

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**1338th
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 27 September 1965,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Bosco (Italy)</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Valdés (Chile)</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Nyasulu (Malawi)</i>	<i>10</i>

President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BOSCO (Italy) (translated from French): It has become a tradition for heads of delegations, when speaking for the first time in the general debate, to congratulate the President of the General Assembly on having been summoned to this high office and to wish him success in his work.
2. For me, as head of the Italian delegation, it is a very moving occasion as I comply with this tradition. At the same time, I should like to express to all delegations Italy's warmest gratitude for the token of esteem which the Assembly has bestowed upon the President.
3. As Mr. Fanfani said in his opening address to the Assembly [1332nd meeting], the honour that has been conferred upon him extends through him to our country. It is with sincere gratitude and affection that the Italian delegation in its turn wishes the President every success in the task assigned to him at this critical moment for world peace.
4. I should like also to express sincere good wishes to the new States that have been admitted to the United Nations, namely the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, and to welcome them into this family of nations.
5. The universal confidence in the successful outcome of the work of this twentieth session is fresh proof of the vitality of the United Nations and the reason for that confidence is that the United Nations is still today the strongest bulwark of peace.
6. The experience of the past lends support to the hopes we place in the United Nations, for the past gives us the occasion to remind the critics and the pessimists that a similar institution—the League of Nations, founded in 1919—was never able to celebrate its twentieth anniversary, since by 1939 the world was already in the first throes of the Second World War.
7. Today, however, we can attend this twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly more convinced than ever that peace is mankind's

most precious possession and that violence and the brute force of arms, far from solving international problems, serve only to aggravate them, as was rightly pointed out by H.E. Mr. Leitão da Cunha, the Foreign Prime Minister of Brazil, and H.E. Mr. Goldberg, the head of the United States delegation.

8. Our common hopes must not, however, lead us to underestimate the difficulties of an international situation which we must face with renewed faith in the validity of the purposes and principles that our Organization has set itself.

9. It is these principles of solidarity and peaceful co-operation among all nations that have constantly guided the Italian Government in its efforts, in full unison with its allies, to seek every possible opportunity for discussion and a relaxation of tension in order to promote international co-operation in freedom, justice and security.

10. The visit paid recently to the Latin American countries by Mr. Giuseppe Saragat, the President of the Italian Republic, was also prompted by this policy of promoting international solidarity by strengthening the bonds of friendship between nations and between regional groups of countries. By this visit, Italy wished to consolidate the fraternal ties between peoples that are so closely linked and at the same time to reaffirm, to those countries which share its cultural and historical heritage, its desire to further their development and their ever more active participation in the peaceful progress of the world. Basing its action on these sentiments and aims, Italy counts itself among the countries that are resolved to support the peace-keeping mission of the United Nations and, at the same time, to remove the obstacles to its progress.

11. In his opening address, Mr. Fanfani observed that the Assembly session was opening at a moment when there was bloodshed in several parts of Asia and that we must combat the tendency systematically to avoid taking a stand on major world problems. If we confine ourselves to reiterating appeals to common sense and humanity, he added, and if those appeals continue to remain a dead letter, an irreparable crisis for the United Nations is bound to ensue.

12. But the events of the past few days have shown us, to our satisfaction, that for the first time in a long period the Security Council has effectively assumed its rôle—thanks to unanimity—in the conflict between India and Pakistan. We fervently hope that, with the Assembly's support, this unanimity will remain effective and operative, especially in view of the recent most regrettable violations of the truce.

13. No one, however, can fail to see that the important results achieved in the direction of a peaceful settlement of this conflict have not removed the serious difficulties which prevent the Organization from fulfilling satisfactorily and generally its essential purpose, namely, the maintenance of peace and security in every country of the world. It therefore seems to me that it would be appropriate to consider here the facts of the situation which, as I see it, faces the Organization.

14. The difficulties already mentioned by a number of other speakers—among them Mr. Vidal Zaglio, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay [1334th meeting]—arise first and foremost from a need for closer harmony among the principal Member States in order to ensure more efficient functioning of the institutional organs, as the Secretary-General said last June.

15. The second problem is the wide discrepancy between the means of action which the United Nations has at its command and the weighty and complex tasks assigned to it by the San Francisco Charter.

16. Lastly, it should be borne in mind that the United Nations was founded on the principle of universality and that unless it has this universal nature it cannot efficiently perform its principal function, the maintenance of peace.

17. If these are the causes of our present difficulties, it remains to be seen by what means we can satisfy the hopes placed in our Organization by the peoples who expect it to bring peace in security and universal advancement.

18. With regard to the first difficulty, the desired harmony among the States bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace demands ever greater efforts on their part to achieve a proper reconciliation of their respective positions and a thorough appreciation of the needs and aspirations of all peoples.

19. As for improving the functioning of the principal organs of the United Nations, we have already taken a step in the right direction by giving the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council a broader and more balanced membership. We still have to improve the functioning of the General Assembly, bearing in mind its increased membership and the necessity for co-ordination between its rôle and that of the Security Council. At the same time we must redouble our efforts to settle the disputes and controversies still outstanding as quickly as possible, in a spirit of mutual understanding, as was pointed out this morning by Mr. Zavala Ortiz, the Foreign Minister of Argentina.

20. A useful start has already been made on a study of the organizational problems by the Committee of Thirty-Three.^{1/}

21. We must now extend and intensify our search for ways and means of constantly improving the functioning of the United Nations. I wonder whether it might not be advisable for the Assembly to adopt a resolution for this purpose and for the additional

purpose of eliminating the present disparity between the resources available to the United Nations and the aims assigned to it by the Charter. The United Kingdom proposal for the discussion of the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes, which is already on the agenda of our Assembly [item 99], may provide a useful basis for consideration of the question and enable us to suggest methods and procedures for obtaining positive results.

22. As regards the problem of financial resources, we note that, thanks to the work of the Committee of Thirty-Three and the good will shown on all sides, we have already come close to a solution. It has indeed become possible for the organs of the United Nations to resume the normal functioning which is essential to the attainment of the objectives of the Organization. In this connexion, Mr. Paul Martin, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, has expressed the hope that many Member States will decide to restore the financial equilibrium of the United Nations by making special contributions. The Italian Government, in response to the initiative taken by the United Kingdom Government last June and to the solemn appeal made to Member States by the Secretary-General, endorses this invitation and has already decided to submit a bill to Parliament authorizing payment of a special contribution of \$1.5 million.

23. It is obvious, however, that there would be no purpose in uniting or supplementing all the means at the disposal of the United Nations unless we can tackle the fundamental problem of giving the Organization the universality that its very existence presupposes, without impairing its essential homogeneity.

24. To satisfy this demand of universality with homogeneity, the United Nations family must embrace the entire international community and each Member State must fulfil its obligations under the Charter. At the present time, this would mean the return of States which, like Indonesia, have temporarily withdrawn and the admission of those which are still absent. We are well aware that the latter point involves real difficulties. We know the difficulties in the case of Germany, over which still hangs the problem of peaceful and democratic reunification.

