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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Collier (Sierra Leone) Vice-President, took the Chair.

Statement by the Secretary-General

1. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Yesterday morning I received the following telegram, dated 9 October, from the President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Amintore Fanfani:

"Tonight at 10.30 p.m., while stepping out of a friend's house where I had called for a few minutes after leaving your party, I slipped on the wet pavement and fell, twisting my leg. Assisted by my wife and by the United Nations security officer, I was taken to the nearby Presbyterian Hospital. Following X-rays and other examinations, the doctors diagnosed the rupture of the quadriceps tendon in the right thigh.

"On the strength of that diagnosis it was decided that I should undergo immediate surgery, which will be performed shortly by Dr. S. Ashley Grantham. I will keep you informed of my progress following the operation. It appears, however, that in all likelihood I will have to spend two weeks in hospital.

"In these circumstances, I deem it my duty to ask you to convey the above information to the General Assembly in order that the appropriate steps may be taken."

2. I called on the President yesterday at the hospital and found him in good spirits. His right leg has been put in a plaster cast and doctors will decide later this week about the need for surgery and when it should be undertaken. I am sure the Assembly would wish to convey its good wishes to the President for his full and speedy recovery.

3. Meanwhile, I also presume it will be the wish of the Assembly to conclude the general debate as already programmed. I believe therefore that the best arrangements would be for the Vice-Presidents to preside over the meetings of the General Assembly in turn until we have completed the discussion in the general debate. Towards the end of the week we shall be in a better position to judge how long the President may have to be in hospital. I shall discuss with him at that time the arrangements for proceeding with our work in the following week, and report to the Assembly again.

Statement by the President

4. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that all members would wish to echo the feelings expressed by the Secretary-General, and I suggest that we send a message of good wishes to the President by telegram in the following terms:

"All delegates were deeply disturbed to hear of the accidental injury which you suffered last Saturday night.

"We shall carry on with the work of the General Assembly as much as possible during your enforced absence, and hope that you will soon be with us again to guide our deliberations.

"Meanwhile, all delegates have asked me to convey to you their warmest good wishes for your full and speedy recovery."

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued)*

5. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that this morning the representatives of the Maldives Islands are in this hall and have taken their seats. The flag raising ceremony will take place tomorrow afternoon, Tuesday, at 3 o'clock.

6. May I, on behalf of the General Assembly, express to the representatives of the Maldives Islands our warmest welcome to the United Nations.

7. I call on the representative of the Maldives Islands, His Excellency Mr. Ahamed Hilmy Didi.

8. Mr. HILMY DIDI (Maldives Islands): It is indeed an honour and a great privilege for me to stand in this Assembly to represent the Government and the people of the Maldives Islands. My first duty on behalf of my Government and delegation is to offer grateful thanks for the warm support that was extended to the application for membership of the Maldives Islands in

*Resumed from the 1332nd meeting.

the United Nations Organization. I should particularly like to put on record our appreciation to the sponsors of our application for their gesture both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

9. Ours is a very small country with extremely limited resources and comprised of minute islands scattered to the south-west of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean. In fact, we are proud to be the smallest Member of this body of nations. This has proved that whatever the size of a country or its population, a free State can make a contribution to the cause of coexistence. A handful though we are, we dedicate ourselves to the principles of this world body and declare our faith in the support of the Charter of the United Nations.

10. The world must be made a happier place to live in: free from fear of war, poverty, disease and ignorance. The complete annihilation of these fears of mankind should be the collective aim of all nations represented in this Assembly.

11. We believe in peace and friendship; we need both, in quest of which our aim is to maintain good relations with all countries and peoples. We are convinced that the world needs peace now more than ever before. We are pledged to make every effort to contribute our fullest support to find peaceful solutions to the many problems that confront the world today.

12. In this, we would whole-heartedly co-operate to implement the resolutions of the Security Council in decisions to maintain peace the world over. We are firm in our belief that negotiation is the best instrument of settling disputes, and the United Nations the chief architect. We therefore add our appeal to all countries for a closer co-operation in pursuance of their policies towards world peace.

13. It is our conviction that the larger the membership of this Organization, the more powerful it would become, as it would coalesce the views of more countries and peoples, which would undoubtedly lead to universal acceptance of solutions to international problems.

14. Finally, I should like, on behalf of the Government and the peoples of the Maldiv Islands, to thank you, Mr. Vice-President, and the distinguished representatives, for the very encouraging words of welcome and the warm reception extended to the Maldivian delegation.

Organization of work

15. The VICE-PRESIDENT: A large number of delegations have requested the early consideration in plenary of item 108 of our agenda entitled "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity". A draft resolution on this subject, sponsored by several delegations, has been submitted [A/L.465].

16. If there is no objection, we shall consider the matter as the first item this afternoon.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

17. Mr. EL BOURI (Libya) (translated from French): We were very sorry to learn that Mr. Fanfani, the President of the General Assembly is incapacitated. I would ask you, Mr. Vice-President, to be kind enough to convey to him my delegation's best wishes for a speedy recovery and our hope that we shall soon see him back here, fully restored to health, directing the General Assembly.

18. At the same time, I would ask you to convey to Mr. Fanfani my delegation's warm congratulations of his election to the office of President of the United Nations General Assembly. The unanimous vote which he received reflects the affection and esteem in which he is held not only in his own country but throughout the world. His constructive work in the most varied fields has given him international stature as a statesman. His efforts to strengthen his country's relations with all other peace-loving countries, including Libya, with which Italy has always had friendly relations, have added lustre to his renown and prestige.

19. I take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, President of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, who, through his wisdom and determined efforts, was able to overcome the problems of a particularly difficult session.

20. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to U Thant, our Secretary-General, for his devoted efforts to bring peace to the various troubled regions of the world. In his difficult and sometimes arduous task, he never fails to comport himself as a zealous servant of the aims and ideal of the United Nations.

21. My delegation welcomes the three new States—the Gambia, the Maldiv Islands and Singapore—which have been admitted as Members of the United Nations. The admission of these three new Members is one more step towards making the United Nations universal. We wish them prosperity in their new life as independent nations.

22. The world is confronted with serious problems threatening its peace and security, but the efforts of the United Nations, backed by world public opinion, have succeeded in reducing tension and bringing about the necessary atmosphere for seeking a peaceful solution to these problems.

23. The recent events which the United Nations has experienced, such as the crisis of the nineteenth session which brought United Nations activities almost to a standstill, the international crisis which has spread to several parts of the world and the use of force for the settlement of international disputes, have shown without the shadow of a doubt the serious repercussions of these problems on the future of the United Nations, and above all on world peace and security.

24. Today more than ever we feel that the existence of the United Nations is essential for the good of mankind and we must give it all the means it requires to establish and maintain universal peace and to settle international disputes by peaceful means, with due regard for the principle of non-intervention in

the internal affairs of States, respect for the sovereignty of States and the right to self-determination. We realize that the United Nations will not be able to discharge that heavy responsibility in full without the support of all nations, great and small.

