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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Guimali (Central African Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/5999)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The first item before us this afternoon is the third report of the General Committee (A/5999) dealing with the requests for the inclusion of three new items in the agenda of this session.

2. The General Committee recommends, firstly, that the item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" should be included in the agenda and referred to the First Committee. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the General Committee's recommendation.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Committee next recommends that the item entitled "The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty" should be included in the agenda and referred to the First Committee. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the General Committee's recommendation.

It was so decided.

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Committee recommends, that the item entitled "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity" should be included in the agenda and referred to plenary meetings of

the Assembly. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the General Committee's recommendation.

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Chairman of the First Committee will be informed of the decisions just taken by the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

6. Mr. CORDOVA (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Ecuador and on my own behalf, I am happy to congratulate you most warmly on the high and well deserved distinction that has been conferred upon you, in just recognition of the qualities which make you so admirably suited to discharge the exacting duties of President of the General Assembly.

7. I should like to follow your example, Mr. President. I should like to be allowed to speak a language of the utmost frankness, which is the only language capable of achieving understanding among men in the discussion of the various international problems, particularly those affecting this Organization.

8. Under Your Excellency's expert guidance, this session opened in an atmosphere of hopeful expectation. I should like to add that it was an atmosphere of genuine promise, but despite the optimism which we all feel we cannot but realize that there are some very serious threats to world peace.

9. There is no doubt that we are going through a period of transition characterized, among other visible phenomena, if not by the collapse of the outmoded concept of absolute State sovereignty, at least by an adaptation of that concept. This is indeed essential if we wish to live in the present era, which is marked by such amazing and disconcerting scientific and technical advances that there is no knowing how the human mind may react —with terror or with pleasure. Everything depends on the goals to be attained by mankind in the future: survival or destruction and the total annihilation of life.

10. This transitional stage is also marked by the emergence of a basic principle of international authority which has resulted in the struggle against colonialism and its immediate corollary, the birth of new independent States. Despite this, there are still many obstacles which impede progress towards the final goal.

11. There are many age-old prejudices barring the way to true universal understanding. This situation

*Resumed from the 1336th meeting.

is faithfully reflected in the political work of the world Organization. There is no lack of idealism and good intentions, but we must acknowledge that there are very few achievements.

12. For years and years the same problems have been discussed without so far having been solved. But we must not let this discourage us; little by little something is being accomplished. At least this periodic exchange of views help us to know one another better and to clear up misconceptions or misunderstandings in an endeavour to achieve a better future for all mankind.

13. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm Ecuador's unswerving support for the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Only absolute respect for the principles underlying the statute of our Organization will enable us to attain the desired goals. Only when the sovereign equality of all States, the genuine fulfilment of the obligations assumed under the Charter, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the prohibition of the threat or the use of force and the other principles stated in Chapter I of the Charter become a reality will it be possible to live in a world of peace, in which justice and law guarantee the normal development of relations among all peoples of the earth.

14. Accordingly, the criterion that will determine the attitude of the Ecuadorian delegation in the discussion of all the items on the agenda of this General Assembly will be the proper application of the provisions of the Charter in seeking equitable solutions to the problems confronting the Assembly.

15. The maintenance of peace is the fundamental problem and the highest of man's aspirations. Under Article 24 of the Charter, the Members of the United Nations have conferred —but not exclusive— responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council, whose authority is limited to the functions defined in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and IX of the Charter. According to Article 11, however, the General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations or by the Security Council.

16. In the course of the past year there have unfortunately been several breaches of the peace, in which the United Nations has been unable to halt the conflict. We can note with satisfaction, however, that in the dispute between India and Pakistan United Nations intervention enabled an effective start to be made on the settlement of a conflict of incalculable proportions.

17. Although Chapter VII of the Charter provides for the measures to be adopted by the Security Council to restore peace, action by that organ has in many cases been paralysed by various factors, mainly of a political nature, which have prevented its timely intervention. So long as the United Nations lacks sufficient authority to enforce its decisions, and so long as certain Powers continue their aggressive practices, the world Organization can do nothing to prevent an outbreak or a continuation of armed conflict.

18. The policy of the Government of Ecuador is completely autonomous and independent. It does not accept patronage of any kind. Consequently, it is bound to condemn aggression wherever that may occur, considering it a violation of the most fundamental principles of international law.

19. The success of the tasks entrusted to the world Organization depends fundamentally upon the attitude of Governments concerning the application of the principles of international law. The Government of Ecuador attaches particular importance, in the international conduct of States, to the principle of good faith in fulfilling obligations assumed under the Charter. It considers that this principle is the basis of the entire international legal system and that without it there can never be any genuine ties of friendship and co-operation among peoples.

20. If States are not prepared to act, at the international level, with the profound conviction that they must give their disinterested assistance for the attainment of human well-being and if they are guided only by the hope of deriving profit for themselves, even at the risk of harming others, the entire system which we have devised to achieve peaceful and civilized coexistence will be of no avail.

21. The spirit of peaceful coexistence, which has been stressed in recent years in all the speeches which have been heard in the world Organization, will never become a reality until we have achieved a collective conscience, if not among all men, at least among all the leaders of the world. During the past two years, as a result of this spirit, some international crises which in another age would have led to a conflagration have been settled satisfactorily without its having been necessary to resort to force.

22. During this past year the United Nations has witnessed a dangerous situation which very nearly destroyed our most cherished ambitions and hopes. Fortunately the goodwill of the principal Powers which were at the brink of a perilous confrontation, saved the United Nations from paralysis.

23. The crisis through which the United Nations is passing is far from being of a purely financial nature. This crisis, which in outward appearance is financial, is basically a manifestation of profound divergencies of a political and juridical nature concerning the competence and powers of the principal organs of the United Nations. We cannot therefore disguise the fact that the solution which we are now trying out is only an emergency solution.

24. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador stated in 1964, at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly [1298th meeting], the spirit of peaceful coexistence cannot be reduced to a passive or neutral attitude in which States merely tolerate each other, but must take the active form of mutual co-operation, as the creative expression of human solidarity. Unfortunately, as in all human activities, negative factors always gain more notoriety than positive deeds. We thus hear daily of the conflicts which arise between States and seldom is any mention made of the many co-operative programmes which are being put into effect day after day. The United Nations should therefore be especially commended

for having designated this year "International Co-operation Year", the sole purpose of which is to draw attention to the benefits to be derived from joint efforts by all peoples.

