

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1211th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 23 September 1963,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): My presence at this eighteenth session of the General Assembly has been prompted not only by the compelling importance of the subjects on the agenda but also by my attachment to and respect for this Assembly, the close ties which I have established here and my desire to renew contact with numerous friends.

2. I am therefore happy today, speaking on behalf of Libya, to present our compliments to the Assembly and again to express to the representatives present here, with whom I have always enjoyed the closest relations, my warmest and most cordial feelings. The friendly understanding that has been established among the representatives, the fruitful habits of co-operation which have developed among them and their esteem for one another all strengthen their awareness of belonging to a great international family and effectively contribute to harmony and understanding among the countries they represent.

3. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, for having merited the great confidence which the Assembly has placed in you by choosing you to guide the work of this session, and to express my most sincere feelings of cordiality towards your noble country and all the peoples of Latin America, who have at all times supported this Organization and its Charter and defended its principles. Allow me to wish you complete success in your important task so that this session, under your chairmanship, may achieve the best possible results.

4. I also wish to express my greatest admiration for your predecessor, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, and to pay a tribute to his political wisdom, his exceptional qualifications and his great firmness, which enabled him to discharge the difficult duties of the office of President so admirably and contributed greatly to the success of the last session.

5. It is with great hope that we welcome the easing of tension among the atomic Powers as a result of the agreement between the Governments of the United

States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the partial suspension of nuclear tests. We have been happy to note the joy and enthusiasm displayed on this occasion by all peace-loving nations. Their eagerness to accede to this Agreement, which the Libyan Government was one of the first to sign, is eloquent proof of their determination to work for the elimination of the obstacles to general and complete disarmament for the sake of all mankind. It also reveals their sincere hope that despite the difficulties which still exist as a result of racial and ideological prejudices, the unceasing co-operation of all the forces striving for greater understanding will lead the world to that stability and peace to which all peoples ardently aspire.

6. The task pursued by the United Nations in promoting equality among the peoples of the earth and in combating discrimination and prejudice, which are contrary to harmony among peoples, faithfully reflects the deepest aspirations of the hearts and minds of men.

7. The Libyan delegation is particularly happy that undeniable progress has been made in the gradual attainment of these objectives. There is no lack of recent examples of constructive United Nations action, particularly in the solution of the questions of Algeria, Cuba, the Congo and West Irian. There can be no doubt that at the time of the very serious Cuban crisis in October 1962 the prompt action taken by the Secretary-General, the immediate convening of the Security Council and the response to the appeals made by all mankind at the most critical moments played a crucial role in the preservation of world peace. That successful solution is striking proof of the effectiveness of the United Nations and of the prestige and authority which it has acquired as a result of the firm, speedy and appropriate action it has taken for the solution of international crises.

8. Imbued with unshakable faith in the high principles and noble ideals of the United Nations, Libya wishes again to express its determination to give full support to this Organization and to uphold the Charter in every way within its power. In solemnly pledging to implement the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security, Libya sincerely hopes that all Member States will show increased confidence in the Organization so that the atmosphere of loyal co-operation so necessary for the attainment of common goals can be achieved.

9. Having expressed our keen satisfaction with the positive results achieved by the United Nations, we cannot fail to observe that the current relaxation of international tension is not sufficient to dispel the feeling that world peace and security are constantly

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

threatened by other international problems of extreme gravity.

10. It is a particularly painful duty, though an imperative one, for the Libyan delegation to refer once again to the Palestine question, which embodies a serious threat to the stability and security of the Middle East. During the past fourteen sessions this Assembly has witnessed a struggle between justice and injustice, the side of injustice defending aggression and, aided by the passage of time, seeking to cloak it with a mantle of legitimacy. It is well known that in this way the principles proclaimed by the United Nations Charter and the resolutions on the subject adopted by the General Assembly at previous sessions have been completely ignored. The unspeakable manner in which the forces guilty of aggression against the Palestinian nation have defied the authority of this Organization by their stubborn refusal to carry out its resolutions has created a tragic situation which will ever be remembered by mankind and will work to the detriment of the United Nations and to the confidence which it should inspire.

11. The Libyan delegation refuses to believe that fourteen years of subterfuge, trickery and distortion of the truth can induce this Organization to allow the final curtain to fall on the Palestine cause.

12. The United Nations cannot lull its conscience by the self-satisfying gesture that it is giving material assistance to a disaster-stricken people, for no matter how useful that assistance may be, it does not strike at the root of the tragedy. The Palestine question is primarily a national cause that falls logically within the framework of the liquidation of colonialism, the principle of which has been proclaimed in the historic resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The refugee problem is only one of the consequences of this tragedy, and although the assistance to refugees is financed at present by voluntary contributions of Member States, it is in our opinion an obligation forming part of the responsibilities assumed by the United Nations.

13. Resolution 194 (III) adopted by the General Assembly on 11 December 1948 at its third session is still the basic text which expresses most clearly the objectives to be attained and the line of conduct to be followed. The right of Palestine refugees of repatriation is unreservedly recognized as is their right to compensation for the assets and properties from them, if they prefer not to return to their homes. It is also recognized that the refugees must be allowed a choice, free from any pressure or duress, between repatriation and compensation.

14. The Libyan delegation accordingly believes that the Palestine refugees should be offered such a choice without delay. It considers moreover that, pending a final solution, effective arrangements should be made to safeguard the property of the refugees and to collect the considerable revenues accruing from it.

15. By its very nature, the Palestine question unquestionably warrants a review by the United Nations. It requires an equitable solution which will redress injustice, enable right to triumph and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine, who have been sorely tried by the buffetings of fate.

16. The Government of the Kingdom of Libya is fully convinced that the maintenance of peace in the Middle East calls for firm and prompt action at the international level to ensure that the United Nations resolu-

tions concerning the Palestine question will be carried out.

17. The objective annals of history, in their indifference to the political forces of today, will not fail to record that the Arabs of Palestine, the original inhabitants of that area, were expelled from their own country and subjected to the most atrocious forms of injustice, violence, discrimination and unjust laws. This state of affairs, characterized by the dispersion on a massive scale of the indigenous inhabitants, the use of terrorist methods and utter disregard for the sacred rights of national or private property, constitutes a critical phase of the utmost gravity in the history of mankind.

18. At a time when the aggression against the Arab nation in Palestine constantly spreads out into the neighbouring Arab countries, as is evident from incidents in the recent and more distant past which have been brought before the United Nations, it is extremely painful to note that certain great Powers accept the injustice in Palestine on the pretext of maintaining a balance of power in the Middle East. In the view of the Libyan delegation, the only explanation for this obvious misrepresentation of the facts is that the great Powers have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by the manoeuvres and pressures of international Zionism. How else can one explain the argument that there should be a balance of power between the adventurers who succeeded, at a moment when the world's attention was diverted, in establishing themselves in Palestine, and the Arab peoples, whose legitimate right cannot be contested even by the most accomplished sophists?