25. It has been a source of great satisfaction to see the normal resumption of work at the twentieth session after the serious crisis which the United Nations underwent at its nineteenth session and which left much bitterness in its wake. I should like to pay a tribute to the spirit of understanding and co-operation which has prevailed, enabling us to overcome all difficulties and paving the way for a solution of the financial crisis thanks to the efforts of all parties. My delegation hopes that that harsh ordeal will encourage the General Assembly to eliminate the causes of the crisis and to find the best solution to the problem of organizing and financing United Nations peace-keeping forces.

26. At our previous sessions, the General Assembly has always had to deal with problems of vital importance. At the present session, however, it is confronted with even more serious problems affecting the peace and security of the world. There is the war in Viet-Nam, the problem of Cyprus, and the armed conflict between India and Pakistan over the still unsettled question of Kashmir.

27. All these new problems have added to the Secretary-General's responsibilities and make it imperative for the United Nations to do everything in its power to put an end to these armed conflicts or threats of the use of force in these regions. The untiring efforts of the Secretary-General have earned him the gratitude and appreciation of all the Members of the United Nations for the determination with which he carried out his difficult task.

28. We hope that the hard-won cease-fire between India and Pakistan will be transformed into a final and just settlement of the question, in accordance with the wishes of the peoples of the disputed territories and the principles of the Charter.

29. I am sure, Mr. Vice-President, that you will agree with me that the deterioration of the threatening situation in Viet-Nam, which the whole world is following closely, creates a danger to peace and that the constant risk that it will spread affects us all. The Government of Libya therefore appeals for the mobilization of all efforts to persuade the parties engaged in the conflict to stop fighting and to open negotiations with a view to a peaceful settlement. My delegation considers that the 1954 Geneva Agreements can still be of use in the search for a solution.

30. The situation in Cyprus endangers peace and security in that very important part of the world. Efforts to reconcile the opposing points of view must be intensified and negotiations must be started to find a peaceful solution which is satisfactory to the two communities living on the island and will enable them to live together peacefully.

31. The question of disarmament is always regarded as the most important question which the United Nations has had to tackle since its creation. This

question is again on our agenda at the twentieth session, at a time when events in various parts of the world are plunging all mankind into fear and anguish. The arms race is being gradually stepped up and anxiety is beginning to replace the hopes kindled in us by the resolutions of the eighteenth session.

32. At a time when mankind was expecting a complete agreement on the total prohibition of nuclear tests in space, under water and under ground, the prevention of a wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and a halt to the arms race, and was hoping at last to reach a new stage on the difficult path to disarmament, we are faced, on the contrary, with an increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons or preparing to possess them. If the idea that only the possession of nuclear weapons can guarantee the security of countries becomes generally accepted, we shall be on the brink of disaster.

33. The security of the world and the future of mankind compel us to face this painful reality and to seek an agreement for the prohibition of all nuclear tests, including underground tests, with the participation of all States, without any distinction. Stronger measures must also be taken to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons and to put an end to the arms race.

34. The Libyan delegation considers that the implementation of the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission for a world disarmament conference,^{1/} to which all countries would be invited, would be a positive step towards the goal of general disarmament under effective international control for which we all long. We shall support any proposal designed to achieve this goal. The future of the human race obviously depends to some extent on the achievement of general and complete disarmament. Such an achievement would enable mankind to harness atomic energy for peaceful purposes and to use the resources hitherto devoted to the arms race for the economic and social development of the developing countries.

35. Libya appreciates the efforts of the United Nations in seeking solution to international problems and disputes. It finds it hard, however, to understand why the Organization has so far failed to find a solution to a problem that is as serious as those I have already mentioned: I am referring to the problem of Arab Palestine. This question appears on the agenda of every session and each year we discuss this tragedy which is without precedent in the history of mankind. An entire people, driven from its land, is living the life of refugees on international charity while the aggressor enjoys that people's property and wealth.

36. The problem of Palestine is really a unique tragedy. It has been on the agenda of several successive sessions as a refugee problem. It is really the problem of a people which demands the liberation of its homeland and the right to self-determination, in common with all the peoples of the world and in

^{1/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the spirit of the Charter.

37. World Zionism has always resorted to intrigue to obscure the basic elements of the Palestine question. This devious approach has been conceived to mislead world public opinion and to present the matter as a refugee problem. But the Arab people of Palestine, despite the cruel conditions in which they have been living for seventeen years, have never lost hope of regaining their homeland and seeing the conscience of the world prevail in favour of the principles of justice and equity. They have succeeded in establishing themselves as an entity and have organized themselves into a legal body which speaks on their behalf and defends their rights; that body is the Palestine Liberation Organization.

38. In spite of all the attempts that have been made for seventeen long years to distort law and history, the question of Palestine has become established in the international field as a problem of liberation. The Arab cause received the full support of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place at Cairo in 1964 and in which almost half the Member States of this Organization participated. That Conference adopted a historic resolution affirming the right of the Arab people of Palestine to recover their homeland and to achieve self-determination.^{2/}

39. United Nations documents can show the manner in which the Arab Palestine was invaded and the means which were used to expel its population. The recent events at Ramleh and the atrocities committed against the Arab minority still living in occupied territory testify to the depth of this tragedy.

40. In this Assembly we have heard the so-called peaceful statements of the representative of Israel. For seventeen long years the Middle East has been a troubled area, ever since the State of Israel was created there, ever since the Palestine Arabs were driven from the land of their ancestors, massacred and stripped of their wealth.

41. If Israel considers itself compelled to remain on a war footing, enrolling women and children to guard its illegal conquests and to defy the resolutions of the United Nations, the responsibility lies with its leaders and their accomplices and not with the victims who are ceaselessly seeking redress for the injury done to them.

42. If we really wish to seek peace, as the Supreme Pontiff wisely advised us to do in his message to the Assembly [1347th meeting], under pain of seeing mankind brought to an end, we must admit that peace is indivisible and that it will not be universal as long as the Palestine Arabs have not recovered the rights and the land of their ancestors.

43. The active role of the United Nations in the liquidation of colonialism has been substantial and most encouraging. We expect to see the complete disappearance of the frightful spectre of colonialism from the world. Unfortunately, there are still countries fighting against foreign domination in order to obtain freedom and independence.

44. The question of Oman, which has also been on the agenda of previous sessions, is still awaiting a final solution responding to the hopes and aspirations of the people of Oman, who are seeking freedom and an honourable life.

45. The happenings in Aden have become so grave that they are a matter of concern to all peoples who love peace and justice. It is the duty of our Organization to find a speedy answer to this new tragedy, in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples concerned and with the spirit of the Charter.

46. We are glad to see that a large number of African peoples who have recently obtained freedom are now enjoying independence and taking an active part in joint efforts to build a better world. We regret to note, however, that there are other African countries that are still suffering from abuse and inhuman treatment. The people of South West Africa have fought for many years and are still fighting for their freedom. It is surprising that the United Nations resolutions asking for an end to this state of affairs should be flouted and ignored and that the exercise of their right to self-determination should be denied to this people.