25. We are well aware of the extreme positions that have been adopted with regard to the representation of China in the United Nations. So long as these positions remain so clearly opposed and their protagonists persist in the paths they have hitherto been following, not only will it be difficult to find a solution, but we shall run the risk of prolonging a sterile controversy.

26. There is no doubt that the attitude of Peking towards the vital problems of disarmament and the peaceful settlement of the bitter conflicts going on at present scarcely helps to dispel the serious objections of those who rightly question whether conditions are favourable for a just solution of the problem.

27. In view of these facts, it is perhaps justifiable to raise certain questions to stimulate consideration of the problem.

^{1/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

28. A first question might be addressed to those who, greatly over-simplifying the matter, underestimate the gravity of the problem. They might be asked whether they have already done—and can still do—anything to persuade the Peking Government to adopt an attitude in regard to both the problem of disarmament and the present disputes that would absolve it from the accusations made against it. If Peking really wants peace, there is a testing-ground ready for it today: Viet-Nam.

29. A second question might be addressed to everyone in general and, in particular, to those who today regard the problem as almost insoluble. It might be asked whether it would not be worth while instituting, within the Organization, through the appropriate procedures and instruments by innovations if necessary, an objective analysis of the latest data on the problem and its difficulties, and of the conditions, methods and stages by which it might be solved in full consistency with the principles of the United Nations.

30. Reflection upon these two questions might start a movement that would bring together for our consideration, from various sides, the elements likely to lead to a final solution without creating fresh problems.

31. We do not, of course, delude ourselves to the point of believing that by 21 December—the date set forth for the closing of the session—all the necessary elements will have been gathered so that we can celebrate Christmas Day 1965 as a great day for peace. But we should like to hope that before the opening of the twenty-first session the proofs which we await from Peking and the elements gathered by the Organization will allow a decisive word to be spoken for the final settlement of so serious a question.

32. The Italian delegation will not fail to follow the course of the general discussion on this question, as on all others, with attention and confidence and will possibly revert to this subject later.

33. Besides the questions of primary importance for the very existence of our Organization, there is another series of political problems.

34. I should like to refer, first of all, to a question which has always aroused great interest at the various sessions of the General Assembly, as being the most significant expression of the changes that have occurred within the international community.

35. The trend towards association, which in such varied ways and for such varied reasons is proving irresistible in the world today, the recognition of the fundamental rights of the human person which the conscience of the world community is now extending to the personality of peoples, demands that the whole range of problems known as decolonization problems shall be solved once and for all.

36. Whereas in the past history of international law numerous forms of colonial dependency were to be found, today we must recognize finally and unreservedly the principle of the right to independence of all peoples having the necessary qualifications

for organizing themselves into independent State Communities.

37. During the five years that have elapsed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, great strides have been made towards its implementation. There are still a few cases where the situation is static and does not satisfy the aspirations to freedom and independence which the modern world affirms, but we should like to hope that understanding and broadmindedness will prevail, resulting in solutions that will take into account, on a basis of general collaboration, the inexorable drive of the peoples of the world towards independence.

38. All the speakers who have preceded me have pointed out that serious conflicts today are causing mourning and suffering throughout the world.

39. Italy was profoundly distressed to learn of the outbreak of hostilities between two great countries of ancient civilization, India and Pakistan. From the very first day it appealed to those two peoples, both friends of Italy, to seek out the way to agreement. From Santiago, on 19 September, the President of the Italian Republic and the President of Chile renewed this appeal. For this reason we warmly welcomed the initial action undertaken by Secretary-General U Thant to bring about a cessation of hostilities and the subsequent appeal made to the two parties by the Security Council. We should like at this point to express to the Governments of India and Pakistan our satisfaction at their wise decision to comply with the Security Council's request and we hope that it will be possible, through prompt negotiations and good faith, to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the political issues underlying the conflict, without disturbing the truce that has been established.

40. In the meantime, by way of giving concrete evidence of its interest in the United Nations' work of pacification in this area, the Italian Government has decided to place at the disposal of the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan a first team of observer officers, to be sent to Kashmir to join the other Italian forces already posted there.

41. With regard to the serious Viet-Nameese problem too, Italy is prepared, as it has repeatedly stated, to support any steps—particularly by the United Nations—which may really lead to negotiations for a speedy and peaceful, and at the same time, equitable and lasting, solution of the questions which provoked the hostilities; only this morning, this fact was very well brought out by Mr. Bourguiba, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia. We cannot but regret, however, that so far various endeavours made in good faith and with constructive intentions have not been followed up but have met with categorical objections, whether relating to the goals at which Hanoi is aiming or to the prerequisites for any negotiations is not clear. We think that, after the statements on this subject which were made by the United States Government and confirmed in this Assembly [1334th meeting] by Mr. Goldberg, the Head of the United States delegation, opportunities and occasions should again be sought for all parties concerned to meet in a constructive way.

42. Another problem that has fortunately passed the stage of armed violence but is still giving rise to concern is the problem of Cyprus, which involves countries that are our friends and are particularly close to us in the Mediterranean region.

43. We appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary-General, by the United Nations mediators and by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, to which we have contributed and in direct form; and we are prepared to support any solutions that are acceptable to the parties principally concerned, provided that the treaties and principles of international law are duly taken into account.

44. Assuming that the existing conflicts can be settled or almost settled, we must think about preventing new ones. This brings us to the problem of disarmament or, to be more accurate, the series of problems involved in the general question of disarmament.

45. The Italian Government has, on various occasions and in every forum, reaffirmed its strong determination to co-operate as actively as possible in the achievement of general and complete disarmament and in the implementation of any other measures which may reduce tension and halt the arms race, and it has done everything in its power to promote a resumption and intensification of the negotiations on disarmament.

46. In my opinion, the results of recent work both at the Headquarters of the United Nations and at Geneva are on the whole positive, although once again the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament was unfortunately unable to reach concrete conclusions.

47. The renewed contact between East and West at Geneva, with the participation of the non-aligned countries, has helped to create a better climate, which has also been fostered by the extensive friendly personal contacts between the representatives during their visit to Italy.

48. But in addition to achieving these psychological results, which are not to be disparaged, the Eighteen-Nation Committee submitted to the Assembly a report [A/5986] to which are annexed concrete proposals of not inconsiderable interest. I refer both to the two memoranda prepared by the eight delegations of non-aligned countries and to the proposals made by the Western delegations on the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons.

49. For the first time at Geneva the Conference was presented with a draft general treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons which, if concluded, would eliminate once and for all the ever more threatening dangers of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The draft submitted by the United States and supported by the other Western delegations has not yet been accepted by the Soviet Union, which, through Mr. Gromyko, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, submitted its own draft to the Assembly at the meeting on 24 September [1355th meeting].