19. The people of Palestine, faithful and impassioned, will never resign themselves to the loss of the land of their ancestors. In the whole Arab world, the Palestine question is the rallying point of an intense movement of solidarity and faith. The only solution for preventing the fires which are smouldering in that region from again threatening the peace is the prompt implementation of the resolutions long ago adopted by the United Nations. If this Organization has not hitherto possessed the necessary means for overcoming the opposition it has encountered from various quarters, its brilliant achievements of the past year and the prestige it has gained from them are enough now to give it the boldness and the authority which are needed to impose a just and human solution in Palestine. In so doing it will increase its merit in the service of peace in the same measure that it would risk forfeiting its justly earned prestige by a failure to act which becomes increasingly more difficult to explain. That is why the Arab nations, and particularly Libya, place the greatest hope in the action which they expect this Organization to take without delay.

20. Among the questions which understandably cause us concern is the tragic situation of the people of Oman, who are struggling for the attainment of their legitimate aspirations to independence and to shake off the crushing yoke which imperialist interference has placed on their shoulders. The Libyan delegation is again compelled to condemn most categorically the methods of violence by which all forms of expression are being suppressed in Oman and its people prevented from attaining their national aspirations. It has no doubt that the Arab people of Oman will eventually emerge victorious from this unequal struggle, since the inevitable outcome of the struggle of the oppressed peoples will sooner or later be freedom and independence.

21. The Libyan delegation, while appealing to the world conscience to come to the aid of this just cause, again urges the General Assembly to use its good offices during the present session in order to find an equitable solution that will ensure for the people of Oman the right to self-determination in accordance with their national aspirations.

22. In the African continent, we still see many forms of injustice, domination and oppression. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are subjected to the greatest hardships under régimes of oppression and have not thus far benefited from any of the United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonialism.

23. Libya is following with great concern the extremely critical situation in Angola, which continues to deteriorate from day to day and constitutes a serious threat to peace in the African continent. Prompted by feelings of brotherly sympathy and solidarity for the Angolan people, Libya declares its total support for the heroic struggle of that kindred nation. The colonialist forces have negated all moral values in order to impose their domination. In a vain effort to crush nationalist resistance and to repress the expression of the most legitimate feelings, they have plunged the country into a reign of terror. From all parts of the continent the voices of the African peoples rise with indignation to demand independence for the valorous people of Angola within the framework of the principles which the United Nations has called upon all nations to respect.

24. At the southern tip of the continent another African people is still suffering the most inhuman treatment, governed by a racist minority which inflicts upon it the most atrocious forms of persecution and the most inhuman forms of moral and physical torture and enacts discriminatory laws to make the predominant African element an inferior class.

25. The policy of apartheid and racial discrimination adopted by the South African Government and directed against the people of African and Indo-Pakistan origin constitutes a crime which the human conscience cannot and must not accept. The obvious result of this senseless policy, which runs counter to the fundamental principles of human rights and the most elementary rules of morality, is a direct threat to peace in that part of Africa.

26. In view of the South African Government's scorn for the principles of the United Nations and its repeated refusal to carry out the resolutions adopted by this Organization, my delegation is convinced that all possible means of inducing the South African Government to change its policy have been exhausted and that the time has come to apply the provisions of Article 6 of the Charter, which refers to Member States that persistently violate the spirit and the principles of the Charter. The policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, the domination of the African majority by the minority and the denial of the most essential human rights make it mandatory for the United Nations to adopt such a measure to serve as an example and a lesson.

27. Out of a desire to express its indignation, the Libyan Government, acting in concert with the unanimous will of the great African family and in accordance with the resolutions adopted by this Organization at its seventeenth session, has broken off all relations

with the Governments of South Africa and Portugal. It considers that in so doing it has faithfully interpreted the feelings of deep bitterness engendered in the Libyan people by the inhuman policies of these two Governments, which have not hesitated to violate the fundamental freedoms which all African people should enjoy in the land of their ancestors.

28. On the other hand, we wish to say how greatly we appreciate the resolution displayed by public opinion in the United States and by the Government of the United States in the efforts to give greater force to the principles of non-discrimination proclaimed in that country's Constitution.

29. Among the important items considered at the African Summit Conference^{2/} and now before this Assembly is the question of Southern Rhodesia. In dealing with this item, which has already been the subject of several United Nations resolutions and was discussed by the Security Council at the beginning of this month, we are faced with the refusal of the Government responsible for this Territory to give effect to Article 73 of the Charter, which states that in the progressive transfer of powers to the people, due account must be taken of their national aspirations and their real interests. That Article also specifies that the administering Power must develop the means of expression available to the inhabitants so as to ensure their real and effective participation in the determination of their political future. It is extremely regrettable that the constitutional measures recently adopted by the administering Power will result in the transfer of powers to a European settler minority which does not exceed 6 per cent of the total population.

30. Libya associates itself with the other African countries as well as with all justice-loving nations in protesting vigorously against this denial of the principles underlying true democracy. It refers in particular to the resolution entitled "Decolonization" adopted by the Conference of Heads of African States at Addis Ababa last May,^{2/} in which it declared that the forcible imposition of a settler government to control a dependent Territory is a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the Territories concerned. The heads of African States also invited the colonial Powers not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to foreign minority governments imposed on African peoples by the use of force and under cover of racial legislation.

31. The Libyan delegation reiterates its support for and feeling of solidarity with the African people of Southern Rhodesia. It appeals to the States Members of the United Nations to give this question all the attention it deserves in view of the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants of this Territory and in order to prevent the emergence of a situation similar to that now existing in South Africa with all its attendant dangers for international peace and security.

32. The Libyan delegation was extremely happy to welcome the emergence last May of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which reflects the basic, common aspirations of Africa. As a result of its heroic struggles and the efforts made by the United Nations, Africa has today succeeded in realizing its hopes and national aspirations, and only a few of its peoples still remain under foreign yoke.

^{2/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963.

33. By virtue of a policy based on a profound faith in the need for close co-operation between all the African countries, Libya has long sought to bring those countries nearer together. That is why Libya contributed actively to the preparations for the Summit Conference at Addis Ababa. It gave its full support to the Charter of African Unity, the objectives of which are in perfect and natural harmony with the principles of the United Nations, since they cover such topics as the liquidation of colonialism, the struggle against racial discrimination and segregation, the reduction of conventional armaments, the prohibiting of nuclear tests and the production of atomic weapons, an appeal for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and economic and cultural co-operation.