47. The increasingly serious situation in Southern Rhodesia, which is the result of a ruthless policy of discrimination by the white minority government against the people of Southern Rhodesia, has shocked the world. The threat of this white minority Government against the people of Southern Rhodesia, has shocked the world. The threat of this white minority Government to declare independence and to impose a constitution which neither protects nor guarantees human rights is a direct violation of the fundamental principles of justice and equality. The Libyan Government will support any constructive action by the United Nations to safeguard the aspirations, hopes and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia and help them obtain independence and freedom.

48. My Government is very concerned about the repressive measures enacted by the Portuguese Government against the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The Portuguese Government has repeatedly flouted United Nations resolutions and has strengthened its policy of repression and terrorism. What the Government of Portugal does not understand is that this state of affairs will not break the will of these oppressed peoples or deter them in the struggle they continue to wage for the achievement of their national aspirations.

49. At a time when nations of different ethnic origins and stages of development are striving to improve their relations, to overthrow the barriers between them and to attain the objectives set forth in the Charter, the Government of South Africa is obstinately pursuing its policy of apartheid, which is repugnant to the conscience of mankind. The practice of this detestable and repressive racist policy is a violation of the basic principles which are necessary for any human being aspiring to a decent and honourable life.

50. Human progress depends on the ability to overcome pernicious policies, which, if they were to spread, would sap human energy, obstruct development and retard progress towards that better world where equality, abundance and peace will reign.

^{2/} See document A/5763, part I.

51. Economic and trade relations between the nations of this world are improving and co-operation between developed and developing countries is increasing. Thanks to the untiring efforts of the developing countries, including Libya, under the auspices and with the support of the United Nations, the Conference on Trade and Development has been set up and has become an institution. The goal of the conference is to build a new economic system, creating better conditions and stability essential for securing a high standard of living in the developing countries by the advancement of studies, modern research and technology.

52. The interest of the United Nations in the field of economic development reflects an awareness of mutual responsibility between developed and developing countries. In order to enable the developing countries to secure a normal rate of economic growth—which they cannot do with their own limited resources—effective assistance for the attainment of this goal must be given to them by the industrially developed countries.

53. Finally, I wish to say that the Libyan Government, acting in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1907 (XVIII), which designated 1965 as International Co-operation Year, has worthily commemorated this memorable event. His Excellency the Prime Minister of Libya made a speech praising the work of the United Nations and affirming Libya's support for this Organization. I shall quote the following paragraph from his speech:

"Libya is happy to join with all the nations of the world in celebrating this memorable event and in affirming its continuous support for the aims and objectives of the United Nations and its readiness to support any resolution and any action designed to achieve peace and security in the world."

54. It is an honour for me, Mr. Vice-President, to convey to you the best wishes of Libya, of His Majesty King Idris and of all the Libyan people, hoping that all your noble efforts will be crowned with success. We hope that our great Organization will continue to overcome the various difficulties it will have to face; thus peace and abundance will reign throughout the world.

55. Mr. MAYAKI (Niger) (translated from French): The delegation of the Niger was very grieved to learn this morning of Mr. Fanfani's accident. Since it is our turn to speak, we should like to take this opportunity to express to Mr. Fanfani our sympathy, best wishes for a speedy recovery and hope that he will very soon resume his functions as President.

56. After the serious difficulties which obstructed the normal course of work at the nineteenth session, our hopes of achieving good results in the work of the present session are all the higher in that they are based on Mr. Fanfani's tried qualities of statesmanship and his profound knowledge of international problems.

57. My delegation has enthusiastically and warmly welcomed the admission to our Organization of three States—Gambia, Singapore and the Maldivé Islands. Since we ourselves have suffered enslave-

ment and humiliation under the despicable régime of colonialism, our satisfaction each time foreign domination beats a retreat can be easily imagined. We are fully convinced that these new Members will shoulder their international responsibilities and will be able to make an effective contribution to the further strengthening of the policy of peace and security which remains one of the principal objectives of the Organization.

58. It is not appropriate to cast a quick glance over the Organization's twenty years of activity and draw up a balance-sheet—even a summary one—showing on the credit side some of its most spectacular achievements? Africa, for its part, is not altogether rid of the invaders but, thanks to the decisive action of the Organization, there has been a way of emancipation all over the continent during this period, with the happy result of an increase in the number of Member States and more and more extensive international co-operation. Despite the extraordinary efforts that have been made, the United Nations is more than ever at grips with serious problems of international peace and security, without which it is illusory to speak of the full development of mankind.

59. Among these serious problems, the interest of mankind dictates that the highest priority should be given to disarmament, the economic and social factors threatening the world balance, and decolonization, to mention only a few.

60. Today the bomb is more threatening than ever for the future of mankind. There have always been vague ideas about the end of the world. Now, however, we are faced with the real possibility of such an end. There has been all too much talk, in this forum, about disarmament, destruction of nuclear vehicles, control, etc., without any good solution being found. The question concerns the weak nations as much as the strong, because the very existence of all life on earth is involved. We, for our part, think that the whole responsibility lies with the great Powers alone; it is they which manufacture and possess these weapons and they refuse to eliminate them unconditionally. In fact, this attitude simple means that, in circumstances which may arise from one day to the next, nuclear weapons are bound to come into use. This is why we rightly consider that universal peace is at the moment resting on a volcano. It is therefore, in our opinion, the urgent duty of the United Nations to make the great Powers change their nuclear policy for the benefit of a world of peace, economic and social development and international security.

61. My delegation listened with special attention to the appeal for peace made from this rostrum by His Holiness Pope Paul VI [1347th meeting]. This solemn appeal, which the Assembly heard with emotion, is the finest contribution made to the work of the twentieth session. May the nations of the world, and particularly the Powers responsible for the international tension, appreciate its full scope and henceforth devote their efforts to building a new society, imbued with justice and brotherhood.

62. Because of the stiffening in the attitude of certain colonial Powers, which still regard our

continent as their "goose that lays the golden eggs", the political situation in Africa is becoming increasingly alarming, to the extent that it constitutes a serious danger to international peace. I am thinking more particularly of the mad venture planned, with the complicity of their country of origin, by the colonialists who have settled in Southern Rhodesia, where the indigenous inhabitants, numbering more than 3.5 million, are living in a hell on earth. I add the voice of the Niger to those which have already tried to make the guardian Power—a country which is a friend and whose decolonization efforts we greatly appreciate—see reason. The United Kingdom must reconsider its attitude towards the Rhodesian people, in order to consolidate the deep friendship it has won in Africa. In the opinion of my delegation, the way to salvation in Southern Rhodesia can be none other than the immediate convening of a round-table conference of all political parties for a valid discussion of a new constitution based on the legitimate wishes of the majority of the population and, of course, guaranteeing the rights of the minority.