25. The Government of Ecuador attaches vital importance to international co-operation as a means of diminishing tension and remedying the factors that cause large-scale conflicts. In many cases the only source of war is hunger, unemployment and market competition. The purpose of international co-operation is precisely to combat these causes.

26. Indeed, one of the great transformations of our century is the resurgence of international co-operation. With the mere creation of the United Nations, the prosperous and developed peoples have realized that if they do not extend co-operation to the poorer or the weaker, there can be no human solidarity and therefore no hope of peace on earth.

27. Peace must be based on the supremacy of law, applicable to all States large and small, as an inviolable rule of conduct and course of action. It would not be right, however, to wish for a peace imposed at any cost. Peace cannot be achieved at the cost of an injustice, which is the way weak States have often been obliged to make peace with powerful States.

28. Ecuador wishes to declare once again that it has been the victim of an aggression which resulted in the amputation of a vital part of its territory. States which, like Ecuador, have obtained peace at this price should unite their efforts to make the international community proclaim as a prerequisite for the maintenance of peace the settlement of outstanding conflicts, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

29. In this connexion the Government of Ecuador attaches fundamental importance to the work of the United Nations International Law Commission, which is studying the codification of the law of treaties, and to the work being done by the Special Committee on Technical Assistance to Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law and the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. Such principles are the very backbone of the Organization, which is clearly based on the prohibition of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, on the peaceful settlement of international disputes, on the principle of non-intervention and free determination of peoples and on the sovereign equality of all States.

30. So far as the first of these principles is concerned, the Government of Ecuador entirely agrees on the need for States to refrain from the threat or use of force to resolve territorial disputes and frontier problems. In addition to this principle, however, it is necessary to proclaim the principle of non-recognition of any territorial acquisitions which have been obtained by force, for otherwise a higher principle of justice would be threatened. Moreover, this principle, thus supplemented, should have full force not only for the future but also for any conquests made under the rule of force in the past.

31. I am happy on this occasion to praise the valuable work being done by the International Law Commission concerning the nullity of territorial acquisitions made by force. In articles 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37 of the draft convention on the law of treaties, the Commission establishes that one of the fundamental prerequisites for the validity of a treaty is the free consent of the parties. Consequently, it states that reasons invalidating the consent—error, coercion and fraud—make the instrument void ab initio. In addition, it admits as a cause of nullity a treaty's incompatibility with one or more of the peremptory norms of international law (jus cogens). While Article 103 of the Charter gives highest priority to the obligations contracted by States under the Charter, the doctrine of article 37 of the draft convention, by recognizing on an equal footing the existence of peremptory norms and sanction in the event of their violation (nullity of the treaty), represents a step forward of inestimable importance.

32. In this way, by giving new life to the dictates of traditional international law, the International Law Commission has restored their pristine value to Chapters I and VI of the Charter, which state that international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace must be settled by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

33. In line with its traditional juridical and pacifist leanings, the Government of Ecuador supported the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the item on the peaceful settlement of disputes proposed by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in a letter dated 19 August 1965 addressed to the Secretary-General. This idea is closely linked to the prohibition of the threat or use of force since, as the United Kingdom Government stated, such a prohibition necessarily requires that the United Nations should devote all its efforts to establishing methods and machinery whereby international disputes may be settled by peaceful means. This should also be the aim of the efforts being made to reach agreement on peace-keeping operations. The Ecuadorian Government considers that the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes is of such importance that it should be studied separately, in order not only to determine the general principles applicable but also to examine methods and machinery whereby this aim may be attained.

34. The Government of Ecuador is therefore particularly interested in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In addition, it is firmly convinced that the day will come when the law will have full force for all States and justice will prevail in international relations. This firm conviction led it to submit to the Second Special Inter-American Conference, to be held at Rio de Janeiro a draft inter-American system caused by the lack of a flexible and simple legal instrument to promote the rapid and appropriate settlement of international disputes on the American continent.

35. The principle of non-intervention is the cornerstone both of the world Organization and of the inter-American system. The Ecuadorian Government has

maintained and will zealously continue to maintain the most faithfully respect for this noble axiom.

36. The strength of the principle of non-intervention in Latin American circles is due to the fact that it is rooted in the very origin of the nationhood of the peoples in this part of the continent. The founders of our nations proclaimed it when they proclaimed independence from foreign domination; since that time, it has been shaped into a substantial part of inter-American law. For this reason, Ecuador must state its formal rejection of any initiative designed to encourage unilateral military intervention, whatever its motive. If such an initiative were to become the norm of a new policy of the American States, this would bring about a serious threat to peaceful co-existence among the peoples of the continent and a return to the application of procedures which should be considered superseded, since the subjective evaluation of the international conflicts which arise in States could lead to culpable and indiscriminate intervention in the countries of the hemisphere, through the action of military forces.

37. In view of this, in the case of the Dominican Republic—which was heatedly discussed within the United States itself—the Government of Ecuador was obliged to vote, in the Organization of American States, against the unilateral intervention by that country in the Dominican Republic, while acknowledging that the American nations are bound by contractual instruments to prevent interference by international communism in their respective territories, because we consider such interference to be an equal threat to the principle of non-intervention. Indeed, this is one of the contradictions of the regional system of the OAS: on the one hand, we have the ideals enshrined in its Charter and in other commitments and, on the other hand, the presence in the American world of dark threats and realities which were unknown a few years ago. I think that we must urgently seek the legal instrument or instruments which, while saving the sacred principle of non-intervention from being shipwrecked once and for all, will provide flexible methods and legal machinery for the immediate elimination of totalitarian subversion from the internal lives of our countries.

38. In this connexion, I feel it necessary also to state clearly the position of Ecuador regarding the competence of the world Organization in regional disputes. So far as the American countries are concerned, they have all the rights and means of recourse established both in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Charter of the OAS.

39. In conformity with the instruments in force in the inter-American system, the States of the new continent should preferably submit their disputes for settlement to the regional agencies. Nevertheless, in accordance with article 102 of the Charter of the OAS and article 10 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, none of the provisions of such international instruments shall be construed as impairing the rights and obligations laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. One of the fundamental rights of all the States Members of the United Nations is the right to bring any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction

or give rise to a dispute to the attention of the Security Council of the General Assembly, without any restriction being placed on the exercise of this right. Consequently, it is inadmissible that membership of a regional agency should prevent a State from exercising a right conferred upon it by the Charter of the United Nations.