34. Libya welcomed with immense satisfaction the historic Declaration on the granting of independence of all peoples under foreign domination and the final elimination of colonialism.^{3/} This Declaration, adopted on the praiseworthy initiative of the Soviet Union,^{4/} is one of the noblest acts recorded in the annals of the United Nations in support of legitimate causes, and we are extremely proud of it and honoured by it.

35. In the course of previous sessions the Libyan delegation has often expressed the hope that the United Nations will continue its laudable search for peaceful solutions to the problems confronting those countries or territories which have not yet achieved independence. While realizing that the results have thus far been very encouraging, the Libyan delegation appeals to the United Nations to spare no effort in tirelessly pursuing the aims of this historic Declaration in conformity with the desire of all people of self-determination. It would also like to congratulate wholeheartedly the United Nations organs which have been made responsible in various ways for ensuring the application of this Declaration. I make special mention of the Committee of Seventeen^{5/} whose brilliant achievements deserve our deepest gratitude. We are not unaware of the enormous difficulties and serious obstacles which the Committee must face in the fulfilment of its mission. We convey to it our complete sympathy and appreciation and wish it the fullest possible success.

36. We remain acutely concerned about possible developments in those countries divided by war or its aftermath, such as Germany and Korea. We are convinced that it is neither fair nor wise to withhold from peoples the right to express their wishes in full freedom and that the use of force for the repression of this right has always engendered human tragedies and brought on threats to peace. We fervently hope that direct talks will continue between the Powers concerned in order that a realistic solution may be achieved. We hope that the United Nations will be able to play a constructive role by offering its help for the purpose of reconciling the divergent points of view.

37. The recent events in South-East Asia have added a new problem to the heavy burden of responsibilities assumed by the United Nations. Libya, which has always upheld the principle of respect for religious

beliefs and freedom of worship, associates itself with those countries which have already asked this Assembly to take speedy and effective measures to put an end to all religious persecution or discrimination and to restore fundamental freedoms. With regard to the situation in Laos, we are extremely sorry that difficulties are being encountered in applying the agreement which was reached.^{6/} We most sincerely trust that the obstacles on the road to peace and harmony in that country will be removed.

38. I should now like to deal with one of the most important problems confronting the peoples of the entire world, namely, the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Libya is extremely concerned about the arms race in all its forms and is following with great hopes, keen interest and close attention the efforts being made by the United Nations to find workable solutions to this problem. The Libyan delegation would like to express the concern of its Government at the difficulties which have impeded the negotiations now being conducted by the Committee of Eighteen.^{7/} It hopes most sincerely that the great Powers will achieve practical results in this important field. The Libyan delegation, while voicing its profound satisfaction at the agreement reached by the three great Powers on a partial test-ban, sincerely hopes that all the nations concerned will, without hesitation or reservations, give their adherence or support to that treaty in order to strengthen the present encouraging trend and the promise it holds of banishing for ever the threat of war and reinforcing the foundations of a lasting peace.

39. The Libyan delegation hopes that the partial test-ban treaty will contribute to a final solution of the disarmament problem and the establishment of effective international control. Thus, mankind will at last be able to free itself from a deadening anxiety, avoid the dangers of destruction and annihilation and direct all its efforts towards building the peace that will inaugurate a new era in which atomic energy will be used solely for peaceful purposes. In the same spirit, the Libyan delegation considers that the immense achievements of man in the exploration of outer space should be used solely for the progress of mankind and the development of scientific knowledge within the framework of international co-operation.

40. Libya was particularly gratified that resolution 1710 (XVI) on the United Nations Development Decade stressed the utilization of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of economic and social development. Despite the persevering efforts of the United Nations to help the developing countries, the total financial resources allocated to them offer scant hope of quickly reducing the gap between them and the highly industrialized nations. The fantastic amount of money spent each year on weapons production or research is so great that even its partial conversion for purposes of development would open up the most dazzling prospects for the solution of a problem which remains disquieting for the future of international relations. That is why, at the last session, Libya welcomed with the keenest interest resolution 1837 (XVII) on the financing of development with the resources freed by disarmament, and why, at the present session, it hopes that further progress will be made towards this essential goal.

^{3/} Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

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

^{6/} Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

^{7/} Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

41. Libya appreciates that among the constructive proposals contained in the resolution on the Development Decade, priority was given to the need for highly qualified staff, and it is awaiting with the greatest interest the proposals prepared on this subject by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination.

42. The Libyan delegation also hopes that the extremely interesting studies on the international flow of private capital will soon be followed by tangible developments.

43. With regard to commodity agreements, it has often been acknowledged that stabilization of the prices of raw materials and agricultural commodities is a basic objective and that the absence of such stabilization exposes the developing countries to losses of resources exceeding the total amount of the financial aid they receive from bilateral or multilateral sources. Libya therefore hopes that no effort will be spared to overcome the difficulties impeding the broadening of these commodity agreements and that substantial progress will be made in this field particularly as a result of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development now being prepared within the framework of the Decade.

44. Libya continues to be particularly interested in the progress of the activities of the Technical Assistance Board and the Special Fund. It has been pleased to note that the technical co-operation programmes administered by the United Nations in Africa doubled between 1960 and 1961 and doubled again between 1961 and 1962. It urges that the policy of regional and interregional decentralization should be continued as part of a trend that corresponds to the growing awareness by Africa of its unity.

45. Libya would like to take this opportunity to express once again to the United Nations its gratitude for the very appreciable services it has received since its independence in the field of technical assistance. This aid is particularly welcome at a time when our country's economic growth shows clear signs of accelerating in circumstances which encourage reasonable hopes.

46. Faced with the already rapid tempo of economic development, the Government and the administration must assume responsibilities which proved difficult to discharge under a decentralized system of government. While such a system was adapted to the circumstances surrounding Libya's independence, it no longer corresponded to the real wishes of the Libyan people. Thus, in April of this year it became possible to achieve the complete unification of the country in an atmosphere of general enthusiasm, and this event will undoubtedly constitute a historic phase of our country's progress.

47. This unification has paved the way for a whole series of legal and administrative reforms, one of the most important and at the same time one of the less spectacular being the current merger between the former federal administration and the former provincial administrations. Concurrently with this development, all the legal instruments for a co-ordinated economic and financial policy have been or are now being drawn up.

48. An initial development plan, representing a synthesis of economic and social objectives for the next five years, has been approved by the Parliament. An Act on credit and currency control which has already

been passed will soon be followed by an Act instituting a modern fiscal system. Virtually all the essential social and economic sectors are covered by laws already adopted or under consideration which are designed to stimulate and co-ordinate their development. We hope—and I am sure that the United Nations, which has a special interest in Libya, fully shares our hopes—that these reforms will make it possible to raise the level of living of our people in an atmosphere of increasing stability and freedom.

49. The Libyan delegation feels that the following comments on the administrative problems of the Organization are called for.