63. South Africa, with its régime which is horribly reminiscent of Hitlerite cruelty, is each day the focus of the indignant attention of a large majority of Member States which, with no political trickery, believe in human rights and defend them ardently and with conviction. Faced with the morbid obstinacy with which the stateless persons installed in this part of Africa are pursuing with increasing barbarity their iniquitous policy of apartheid, the Assembly should no longer be content with adopting resolutions that remain pious wishes. It should formally declare that apartheid is incompatible with membership of the United Nations. In the opinion of my delegation, action along these lines would be no more or less than scrupulous respect for the relevant provisions of the Charter. When one reads the Charter, one is glad to see that the principles with which it begins are majestic. A clear idea emerges: belief in human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, desire for tolerance and peaceful coexistence among neighbours—in short, justice for all. None of these principles is applied by South Africa. Today there is a hot war in Viet-Nam, in South-East Asia, seriously aggravated by interventions of all kinds; tomorrow, unless care is taken while there is still just time, it will no doubt be the turn of this country of the Bantu. Then speakers will come to this same rostrum helplessly, shedding crocodile's tears, to deplore the war of extermination which the stateless persons will have unleashed against the defenceless people. The alarm has been sounded: it is the duty of the Organization to face the heavy responsibilities which it bears.

64. Too many words have been spoken in this hall and in the Security Council about South West Africa. There is a danger that the United Nations, whose decisions are deliberately flouted by a State which claims the status of Member State, may in the end bear the heavy historic responsibility of having lacked determination and effectiveness. It is high time to put an end to this state of affairs. My delegation considers that it is the duty of the General Assembly to withdraw from South Africa its privilege of being an administering Power and do everything

possible to prepare the people to exercise their right to self-determination and accelerate the process which is to lead them to full sovereignty.

65. While we welcome the status granted to the Territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland on their way to complete sovereignty, we are afraid, after the painful experience of South West Africa, that these people may be in bondage to their neighbour, like a lamb within the reach of a hungry wolf.

66. Portugal's shameless policy of exploitation in Africa is just as alarming as the policy of its ally, the Africa of apartheid, because of the danger it presents to international peace and security. We adjure the partners of these countries, blinded as they are by their base interests, to reconsider their short-sighted policy of support and assistance, before all Africa resolutely plunges into a struggle to liberate the last bastion of dying colonialism.

67. Africa has suffered a great deal from the so-called "barter" economy; it therefore has a very special interest in General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX) establishing a United Nations organ for trade and development. We are glad to see in this resolution the reaffirmed resolve of the United Nations actively to pursue, within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade, all its efforts to enable the countries suffering from economic stagnation to achieve greater expansion. We in the Niger think that for this purpose a policy of harmonizing development plans in the various regions of the developing world is essential. This is why in Africa our Head of State, President El Hadj Diiori Hamani, stated with conviction in July 1962 at the first Conference on Harmonization of Industrial Development in West Africa, held at Niamey:

"You see, immediately after the independence of all young States the most urgent problem for them all is the problem of development. These States each try to solve it in their own way, but we in the Niger think that for this problem, since the ill is the same, the same remedy should be sought in common. We shall gain much time, we shall move in the direction of history, we shall move towards raising the levels of living of our people, if we pool our experiences and ideas for the good of our peoples. Industrialization should be a way of co-ordinating and creating better conditions for the attainment of African unity."

68. We also think that in the present state of affairs the establishment of a more just and equitable system of relations with regard to world economic resources is essential. While capital investment is one of the factors necessary for economic growth, those who provide the funds should not only refrain from attaching political conditions to their loans but should agree to allocate a certain percentage of their contributions for vocational training. In this connexion, we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the institutions of the United Nations, both the technical assistance bodies and the Special Fund.

69. As a convinced believer in non-interference in the affairs of other States, the Niger has always been among those countries which scrupulously respect

this principle as a factor of primary importance for peace and security. No durable construction worthy of the name, no exchange of healthy ideas among the nations in this tormented world can exist without this spirit of tolerance and fraternity. Speaking in this same Assembly about a year ago, I tried to draw attention to the danger presented by this delicate problem. A welcome initiative had been taken by Madagascar on the eve of the nineteenth session. Today we should like to repeat once more our delegation's unqualified support for the proposal put forward by our sister country relating to the "observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities".^{3/}

70. More or less everywhere in the world, there arise conflicts of greater or lesser violence which are due, most of the time, to nothing but inordinate ambition or stupid intrigue. The sooner the Assembly finds solutions to the problems of non-interference—which are mentioned in the Preamble to the Charter—the more will it strengthen its authority in the world by restoring mankind's confidence.

71. The problem of subversion is undoubtedly one of the most serious facing the under-developed countries. My country has been the victim of foreign interference, from which it has suffered a great deal. At the fifth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Lagos in June 1965, the delegation of the Niger made a full analysis of the problem of subversion. I do not want to reopen this vast question here, but let me remind you of what was said on this subject by our Head of State, El Hadj Diiori Hamani:

"The OAU, in its charter, is explicit: it condemns interference by one State in the affairs of another, it condemns political assassination as a means of seizing power. We are therefore waiting to see how far certain States will go in their anti-African policies subsidized by the Peking Chinese, whom we do not intend to meet at Algiers. That is, moreover, the basic reason for our refusal to attend the Algiers Conference, for we consider that there are not only imperialists of the right, there are also Red imperialists, who, under the cover of a false anti-imperialism, put themselves forward as the champions of African independence."

72. Without wishing to disappoint those who have preceded me at this rostrum and have enthusiastically expressed their views on the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, I should like very briefly to express my delegation's opinion on the subject.

73. There is no need to cite here the great principles stated in the Preamble of the Charter. We all know them very well. It is not by encouraging trouble-makers, by cold-heartedly teaching them the art of subversion in our young countries, by providing them with criminal arms, by inciting brother to rise

up against brother, by interfering directly or indirectly in the affairs of other States in order to jeopardize their hard-won progress, it is not, I say, by engaging in such practices that one can show one's allegiance to the United Nations or that one proves oneself worthy to be admitted to the Organization, even if one prides oneself on representing one third of the world's population.

74. As long as the People's China continues to ignore the elementary rules of peaceful coexistence, as long as it refuses to respect and apply the sacred principles of the Charter, as long as the People's China continues to interfere in other countries' affairs, my country cannot unconditionally support its admission to the Organization.

75. There are also certain problems of exceptional gravity which occupy the attention of the Assembly every year. I speak of the German people, the problems of Viet-Nam, Korea, Palestine, Cyprus, Kashmir and so on.

76. The German problem in the very heart of Europe, is one of those which call for an immediate solution. Such a solution, the most sensible there could be, has been repeatedly advocated in resolutions which, alas, have remained a dead letter. What do we want, if not to allow the great German people to exercise freely their right of self-determination?

77. My delegation appeals urgently to the consciences of the great Powers responsible for this tragic situation to find a human solution to it which will meet the unanimous wishes of the German people. My country would be glad, once German unity is restored, to see this great people make their contribution to the work of the Organization.