40. One of the most urgent problems confronting the world today is that of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Accordingly the designation of non-nuclear zones is a Latin-American aspiration which Ecuador has supported since the subject was first discussed in the General Assembly, in 1962. Together with Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico, it signed the agreement to undertake the denuclearization of Latin America appearing in the declaration issued by the Heads of States on 29 April 1963 and was one of the sponsors of resolution 1911 (XVIII) adopted by the General Assembly on 27 November of the same year. It co-operated enthusiastically in both the Preliminary Meeting held at Mexico City in 1964 and the meetings of the Preparatory Commission. I now reaffirm, on behalf of my Government, its firm determination to contribute to the search for the best methods of achieving the conclusion of a treaty which will prevent the manufacture, storage or testing of nuclear or thermo-nuclear weapons in Latin America but will leave the way clear for the use of nuclear power for the economic development and well-being of its population.

41. In this matter, I must pay a well-deserved tribute to those who drew up and agreed on the draft of the preamble and of the articles on control, inspection and supervision—the representatives of all Latin America who met at Mexico City a short time ago. The Government of Ecuador considers it proper that efforts should be made to seek, not an academic definition, but a pragmatic determination of what is to be considered the Latin American non-nuclear zone; it expressed this view through its representative at the second session of the Preparatory Commission and it welcomes the unanimous invitation to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to take part in the work of the Commission. I can state that my Government will examine with the greatest interest the draft documents to which I have referred and that it hopes that the Powers responsible, de jure or de facto, for administering Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Americas will accept their responsibilities and that the nuclear Powers will underwrite the future treaty.

42. The promotion of industrial development in the countries which have not yet achieved it demands enormous supplies of power. In his speech of 31 August 1964 to the Third Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held at Geneva, the Secretary-General, U Thant, to whom I pay a tribute for his devotion to the cause of humanity, spoke of the magnitude of this problem and said that only nuclear power—including, perhaps, power produced by nuclear fusion—could meet such enormous requirements. During the debate at that Conference, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Pakistan revealed the efforts they are making to produce electricity from nuclear energy. The work being done by the International Atomic Energy Agency is also praiseworthy.

43. Nevertheless, in comparison with the use of nuclear energy for warlike purposes, the efforts of the great Powers to find means of using nuclear energy to produce the electric power which the developing States need so badly look very insignificant, particularly in view of the fact that if they were all to attain higher levels of industrialization, available resources of hydro-electric or thermo-electric power would be entirely inadequate. It is my sincere hope that the power released from the atom may be used to improve human life instead of constituting a threat of total annihilation. In this connexion, I must sincerely applaud the United States proposal, explained by Mr. Arthur Goldberg, its Permanent Representative, in his statement on the 23rd of this month [1334th meeting], to convert 60,000 kilogrammes of uranium 235, from the fissionable materials in nuclear weapons, to peaceful uses if the Soviet Union agrees to convert 40,000 kilogrammes of weapons of their choice for the same purpose.

44. The Republic of Ecuador reaffirms its unswerving adherence to the principle of self-determination for peoples. The Government of Ecuador has maintained, and will continue to maintain as an invariable feature of its international policy, its unreserved support for the right of all the peoples of the world to choose their own form of government and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development in freedom. My country has therefore condemned and still wholeheartedly condemns colonialism, in whatever form it manifests itself. I take this opportunity to welcome the three new Members of the United Nations: the Maldives Islands, Singapore and the Gambia.

45. The Republic of Ecuador bases its position on the principle it has upheld since 1953, that the administering Powers do not exercise sovereignty over the Territories under their control. The attributes of sovereignty are maintained in a latent state, as the exclusive property of the non-self-governing peoples, to be converted into a real and effective right when they attain independence. It is therefore not possible to concede the exception claimed by some administering Powers on the grounds that such territories constitute an integral part of their geographical heritage and that, in consequence, their independence cannot be discussed without infringing the principle of non-intervention.

46. Naturally, the self-determination of peoples must be applied in conjunction with the other principles of the United Nations Charter. It is therefore subject to certain limitations, which are determined by the applicability of the other fundamental principles of international law. By virtue of this, it cannot be invoked to violate the territorial integrity or political unity of a State.

47. In analysing the principle of the sovereign equality of States, it must be borne in mind that that equality does not mean merely the recognition that all States have equal rights and equal obligations, but that it is essential to ensure that all States have sufficient power to make that right effective.

48. The rise of Africa as a community of independent sovereign nations is an event for which there is

perhaps no historical parallel. Our Organization may legitimately pride itself on the fact that, thanks to the work of the United Nations and the tenacious struggle of the African peoples, independence has been attained by the great majority of African nations, which now exercise their rights as Members of this community and have made an effective contribution to the strengthening of the Organization. It is also noteworthy that, whereas in the past the birth of new nations required several generations of sacrifice and bloodshed, it has now become possible, generally speaking, thanks to the action of the United Nations and the administering Powers, to secure the emancipation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in an atmosphere of peace and harmony which provides the opportunity for international co-operation to help the new States to begin the planning of their economic and social development.

49. The Government of Ecuador reaffirms its rejection of the dependent position in which the more developed countries are striving to keep the less developed countries through behaviour which, in practice, contradicts the theoretical declarations of technical assistance and mutual aid. It is not superfluous to draw attention once more to the injustice implicit in the problem of primary export commodities, the prices of which are declining day after day, as compared with the high cost of manufactured products. Fortunately, the developing countries have managed to combine their efforts in calling for the principle of equity in their trade relations with the industrialized countries, as was demonstrated at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in March 1964, when those countries formed an indivisible bloc. When a suitable balance between the prices of primary products and those of industrial products is evolved, the wide gap which now separates the poor and the rich nations can be considerably reduced. In the meantime, the programmes of financial assistance are no more than drops of water which barely meet the basic needs of the poor nations.