50. In the first place, Libya hopes that all Member States will provide the United Nations with sufficient financial aid to enable it to meet the growing burden of its responsibilities. Libya, for its part, has responded favourably to the appeals of the Organization and intends to continue supporting it both financially and in all other ways.

51. The Libyan delegation regrets, on the other hand, that although a large number of independent countries have joined the Organization, the representation of Member States in the principal organs of the United Nations has not been sufficiently modified to take this situation into account. The Libyan delegation therefore addresses a sincere appeal to the United Nations to allocate to the new Members responsibilities equal to those of the older Members and, in particular, to give Africa, which now has thirty-two Member States in the Organization, a fair proportion of seats, in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical representation, in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies.

52. Within the limits of its sovereignty, independence and dignity and in conformity with the high principles which govern its political life as well as with its traditions and its moral and national values, Libya has spared no effort to establish, with the Powers of both the West and the East, the most cordial relations based on mutual respect, co-operation and friendship.

53. Furthermore, Libya is continually strengthening its fraternal ties with the other countries of Africa within the framework of African unity and is cultivating very cordial relations with the Asian countries within the context of Afro-Asian solidarity.

54. Libya, as a result of its geographical position and of a well-balanced and independent policy marked by a strong feeling of brotherhood with all the Arab countries, represents a link between the Maghreb and the eastern part of the Arab world and is continually working for a closer relationship with those countries within the Arab League.

55. Libya is gratified that these links of friendship reveal the harmony between its foreign policy and its total dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

56. The Libyan delegation is very happy to convey the cordial greetings of Libya, its King, its Government and its people once again to the representatives of the Member States and to reiterate the assurances of its co-operation with the General Assembly. It will assuredly give the closest attention to the discussion of the various agenda items. In expressing to the Assembly its best wishes for the greatest possible success in its work, it fervently hopes that this session will be marked by a special effort at understanding

among the Member States, in order to surmount all obstacles and work out fair solutions to international problems, in conformity with the aims of the Organization, for the purpose of preserving peace and building a better world where all nations will work together for the progress and the well-being of mankind.

57. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is meeting under favourable circumstances, when the fruits of the policy of peaceful coexistence between States with different social and economic systems are becoming increasingly manifest and when new and encouraging features are noticeable in the relations between States.

58. Mankind has assessed at their true value the prudent, wise and principled actions taken by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the Republic of Cuba and all those who contributed to the solution of the crisis in the Caribbean area. It appreciated the fact that peace-loving forces prevented a devastating thermonuclear war and managed to achieve a peaceful settlement of that dangerous situation.

59. The voice of reason now equally urges that all Governments face the realities of the present-day world and take account, in their actions, of the fundamental, vital expectations of their peoples. In the interests of those peoples, they must tirelessly strive to avert the danger of a nuclear conflict and to ensure that the enormous resources released through the contemporary development of science and technology shall serve only for the good of mankind.

60. At the time of the last group flight of Soviet astronauts, we saw very clearly how enthusiastically the broad masses of the people responded to the peaceful use of such resources. On the occasion of the recent visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of the world's first woman astronaut, Valentina Tereshkova, a citizen of the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak people again expressed, to all who use the results of the work of human genius for the benefit and happiness of mankind, their warm admiration and best wishes for further magnificent successes.

61. Since the autumn of 1962, the great Powers have been carrying on with each other conversations and negotiations the usefulness of which has already been confirmed by tangible results, and in particular by the conclusion of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

62. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with all our people, welcomed this Treaty with satisfaction and was among the first to attach its signature to it. This Treaty has already been submitted to the highest State bodies of the Republic for ratification.

63. So far, this Treaty has already been signed by an overwhelming majority of the world's States. This conclusively proves that the peoples see in it the success, and a confirmation of the workability and vitality, of the policy of peaceful coexistence actively and untiringly pursued by the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all peace-loving peoples of the world.

64. In the interests of peace, it would be desirable that all States should become parties to this Treaty. The Moscow Treaty brings benefits to all countries. Its immediate value lies in the fact that it prevents

any further poisoning of atmosphere and water by radio-active fall-out, which threatens the health of present and future generations.

65. This Treaty again shows that, given goodwill on the part of all the States involved, agreement can be reached, through negotiation, on important current problems. All those who cherish the cause of peace cannot rest satisfied with the success achieved, but are in duty bound to use the favourable atmosphere created by the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty as a means to progress towards the solution of other urgent problems presented by the present international situation.

66. In the opinion of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the work of the current session of the General Assembly must play an important part in that endeavour, as the peoples throughout the world expect. The most important task for the future remains the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. This is expressed also in the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests, the signatories of which again reaffirmed the obligation to proclaim "as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control" [A/5488, annex I, document ENDC/100/Rev.1].

67. Similarly, the resolution adopted at the recent Summit Conference of Independent African States, at Addis Ababa, again stressed the importance of a settlement of this question.

68. We must, however, regretfully observe that nothing has so far been achieved in regard to a solution of this problem. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, to which the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament was entrusted as its main task, has during nearly two years on this matter done little but mark time. And this has been the case despite the fact that the Government of the USSR submitted a detailed draft treaty and a number of other proposals constituting a suitable basis for the reaching of an agreement. In its proposals, the Soviet Government on many of the main issues went half-way towards the position of the Western Powers. However, all attempts to achieve concrete results foundered on opposition from the Western Powers, which in reality were trying to use the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee only to conceal their unwillingness to agree on really effective measures of disarmament.

69. Such an unsatisfactory situation cannot be tolerated. The United Nations and all its Member States are in duty bound substantially to increase their efforts to find a way of reaching the speediest possible agreement on the implementation of general and complete disarmament, as the best possible guarantee of lasting peace.

70. The socialist countries have repeatedly displayed much good will and a readiness to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. A further proof of this is the new proposal of the Soviet Government submitted at the current session by Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, for the solution of the question of eliminating on the one hand the vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons and, on the other, the nuclear weapons themselves.

71. We welcome this new proposal as further proof of the sincere and constant efforts made by the Soviet Government to settle the question of general and com-

plete disarmament. We would express the hope that the Western Powers also, in subsequent negotiations, will take a stand which will make agreement possible.

72. The importance we attach to general and complete disarmament does not, of course, imply that we underestimate the importance of measures which might be taken prior to general and complete disarmament and which might bring about an improvement in the international situation and a strengthening of confidence in relations between States.

73. Attention should be focused primarily on those problems the solution of which presents no serious difficulties and on which a mutually acceptable agreement might be reached within a short time.

74. The conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty would, in particular, help to strengthen peace. We see no reason why such a step should not be taken. The proposed pact would be advantageous to both sides and would not require any impossible concessions from the parties.