50. We felt, however, that the countries not possessing nuclear power should not remain inactive if there is to be much more delay in the signing of a treaty guaranteeing the security of all and therefore of

those countries, too. They should take the initiative in renouncing national control of nuclear weapons for a certain time, in the hope that in the meantime the nuclear States will stop developing such weapons and then start gradually dismantling their arsenals. This is the idea which Mr. Fanfani, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, put to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on 29 July 1965, in a statement which evoked widespread interest.

51. This idea was immediately supported by the majority of the delegations of non-aligned countries in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and was regarded as constructive by many Governments. For this reason, Italy thought it would be useful to submit to the Eighteen-Nation Committee the draft declaration which is now before the Assembly.^{2/} I hope that the Assembly, though it cannot take action on draft treaties, will consider this draft and, finding it consonant with its own objectives, will support it and refer it to the Eighteen-Nation Committee to be put into final shape.

52. Of course, our proposal does not pretend to solve the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is a bridge along the road to the final goal of a true solution. We consider that, if this proposal were accepted by a large number of non-nuclear States and particularly by the countries which are nearest to acquiring nuclear capacity, it would at least provide a respite in this fatal nuclear arms race.

53. We steadfastly hope that, if no more decisive proposals for a treaty are submitted to it, the Assembly will endorse this appeal by Italy with the weight of its political authority and moral force.

54. Naturally, there are many other disarmament problems besides that of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons on the agenda and they will have to be considered by the Assembly. In this way, by reaffirming the need to achieve the desired results, the Assembly will be able to encourage the continuation of negotiations by the appropriate organ, thus empowering the Eighteen-Nation Committee to continue its work.

55. The Disarmament Commission has also submitted to the Assembly a resolution on the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.^{3/} The position of the Italian delegation on this problem is already known. We reaffirm that we are, generally speaking, in favour of this Conference, which could associate all the countries of the world in the achievement of general and complete disarmament. In order, however, to ensure that all will participate in this Conference, it should not be held until there are reasonable prospects of universal attendance, which is one of the essential prerequisites for success.

56. Before speaking at greater length about the economic problems on the agenda, I should like to make special mention of one which is closely linked to the problems of disarmament and to which my delegation attaches overriding importance. I refer

^{2/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, sect. D.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, document DC/224.

to the allocation of the resources released by disarmament to activities that can promote the advancement of the developing countries.

57. In this connexion, looking ahead to the solemn visit which the Assembly is to receive on 4 October, I should like once again to recall the message which His Holiness Pope Paul VI gave to the world on 4 December 1964 when he was at Bombay. This lofty appeal—urging the nations to halt the arms race and to devote their resources and energies, or at least part of the resources spent on armaments, to extending brotherly help to the peoples who are demanding a higher level of living—had an encouraging echo in our Assembly.

58. Following a suggestion made by the Italian delegation and by other delegations, the Disarmament Commission adopted by a very large majority, almost unanimously, a resolution which is now before us and which invites us to consider this important problem.

59. I consider that the relationship between disarmament and the economic and social advancement of the peoples, which has already been recognized by the Disarmament Commission, is extremely important in itself, even if for the time being it is only the expression of a principle and a moral duty. We are aware of the difficulties involved in transposing this idea to the practical plane, but are convinced that it will be done as soon as possible. The implementation of the first collateral measures of disarmament to be agreed on should make it possible to take a first step in response to the lofty appeal made by one of the most authoritative voices, to which we are all undoubtedly responsive.

60. It goes without saying that this proposal is not incompatible with others pursuing a similar aim. Mr. da Cunha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, and Mr. Thiam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, after making a detailed analysis of the economic situation of the developing countries, reminded us last Thursday [1334th meeting] of certain recommendations addressed to the industrialized countries by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Italy reaffirms its intention to follow the road indicated in these recommendations.

61. The present situation requires a redoubling of efforts. There is no lack of signposts to show the way. Specific and detailed studies have already been made by the Organization. Now we must act. The United Nations Development Decade, in which 1965 is the half-way mark, must close with the success we all desire. If production is expanded, the marketing and trading system is improved and the efforts of all are concerted, an international society should rise from more solid and more just foundations, in which all peoples will be able to enjoy well-being in harmony.

62. Italy firmly intends to co-operate constructively in this policy and it is in this spirit that financial assistance to the developing countries was recently included by the Italian Government in the five-year programme for the Italian economy for 1966 to 1970. Already in the past our economic aid to these countries represented a considerable effort for our economy: expenditure on this item in the period

1956 to 1964 amounted to an average of \$238 million a year.

63. In addition, foreign trade statistics show clearly that Italy is one of the industrialized countries whose imports from the developing countries, considered as a whole, considerably exceed its exports to those countries, thus helping the latter to dispose of their excess production.

64. It was in this spirit of co-operation to which I have referred that the Italian Government was glad to see the institutional machinery of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development go into operation in the last few months and it is convinced that the expansion of international trade can provide a valid answer to a number of the most important problems posed by economic development. When the secretariat of the Conference has started work and the General Assembly has made the final choice of a headquarters for the secretariat—which has been invited to Italy should Switzerland no longer be in the running for it—it will be easier to make a more detailed examination of the problems involved.

65. In the same spirit, Italy is following with interest the intensification of the activities and programmes of the Centre for Industrial Development; in addition, the International Centre for Vocational and Technical Training is about to open at Turin and will train thousands of young people from developing countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

66. The eyes of our peoples are fixed on the United Nations, trying to see what we shall be able to do to satisfy the need for peace and security which is shared by all mankind. We have eloquent proof of this expectation in the pilgrimage which Pope Paul VI will make from Rome to our Assembly in eight days' time, in order to encourage us in the face of difficulties and to spur us on to action.

67. By responding to this appeal and helping to strengthen peace in justice and freedom, the United Nations will show that, following its ideals, it is striving to guarantee to all peoples the free and peaceful progress which is the most important purpose for which the Organization was created.

68. Mr. VALDES (Chile) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Government and people of Chile I wish to congratulate the President of this Assembly most warmly on his election. For many years we have admired his outstanding ability, his abundant talent and his devotion to the service of political ideals which we share and towards the realization of which he has opened up valuable paths. We appreciate his devotion to unity and peace.

69. A few days ago, during the visit of Mr. Giuseppe Saragat, the President of the Italian Republic, we had the honour of welcoming Mr. Fanfani in Chile, where he received the sincere and spontaneous homage of our people. His experience and his distinguished personality are a guarantee that our debates will be guided with efficiency and serenity.

70. I also welcome the new Members of our Organization, Singapore, the Gambia and the Maldives Islands, and wish them prosperity in their new life as independent nations.

71. Participation in this international debate gives us an opportunity to proclaim our principles, to define our policy and to offer our co-operation. We speak for a democratic nation and for the Government of the Chilean people, who twice in the past year have expressed their determination to make a significant alteration in their living conditions and have blazed the revolutionary trail of change in freedom.

