial resources transferred to those countries. It may also be worth pointing out that capital exports by nationals of the developing countries are currently estimated to amount to one quarter of the new investment funds received.

204. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the economy of the advanced countries has constantly expanded, the flow of public capital from them to the developing countries has declined in relation to their gross national product from 0.75 per cent in 1961 to 0.59 per cent in 1964; in other words, it is moving further and further away from the 1 per cent goal set for the decade.

205. From the institutional standpoint, it may be said that, in the last few years—despite the progress which has been made and the untiring efforts of Mr. Prebisch, Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development—the hopes of the developing countries have not been realized.

206. A new approach to trade and development, consisting of a minimum adaptation of GATT to the needs of the developing countries, was approved by that body and has now been submitted for ratification by the parliaments of Member States. The "Kennedy Round", on the other hand, is progressing extremely slowly. In agricultural production, the industrial countries, and particularly the members of the European Economic Community, have not changed their attitude towards protectionism, which is unjust and harmful to the legitimate interests of the efficient food-producing countries. In the industrial field it is still not clear whether the developing countries will receive preferential treatment in accordance with the Principles approved by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

207. The fact that the institutions approved at the last session of the General Assembly, following the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, are not progressing as rapidly as had been hoped, has given rise to concern. Greater co-operation is needed from the advanced countries. We were greatly encouraged by the remarks made by the Secretary-General, U Thant, at the opening of the second session of the Trade and Development Board.

208. The meetings so far held of the Special Committee on Preferences, the Committee on Commodities, and the expert groups on trade in commodities and manufactures have had little practical effect in view of the continuing anarchy of the developed countries.

209. The Argentine Government considers that in order to make their work more practical and to prepare more efficiently for the next Conference, the Trade and Development Board and its Committees should, during 1966, prepare a draft trade and development charter to fill the vacuum left in international economic co-operation since the Havana Charter¹⁸ was virtually abandoned. The new charter should, logically, take into account the latest ideas on which a fairer system of economic co-operation between all countries of the world must be based.

210. However, while it is essential to bring about a more equitable distribution of world income and a better system of international trade, it is no less important to revise the monetary system in order to take due account of the pathetic realities of under-development.

211. Consequently, if the monetary system is to be revised, both the views of the advanced countries and those of the developing countries must be taken into consideration. It would be a grave mistake to attempt to dictate monetary laws for the entire world from within a small group of countries. It would be even more misguided to think that the developing economies should obey monetary doctrines which the advanced economies did not follow in their own initial stages. It should also be borne in mind that the developing countries are not so much concerned with deciding which should be the reserve currencies as with their own ability to obtain them at any time. Obviously if non-liquidity is maintained for this purpose, the question of which reserve instruments are used is of no account.

212. The situation I have outlined clearly shows that not only have living conditions for more than 1,500 million human beings afflicted with poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy not improved; they have in fact further deteriorated. Furthermore, this social situation clearly gives rise to a political insecurity which is spreading throughout the world. Thus the efforts made to secure international and regional military protection against aggression will prove inadequate unless we also make a resolute attempt to ensure the economic and social security of each national community.

213. As President Illia stated when he took over the reins of government, in order to universalize peace we must universalize development. Under-

development is to subversion, whether internal or external, as fuel is to flames. This is why the Argentine Government has suggested the institutionalization, on an American regional basis of economic and social security. We believe that the United Nations can make a world-wide and regional contribution to this end.

214. We regard economic security as that combination of policies, actions and measures which will bring about conditions for the free economic development of the State. That security is based on such factors as a sustained increase in the gross national product, national capital formation, an adequate level of exports, a flow of public and private capital to complement national savings, the development of basic industries and an economic infra-structure, and access to the latest advances in science and technology.

215. When, for reasons unrelated to the national effort, all or some of these factors are affected in such a way as to endanger conditions for the free development of a State's economy, its economic security would be regarded as threatened and it would be entitled to ask for collective assistance from the appropriate regional body.

216. All Member States would undertake to grant the assistance required of them and to comply with the decisions adopted by the competent body. They would also undertake not to adopt policies which might jeopardize the economic security of other Member States.

217. With the active sense of responsibility of a country committed to the cause of democracy, to the cause of its continent and to the cause of the world, my Government wishes, through me, to voice its concern. At the same time it has sought to co-operate with the United Nations in the search for ways to solve all our problems. We have made certain suggestions, but I emphasize our readiness to serve the United Nations in any other way.

218. We have been told that in dealing with the troubled situation confronting us at the present session we shall be assisted by the devout and unprecedented presence in our midst of His Holiness Pope Paul VI. With the enlightenment of his faith, the experience of his sanctity and the authority of his Oecumenical Pontificate, we shall be strengthened invincibly in our work, which he will surely bless and for whose ultimate triumph he will intercede with God.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

¹⁸/ United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, Havana, 21 November 1947 to 24 March 1948.