75. The conclusion of such a pact would not only be of exceptional importance for an improvement of the situation in Europe, but would also be an effective step towards the removal of tension and the restoration of confidence on a world-wide scale. The parties to the pact, including all the nuclear Powers, would bind themselves not to attack each other but to solve all disputes by peaceful means, without resorting to the use of threat of force. This would significantly strengthen efforts to ensure that universal effect was given to the purposes and principles of the Charter, since the obligations of the pact would also be assumed by certain countries which have hitherto remained outside the United Nations.

76. Another effective means of limiting armaments and reducing the danger of war would be the freezing of military budgets or the making of direct reductions in arms expenditure. Such a measure would have a directly favourable effect on future political and economic developments throughout the world.

77. That very substantial resources would be released following the implementation of such a measure is proved by well-known data showing the rapidity with which a number of countries are continually increasing their armament expenditures. These resources could be used both to accelerate the economic and social development of the countries which bear the heaviest burden of armaments, and to increase economic assistance to the developing countries.

78. Another important step would be the achievement of agreement on measures to prevent surprise attack. The reaching of an agreement on the reduction of the number of foreign armed forces on the territories of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic would also help to lessen tension and strengthen security in Europe.

79. In evaluating the significance of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty it has been correctly pointed out that this Treaty is merely a first, although an important, step towards the final objective. It does not solve the main question—that of disarmament and the final elimination of the threat of war. On the other hand it shows that, in the field of nuclear weapons, measures to reduce the danger of nuclear war may be carried out even before general and complete disarmament. It is there-

fore essential to continue striving for an agreement on further measures which would lead to that goal.

80. Everyone knows that the danger of nuclear war would be seriously increased by the further dissemination of nuclear weapons and by the creation of a situation in which the Governments of other countries which desire them, especially the Government of West Germany, would obtain possession of such weapons. It is therefore our urgent duty to take effective measures to eliminate this danger. Such measures could fulfil their purpose only if they excluded the possibility of disseminating nuclear weapons in any form, for example through military groupings of Western Powers.

81. A further important measure for reducing the danger of a nuclear war would be the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons. We, of course, are primarily interested in such a zone being created in Central Europe, for it is there that the danger of a nuclear conflict is particularly great. That is why we have repeatedly expressed our willingness to take part in implementing the well-known proposal of the Government of the Polish People's Republic concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone which would include the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Polish People's Republic and both German States.

82. Security in Europe and throughout the world would also be increased by the creation of nuclear-free zones in the region of the Mediterranean, in Scandinavia and in the Balkans, as the Governments of the socialist States and other European countries have proposed. We also welcome and support the request by the African States, approved at the General Assembly's sixteenth session [resolution 1652 (XVI)] and confirmed at the Addis Ababa Conference in May [22-25 May 1963], to the effect that Africa should be considered such a zone. The creation of nuclear-free zones in other regions of the world would also, undoubtedly, make a positive contribution to efforts at lessening international tension and reducing the danger of nuclear war.

83. We also welcome the proposed measures to prevent the nuclear weapons race from being extended to outer space. We would express the hope that the exchange of views between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on this question—to which Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting], and Mr. Kennedy, President of the United States [1209th meeting], referred at the present session—will produce tangible results and lead to an agreement prohibiting the launching of nuclear weapons into outer space.

84. We must make every effort to eliminate all obstacles to an agreement on these questions. We are convinced that their nature and importance requires that the highest representatives of the States concerned should take a direct part in their solution.

85. That is why we think that the Soviet Government's proposal to convene a meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at the highest level in the first quarter or first half of 1964 is useful and wholly justified.

86. We are convinced that the participation of representatives of Member States at the highest level would give a powerful new impetus to the Eighteen-Nation Committee's work and might indicate an acceptable way of discharging the tasks before it. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has instructed me to inform the General Assembly at its eighteenth session that it fully supports this proposal and is pre-

pared to take part in a summit meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee.

87. The interests of the preservation and consolidation of peace require that, through the joint efforts of States, everything causing international tension should be eliminated and that an end should be put to the policy of obstructing any improvement in international relations. It is especially in the countries members of NATO that forces operate for whom the prospect of a favourable development of the international situation is repugnant. We have seen that they not only obstruct the solution of disarmament questions, but keep alive or create hotbeds of dangerous tension and try to impair the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

88. This has above all been true of Europe, where a highly dangerous situation continues to prevail. I should like to dwell on this, not only because it directly affects Czechoslovakia as a State situated in the heart of Europe, but also because it concerns the question of war and peace in general. Today, hardly anyone seriously believes that a war which broke out in Europe would be confined to that continent and would affect only the peoples living there.

89. We must first of all keep in mind that, in this politically very sensitive area of Central Europe, two of the most powerful military groups—those of the Warsaw and the North Atlantic Pacts—are in contact. Both sides have at their disposal most modern and immensely destructive military techniques.

90. It is now many years ago that Hitlerite Germany met utter defeat and surrendered unconditionally. But all traces of the Second World War have not yet been removed. No peace treaty has been signed with Germany, and an occupation régime is artificially supported and maintained in West Berlin.

91. Such a situation suits only aggressive forces, and in the first place the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, whom the present Bonn Government serves by its policies. The basic aim of that Government is a revision of the results of the Second World War. This aim determines its approach to all present-day international problems. Everyone knows how the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany strives for access to nuclear weapons, how it does everything in its power to oppose any measure for improvement of the atmosphere in Europe and in the world, how insistently it ingratiates itself with its allies and how it would welcome continuing deterioration in their relations with the socialist countries.

92. This reprehensible attitude, inimical to peace, displayed by the Bonn Government is particularly evident in connexion with the signing of the Moscow Treaty. At a time when all men of good will welcomed this Treaty with great satisfaction and hope, as a spur to redoubled efforts for a further lessening of international tension, governmental circles in Bonn, fearing that the prospect of favourable international developments might be frustrating their plans, have been feverishly working to nullify the results achieved and to prevent any further improvement in relations between States.

93. The decision of the Federal Republic of Germany in regard to signature of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests is eloquent enough. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany affixed its signature to the Treaty only in deference to pressure of public

opinion within the country and abroad, and more particularly after the Treaty had been signed by the German Democratic Republic. At the same time, it made a special statement in which it represented itself as spokesman for the whole of Germany; this can only be considered a clearly aggressive attitude. The Government of West Germany represents only the Federal Republic of Germany, and no one else. This must be perfectly obvious to anyone who is not totally blind.

94. The policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic is diametrically the opposite of the policy of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, without hesitation or reservation was one of the first Governments to sign the Moscow Treaty and become a legal party to it. In this way it gave further proof of the peace-loving nature of its foreign policy.

95. The German Democratic Republic is one of the two States on German soil. This is a fact which can in no way be changed. To deny this is completely unrealistic, unreasonable and dangerous to peace. It would help the cause of the Germans themselves if all States drew the appropriate conclusions from this fact, and if they supported the proposals of the German Democratic Republic for a rapprochement between the two German States and the development of fruitful co-operation and peaceful coexistence between them.