72. I address myself to the representatives of most of the world's peoples, in the certainty that only here, in the United Nations, can world peace, the ultimate objective of my country's foreign policy, be strengthened. That is why all peoples look to this Organization with hope.

73. Man has achieved dominion over nature through the power of science, but it is not by science and power alone that he will advance towards fulfilment, for, as Dr. Albert Schweitzer said, man must attain that high degree of intelligence that will enable him to use his power over natural forces not for destruction, but only for construction.

74. The price of peace is justice, for there will be no peace in the world as long as poverty and wealth live side by side, as long as some countries possess nothing and others possess everything. If, as we hope, one day all the peoples of the world decide to live in peace, they will be able to do so only by willingly sharing common tasks and objectives inspired by the principles that govern the United Nations. We are convinced that peace, justice and freedom form an indissoluble whole. Peace will never be able to exist in this world without justice, nor will peace and justice without freedom.

75. In conformity with these principles, Chile declares its profound dedication to everything that means respect for and strengthening of human rights, because our generation, which has left behind the era of feudalism and racism, must overcome nationalism and aim resolutely at a world government under the rule of law, serving all men without distinction or exclusion. Chile declares its profound devotion to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Chile declares its sincere repudiation of selfish nationalism, which prevents men from undertaking a common task. Finally, Chile declares that the liberation of mankind from poverty, oppression and insecurity can be achieved only by means of the effective solidarity of all peoples.

76. We are sure that these principles are shared by all peoples, yet today we face a terrifying reality. Mankind witnesses repeated aggressive confrontations and sees with stupefaction that irresponsible leaders reject even coexistence, exposing their peoples to extermination as though they had the right to dispose of human life. For us, coexistence is not a concession but the recognition of the simple need to survive.

77. In speaking of peace, I cannot fail to refer to other dangers that threaten peace in the world today. At the sight of man killing man, and of resources being destroyed in Viet-Nam, I must recall and support the position of the United States, the United Kingdom, the non-aligned countries and the Secretary-General of the United Nations which can be expressed

in the words used by President Johnson when he said "We have said that we are prepared to negotiate anywhere and at any time", adding, "the people of South Viet-Nam must have the right to determine their own future in free elections in the South or throughout the whole of Viet-Nam". We are glad that this decision was so decisively reiterated by Mr. Goldberg a few days ago in this Assembly [1334th meeting]. This appeal should be heard and accepted.

78. Thanks to the efforts of the Secretary-General and the co-operation of many nations, it has been possible to bring the conflict between India and Pakistan under control and to prevent it from constituting a new threat to peace.

79. The United Nations also made a positive contribution to the cause of peace in the sad conflict in which the people of the Dominican Republic were involved in their struggle for freedom, a struggle which has fortunately found a political solution that will enable this brother nation to choose its own government. That was the solution advocated by Chile from the very beginning.

80. In speaking of peace, we cannot fail to mention expenditure on armaments. It is hard to depict madness, but it must be repeated in this Assembly that \$120,000 million is wasted yearly on armaments production. A sum equivalent to the annual income of all the under-developed countries is spent on the production of instruments of destruction. When fifty million men dedicate their intelligence and abilities to activities related to defence, we can say with certainty that man is defenceless against hate and fear and that our era, which could have been the most promising, is the most perilous in human history.

81. We condemn particularly the threat to peace and to mankind caused by the production of atomic bombs and the possibility of trading in them. That is why we have advocated the denuclearization of Latin America; that is why we hope that not one additional atomic bomb will be produced and that no country which today is innocent of possessing nuclear weapons will come to possess them. Such instruments should not be bought or sold. In short, the possession, production, sale and use of nuclear weapons should be totally prohibited.

82. We heartily welcome the desire to limit the nuclear arms race expressed in this Assembly by the two great world Powers. We hope that their proposals will form the basis for a speedy agreement at this session. We hope that an effective disarmament process will be initiated, under United Nations control, and that we may thus attain the principal objective for which all peoples yearn. If all these resources were no longer used for military purposes but were devoted to building a world without poverty, this generation would have fulfilled its historical duty, because in advancing towards disarmament it would have progressed towards development; by attaining peace, it would achieve justice.

83. How intense this concern must be, how great the dangers if, for the first time in history, a man who is the very personification of peace and love for all mankind, His Holiness the Pope, is, with his

presence, to lend a new dimension to this rostrum and provide the most valuable recognition of this Organization's peace-keeping mission!

84. He will come to an Assembly in which the equality of all members is a myth, not a fact, owing to the wide and ever-increasing differences in levels of living. Every year, more goods are available for those who have most, while for those who have little or nothing the possibility of acquiring goods decreases. We do not believe that a world of inequality can survive, for it would be a world without peace. That is why we stress the problem of under-development, for progress in the field of political independence has not been followed by economic and above all by social progress.

85. Today colonialism has become largely a thing of the past, but new and more subtle forms of neo-colonialism persist. The under-developed economies still depend on international markets dominated by the industrialized countries; consequently, the nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia have been losing ground in world trade. While the value of their exports declines, the price of their imports is rising rapidly. In this situation, the developed countries, both those with market economies and those with centrally-planned economies, as consumers of raw materials and producers of manufactured goods, have enjoyed the best of both worlds, whereas the under-developed countries have had the worst of both worlds. We call this economic imperialism, and we could also call it exploitation.

86. It was here, in the United Nations, that this situation was revealed. The regional economic commissions, in their studies, showed what was happening in world trade. The turbulent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was world-wide in scope, gave the poor countries an opportunity to demonstrate the reality in which they live.

87. Today economic conditions are responsible for a new division of the world. Within this framework there has arisen in the United Nations a group of countries which, bound together by their common problems, jointly seek a way out of their condition as under-developed countries, handicapped by the present terms of world trade. The third world, the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, aligned by their common deprivation, have united to persuade the wealthy countries that true progress is common progress, that nothing can grow unless growth is common to all and that, as has been said, it is unfair and unnatural for one branch alone to absorb all the sap of the tree, growing on the death of all the other branches. Faced with the vehement expression of views by the under-developed countries, the Western countries cannot forget their responsibilities.

88. It was in the small society of free men in Greece that Western civilization began. There an anti-individualist society created, with a collective soul and common values, the possibility of the development of individual genius. Through the total freedom of a human group, intelligence definitively overcame instinct.

89. It is for us, with two thousand years of additional historical experience, to make the world a place for the collective soul and for creative effort.

90. It was the Christian West that taught the world that solidarity is a way of life, that man is the ultimate purpose of all social, political and economic effort, that culture is man's creation and his right and that every man is responsible for all men. It is these basic values that have inspired Western civilization, but they have often been forgotten and colonialism and the exploitation of the coloured man by the white man have become facts of history.