50. One of the fundamental problems facing mankind is the lack of sufficient natural resources to meet the needs of a growing population. This imbalance is becoming apparent in all aspects of life and has assumed truly alarming proportions in the sphere of food supply. The United Nations, in co-operation with the Food and Agriculture Organization has initiated the World Food Programme in an endeavour to relieve the hunger from which millions of people in various parts of the world are suffering. It is to be hoped that the negotiations now in progress with a view to making disarmament possible will enable the enormous resources at present spent on a reckless arms race to be released gradually and devoted to improving man's living conditions, as Brazil proposed at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee [166th meeting] at Geneva and in the Disarmament Commission [79th meeting].

51. The agenda for the present session includes, as in previous years, the item "Draft International Conventions on Human Rights". Nothing gives Ecuador more satisfaction than to proclaim its unlimited support for any endeavour to improve international protection for human rights. The most delicate section

of the Covenants, that referring to the measures to be adopted for the application of the principles set forth in them, has yet to be approved. The Government of Ecuador reaffirms its support for the adoption of measures to put these instruments into effect, since without them the Covenants will have no practical value and no real effectiveness.

52. States must be induced to take steps to protect human rights by making the Universal Declaration a contractual agreement the terms of which are morally and legally binding and enforceable. While speaking of human rights, I must also point out that Ecuador has at all times condemned all forms of racial discrimination. Thus it has spoken out strongly against the policy of apartheid and has advocated the granting of self-governing to South West Africa by the Republic of South Africa in conformity with the decisions of this Assembly and of the International Court of Justice.

53. I should like to conclude my statement by recalling that 'in a few days' time this rostrum, from which the world's most eminent figures have delivered their messages of peace, will be honoured by the presence of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose work for understanding among men is recognized by all rulers.

54. On behalf of the Government and people of Ecuador, I earnestly hope that the words of His Holiness will provide a new torch to light the way to hope, concord and peace, for which our suffering and sorrowing human race longs so ardently.

55. Mr. LOZES (Dahomey) (translated from French): May I, to begin with, convey to the outgoing President my delegation's feelings of admiration and gratitude. Mr. Quaison-Sackey has had perhaps the most difficult Presidency in the history of the Organization. It is, of course, thanks to the goodwill of all, and chiefly of the countries directly concerned, that today we have emerged from a situation that was for a long time irremediable, but it is due also to the intelligence, tact and infinite patience of the President of the nineteenth session.

56. I must next convey to our new President the warm congratulations of the Dahomean delegation on his accession to the high office of President of a world Organization. Better qualified speakers than I have referred here, in terms that were often witty but always in good taste, to his gifts as a writer, diplomat and statesman. The Assembly is counting on his long experience and well-known humanity to bring to a satisfactory conclusion a session which promises to be a particularly heavy one. In greeting him, distinguished speakers have stressed the civilizing role his country has played in the world from time immemorial. For those of us who have been trained in the French school there is no dishonour, no ready acceptance of a foreign influence that has been repeatedly denounced, in publicly and honestly acknowledging the debt we owe to the Latin genius that, I would define, if I may quote Pascal, as a happy blend of subtlety and geometry.

57. Thirdly, I have the pleasant duty of welcoming to the United Nations three new Members who have come to swell the ranks of the Afro-Asian group.

One of the saddest and most regrettable events of the nineteenth session was without doubt the withdrawal of a State Member of the Organization. It is comforting for us to note today the sriples admission of the Gambia, the Maldive Islands and Singapore. The international community is thus growing day by day and we may hope that it will soon embrace the *Orbis terrarum*, in the words of the Roman language which is fashionable today but which is truly universal and well suited to the mission of this Assembly.

58. I feel it would be superfluous to draw attention to the special importance of the twentieth session. For reasons which we all know, the nineteenth session did not finish its agenda; in fact it was not even able to make a normal start on it. In addition to the large number of critical questions that were left in abeyance, new difficulties have appeared on the international scene and they all now require to be settled without delay. The world is a prey to increasing apprehension, for no continent is now immune from latent conflicts or open crises.

59. In Asia the recent trial of strength between India and Pakistan has brought the threat of a general conflagration in that vast area. We welcomed the armistice brought about since then as a triumph of common sense and reason and as a proof of the effectiveness of the Security Council and the efficiency of our Secretary-General. The fundamental problem, however, has not been solved and we are greatly concerned about the recent violations of the truce. The latent tension between India and its powerful neighbour, the People's Republic of China, has recently flared up again alarmingly. The dispute between Indonesia and its neighbours could at any moment degenerate into an open struggle. The Korean problem, like that of all countries divided by war, remains unsolved. The Viet-Nameese conflict, if not remedied in time, carries the visible seeds of a third world war.

60. The Far East, however, is not alone in having the doubtful privilege of these dangerous confrontations. In the Middle East, in spite of the precarious armistice which has been in existence for many years, Israel and its neighbours are still in a state of veiled belligerence. The question of Oman has not yet been settled and the armed struggle in Yemen is only just coming to an end.

61. Nor is Europe, which has not yet finished dressing the wounds it received in the Second World War, exempt from these crises. Berlin and the division of Germany are a permanent source of tension and the Cyprus crisis is smouldering like a fire beneath the ashes.

62. In America, the periodic agitation in the Caribbean, aggravated by outside intervention, is a source of constant concern.

63. Lastly, Africa is experiencing similar difficulties. Here and there, taking advantage of our internal dissensions, the opposing blocs are grimly facing each other and turning our countries into a testing ground for the hot war. The remnants of an outdated colonialism determined to maintain itself by force are bathing the territories held under the Portuguese yoke in blood. In the southern part of our continent

the cruel domination of a racist minority over an African majority is engendering a latent tension which could explode at any moment.

64. This, in broad outline, is a distressing picture of the world of today. Upon analysis it will be seen that, widely scattered and varied as they may be, all the conflicts by which poor mankind is shaken have a common cause: they all, without exception arise from misunderstanding and even deliberate violation, of the principles of the Charter. Each State must be imbued afresh with the concepts of the Charter and pledge itself to a stricter observance of its principles.

65. Henceforth, peaceful coexistence must be the rule of life for all nations. By the joint maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the recognition and exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, the mutual tolerance of political régimes and lastly, international co-operation, we can strengthen the foundations of this peaceful coexistence.