96. Czechoslovak foreign policy, out of concern for the interests of peace, will continue to oppose the dangerous policy of the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, and to strive for the removal of the remaining traces of the Second World War through the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the normalization, on that basis, of the situation in West Berlin.

97. We shall continue to strive for an improvement in our relations with the people of the Federal Republic of Germany. The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Antonín Novotný, said in this connexion on 31 August 1963:

"We harbour no feelings of hostility towards the working people of the Federal Republic of Germany; on the contrary, we extend to them a friendly hand, because we are bound to them by a common interest in the preservation of peace. We appeal to all working people and to all peaceful and democratic forces in the Federal Republic of Germany: let us draw a line under the past, let us rid ourselves of everything that divides us, and let us unite in a common peaceful struggle to frustrate all revengeful plans which menace peace in Europe and especially the people of West Germany."^{8/}

98. The Czechoslovak people and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic again affirm their determination to strive in every possible way for the consolidation of the situation in Europe in the interests of peace, security and co-operation between peoples.

99. We proceed from the premise that a lasting peace can be preserved only if the principles of peaceful coexistence are consistently applied in relations between all States, great and small, in all regions of the world. Unfortunately, we must note that this is not what is happening.

^{8/} Rude Pravo, 1 September 1963.

100. The increasing number of acts of sabotage and piratical raids by foreign aircraft and ships, as well as other hostile actions, against the Republic of Cuba are again alarming peace-loving peoples. Such actions constitute a threat to peace and are a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. The Cuban people, with which our people has warm sympathy, has decided to follow the road of socialism and no one has any right to prevent it from doing so.

101. It is important, in the interests of all the concerned and in the interests of peace, that the well-known pledge of non-aggression against Cuba should be observed and that Cuba's neighbours should develop with it relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

102. The attention of the General Assembly has rightly been drawn to the increasingly alarming and dangerous situation in South Viet-Nam, due to the violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 as a result of the undeclared war which is being waged against the freedom-loving and peaceful people of South Viet-Nam. The world community has rightly expressed its growing indignation with the dictatorial puppet régime of Ngo Dinh Diem, which maintains itself in power solely by external support, methods of sanguinary terror, and the most flagrant violation of the people's fundamental rights.

103. The present situation in South Viet-Nam is a graphic example of the results which a policy of neo-colonialism, blind anti-communism and export of counter-revolution, disguised under the banner of the fight for freedom and democracy, brings in its train.

104. We fully support the demand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and the establishment of conditions enabling the Viet-Nameese people to live in unity and peace.

105. Three years ago, on the initiative of the USSR delegation, the United Nations General Assembly adopted at its fifteenth session the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. This Declaration created favourable conditions for the peaceful liquidation of the colonial system, provided that the colonial Powers fulfilled its provisions without further procrastination. However, the colonizers refuse under various pretexts to comply with the requirements of the Declaration, and in many cases are even intensifying terror and repression against populations struggling for independence and recognition of the fundamental human rights.

106. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and other colonies have up to now been subjected to crude oppression. The Portuguese colonizers behave with especial brutality and barbarism. They have flouted all their obligations under the Charter and the provisions of the 1960 Declaration, and follow in their colonies a policy of systematic extermination of the peoples revolting against their rule. No less serious is the position in the Republic of South Africa, where the African population is undergoing ruthless racial oppression. The Portuguese colonizers and the South African racists can continue to pursue this policy, which is a threat to peace and security on the African continent, only because they receive help of every kind—military, economic and diplomatic—from the Western Powers.

107. Particular zeal and initiative in this respect is shown by the Federal Republic of Germany, which is intensifying and widening its co-operation with the existing régimes in Portugal and the Republic of South Africa. According to the Western German press, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has ostentatiously granted the racist South African régime a credit of 120 million marks just when the African countries are insisting on the adoption of effective measures against the Republic of South Africa. At the same time, Mr. Jaeger, a Vice-President of the West German Parliament and a representative of the party now in power, who visited Angola and Mozambique at the invitation of the Portuguese Government, made statements in which he praised the policy of the Portuguese colonizers in the so-called provinces. He called the Angolan freedom fighters terrorists, and addressed a warning to the African countries not to expect NATO to betray the loyalty to Portugal, to which it was bound both morally and by treaty.

108. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic condemns the racist policy of the South African Government. It also stated its position of principle in support of the United Nations General Assembly resolution adopted at the seventeenth session calling for the severing of diplomatic, trade and transport links with the Republic of South Africa. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is executing this resolution consistently, and has also expressed its uncompromising view on racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa especially by closing its Consulate-General in Johannesburg.

109. The Czechoslovak delegation is entirely in favour of effective support by the United Nations General Assembly at its present session of the peoples of the Portuguese and other colonies, and also of the people of the Republic of South Africa, in their just struggle for freedom and the fundamental human rights. Colonialism must be terminated rapidly wherever it still persists. The year 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, should see the final liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism.

110. The Czechoslovak Government has a high regard for the significant results of the national liberation movement. In this connexion it reiterates that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always done its utmost to support and will support in the future the struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom and the efforts of the young States to strengthen their independence.

111. The United Nations should also consider how to eliminate the shameful colonial system in the economic and social fields. The United Nations assistance programmes for the developing countries will fulfil their purpose if they aim at a constant rise in the level of productive forces in the developing countries, and at the development of modern industry and intensive agriculture.

112. Amongst the matters considered by the United Nations, economic matters have rightly come to the fore. Present developments in the world require that economic and trade relations should be completely normalized and that positive measures in this field should contribute their share to improving the international atmosphere.

113. In this respect an important part can be played by the United Nations Conference on Trade and De-

velopment,^{2/} which in the opinion of the Czechoslovak Government should deal with all the vitally important questions of world trade, and particularly with the elimination of barriers hampering the all-round development of mutually-advantageous trade relations between countries at different levels of development and with different social systems.

114. It would also be desirable for a universal international trade organization to be established in which all countries would be represented. Such an organization has become essential because of the growing need for a systematic, co-ordinated and purposeful solution to the urgent problems of world trade, and is needed to ensure that the decisions of the conference are put into effect.

115. All peoples wish to live in peace and friendship and to use the fruits of their work for economic and social improvement. They see the peaceful coexistence of States as the only path which can offer mankind the bright prospect of life without war.

116. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has made the policy of peaceful coexistence and co-operation the cornerstone of its relations with countries possessing different social and economic systems. In pursuit of this policy it is taking practical and positive steps, in its relations with other States and in the international organizations, in particular the United Nations, to strengthen co-operation among States.