78. Like the German problem, Viet-Nam, Palestine, Korea and Cyprus are burning questions which are much in the mind of my delegation. We consider that everything possible should be done to bring about a peaceful settlement of the disputes between the parties.

79. As far as the dispute between India and Pakistan is concerned, my delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the Security Council and the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose persistent efforts to bring about a reconciliation have led to a cease-fire, which, we hope, will really be a step towards a final solution of the problem.

80. Those are the few observations which the delegation of the Niger thought it necessary to make as a contribution to the study of some of the problems before the Assembly at its twentieth session. The factors to which attention has been drawn by one speaker or another show as clearly as can be desired the direction to be given to our work and the objectives to be achieved, in the interests of all, for the greater good of mankind.

81. The Niger, for its part, being profoundly attached to the principles enshrined in the Charter, is more than ever resolved to give its total support to the Organization, whose existence is, for the under-developed countries, a sure guarantee of peace and security in their efforts to bring about economic and social development.

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 2, document A/5757 and Add.1.

82 Mr. ENGONE (Gabon) (translated from French): It is with profound dismay that the delegation of Gabon has learnt of the indisposition of Mr. Fanfani following an unfortunate accident. We would ask you, Mr. Vice-President, to be good enough to convey to him our sincere wishes for a speedy recovery together with our hearty congratulations on his election as the President of the General Assembly at its twentieth session. We already welcome the fact that his experience and sense of moderation will make their positive contribution to our debates, just as the enthusiasm, courage and skill of his eminent predecessor, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, were indispensable during the last session.

83. The admission of the States of Singapore, the Maldives Islands and the Gambia to our Organization is a great comfort and a source of hope for the peoples still under foreign domination who are striving so vigorously to gain freedom.

84. In this connexion I wish to draw attention to the welcome progress towards independence made by Equatorial Guinea, a neighbour and sister State of Gabon. The referendum of 1963, the various elections of 1964, the appointment of the Governing Council and the appointment of the President of the Governing Council, each event marking a stage on the path towards self-determination, have proceeded in absolute freedom and order which do honour to our neighbour and to the administering Power. The Process of decolonization initiated by Spain is being followed closely by the Gabonese Government, which wishes to congratulate the Spanish Government once more on its realistic and civilized policy towards a brother people, who we hope will soon take their place among us.

85. Spain's wise policy should serve as an example to all the other Governments which have established their rule over overseas territories. In Africa there are still many peoples living under the harsh law of colonialism. Portugal, despite all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, despite the many appeals made from this rostrum, stubbornly refuses to listen to the voice of reason and continues to deny millions of human beings the right to live in freedom and independence. This country, lost in a conquistador's dream, a prisoner of the past, is seeking to preserve a colonial empire in Africa. Against the wishes of the indigenous people, it seeks to impose its will by force; since those people have no choice but to meet violence with violence, large Portuguese armed forces have been stationed in the territories in revolt, in order to carry out a murderous campaign of suppression. The theory that Portugal's overseas possessions are provinces of Portugal cannot deceive anyone. It is a negation of the principle of self-determination, a right to which the Gabonese Republic is passionately devoted.

86. Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands and the islands of Principe and São Tomé will be freed, whatever ridiculous theories are manufactured by the Portuguese Government. On this point, we can state that time is on our side, on the African side, whatever the Portuguese Government may think. That Government, by establishing diplomatic relations with a country

such as Southern Rhodesia, which has not yet gained international sovereignty, has given proof of its unthinking and unrealistic attitude.

87. Gabon will therefore vote systematically in favour of any resolution likely to hasten the end of Portuguese colonialism, particularly by means of economic sanctions, which, unfortunately, are not applied by some of those who voted in favour of them. The only explanation is that they are waiting for more solid arguments of impatience or despair to be put forward and to create a serious threat to peace.

88. In South Africa, Mr. Verwoerd's policy of apartheid is becoming more and more inhuman. Arbitrary laws on segregation, court sentences, concentration camps, executions—these are the means used by the rulers of South Africa to deprive the indigenous people of their right to free existence. The Pretoria Government, disregarding fundamental human rights, excludes from the life of the nation millions of beings, to whom it denies any human value.

89. Deaf to warnings and, like Portugal, ignoring the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, it continues to defy world opinion, encouraged, it is true, by certain Powers which give it effective though concealed support and by others which refuse to apply the sanctions adopted against it. Yet it has been said over and over again that, since South Africa is not economically self-sufficient, the way to sway its policy is to apply economic sanctions.

90. Here again, Gabon, which has introduced radical boycott measures by forbidding any aircraft or ship belonging to South Africa or, of course, Portugal, to fly over, land in or enter its territory, is regretfully obliged to note the non-application of sanctions by some of those who voted in favour of them.

91. On this same African continent, it is distressing to find that in Southern Rhodesia a foreign minority which holds power is on the point of succeeding in its manoeuvres to have independence declared for its benefit alone, thus depriving more than 3.5 million inhabitants, the indigenous majority, of their legitimate right to self-government. Gabon firmly hopes that the United Kingdom, the administering Power, will not let itself be duped by the machinations of the Rhodesian settlers and that it will continue to oppose them by promoting free general elections. The responsibility and prestige of the United Kingdom in Africa are deeply involved in this matter, although, in other respects, it is to be congratulated on its progressive decolonization policy. Secret agreements have just been concluded at Lisbon between Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa on the use of all possible means to maintain the supremacy of the racist white minority in what they call the southern part of the African continent. On this point, we declare that, as long as some countries insist on moving against the tide of history, there will be no peace in Africa or in the world.

92. But there are other causes of tension threatening world stability and equilibrium. Among them I shall refer in particular to the problem of divided nations. For some of these countries the question of their very existence has become doubtful. It is unthinkable

that in our time highly civilized nations with ancient cultures, which for centuries have given proof of their political maturity, should be condemned to live divided and outside the ranks of our Organization. Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam are among the countries suffering from this situation, which it behoves us to bring to an end.

93. Since the right of self-determination is one of the fundamental principles of our Charter, a principle to which, I repeat, we are passionately devoted, Gabon considers it unjust that the German nation should be kept in a state of division imposed on it from outside. Only a free consultation of the whole German people will make it possible to find the basis for an agreement ending the division, reuniting the country, restoring its capital to it and reconciling the two sections of the population.

94. Convinced as we are that discussion is the only means of settling disputes, we also consider that it is our Organization's duty to put an end to the territorial claims which are at the root of the dispute between Israel and its Arab neighbours, a dispute which the Gabonese Government considers can be settled only by negotiation, like the problem of the Palestine refugees.

95. If the use of force to settle disputes is to be condemned without qualification, the same is true of subversion. The Gabonese Government, faithful to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the Organization of African Unity and the Inter-African and Malagasy States Organization, strongly condemns any interference in the internal affairs of other States and subversive activities conducted against other States, whether neighbours or not.