91. Can the West forget the duty inherent in its moral concepts and the responsibilities deriving from its past behaviour? We hope it will not forget. We believe that a conscientious desire for co-operation with the developing countries has begun to emerge. The West now understands the tensions it helped to create, and is listening with growing interest and justified concern to the protests it has taught the developing countries to formulate.

92. Latin America is Western. With its 200 million inhabitants—they will be 500 million by the end of the century—who love freedom which, though sometimes suppressed, has always triumphed, it constitutes a force for renewal which can and must be a decisive contribution to the great task of achieving progress and peace in the world. For that reason Chile has strengthened its bonds with Europe.

93. Europe is today giving increasing demonstrations of solidarity with Latin America. We consider that this relationship enriches, articulates and complements Latin America's relations with the United States, for Europe brings its own creative genius, expressed in so many political, social and cultural values which we have in common. When we look at Europe and the United States, we do not forget that we belong to the world of the developing countries. The peoples who seek justice and peace may be sure that in Chile they will find a faithful and resolute exponent of the problems which affect us equally.

94. The Government of the Chilean people, seeking fruitful contacts with all the nations of the world, has begun a direct approach to countries of Africa and Asia. It has also renewed its relations with the countries of the socialist world, whose accelerated progress may come to represent a factor of great importance for our development. We are convinced that ideological differences need not be obstacles to coexistence, enduring relations and co-operation with all countries which accept peaceful coexistence, respect the right of peoples to self-determination and abide by the principle of non-intervention.

95. For years it has been said that Latin America would be an explosive continent. We believe that the revolution has already begun; as its problems affect a vast area of the world, we speak of them in this Assembly and they should be of concern to this Organization. The struggles to destroy the established order in Latin America are well known. The revolutionary process under way threatens an institutional establishment which has neither adjusted itself to

the requirements of social development nor demonstrated economic efficiency.

96. There is undoubtedly agitation from outside, stirring up and organizing revolt, but the profound cause lies elsewhere and must be sought in the signs which we see today in Latin America. It is to be found in the political will of the peoples to be masters of their own destiny, to possess culture, to exercise their rights and to enjoy the benefits of civilization. It is to be found in recognition of the fact that the survival of political freedom is incompatible with the persistence of poverty.

97. Latin America has inherited from the West the spirit of rebellion, of rebellion which occurs when there is theoretical equality but great inequalities in practice, when the law ceases to be the instrument of justice and becomes the instrument of privilege, bringing about its own destruction. It is obvious that this rebellion is not only a desire for justice and progress. To a greater or lesser extent ideological factors, alien to our culture, intrude, tending to turn our region into a battlefield and endeavouring to pervert the just expression of our people's desire for change and to launch them into destructive violence.

98. Is this a sufficient reason to arrest the movement of the peoples who are struggling to advance towards freedom and to obtain political, social and economic rights which they see flourishing in other communities but which are denied to them? It is essential to understand and to discern this phenomenon if the advance of justice is not to be halted and if the abuse of privileges under cover of ideological pretexts is to be prevented.

99. The people of Latin America are wise and intelligent and have their own vision of their problems; when faced with real alternatives they know how to choose what suits them best if they are allowed to select freely. They know that guerrilla warfare and illegal violence do not lead to the establishment of justice, and to the extent that they acquire culture and opportunities they understand that only by their voluntary efforts can their poverty be overcome.

100. It is by having faith in the people, by guiding and organizing their advance towards the conquest of their own rights and the exercise of their responsibilities that we shall be able to face the facts of the present-day world. We consider that, for this historic process to be carried out to the best advantage, all Latin American nations must be united in their determination to achieve integration, which will make it possible to bring about an accelerated, and therefore peaceful, development. It is encouraging to note here the complete agreement on this subject already shown in the statements of the Foreign Minister of Brazil [1334th meeting], Uruguay [1335th meeting] and Argentina [1337th meeting]. By this means Latin America must strengthen its cultural identity and work towards a unity which, while respecting the autonomy of the individual communities, will enable it to take its place in the hemisphere and the world with its own personality and objectives.

101. Chile considers that, in order to carry out structural reforms and achieve integration, a close association with the United States on terms of dignity, respect, confidence and mutual understanding is essential. This association is not based only on geography, which obviously is a determining factor in political and economic realities; it has been nourished by a continuous process of juridical development that has given form to a regional system, the oldest and largest in the world. Furthermore, there is an essential solidarity between Latin America and the United States founded on a common acceptance of the principles of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights.

102. But this solidarity, which already has political expression, must be supplemented by its full realization in the social and economic fields. This we think, was the essential spirit of the Alliance for Progress. This spirit must be imbued with new life so that it may respond to the requirements of the present time, and the instruments of the Alliance must be perfected so that they may be equal to the difficult role which the peoples expect of it.

103. We consider that only a positive, united, urgent and bold effort can give our peoples progress in freedom. For all these reasons we do not favour the creation of supranational military forces. They would undoubtedly create dangers for the independence and self-determination of our peoples and might generate mistrust among the nations of the continent, encourage an arms race, arouse appetites and, in the last analysis, threaten to destroy the process of unification. There has already been one Holy Alliance, which tried to hold back the course of justice in an attempt to preserve a dying order. We are convinced that any other Holy Alliance would be equally ill-fated.

104. There are various other reasons why my Government cannot accept regional military forces. Among them, I wish to stress one in particular, namely that peace is indivisible and that when peace is endangered in one nation of the world it is threatened throughout the world. Peace is the concern of all nations, and in the international community it is the concern of the United Nations, the only world-wide organization in a world of division.

105. The United Nations has its legal and institutional machinery for strengthening peace in the world. Let us perfect this machinery, let us give it the moral force which our firm support would provide, let us create whatever instruments it lacks; but let us not parcel out a task which belongs to all men and not only to those who live in a certain region or subscribe to a certain common ideology.

106. The Organization of American States is an organization with the United Nations and, as such, is not called upon to establish military forces. It must accept among its members all the countries of the region, whatever their governmental, economic or social systems may be, provided always they respect the basic principles of non-intervention and the protection and support of human rights.

107. Non-intervention is a fundamental duty of all peoples. It is a bulwark of the inter-American system.

This principle, whose violation has always been denounced by Chile, is an obligation on all States, large and small, for it is a basic moral law of the international order. In the Americas, moreover, it is determined by treaty and must be respected. To concede to any State the right to intervene in the life of another, on any pretext whatsoever, or to claim that right for ourselves, would lead us into an untenable position.

108. We consider that in the political field the essential factor of hemispheric unity lies in the effective practice of and vigilant concern for human political, social and economic rights. The most important of these rights is that whereby a people can choose its own government and maintain it against any designs that run counter to its free and democratic expression.