117. It is clear that in carrying out a policy of peaceful coexistence there can be no talk of ideological compromise. But we do want the contradiction between socialism and capitalism to be decided without the use of arms. We are convinced that in peaceful competition the superiority of socialism over capitalism will be proved beyond doubt.

118. The Czechoslovak delegation voices its conviction that the United Nations will play an active part in efforts to apply in full the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between States, and will direct the activities of its organs to a solution of urgent questions. These undoubtedly include the question of the codification and proclamation of the fundamental principles of international law which support peaceful coexistence among States. On the proposal of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic this question was taken up by the United Nations General Assembly at its seventeenth session; and it is also on the agenda of the current session.

119. Since the beginning of the United Nations, considerable changes have taken place in the world and have been reflected in the increased membership of the Organization. Many new States which have arisen as result of the disintegration of the colonial system have become Members. Also, the number of socialist States in the United Nations had doubled. The influx of new members has undoubtedly increased the prestige of the United Nations in the solution of important international problems.

120. It is essential that the real balance of forces in the world should be duly reflected in the structure of the United Nations.

121. In the United Nations, however, an abnormal situation still persists. One of its founding Members and a permanent Member of the Security Council—the

People's Republic of China—continues to be denied the place which belongs to it. The violation of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China diminishes the authority of the United Nations and detracts from the part it can play in settling the cardinal questions of our times. The absence of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, who alone can represent China, places the United Nations in a position where it cannot entirely fulfil its aims. Therefore the settlement of so important a question as the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations cannot be postponed any longer. At the same time we must exclude the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who have no place in the United Nations and who represent no one.

122. In a few days the world will commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of events which are deeply etched in the memory of all peoples, and particularly the peoples of Czechoslovakia. I have in mind the shameful Munich "Diktat" of 29 September 1938. At that time the Governments of the Western Powers, blinded by anti-communism, refused to co-operate with a socialist Power—the Soviet Union—in order to safeguard peace. They embarked upon the road of appeasement with the fascist aggressors and abandoned their ally, the Czechoslovakia of that time, for Hitler to tear to pieces. They tried to persuade Czechoslovakia and the peoples of Europe that peace could be preserved by this sacrifice. In fact, however, they cleared the way for Hitlerite fascism to unleash the war. In this way they condemned many European peoples to the fate of occupation and barbarous annihilation in the years from 1939 to 1945.

123. This historical lesson is often forgotten by those circles in the West which have repeatedly attempted to revive the Munich policy directed against peaceful coexistence with the socialist world. In the name of anti-communism they create alliances with the forces of fascism and militarism in various regions of the world. They make all-round concessions to those forces, strengthen them and provide them with resources, arms and ability to endanger the peace and security of nations. At the same time, just as in the past, they try to blunt the nations' vigilance.

124. This new version of the Munich policy has played an infamous role, particularly in the revival of militarism in Western Germany. It is indicative that, as is widely known, the Bonn Government is the only one that has not so far repudiated the Munich Agreement and indeed is trying to harness its allies to its revanchist intentions.

125. We bring this lesson up from history only to draw attention to the serious consequences which Munich had in the past, and which a repetition of the Munich policy threatens for the future, particularly to the peoples of those countries whose Governments pursue and approve it.

126. The peoples of Czechoslovakia who were the immediate victims of Munich have drawn their conclusions once and for all from this bitter experience and made sure that no one could repeat what happened to them in 1938. They have built their freedom and independence on the granite base of socialism and strengthened it through an indestructible alliance with the USSR, which alone carried on a consistent struggle against Munich and did not desert our peoples in their darkest hour, but saved them from the destructive

^{2/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 963 (XXXVI).

plans of the Hitlerite occupation forces by their historic victory over fascism.

127. Twenty years ago, during the Second World War, Czechoslovakia concluded a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war co-operation with the Soviet Union. Over the past twenty years the common struggle and labour of the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples have created entirely new relations, imbued with mutual confidence and brotherly friendship, which may serve as an example of the best possible relations between States.

128. The Czechoslovak people, in the closest co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, have achieved vast successes in all fields over the last twenty years. They are now following up in a practical way the course set by the twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the course of further construction of a socialist society in Czechoslovakia. They are guided in this task by a reliable compass—the ideas of scientific socialism.

129. The people of Czechoslovakia, like the peoples of all the countries in the world, need a strong and lasting peace in order to fulfil their aspirations and achieve their ends.

130. The Czechoslovak Government is convinced that the present conditions allow a major step forward, through the common efforts of all peoples, in the solution of outstanding international problems. We therefore invite all who think a happy future for mankind important to devote all their efforts to the struggle for a durable peace and peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation among nations.

131. The Czechoslovak delegation wishes to devote all its efforts to this end at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

132. Mr. ARAM (Iran): Mr. President, may I associate myself with the representatives who have spoken before me in congratulating you most warmly on your unanimous election to the high office of Presidency of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your devotion to the cause of the United Nations and your comprehensive knowledge of the work of the Organization will contribute significantly to the success of this session.

133. When we last met in this hall a year ago, mankind was faced with a most menacing situation. The United Nations was desperately struggling to end the tragedy of the Congo when crisis in the Caribbean brought the world to the brink of a thermo-nuclear holocaust.

134. Today as the eighteenth session of the General Assembly convenes, this terrifying nightmare not only seems remote, but the opening of new vistas of hope and expectations have brought us nearer than ever to the realization of the ideals enshrined in the Charter.

135. We are well aware of the developments of the greatest significance that have, since our last gathering here, affected the future of world peace. These developments, which we welcome most heartily, have imposed greater responsibilities upon the United Nations and have imparted a special importance to our present Assembly.

136. The nuclear test-ban treaty, signed on 5 August 1963 in Moscow, has come to be rightly regarded by the peoples of the world as a break-through in the cold war, promising to usher in a new era in international relations.

137. Although the treaty has no direct bearing on the question of disarmament, nor does it prohibit nuclear testing in the underground, these factors will not detract from the value of the agreement reached. The test ban accord signifies the end of an agonizing nine years of relentless efforts to outlaw nuclear experiments. It will discourage the nuclear arms race, impede the proliferation of atomic weapons and will stop further contamination of the earth's atmosphere resulting from massive nuclear tests.

138. Important though this treaty is, we believe still more important is what it portends. We share the opinion that the test ban accord will connote weight and significance much beyond its specific terms. Iran, realizing at once the importance of the treaty, hastened to pledge its immediate support to it.

139. To hear Mr. Kennedy, President of the United States [1209th meeting] and Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister [1208th meeting], before the Assembly speak of the test ban not as an end in itself but as a prelude to a general "détente" between East and West was reassuring that the quest for peace will continue.

140. Another hopeful development of recent months is the establishment of a direct telephone line between Moscow and Washington as a means of reducing the chances of war by accident.