66. Peace is still the great preoccupation of our time. In a few days, a voice that is unfamiliar at this rostrum, the voice of one of the greatest moral authorities on earth, will ring out in this Hall in a plea for peace. It will speak, I am sure, in moving terms because the words will spring from the depths of the spirit and the heart. But we who have the direct responsibility for keeping peace, we who have made it the centre of our thoughts and our activities, are we always equal to this heavy responsibility? The crisis from which we have only just emerged should make us doubt it. The effect on our Organization has been a lack of authority, a loss of prestige and an increasing threat of dismemberment. Unfortunately these negative factors have occurred at a time when the threats of war are becoming greater and more numerous. When we seek the true cause of this crisis, we find it in the inadaptability of the old structures to a new situation and new responsibilities. It must be admitted that today the San Francisco Charter is out of date.

67. Admittedly, when, twenty years ago, the Charter reaffirmed the principle of sovereign equality of States Members of the Organization, it profoundly altered the feudal character of the international order then reigning. Yet the aftermath of that feudal order is still to be found in the Charter. It is not really possible to speak of equality in the light of the fact that in the Security Council a single State can by its vote hold the will of the entire world community in check. This situation, which is difficult to justify today, was attributable twenty years ago to the historical context in which the Charter came into being. At that time the world have barely emerged, shocked and half paralysed, from the infernal cataclysm of the Second World War. A handful of great Powers had for several years borne all the responsibility for the military operations which had saved democracy and liberty. They then assumed the responsibility for establishing the new order.

68. Their importance in the young Organization was justified by their importance in the war. But in twenty years the world has advanced. The colonial

empires which had greatly added to the representative character of their masters have collapsed. The United Nations, which twenty years ago was composed of fifty-one nations now has 117 Member States, that is to say more than twice the original number. And although technical power is for the time being the prerogative of a few "great" Powers, new political forces have emerged which must definitely be taken into account.

69. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not another Spartacus raising aloft the banner of the small and underestimated nations. Nor is there any question of belittling the importance that their material means and their special peace-keeping responsibilities confer on large States. But we say that twenty years of experience have shown that the organ conceived as the principal guarantee of peace has lost much of its efficiency. Today the hopes that were placed in it in the euphoric atmosphere of the post-war period are evaporating. The subsequent discord among the great Powers and the resultant climate of mistrust have led to an abusive and paralysing use of the veto.

70. It is therefore high time to modernize this anachronistic machinery and to establish a reasonable balance between the great Powers and the other States which, when all is said and done, constitute the vast majority of the membership of this Organization. It is essential that responsibilities should be re-allocated between the Security Council and the General Assembly and we feel that the General Assembly should be the arbiter whenever the Security Council is paralysed. At the beginning of this session, one of the great Powers—and not by any means a minor one—stated here that it was in agreement with this reform. We hope that the others will soon follow suit.

71. A structural reform is not the only element required to make the Organization more effective. The United Nations should also move in the direction of universality. Accordingly, we think that the absence of the People's Republic of China from discussions on world affairs is a serious defect. An Organization such as ours cannot—without failing in its mission—go on meeting with a quarter of mankind debarred from its deliberations. We say—and events are proving that we are right—that there will be no peace in Asia and no general and complete disarmament as long as certain States which have a decisive role to play in the world are subjected to systematic ostracism. The participation of the People's Republic of China in our work cannot be delayed any longer, for peace and world stability are at stake.

72. This structural reform and this enlargement, which are required owing to the new balance of forces, will remain a dead letter if States are still equivocal in their desire for peace. This desire should be clearly expressed in the form of effective general disarmament. The atomic terror is a disease of our century, and the only cure for it is denuclearization. The partial renunciation of atomic tests is the most important step which has ever been taken in this direction. It must be followed up without delay by the prohibition of underground tests. Other

measures, such as a ban on the use of atomic energy for military purposes, must be taken.

73. But the possession of atomic weapons gives rise to a constant temptation to use them; we feel that only the controlled destruction of stockpiles of atomic weapons and the vehicles to deliver them will put an end to this temptation. Some days ago one of the great Powers put forward the idea of converting the atomic industry to peaceful purposes. This idea should be pounced upon and pursued until it becomes reality. Detailed proposals, with actual figures, have been made; and they deserve very serious attention.

74. Denuclearization—to which was referring just now—is only one aspect of the vaster problem of general and complete disarmament. In this field, there has been complete failure. The hopes raised by the Geneva Conference^{1/} soon faded away. The Conference has been marking time, because of the mental reservations and restrictions of the Powers concerned. It is easy to understand how this state of mind has been paralyzing the Geneva Conference up to now. The alternative solution is to convene as soon as possible a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States, great or small, for they are all interested in peace. We say "all States", whether or not they are represented in the United Nations. This idea, which has been publicly supported by one of the major participants in the Geneva Conference, is gradually gaining ground and must in the end be adopted. Disarmament and machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes will undoubtedly help considerably to bring about peaceful coexistence, but they will not eliminate the sources of conflict.

75. One of the major causes of tension in the world today is still the violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. Our Organization has won the respect of the young countries for the important and decisive role which it has been playing in the liberation of peoples. As a result of the attitude it has adopted and the efforts it has made, considerable progress has been made and the international community has been welcoming new Members in its ranks every year.

76. The effect of world public opinion on colonialism is such that no one would any longer dare to defend it openly. Nevertheless colonialism has by no means disappeared from the face of the earth. It is distressing to see that a considerable number of territories are still under foreign domination.

77. In Southern Rhodesia, a white minority still persists in imposing its will on the African majority and the situation there is more explosive than ever. Cases of flagrant injustice and arbitrary imprisonment are becoming ever more numerous. There has been no lack of United Nations resolutions on the subject, but they are still being ignored by the white minority Government. In the light of these facts, the delegation of Dahomey is amazed at the irresolute attitude displayed by the United Kingdom, which has certain responsibilities in this area and which for years past has given ample proof of its democratic and liberal tendencies. We know that the United Kingdom has the means to exert effective

pressure on the Ian Smith Government to secure its agreement to a constitutional conference attended by all the political forces and all the ethnic groups concerned in the future of this territory. We conjure the United Kingdom to use these means to prevent the impending catastrophe, for which it would undoubtedly have to bear the responsibility. At all events, the Republic of Dahomey reaffirms its determination to recognize and give its unconditional support to a nationalist Rhodesian government should the white minority make a unilateral declaration of independence.