109. I should like to quote from one who has helped to inspire our conception of the world, Jacques Maritain, and say: "It is to new problems and new changes to come that the creative energy of history has shifted. . . . And it is the job of human free will to prepare and bring about these events in the right direction and under an inspiration really worthy of man."^{4/}

110. Chile has shouldered this task and begun its revolution in freedom. We have laid down an uncompromising programme of government that consists in incorporating the people into the exercise of political power and into our culture, so that the development of our economy may have a social objective and the fruits of our collective effort may benefit the great majority. This is the mandate which the Chilean people has on two occasions given to its new Government.

111. We are a peace-loving people and we need peace in order to carry forward the great efforts which we are making in our domestic affairs to transform the basic structure of our political, economic and social institutions so that our people may enjoy justice in freedom. In this effort we are counting above all on the self-sacrifice and support willingly given by the majority of the Chilean people.

112. Our revolution cannot cause anyone disquiet; it represents a danger to no one save those who would try to halt our progress because they seek to defend indefensible privileges, or those who would seek to install in our country any régime or system that would threaten our freedom.

113. There are many who are looking for failure on our part because they fear freedom. This fear of freedom implies a fear of reform and a fear of the people too. Short-term solutions that sacrifice freedom are solutions with no future. Appearances in a rotten order are paid for very dearly. Only a new order based on justice and efficiency will defend and strengthen democracy. Because of this, they seek, from within or from without, to misrepresent us by accusing our revolution of being either a new disguise for reaction and imperialism or else an instrument of totalitarianism, both of which are

incompatible with our ideology and our democratic tradition, which has never been interrupted in the 155 years of our independence.

114. As is natural, we want to be successful in our struggle, not only in order to make our people happy but also in order to demonstrate to other peoples with problems like our own that it is possible to organize the will for change and to carry out, in freedom, a revolution in which the fundamental values of Christian civilization, namely the dignity and essential rights of the human person are preserved.

115. We consider it necessary that there should be a substantial increase in our efforts at home towards development; that will require changes in the very foundations of the existing legal and economic order, so that the entire community may participate in it and enjoy its fruits, for there is no economic development without social development. These efforts, however, will not yield their maximum results without adequate and timely financial and technical co-operation from outside.

116. It is possible that, under a dictatorial régime, internal efforts alone might suffice, without external aid. But we are interested not only in economic development but basically in its political and social results. The price we may pay for development will not be the sacrifice of human rights and the abandonment of democracy.

117. New formulas are necessary in international co-operation, formulas that will offer a genuine possibility of halting the gradual deterioration in the balance-of-payments position of the underdeveloped countries and that will not entail the tragic necessity of getting into debt in order to pay off past debts.

118. In order to proceed with our domestic effort, we have initiated an accelerated programme of agrarian reform; we have changed the traditional tax system, in which privileges abounded, so that those who possess the most shall be those who contribute the most to the common effort. We have initiated constitutional reform so that every Chilean, without limitation, can elect his representatives and delegate authority, so that the people may be consulted directly when political conditions so require, and so that the right to own property may function as it should in a society in which that right has been enjoyed by only a few. We have started a mass educational campaign for the whole Chilean people, the results of which, as UNESCO has pointed out, are already an example even for the most advanced countries in the world. We are providing decent housing for all Chileans.

119. In what we have been doing in these ten months of government, in the profound changes we have been making, the creation of conditions for converting Chile into a humane and just society, modern in its achievements, free and peaceful in its customs, Chile has received invaluable co-operation from other countries. In that noble spirit of co-operation which inspired the Alliance for Progress, we have been understood and are being given unfailing help in carrying out the reforms which four years ago

^{4/} See Jacques Maritain, *On the Philosophy of History*, edited by Joseph W. Evans (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York), p. 68.

the Latin American countries undertook to introduce. We have acted with determination, because the diagnosis and forecasts had already been made.

120. The stage through which Latin America is passing today is not one of marking time; it is a time for bringing about the necessary changes in all rapidity. We are convinced that in order to do this it is necessary to hasten the union of the peoples of the continent in an alliance against the old order, an alliance to promote and establish social change. To this end, we must bring the Alliance for Progress up to date and give it new life, and ensure that henceforth development and economic progress will be the real concern of inter-American multilateral policy, so that democracy can be established on a firm basis. We wish to see a creative process established through which effective work will be done for the well-being of the American man, who is weary of so much wretchedness.

121. In outlining the international policy of the Chilean Government before this Assembly, all I wanted to do was to reflect our conviction that, as Teilhard de Chardin said, "The outcome of the world, the gates of the future, the entry into the superhuman—these are not thrown open to a few of the privileged nor to one chosen people to the exclusion of all others. They will open to an advance of all together, in a direction in which all together can join and find completion in a spiritual renovation of the earth".^{5/}

122. Mr. NYASULU (Malawi): Mr. President, I would like to join the many other delegates who have congratulated you on your elevation to your high office. We in Malawi cannot claim to have been a colony of Rome except perhaps as a second generation one. You must have taught Britain a good lesson on how to build an empire, but Britain does not seem to have learned from her own experience that colonized people have the tendency to demand their independence, and to get it, too. But there is one common feature that encourages us; this is that just as Britain gets on well with you, we get on well with Britain. Perhaps Britain learned this lesson from Rome. It is our pleasure that we are on very friendly terms with your country, and it is our hope that the wisdom which has made you a man of distinction in your own country will be of much greater use in guiding the deliberations of the nations of the world.

123. I should also at this juncture sincerely congratulate my brother, Alex Quaison-Sackey, who has just been relieved of the heavy burden of the strenuous nineteenth session of the General Assembly. The able manner in which he handled the delicate issues is a credit to Africa as well as to Ghana. I would venture to say Alex Quaison-Sackey has earned for himself a place in the history not only of this Organization but also of the world. We are proud of him, Ghana is proud of him, Africa is proud of him, and I am certain the world is equally proud of him.

124. May I also take this opportunity to associate myself with the warm tributes and sincere congratulations that have been paid to Gambia, the Maldive

Islands and Singapore on their admission to this Organization. In wishing the Governments and peoples of these three sovereign States every success in the future, may I also express the hope that this world Organization will be all the more richer by the adding of three distinguished representatives from these States.

125. It is a great honour for me to be present here today in this august Assembly, in which are represented nearly all the nations of the free and peace-loving world, to represent my country and my Prime Minister, Mr. Kamuzu Banda. My pleasure and that of my colleagues in the Malawi delegation is only marred by the fact that it has proved impossible for my Prime Minister to be here in person. It has been a great disappointment to him that the pressure of Government business in Malawi at the present time is such that it has proved impossible for him to get away and once more lead the Malawi delegation and deliver to you personally his address on the occasion of the opening of the twentieth session of this Assembly, and he has asked me to convey to you his apologies for his unavoidable absence. He has also entrusted to me the important task of delivering to you, Mr. President, and Members of this Assembly the message which he had hoped to be able to deliver in person. I trust therefore, Mr. President, that you and the Members of the Assembly will grant me, as a very unworthy substitute for my Prime Minister, your indulgence.