96. In this connexion, Gabon approves of Madagascar's request [see A/5937] and the General Committee's agreement that the agenda of the twentieth session should include an item on "Observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities" (item 94). Madagascar had earlier submitted a draft resolution on this subject.^{4/} Gabon will associate itself with any declaration condemning failure to observe those principles.

97. As regards the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations, the Gabonese Government will continue to support the Republic of China, a founding Member of the Organization. The Gabonese Government, moreover, like everyone here present, cannot but consider this question to be of the highest importance and one requiring a special procedure under Article 18 of the Charter. Before we reach that point, it must be said that the recent statements of policy by the Peking rulers are no encouragement to those who for various reasons and on various bases, want the People's China to be admitted to the United Nations.

98. A great step was taken in the direction of an international détente by the conclusion in 1963 between

the main nuclear Powers of a treaty prohibiting most atomic explosions but unfortunately excluding underground tests. The Republic of Gabon was one of the first to sign this treaty. In doing so and in co-sponsoring a declaration on the denuclearization of Africa [A/5975], it has sought to show how much its people love peace and how fervently they welcome and encourage all initiatives that may lead to this goal. But this is only a first step. While Gabon unequivocally condemns the use and testing of nuclear weapons, it also opposes the production and dissemination of all other weapons of mass destruction, even if they are called "conventional".

99. The real problem, however, remains that of disarmament. We feel that it is a problem which concerns all States and hence the responsibility of all States is fully committed to its solution. It is easy to imagine the halting of nuclear tests and the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. But what will happen to the enormous stocks of conventional weapons accumulated by all countries? The destructive power of these weapons is obvious. These are the weapons that are being used in India, Kashmir, Viet-Nam, on the frontiers of Israel, in the Congo (Leopoldville) and so on. All States possess them and can use them at any time for non-defensive purposes. They undoubtedly constitute a permanent threat to peace. While some States are increasing their stocks of atomic bombs and rockets, others are equipping themselves with so-called conventional weapons. These conventional weapons threaten international security as much as and perhaps more than nuclear weapons.

100. The Heads of State or Government meeting at the Conferences of Belgrade (1961) and Cairo (1964) were right to call for a world disarmament conference to which all States should be invited, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations. Gabon, for its part, considers that, generally speaking, the voice of Africa should be heard, whatever the level of the discussion.

101. In a world where more than two-thirds of mankind suffer from hunger and from diseases which modern medical science could cure if the material means were available, it is sad and discouraging to note that large and smaller countries alike devote a large part of their power and resources to the manufacture or acquisition of armaments.

102. Would not these resources, this labour, this intelligence be better employed to feed the hungry, to care for the sick and to provide work for the rising generations of our developing countries? Like others, we note with concern that the gulf which separates the developed from the under-developed countries is growing greater. The prices of raw materials are constantly fluctuating, each time threatening the stability of modest national budgets. The negotiations now being held within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development must at all costs take into account the vulnerability of the exports of the under-developed countries. Once again we appeal to human solidarity for economic and financial co-operation that is really effective.

^{4/} Ibid.

103. In this connexion, Gabon would be completely in favour of the consolidation of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance into a United Nations Development Programme. Nevertheless, in our view the main consideration is that there should be a minimum of trust among the wealthiest States regarding the objectives to be attained, regardless of ideological considerations.

104. Since I am dealing with a problem of reorganization, I take this opportunity to state that Gabon feels as do many other Member States, that the United Nations does not fully respond to present-day demands and that it needs to be reformed. While almost everyone agrees in principle that the Charter must be revised, opinions differ on the type of amendments to be made to it. Gabon, for its part, has adopted a purely pragmatic attitude. It feels that a realistic approach would consist in drawing up a kind of inventory of the methods applied so far, so that they may be appraised in the light of the results achieved. This would make it possible to select and perfect the procedures and processes which have shown themselves to be effective and to eliminate those which have shown themselves to be impracticable or dangerous.

105. However that may be, I must assure the Assembly that Gabon remains firmly attached to the spirit and fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization. The President of the Republic of Gabon, Mr. Léon Mba, stated on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations:

"The United Nations reflects international life and is an essential part of it. For this reason, I solemnly proclaim the unconditional attachment of Gabon to the United Nations Charter, our hope that the Organization will assume even greater prestige and authority, and our resolve to uphold and if necessary defend it by all the means in our power."

106. This confidence in the United Nations was demonstrated again recently in striking fashion by the determination with which the Security Council requested and then demanded an effective cease-fire between India and Pakistan, two countries of the non-aligned world unfortunately pitted against one another in a bloody fratricidal conflict. We hope that the spirit of non-violence and wisdom of both countries will spare the peoples of India and Pakistan the horrors of destruction and desolation. Gabon is aware of the highly laudable efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, to whom I am pleased to pay a resounding tribute. Gabon will assess the contribution of certain Members in the light of the negotiations to come. Gabon appeals to all Members of the Organization to do everything in their power to extinguish the flames that light up the sky and the earth of Asia and the world. We are convinced that this is an urgent duty deriving from the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. We are convinced that this is the meaning of the words, so wise and so profound, spoken from this rostrum exactly a week ago [1347th meeting] by His Holiness Pope Paul VI.

107. Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): To begin with, my delegation deplores

the unfortunate accident which deprives us of the presence of our distinguished President, Mr. Fanfani, to whom we express our wishes for a prompt and happy recovery. In any case, I wish to make the following statement with regard to him, to appear in the record.

108. On behalf of my delegation and as representative of the Bolivian people and Government, I have great pleasure in conveying to Mr. Fanfani our congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly. The distinguished speakers who have preceded me have fully enumerated the intellectual and moral gifts with which he is endowed. In order to avoid repetition, I shall say only that anyone who, like him, is a citizen and eminent leader of a people so outstanding in the annals of history and culture, has every qualification to preside over our debates. He brings to them a desire for progress that derives from wisdom and the spirit of peace and justice which is born of wisdom. Bolivia, a traditional friend of Italy, salutes Mr. Fanfani with all respect.

109. This hall still resounds with the inspired words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, who, by an unprecedented decision that bears witness to his vigilance and his desire to contribute to the achievement of peace and justice, has honoured us by transferring the throne of Saint Peter to this Assembly Hall. He came to express his concern at the tragedies afflicting the peoples of the world and to remind us of the eternal truth of the evangelical precepts. In a voice that twenty centuries have not been able to silence, he appealed to us to exercise the sense of responsibility and harmony which should preside over our deliberations. Our delegation pays devout homage to the person of the Supreme Pontiff and, in the name of the age-old submission of the people of Bolivia to the Holy See of Rome, expresses filial acceptance of his lofty supremacy.

110. In its capacity as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Bolivia took part in the drafting and adoption of the resolutions which, in pursuance of the provisions of the Charter, recommended to this Assembly the admission of Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore as Member States of the United Nations. Having taken part in this previous action, we have a special reason for sharing in the satisfaction felt by free peoples upon the accession of three new States to the rights and duties of responsible international co-operation. We take this first opportunity of wishing these three new Member States a prosperous life accompanied by the benefits of peace.