78. Portugal persists in its stubborn refusal to allow its colonies in Africa the right to self-determination and independence. The Lisbon Government has had the impudence to proclaim unilaterally that typically African territories such as Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are an integral part of the European State of Portugal. This is a flagrant violation of the Charter and a threat to international security. It is high time that vigorous steps were taken and sanctions effectively applied against a country which flaunts its contempt for the decisions of our Organization.

79. The unanimous disapproval of the policy of apartheid has had little effect in preventing the fascist Government of South Africa from continuing to practise racial discrimination and from refusing to honour its obligations to South West Africa. Imprisonment, torture and massacres are the order of the day in this region, in violation of human rights and the principles of the Charter. If this state of affairs is genuinely repulsive to the world's conscience, it should induce the Western countries, which profess to be friends of Africa, to make effective representations to the misguided leaders of South Africa. Their inaction is unpardonable and they will have to bear a grave responsibility for it before history.

80. In his opening statement, Mr. Fanfani felicitously described the close relationship between peace and development. Later speakers have done the same and we were glad to hear one representative say: "But while we aim for the stars, we must also employ maximum resources to promote economic and social well-being here on earth". [1334th meeting, para. 90]. It is distressing to see enormous sums of money being swallowed up in atomic and spatial research, while the poverty of one section of mankind is being increased by the constant deterioration in the terms of trade and by the inexorable population explosion. We have already denounced the relics of political feudalism in the modern world. We must now direct our attacks against the economic feudalism that makes vassals of the under-developed countries which produce raw materials.

81. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva was a welcome initiative and we are grateful to the industrialized countries which are co-operating with our delegations in an atmosphere of goodwill. The establishment of a permanent body must be consolidated and the discussions of the Conference itself must be continued until practical conclusions are reached.

82. I have tried to review the problems facing the international community today. I have mentioned the matters that are causing my country's Government

^{1/} Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

concern. I have explained what are our hopes and our desires. I shall now tell you what are our beliefs.

83. Dahomey is still firmly attached to this Organization. It reaffirms before this August Assembly its support of the ideals and objectives set forth in the Charter. It is determined to unite its efforts with yours to make our work successful. On this twentieth anniversary of the Organization, we think with gratitude of those who founded it. For twenty years our generation has been benefiting from the services provided by this community of free peoples, and future generations, too, will be grateful to us for having stilled our controversies, for having reduced our differences of opinion, for having made the sacrifices required for genuine disarmament and for having launched the world on the path of peace, harmony and progress.

Mr. Fanfani (Italy) resumed the Chair.

84. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Government of Guatemala and the delegation which I have the honour to lead, it gives me great pleasure to express to you, Sir, our most hearty congratulations on your election to the office of President of the General Assembly of the United Nations for this session. This most appropriate choice not only is a recognition of your ability and great merits but is also a tribute to your great country, which for many reasons has earned our admiration. Italy is, as it were, heir to the glories of Rome and to the Latin genius which created the universal standards of law. At this time of tribulation for the world, we need to draw our inspiration from that spirit of justice epitomized in the words of one of its most eminent jurists, who defined justice as the constant will to give to each his own.

85. My country's delegation to this session of the United Nations reaffirms before this General Assembly Guatemala's unshakable faith in respect for the principles enshrined in the San Francisco Charter which gave birth to the United Nations, its belief in the equality of the rights of nations large and small, and its firm conviction that our great world Organization will help to solve the various problems that may arise, whether they are economic, social, cultural or of any other type.

86. It is certain that the world is going through one of its worst periods of crisis, that local wars are being waged between various countries and that the threat of a third world war, which would bring our civilization and perhaps even mankind itself to an end, still hangs over us like a horrible nightmare. Only hope in our Organization, a profound belief that the human spirit can rise above its passions and egotism and that man must no longer be the enemy of man, as also respect for the principles and norms of international law, will enable us to find the proper solution to each of the problems which arise and thus achieve the international peace and security which we so much need and which is the sign and the summation of our world Organization.

87. It cannot be denied that in its twenty years of existence the United Nations has endeavoured to maintain an international legal order; it has established the principle of the legal equality of States and on

many occasions it has found a just and proper settlement for conflicts which threatened the maintenance of international peace, security and justice. The success of those efforts should spur us onto redouble our own efforts to promote the peace of the world which is so greatly threatened today.

88. Within its modest position in the United Nations, Guatemala has always been ready to support, with determination and enthusiasm, all just and appropriate measures for the solution of the great problems afflicting mankind; it has followed, as an invariable rule of conduct, a clear and definite policy of absolute respect for international commitments and it has always been in the vanguard of the fight for the freedom and independence of oppressed peoples. Within the American regional system it has always fully supported, and will continue to support, the aims of that system; it has demonstrated its steadfast solidarity when common objectives, whether political or economic, have been pursued, and it has always been vigilant and active in safeguarding its principles and its way of life, which are now threatened more than ever by wily hidden forces which would destroy the most precious of human values.

89. Guatemala has thus firmly repudiated totalitarian systems and has adopted strong measures to halt the provocation and aggression of communism, reaffirming the American system of law and the democratic aspirations of its peoples. Lastly, as proof of its respect for the norms of international law and its faith in the use of the peaceful means which civilization imposes on States for the settlement of their disputes, Guatemala is happy to announce that a solution is being sought, through the good offices of a friendly State, to its long-standing dispute with the United Kingdom over the territory of Belize. Guatemala's unchanging attitude of respect for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, which is the very foundation of the legal structure of the United Nations, makes it optimistic that the justness of its cause will bring about a settlement in which its rights will be recognized.

90. In the economic sphere, Guatemala hopes that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, as an organ of the General Assembly, will help through its permanent body, the Trade and Development Board, to further the efforts of the less-developed countries to improve their economies and will help them to solve the problems they encounter in placing their primary commodities on the world market. We attach special importance to the Committee on Commodities since despite Guatemala's efforts to promote its own development and despite the growth of its industrial sector, which in 1964 was one of the economic sectors with the highest growth rate, namely 6.5 per cent, it is still a country which derives the foreign exchange it needs to finance its development from exporting agricultural commodities such as coffee.

91. The efforts which my country is making to promote development, which in 1964 led to an increase of 9.9 per cent in the gross national product—a high figure compared with the country's growth in previous years—must be supported by a price policy and fair treatment for the commodities which

we export, so that the balance-of-payments problems of the developing countries will not be aggravated as a result of export barriers. The existence of such barriers must not discourage us in our legitimate desire for economic development.