126. In these circumstances, Mr. President, my Prime Minister wishes me to deliver to you and to Members of this Assembly the following message on his behalf:

"Mr. President,

"It is with deep regret that I have not been able on this occasion to enjoy both the honour and the pleasure of leading my country's delegation to the twentieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations this year. When, however, a ship of state is a small one and the crew thereof few in number, it is difficult for the captain to leave his bridge for any length of time, especially when there are difficult waters to be navigated. I, as captain of the ship of state of Malawi, find myself in just such a position and much as I should have liked to have done, I regret that it has proved impossible for me to leave Malawi and come to New York in person at this time.

"Nevertheless, Mr. President, I would like on this occasion to place before you and Members of this august Assembly the views of my Government on some of the issues of importance which face the world today and which I am sure will form the subjects of deliberation in this Assembly during its present sitting. I have therefore chosen my honourable and trusted Minister of Health, the Hon. A. M. Nyasulu, M.P., to represent me personally on this occasion and to deliver to you on my behalf a message touching upon these matters.

"I therefore, Mr. President, crave the indulgence of yourself and of all Members of this Assembly on account of my absence, and ask you to receive

^{5/} See Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* (Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York) p. 244.

Mr. Nyasulu as my personal representative and to grant him hearing as you would to myself.

"One of the reasons, Mr. President, why I am particularly sad that I cannot address these remarks to you in person is because this year marks the twentieth anniversary of the coming into being of the United Nations, and I would have liked personally to say a few words of congratulations to you and to the body over which you preside on such an occasion. Malawi is but in its second year of membership of the United Nations, or perhaps to be more accurate I should say only in its first year of membership because, although this is the second General Assembly at which my country has had the honour to be represented, it is still not twelve months since we were admitted to membership of the United Nations. That, however, does not in any way diminish the pride that I and my Government feel in being a Member of an Organization in which we have the utmost faith, whose aims and ideals we support whole-heartedly, and whose future we will do everything in our power to assure. There are some, I know, who think that the United Nations is outmoded, that it no longer has a really useful role to play, and that it should be replaced by some new world organization which is as yet no more than the figment of someone's imagination. With that view, Malawi entirely disagrees. We should not devote our energies to the destruction of an edifice which it has taken twenty years to build to even its present size and eminence, and upon which there is much still to be built. We should not seek to discard like a worn-out piece of machinery an Organization which has taken so long to build and perfect and which, throughout more than twenty years, has been such a strong and salutary influence in the struggle to attain harmony amongst the peace-loving nations of the world and which has stood, buffeted perhaps on occasions, but firm and solid throughout, as a champion of peace amongst all peace-loving peoples of the world. Even to contemplate starting again from the beginning to build up a new Organization in place of, or even, as I have heard it suggested, in opposition to, the United Nations, is in the view of my Government sheer madness.

"Rather, we should devote our energies to repairing that edifice where it needs repair, to bolstering up the structure where it need bolstering up, and to enabling the United Nations to go forward in strength rather than succumb to weakness. My Government will not, therefore, support any movement aimed at weakening or bringing about the destruction of the United Nations.

"I know that one of the root causes behind certain suggestion that the United Nations has become outmoded and should be replaced by an organization more in keeping with the times, was a feeling of frustration during the last General Assembly, which stemmed from the fact that the normal business of the Assembly was somewhat disrupted owing to certain unfortunate disagreements in principle over the interpretation of Article 19 of the United Nations Charter. I am happy, however, to see that those difficulties appear to have been resolved, so that

the Assembly can now proceed with its important work in the normal manner, and Malawi would like to pay tribute to those whose diplomatic generosity has made this possible.

"This year, in addition to being one in which the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations has been celebrated, has also been dedicated as International Co-operation Year. The concept of international co-operation is one in which Malawi, in common, I would like to believe, with every Member of the United Nations, whole-heartedly believes. Yet, unhappily, we see around us all too many indications that there are some who think that such co-operation need only be confined to material things, to co-operation in the field of science and technology and the exchange of learning, forgetting that there can be no true co-operation between the nations of the world unless there is real co-operation in the political and humanitarian field evinced by a genuine desire to settle disputes and iron out differences in a peaceful manner.

"The existence today of so much armed conflict in the world should be a matter of grave concern to every nation which is a Member of the United Nations; every such nation must search its own conscience and satisfy itself—whether it be a mere onlooker or an unhappy participant in some armed struggle—that it has done everything in its power to avoid the outbreak of armed conflict in the world. Any nation which cannot do this has no right to be a Member of the United Nations and, similarly, any nation not yet a Member of the United Nations who cannot do this has no right to aspire to such membership. Membership of the United Nations is a privilege and with that privilege go responsibilities to uphold the ideals and principles for which the United Nations stands. No nation which encourages warlike intervention in the affairs of other countries or which is not prepared to settle its differences with others otherwise than by the use of armed force has any right to claim membership of that Organization. Malawi will support fully and whole-heartedly the condemnation of the use of force as a means of settlement of any disputes between nations of whatever nature—however just or unjust the cause of either side.

"In the address which I was privileged to be allowed to make to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, I referred to my country's attitude towards the problem of divided or disputed sovereignty over China, and on that occasion I said, to quote my own words:

" 'Justice and fair play demand that the Government in Peking, presided over by Mao Tse-tung, be recognized as the legal and rightful Government of China.

" 'I should like to go further. In my view, the Government in Peking—that is, the Government of Mao Tse-tung—should be recognized by the United Nations, by this Assembly, by the Security Council, as the legal government of China now.' [1238th meeting, paras. 81 and 82.]

"The People's Republic of China is still not a Member of the United Nations, and I know that the question of its membership will come under close debate during the present session of the General Assembly. I must therefore make clear my country's attitude towards this important issue.

"In the course of my remarks last year, to which I have just referred, I said that a country consisting of 4.3 million square miles and a population of over 700 million people cannot be denied a voice in world affairs: they have a right to be represented and to be heard in the councils of the world, of which the United Nations is the most important. Malawi therefore would not oppose in principle the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations on the same terms as any other nation.

"Having said that, however, I must add certain important qualifications: Admission to the United Nations is like admission to membership of any other club; there are rules for the admission of members and there are rules which, after admission, members must observe and which, before admission, prospective members must demonstrate convincingly to the existing members who have the say regarding their admission that they have a genuine intention to observe if they are admitted.

"Article 18 of the United Nations Charter lays it down quite clearly and mandatorily that decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall—I repeat, shall—be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, and goes on to define those questions as including 'the admission of new Members to the United Nations'. In the view of the Malawi Government, the past record of the People's Republic of China is not such as to warrant any attempt to waive that rule in its favour so as to allow admission on a simple majority vote, and therefore it should be applied in full when we come to vote upon the matter. Indeed, the past record of the People's Republic of China is such—in respect of its attitude towards armed combat, its open interference in the affairs of other nations, and its outspoken antipathy to the United Nations Organization itself—that we feel that before any nation votes in favour of its admission to the United Nations there should be demanded of it some concrete evidence of a change of heart in these matters and a genuine willingness, if admitted, to respect and abide by the basic principles of the United Nations.