111. Elected at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Bolivia joined that important body in January 1964 and its term of office will expire at the end of this year. Following the prescribed order, Bolivia occupied the Presidency of the Council in January and December 1964 and will do so again in November of this year. The Bolivian representatives in the Council have at all times sought to discharge with dedication and impartiality the responsibilities entrusted to us by this Assembly.

112. In such arduous debates as those relating to the Panama crisis, the situation in Cyprus, the question of Palestine, the events in the Congo and Santo Domingo, the claims of Senegal, the situation in Southern Rhodesia and innumerable others, we have served in a calm spirit of impartiality, always bearing in mind the provisions of the Charter, respecting the powers of the Council and the duties and rights of the regional organizations, analysing the risks entailed in extremist and subversive ideological incursions against peace and democracy, upholding the principles of freedom and self-determination and fighting openly for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and of all forms of political, religious or racial discrimination.

113. Bolivia has tried to fulfil with honesty and discretion the mandate entrusted to it by this Assembly in the Security Council. We are proud to have achieved during our Presidency of the Council, with the invaluable co-operation of all Member States, certain objective responses to the problems of Panama, Cyprus, the Congo and the armed incidents along the Palestine frontier.

114. Bolivia's seat in the Security Council has enabled our country to understand with special clarity the limitations imposed on our task by the organizational crisis of the United Nations. Our delegation considers that one of the wisest remarks made during this session of the Assembly [1334th meeting] was made by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Brazil, Mr. Leitão da Cunha, when he said that "the United Nations Charter, however flexible, represents a style of political architecture that... has been superseded by reality". A generation that has the audacity to promote and accept the most spectacular technical innovations should not hesitate to enter, with measured but bold steps, the field of great moral responsibilities and to discuss serenely and profoundly those new aspects which would give greater and more practical effectiveness to the Charter and offer firmer guarantees for the maintenance of peace.

115. I shall not conclude this part of my statement without paying a tribute to the memory of Mr. Adlai Stevenson, who was a noble friend of us all and who, in my opinion, gave up his very life to the tensions, responsibilities and frustrations of the Security Council in its endeavour to preserve world peace.

116. With a view to remedying an intolerable anomaly of international life, the United Nations, in pursuance of a recommendation adopted at Geneva in 1964 by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, convened this summer a Conference of Plenipotentiaries to discuss the transit problems of land-locked countries. It was my duty on that occasion to state on behalf of Bolivia what I now reaffirm before this Assembly, namely, that the international conscience recognizes that Bolivia is not a land-locked country but a State which, owing to transitory circumstances, is temporarily deprived of access to the sea through its own coast.^{5/}

^{5/} United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on Transit Trade of Land-locked Countries, 36th meeting, held at Headquarters, New York, on 8 July 1965.

117. We nevertheless took part in the Conference of Plenipotentiaries because we are members of the Trade and Development Board, in whose work we place great hope, and because we were convinced that that Conference was the first of the many steps that must be taken to ensure that the development of the land-locked countries is not hampered by the unilateral will of the transit countries, which are not content to profit by the geographical position which has given them free access to the sea, but directly or indirectly impose prejudicial conditions on the transit trade of other sovereign States, which are thus subjected to difficulties and humiliations deriving from their land-locked position in addition to the evils of under-development.

118. We repeat now what we said then: that just as it is no longer possible, in the sphere of human freedom, to imagine slaves in chains, so it is no longer possible, in the sphere of commercial freedom, to accept the idea of land-locked countries being restricted in their right to trade and limited in their ability to develop by the unilateral will of certain transit countries.

119. Without prejudice to our efforts to ensure, by every available means, the restoration of Bolivian sovereignty of the Pacific coast—a right which we consider inalienable and imprescriptible and which constitutes a great void in the vital needs of our people—we Bolivians, together with the United Nations, are closely following the salutary development of a current of world public opinion favouring free access to the sea for the land-locked countries, which first manifested itself at the Conference of Plenipotentiaries and should be resolutely fostered.

120. I must now refer to what Bolivia considers the crucial problem of our time, namely that of devising, under United Nations auspices, an international trade system—planned, world-wide and compulsory—which will give the emerging nations, especially those producing raw materials and primary commodities, a fairer and therefore much greater share of the profits from trade in those commodities. Those nations are, by a revealing coincidence, the less developed nations; they are the nations in which the population explosion is most serious and it is the people of those nations who are rightly clamouring, violently and urgently, for a better life. I am referring to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and in order to express Bolivia's views on this question, I need only repeat, with your permission, some of the ideas I expressed at the first session of the Trade and Development Board here in New York a few months ago [12th meeting].

"We who have the honour of representing our peoples in the international conferences of our time are witnessing, perhaps without fully realizing its significance, a moment of decisive change in the history of international co-operation and in the dialectical perspectives of human destiny. I am not referring to the spectacular technical revolution which is incorporating outer space in our patrimony, but to the social revolution which is beginning to use new tools for the good of mankind. It is obvious that this social revolution, which requires neither laboratories nor armies, since it takes place in man's

conscience, has existed since the world began, since the dawn of history, when as a result of different natural conditions, and sometimes as a result of unjust depredations, mankind was divided into the great and the small, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the well-fed and the hungry. This revolution rejects the arbitrary privileges and differences established by inertia and oppression and affirms that human beings—white or black, believers or atheists, poor or prosperous—are human beings first and foremost, that their rights in life and their duties to history are exactly equal and that the only differences that can and should be admitted in the hierarchy of values are the cultural differences deriving from the level of ethical, aesthetic and intellectual development attained by each individual.

"For thousands of years, religions and philosophies have striven to proclaim this equality among men, confirming with the blood of prophets and martyrs a belief that is rooted in the essence of our nature. For thousands of years this revolution has been thwarted; sometimes suppressed by selfish interests, at other times dispersed by the isolation of peoples, the vastness of the world, the difficulty of mutual communication and understanding, or diverted from its noble and peaceful aims by the violence of political sectarianisms, which it would be inappropriate to analyse here.

"What is now happening is that the technical progress of recent years, by shortening distances, disseminating information, expanding educational facilities, drawing individuals and peoples closer together and mingling them, is promoting a creative symbiosis in the political and social thinking of all races. Three quarters of the peoples of this planet now know that they belong to an under-developed region; that they provide valuable primary commodities to sustain the prosperity of other nations, but that bread, hospitals and schools are often beyond their means; that they buy at high prices and sell at low prices; that their misfortune is the foundation of others' happiness. We say these things without bitterness but we are glad to be able to say them. We respect the prosperity of the big nations, for we know that it is not based on our primary commodities alone but also on the creative genius of their races, the efficiency of their Governments, the disciplined work of their peoples and the vision of their intellectual and political leaders. This is all a thing of the past, a settled account, and the peoples of the under-developed regions, far from wishing the big nations any harm, want to learn from their technology, to follow their example and to engage them in a friendly dialogue so that we may seek together a solution to the problem of the hungry man. Our aim is to achieve the material prosperity that they already possess. Their aim is even more important: it is to preserve their dignity as cultured nations by assisting us, not with charity, but with justice.