92. The profound changes that have taken place in the world as a result of great scientific advances and remarkable technological progress have forced the inter-American system to carry out a process of adjustment and accommodation. Nevertheless, when we consider the position of that system and the methods which will enable us to adapt it to the circumstances and requirements of the world of today, we find that we have to revise many of our conventional ideas about international coexistence and co-operation, the development of which makes readaptation to specific forms, standards and procedures necessary in order to respond to the new possibilities offered by present-day relations between peoples.

93. Since one of the basic objectives of continental solidarity is the co-ordination of our economies in a spirit of unity, we must draw up economic development programmes on a continental scale and establish bodies which will be able to plan our economic development. This is the responsibility, not of one country or of one area, but of the whole American continent. Anything concerned with the intensification of our trade, the diversification of production and industrialization, foreign and private capital investment and the reduction of restrictions in inter-American trade should be done on the basis of a comprehensive view and a unified pattern; otherwise we shall never achieve unity and economic factors might be viewed in the light of so many different technical factors that the results achieved might in some cases be contradictory and mutually restrictive in their effect.

94. Special consideration should be given to the question of foreign investment. My Government has made a careful analysis of the implications of foreign investment in Guatemala.

95. Guatemala, together with the other Central American Governments, recently issued a statement setting forth the basic principles which will constitute the general rule governing foreign investment; in view of their importance I think I should outline those principles briefly before the Assembly. It is generally agreed that foreign investment is needed to accelerate economic development, since domestic savings are not yet sufficient for that purpose. Particular stress should be laid, however, on the fact that foreign investors, while having the same right to obtain reasonable profits, should also co-operate in developing the recipient country by investing in those sectors which have not been exploited, or have been inadequately exploited, by the nationals of our countries. Moreover, we have concluded that foreign investment is necessary in those fields where the complex technology required, the excessive amount of investment involved or the market requirements and conditions have prevented the establishment of domestic enterprises, with the result that the country's resources benefit no one. We consider that these ideas are applicable to all the sister countries of America.

96. In our opinion, foreign investors should co-operate in forming a vigorous class of entrepreneurs in the country in which they invest, by enabling nations to participate so that they may acquire the technical knowledge needed to make them more capable and more useful to their country.

97. An important section of the statement to which I have referred indicates that Governments will give special encouragement to joint ventures, in which foreign capital is associated with domestic capital, and establishes the principle that foreign investors should, during a reasonable period of time, give Central American investors the option to subscribe to and buy capital stock. It also stresses the fact that in order to diversify Central American exports to other countries and regions it will be necessary to encourage investments to be used for the production of exportable goods manufactured with domestic raw materials.

98. I can state that Guatemala will consequently welcome investments from the sister nations of America, knowing that we are all interested in developing our countries fully so that everyday we may become more capable of giving our peoples a better life by eradicating disease, poverty and ignorance, in accordance with the noble principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

99. For that reason, Guatemala hopes that the Governments of capital-exporting countries will guide their investors so that they may adopt attitudes in keeping with the principles I have mentioned and with the desire for balanced progress with which all our countries are imbued.

100. With regard to the establishment of a Latin-American common market, my Government welcomed with great sympathy the proposals made by distinguished economists at the suggestion of the President of Chile. Our sympathy arises from the fact that we have been the most enthusiastic advocates of the programmes for the economic integration of Central America, which we have been carrying out since the beginning of the last decade. We have seen the progress made by our economies as the Central American common market came into being. We have shown the benefit to be derived from the establishment of regional bodies that take positive action such as the Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica, the Instituto Centroamericano de Investigación y Tecnología Industrial, the Camara Centroamericana de Compensación and others. For these reasons, we are convinced that the expansion of consumer markets is essential to promote the development of our countries at a faster rate than is possible with the inadequate markets provided by our respective countries. It is nevertheless our duty to point out that our achievements are the fruit of many years of preparation, during which we made little progress at first, despite our natural impatience; as we advanced, however, we saw the road extend until we reached the point we have now attained. We are still unsatisfied; of course, we still have a long way to go, but every day we move forward with greater enthusiasm and conviction. For these reasons, Guatemala congratulates the other countries of the continent on their firm determination to solve

the problem of our economic and social behaviour in unity.

101. We welcome the proposed establishment of a Latin American common market, because we have seen that it is clearly understood that the less-developed countries of America require special treatment, since many aspects of their agriculture, industry, mining and in general all their economic activities must be strengthened before they can form part of the same market with other economies which are more advanced and more integrated at the domestic level. This important plan states at various points that the less-developed countries, among which we must include Guatemala, will need more time to attain their goals and to free their trade with the other Latin American countries, and that it may be possible to grant them priority in connexion with foreign investments and financial assistance, electricity supply, improvement of communications, technical assistance and certain other matters. These proposals, which will, we feel sure, be accepted by all the countries concerned as the plan crystallizes, demonstrate the great American spirit with which the authors are imbued and proves their great ability to understand the economic problems afflicting our peoples.

102. Guatemala is therefore thinking of joining the great Latin American economic integration movement, provided that the instruments establishing the common market are flexible enough to permit effective and opportune participation for the benefit of our peoples and the American community as a whole. In compliance with Central American treaties, however, Guatemala will take the final decision jointly with the other Central American countries, so that we may act as a single group.

103. With regard to the efforts directed towards the political unification of Central America, in the statement which I have the honour to make at the 1301st meeting of this Assembly, in 1964, I described in broad outline the successes achieved in the Central American integration process, some of the projects that were being carried out in connexion with that process and the plans that were being prepared with a view to achieving the reorganization of Central America in the near future.

104. I am very glad to be able to inform you today that the Central American Republics have taken new and positive steps in the momentous task of reconstructing their former national entity. On 30 March 1965 the new Charter of the Organization of Central American States came into force and on that occasion there took place the First Special Conference of Central American Foreign Ministers, which took all the steps necessary for the functioning of our Organization at the present stage.