"It has also been suggested, in some circles, that if the People's Republic of China were admitted to the United Nations, then the expulsion therefrom of the Republic of China, which for so many years now has been a founder Member of the United Nations, should follow as a matter of course. With this view Malawi entirely disagrees; to expel a nation which was one of the founder nation Members of the Organization, and which for twenty years has faithfully upheld the principles of the United Nations and worked untiringly for its success as an instrument of maintaining world peace would be utterly inequitable. Furthermore, to deny to a people whose population exceeds 10 million souls

a right to be represented in this Assembly when many smaller nations, such as Malawi itself, have been accorded that right, would be equally inequitable. Under no circumstances, therefore, would Malawi vote in favour of the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations. Let us not forget, also, that if a motion to expel the Republic of China should come to the vote, under the terms of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter, the expulsion of Members is also defined as an important question requiring a two-thirds majority of the Members and there is no more reason why the terms of that Article should be waived in order to facilitate the expulsion of the Republic of China than it should be to facilitate the admission of the People's Republic of China.

"In this same connexion, I must also make clear the Government of Malawi's views on any proposal that there may be for the admission of the so-called German Democratic Republic as a Member of the United Nations in its own right. At the last session of this Assembly, I made it quite clear that Malawi recognized only the Government in Bonn, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, as the legal Government of Germany, and did not recognize either the Government of the German Democratic Republic, or the Democratic Republic of Germany as being a State in its own right. Article 4 of the United Nations Charter lays it down that membership of the United Nations is open to all peace-loving States. Malawi does not recognize the German Democratic Republic as a State and, consequently, will not lend its support to any measure designed to result in the admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in its own right.

"I am well aware that this would exclude from representation in the United Nations some 20 million people living in what is known as East Germany, and this may sound inconsistent with my previous remarks about the rights of over 10 million people in the Republic of China to be represented in this Assembly, but we must remember that in the case of Germany there are several distinctions. First of all, unlike Taiwan, the so-called German Democratic Republic has never had the distinction of being a founder Member of the United Nations and therefore has no similar prescriptive right to membership. Furthermore, the German Democratic Republic is something of an artificial creation which has come about not through the free will of the people living there but as the result of the actions of a certain great Power. These are both important considerations, but perhaps the most important consideration of all is that in the case of Germany there is a remedy—the remedy of bringing about unification of all Germany into a single State, with all its people enjoying equally the right of self-determination. When that day comes, there will no longer be a problem of East and West Germany and the people of East Germany will automatically find their voice in the deliberations of this Assembly without having to seek membership.

"I also made clear last December in this Assembly the determination of Malawi to stand firm behind this struggle to eradicate from Africa all traces

of colonialism, and on this occasion I should only like to reiterate and endorse the remarks which I made then. Malawi's attitude towards this question remains unchanged, and I say once again that the view of the Government of Malawi is that colonialism must be got rid of from Rhodesia, from South Africa and from Mozambique and, indeed, from every corner of Africa where vestiges of it still remain.

"But it is the view of Malawi that the use of armed force to this end must not be resorted to until all other means of achieving this objective have been explored; there are other ways and means of achieving one's object in this field than by the use of arms and the needless shedding of blood, and failure to realize this only indicated ignorance and lack of imagination. Malawi will fight for the eradication of colonialism as vigorously as any other nation in Africa, but it will do so by peaceful means and not by the use of force unless, in the long run, there should prove to be no other alternative.

"At this juncture I must also say a few words on the subject of interference by one country in the affairs of another. I am convinced that at the root of much of the unrest and bloodshed in the world today lies the fact that some certain countries are tempted to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. There are many instances of this to be seen, especially in Asia and Africa; indeed, Malawi itself has become during the last year a victim of this tendency. The principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of others is a basic concept of both the United Nations Charter and the charter of the Organization of African Unity. Malawi respects and supports that concept and has no intention whatsoever of either interfering itself in the affairs of any other nation or of lending its support to any other nation that may be tempted so to do. In return, all Malawi asks is that it itself will be left in peace, without outside interference, to get on with the task of solving its own domestic problems in the financial, economic and political fields.

"During the past year I have come to know a great deal more about the workings of the United Nations itself, and of its associated organizations, than I did before, and I am still learning. One thing that has struck me on a number of occasions, however, is a tendency which I regard as a most regrettable one. I refer to the tendency of the technical, scientific and professional specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and so on, to waste their time debating political matters when they should be getting on with the specialized work which properly falls within their sphere. Hardly a meeting of any of these bodies has taken place during this past year without someone raising a political motion suggesting the expulsion or penalization of some country or another because of disagreement with the political policies

of that country. This tendency, though easily understandable, is to be deprecated; the task of these specialized agencies is, as their designation implies, to deal with specialized matters and not to waste their time and energy debating political issues. Political issues are for the General Assembly to debate, and the question of the expulsion or penalization of any country on political grounds is a matter for either the General Assembly or such other bodies as may be charged specifically with the function of considering political issues to decide.

"I wish to give notice, therefore, that on all such occasions when purely political issues are introduced into the deliberations of these specialized agencies, the view of Malawi will be that the discussion of such matters does not fall within the purview of such agencies and that it is inappropriate for such matters to be discussed otherwise than in the United Nations General Assembly itself. If this principle were more widely respected, the specialized agencies themselves, and through them Member Nations represented here today, would benefit greatly from the greater opportunities there would then be for the devotion of thought and energy to the specialized matters under consideration, and I wish to appeal to all Member Nations to support me in this concept.

"It would not be fitting for me to end my message to you, Mr. President, and to the Honourable Members of the Assembly, without a word of thanks on two important matters. In the first place, as an African leader, I would like to express my appreciation to all Member States who gave support to recent proposals for the expansion of the size of the Security Council in order to allow a wider and more generous representation of African nations therein. I feel sure that I speak for all nations of Africa when I say how greatly we appreciate the confidence in the nations of Africa and the part that we can play in world affairs which is shown by this support, and when some of us come to play our part in the vital deliberations of the Security Council, I hope any pray that none of us will betray that trust.

"Secondly, on behalf of my own country I would like to pay tribute to the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, to UNESCO and to the many other specialized agencies for their continuing help to my country in the field of technical assistance. I am deeply conscious of the many calls upon the limited resources of these agencies and am truly grateful not only for their continued help to my country which is so freely given, but also for the manner in which the volume and scope of that assistance continues to expand."

127. That, Mr. President, is the message which my Prime Minister has asked me to convey to you and to the Members of this Assembly. It only remains for me to thank you for listening to me and sparing me so much of your valuable time.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.