"This is the decisive change to which I referred earlier. It first appeared at Geneva in 1964 and we must consolidate it. We must realize that the Trade and Development Board is not seeking to promote a duel between conflicting interests, but

a world-wide agreement, in order that through general prosperity we may save the two things that must be saved: world peace and man's faith in his own destiny.

"In the work of this Board, the eternal social revolution is trying to find, for the first time in history, a constructive, peaceful and universal method, namely the establishment of an international trade system designed to harm no one but to stress unequivocally, dramatically and urgently the duty to increase by every possible means the incomes of the emerging nations.

"Steps must be taken to ensure as soon as possible that in the Far East half of the world's population shall no longer live on scarcely one quarter of the food produced on our planet; that vigorous Africa shall no longer struggle in frustration, lacking the means to create the infra-structure needed for development; that 200 million Latin Americans shall no longer languish on their rich fields and inexhaustible mines like 'a beggar on a golden chair', receiving for their labours scarcely enough to keep body and soul together.

"It is a terrifying thought, but we should do well to recall that the population of the Far East is increasing by two million a month; that each month sees the birth of a million and a half Chinese, half a million Latin Americans and another half million Africans. All these mouths must be fed, all these bodies clothed, all these minds educated, and to this end it is essential to develop the productivity of all continents, rationalizing agriculture, trade and the extractive industries, avoiding useless duplication of effort and drawing upon the surplus available to some in order to provide a bare minimum for others. The spectre of the population explosion, of hungry men and angry peoples, is knocking like a giant at the door of our era, while the United Nations discusses Article 19, the Berlin Wall and the bombing in Viet-Nam. A bell is tolling but it is not tolling for us, for we are the disinherited, the countless throng."

121. We know that the path of the Trade and Development Board will not be smooth. We are threatening immense interests, traditionally founded on our inertia and impotence, and they may be expected to fight hard before withdrawing.

122. A few months ago I took part, as the representative of Bolivia, in the United Nations Tin Conference,^{6/} convened pursuant to the Geneva recommendations to discuss a new international agreement designed to regulate the fluctuation of world market prices for that metal. All the producing countries (which are under-developed countries), acting with exemplary unity and open sincerity and wielding convincing evidence based on facts, fought in vain to have included in the convention—I shall not say a higher price for tin, although the limited world production of 20,000 tons would entitle us to such a price—but simply a "higher scale of prices" which would enable the buffer stock to function effectively in relation to the real market price.

^{6/} Held in New York from 22 March to 14 April 1965.

123. The developed countries participating in the Conference, i.e., the buyers, expressed deep sympathy for our problems but finally said "no". They ignored the non-recoverable nature of this wealth, the dreadful sacrifice and poverty of the miners, the rising price of the machinery needed in the mines, the need to stimulate long-term investment through remunerative prices and, what is most serious, they forgot the Geneva recommendations and all those great objectives, now nothing more than empty words, which once expressed our hopes. They even told us that it would not be advisable to increase the price of tin because great progress was being made in the development of substitute materials, and so, answering our anguished demands with veiled threats, they left us where we were.

124. Countries with non-commercial tin stocks have continued to make sales which are totally unrelated to the free functioning of the market and are intended only to regulate prices directly, taking the buyers' interests into account but sacrificing the producers' expectations. We may therefore conclude that as far as tin is concerned the ideals of Geneva and the influence of the United Nations are unable to raise the scale of prices to a realistic and remunerative level, to check the substitutes race which eventually may well deprive an entire nation of its income, or to persuade the powerful Governments of both East and West to refrain from disguised dumping, which helps powerful international industries but leaves the producing countries in their customary poverty.

125. We may learn some important lessons from this: the Trade and Development Board, and especially the Committee on Commodities, must aim at gradually transforming their theoretical documents into worldwide executive instruments compelling all States to agree on prices for raw materials which are fair in relation to development needs. The Committee should devise objective and mandatory legal measures to eliminate the danger of substitutes as long as the commodities concerned are vital to the economy of any one country. The Committee should also propose procedures designed to prevent anyone from altering the arrangements agreed upon in international commodity agreements through indiscriminate sales of non-commercial stocks. If these three things are not done, we shall regretfully be obliged to conclude that as far as the vital question of commodity prices is concerned the Trade and Development Board has written in the sand.

126. Bolivian history, which is characterized by frequent conflicts and many tribulations, is the story of a proud people who from the beginning of their history have been obliged to fight a continuous, heroic and dauntless battle for freedom. Our nation has now been freed from colonial political domination and our economy from exploitation by foreign monopolistic interests; our peasants are free to own their land and our people are free to participate in the sometimes bitter conflict between ideologies, but our battle continues.

127. We have yet to free two million indigenous inhabitants from ignorance; we must free large sections of our population from endemic diseases and malnutrition; we must free our territory from the effects of its own diversity and magnitude by establishing an adequate economic infra-structure; we must free our development plans from the complexities imposed upon them by the diversity of climates and races; we must free our productivity from the high costs resulting from unreliable and outdated technical conditions which we cannot improve owing to a lack of resources; we must free our own freedom from the penetration of extremist ideologies which seek to destroy it; lastly, we must free our nation as a whole from the absurd and intolerable land-locked position imposed upon it by armed aggression followed by territorial mutilation.

128. We are not ashamed to tell the truth, because the accurate diagnosis of disease is the first step towards health and because it is others, not ourselves, who are to blame for Bolivia's condition. Furthermore, it is this fact that is receiving the attention of the military junta which governs my country and of the people as a whole, in a crusade of discipline and work which is already in progress. It is not by chance that this Assembly is being told the truth about Bolivia.

129. Under-development imposed by the iniquitous exploitation of the past? That is Bolivia. Illiteracy, limited educational facilities, lack of hospitals, inadequate economic infra-structure? That is Bolivia. An economy based exclusively on mineral production, low and arbitrary prices for those minerals, sales by other nations of non-commercial stocks which deal a death blow to our exports of raw materials? Development by other nations of the production of substitutes, which may one day cause the collapse of our balance of payments? That is Bolivia. Continually rising uncontrolled prices for the industrial, agricultural and manufacturing machinery we need? An increasingly unjust and dangerous disequilibrium in the terms of trade, an insidious campaign against any eventual substitution of imports? That is Bolivia.

130. It is for all these reasons that Bolivia looks with great respect to the United Nations, to the high intellectual and moral qualities of the Secretary-General, U Thant, and to the technical and administrative efficiency of the United Nations staff. The exploitation and plundering to which solitary countries were subjected in the shameful days of colonialism and aggression will be rectified and will disappear in this era of united countries, before this Assembly, which man has created in his own image: that is, with obvious imperfections and contradictions but with an inflexible desire for peace, justice and goodness; in his own image, because man is good.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.