105. In accordance with this new fundamental instrument and the decisions of the above-mentioned Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Organization of Central American States possesses the following organs for the attainment of its objectives: the Conference of Heads of State, the supreme organ; the Conference of Foreign Ministers, the principal organ; the Executive Council, a permanent organ

composed of the Central American Foreign Ministers or their special representatives; the Legislative Council, composed of three representatives of each of the legislative authorities of the Member States; the Central American Court of Justice, composed of the Presidents of the judicial authorities of those States; the Central American Economic Council, composed of their respective Ministers of Economic Affairs; the Cultural and Educational Council, composed of the Central American Ministers of Education; the Defence Council, composed of the Ministers of Defence or equivalent officials, according to the rank and functions assigned to them in the various Member States, and other subsidiary organs.

106. I must state clearly and categorically that as far as the Government of Guatemala is concerned the reorganization of the Organization of Central American States and the progress achieved in the implementation of the various integration programmes are only steps in the process designed to restore the unity of Central America as soon as possible.

107. The Government of Guatemala considers that this objective is a historical imperative and a mandate from the people of Central America, who ever since the unhappy day when the Federal Republic of Central America was dissolved have expressed their firm and unshakable determination to reconstruct it. For the people of Central America, the return to their former unity has ceased to be a mere dream; it has become their most noble and most urgent task.

108. At the end of 1963, in faithful interpretation of that mandate, I submitted to the Central American Foreign Ministers the draft principles for the Central American community, to which I referred in my statement to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly [1301st meeting, paras. 11-25]. As I said in that statement, the draft was considered by a special commission, which made very few amendments and prepared a report which was to be taken up by the Conference of Central American Foreign Ministers.

109. The first Special Conference of Central American Foreign Ministers, in resolution XIII, requested the Executive Council to draw up a draft Convention on the Central American Community, taking into account the draft principles submitted by my country. The draft Charter of the Central American Community has already been submitted and will be considered at the next regular Conference of Central American Foreign Ministers. The draft Charter, like the draft principles, envisages the establishment of supranational organs, capable of continuing the integration process.

110. As I have already said, Guatemala is deeply concerned about the serious problems confronting our Organization. We lament the fact that the disarmament problem remains unsolved. We also deplore the continued existence of the problem of divided peoples and the fact that, despite all that has been said on all occasions concerning the self-determination of peoples, these countries have never been given an opportunity to organize themselves but have been maintained in a state which is contrary to their wishes and their destinies. We regret that local wars

are destroying world peace and that communism, using international subversion, which is a new form of intervention, is attacking peaceful and democratic nations, disrupting their development. It is a source of satisfaction, however, that thanks to the efforts of the Security Council and the Secretary-General a cease-fire has been achieved in the armed conflict between India and Pakistan, two friends of Guatemala, and we cherish the hope that this conflict may be resolved by peaceful means. We hope that the Vietnam problem, which has already claimed so many human lives, will be solved in the same way. We note with satisfaction that the colonized peoples are rapidly attaining independence and we are pleased that new countries are joining our Organization, which is thus fulfilling its universal mission. Lastly, we eagerly welcome the holy Father's decision to address all the peoples of the world from this rostrum in an appeal for universal peace. Guatemala, the vast majority of whose people are Catholic, echoes the appeal of His Holiness, which reflects Christ's doctrine of universal love for all men.

111. I should like to refer briefly to the process of political and institutional reorganization which is now being carried out in my country. It is common knowledge that the present Government of Guatemala was established in order to put an end to anarchy, demagoguery and political opportunism, to restore administrative morality and to eliminate communist subversion, which at the present time represents a serious threat to all Latin American countries. My Government has achieved its objectives: it has pacified the country and restored its economy, and a National Constituent Assembly has already issued the new Constitution, which was promulgated on 15 September 1965 and is one of the most progressive as far as the protection of human rights and other social guarantees are concerned. In accordance with the decisions of the Assembly, general elections will be held shortly, so that the constitutional régime may enter into full force. In addition to these measures, my Government has forged ahead with all its public works programmes, principally those relating to new roads, electrification programmes, schools, housing, hospitals and many other works; it has given a vigorous impetus to national education and has done its best to solve our other social and economic problems in order to lay the foundations for the country's future development.

112. We know that we have powerful enemies, we know that perennial malcontents are conspiring in the shadows to prevent us from progressing; we know that international subversion is lying in wait to destroy us and to demolish the foundations of democracy and individual freedom. But we have faith in the future, we have faith in our principles and we have faith in the United Nations as a basis for peaceful coexistence.

113. In conclusion, my delegation expresses its fervent hopes for the success of this Assembly, in

the deep conviction that this will redound to the benefit of the peoples throughout the world who have placed their hopes in our Organization.

114. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the United Kingdom representative, who wishes to exercise his right of reply to statements made by the representative of Zambia.

115. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to exercise my right of reply, very briefly, with regard to one or two statements made by the Foreign Minister of Zambia this morning [1339th meeting]. I very much regret that, since I was occupied this morning in a meeting of the Security Council, I was unable to listen to his speech in this Assembly. But since then my attention has been drawn to what the Foreign Minister said about Southern Rhodesia, and in particular to the section of his speech in which he quoted comments which, he suggested, had been made by the British Commonwealth Secretary.

116. It was asserted that the Commonwealth Secretary had said that the Africans of Southern Rhodesia were not ripe for self-rule. But what the Commonwealth Secretary in fact said was quite different. He said that—and I quote his words—"it was a pity that African nationalists had not co-operated in working the Constitution, since if they had done so they would have learned the arts of administration". It is a plain fact that the African nationalist groups that now seek power have as yet no experience at all in the legislative and administrative fields, and this is certainly a factor in the existing situation.

117. The Foreign Minister of Zambia also asserted that the Commonwealth Secretary had commented on the use of force. I should say that the Commonwealth Secretary has never ruled out force in all circumstances. What he has said is that the British Government is determined to continue to seek a peaceful solution, and that it would not use force to impose a constitutional solution.

118. My Government has made it plain on many occasions that responsibility for resolving the Rhodesian constitutional problem rests with the United Kingdom. We accept this responsibility fully, and all our efforts have been directed to reaching an agreed, peaceful and lasting solution. Any suggestion that we are—to use the words used this morning—"washing our hands" of the problem is completely unjustified.

119. There will doubtless be other occasions during this session of the Assembly when these difficult problems will be discussed, but I did not think that these particular comments of the Foreign Minister of Zambia, with whom I so often agree on so many questions, should go unanswered today.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.