141. The limited agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space^{10/} is yet another encouraging trend resulting from the improved relations between East and West. One may reasonably hope that this Assembly will provide a broader basis for international co-operation in this field.

142. It is to be expected that these measures will create that climate of opinion necessary for any reduction of armaments leading to the eventual attainment of the long-desired goal of complete and total disarmament.

143. In any evaluation of the intervening period between the present and the seventeenth session of the Assembly one is bound to take note of the significant improvement in the Congo situation. We read in the introduction to the report of the Secretary General that:

"External military interference in the Congo has ceased, the territorial integrity of the country has been secured, and law and order have generally been restored and are being maintained..." [A/5501/Add.1, section 1.]

These are significant achievements. We wish the Congolese well in their present preoccupation with the task of laying down the foundations of a viable and prosperous Congo.

144. What has been achieved in the Congo is in no small measure due to the dedication and to the vision of the Secretary-General. U Thant was given the helm of the United Nations Operation in the Congo at a critical stage. Yet he was able to steer it to a successful conclusion.

145. Iran is happy to have a part to play in this undertaking. Aside from our financial contributions, we responded readily to the call of the United Nations Command by putting at its disposal military units and

^{10/} First Memorandum of Understanding to implement the Bilateral Space Agreement of 8 June 1962 [see A/5482].

personnel for the purpose of carrying out the tasks of unification.

146. The Congo operation, however, has created serious complications. The unwillingness to meet the financial obligations resulting from the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations has had much to do with the concept Member Governments entertain of the United Nations. Should it be merely a debating society to be used exclusively for fulfilment of national objectives, or should it be an organization able to right the wrong and to uphold law and order? It is to be hoped that the response of the Assembly to this pressing question would be such as to enable the Organization to function as a dynamic instrument for peace.

147. There is at present an increasing tendency to turn to the United Nations as mediator, peace-maker and guarantor of treaties. This wide interest in and the total need for the United Nations makes it an urgent matter not only to solve the present financial crisis of the Organization, but to devise ways and means of developing its peace-keeping machinery on a well-arranged and permanent basis. I am thinking mainly in terms of the idea expounded by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Pearson, in the course of his constructive statement before the Assembly on 19 September 1963 [1208th meeting]. In the light of the approaching twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is, I believe, high time to think seriously in regard to the establishment of a permanent international police force. In this respect, I pledge my country's co-operation.

148. The settlement of the question of West Irian, for which the groundwork was laid in the course of the past year, was carried to a successful conclusion in May, 1963. This operation can be considered as another triumph for the concept of amicable settlement of disputes and indeed may well be regarded in the annals of international co-operation as a first attempt to establish what I venture to call a supra-national government.

149. Iran gladly played a part in this undertaking, by placing at the disposal of the United Nations one of its notable diplomats, Mr. Abdah, who, as the United Nations Chief Administrator, won the praise of the Secretary-General and the parties concerned.

150. In the same context, and in line with the interest which we showed in the future of Rwanda and Burundi in their preparation for independence, I may refer to the assistance given by Iran to the Government of Burundi by aiding it in the training of its military cadre. We are gratified that our modest contributions have been appreciated by the appropriate authorities.

151. Turning now to the problems arising from the disintegration of the colonial system, it is regrettable that, notwithstanding the inevitable and irreversible trend of history in the liberation of the former colonial peoples of Africa—a trend which bears the unanimous support of the democratic nations of the world—there should still exist certain countries which, disregarding world public opinion, attempt desperately to hinder the tide of freedom and seek to oppose the legitimate aspirations of colonial peoples. The policy of the Government of Portugal with regard to its possessions in Africa is one such instance. It is our sincere desire that the Government of Portugal will not delay in responding to the expressions of world opinion, and that it will follow the pattern so wisely and successfully adopted by such former great colonial Powers as the United Kingdom and France.

152. History is proving in an increasingly convincing manner that it is only through intelligent understanding of the nature of colonial problems that it is possible to combine an enlightened concept of self-interest with that of the legitimate aspirations of colonial peoples for freedom and independence. The world at large is impatient for the commencement of the long awaited negotiations between Portugal and the true representatives of its African possessions before further violence and bloodshed have removed all possibilities of achieving a just and peaceful settlement of this problem.

153. Similarly, the Government and the people of Iran deeply regret the defiant attitude of the Union of South Africa to the numerous resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly concerning the inhuman policy of apartheid and the problem of the mandated territory of South West Africa.

154. In these and in other colonial issues, Iran, as a member of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, will not fail to pursue its unwavering policy of support for the cause of emancipation and freedom of all peoples from colonial and neo-colonial rule.

155. I wish now, with your permission, Sir, to refer to certain current developments in Iran. In so doing, it is not my intention merely to impress upon the Assembly our recent achievements on the national scene, but to underline how my Government's policy has tried to keep in line with the main trends of thought and action as expressed by the various United Nations proposals, declarations and covenants regarding social and economic welfare and political status of peoples in general. I have in mind also the recommendations embodied in the Secretary-General's proposals for the United Nations Development Decade.

156. The fundamental changes that are now peacefully taking place in Iran, transforming the very foundations of our society and the whole pattern of life throughout the country, are changes that, in the history of some other nations, have been nothing less than a revolution, invariably accompanied by upheaval and bloodshed. Indeed, these deep-rooted social, political and economic changes were carried out under the Shahanshah's Six-Point Programme, a programme approved wholeheartedly by the overwhelming majority of the nation, and have come rightly to be known as the "revolution of the Shah and the people".

157. Years of trial and error and the development of both thought and experience have brought us to the conclusion that institutional and structural changes are the very prerequisites of any programme of economic progress designed to keep us abreast of the advance nations of the world.

158. The philosophy of these reforms stems from the belief that no real progress can be achieved under a social and economic structure whose dominant characteristic is an extraordinary waste of productive energy, and which keeps out of the process of production a very substantial part of human and natural resources.

159. We have come to believe, therefore, that the key to the basic problem of breaking the familiar and dreaded vicious circle of poverty and under-development could not be found in conventional reforms within the old structure, but in striking deep at the roots of the problem; by breaking once and for all the semi-feudal structure; by releasing the huge reservoir of

potential human energy and natural resources; and by employing them fully in the process of development.

160. The salient features of these revolutionary changes embodied in the Six Point Programme consist of land reform, the creation of the army of knowledge and the institution of a scheme by which the majority of the workers of our nation will share in the net profits of the industries in which they work.

161. The land reform law, by striking at the root of the archaic and unjust relationship between the landlord and the peasant, and by limiting the acreage owned by the landowner, has granted to about 15 million Iranians legitimate ownership of the land upon which they have toiled for centuries. Thus, in about a year's time, no less than two-thirds of our entire population has been emancipated from the bonds of virtual serfdom.

162. The law covering the army of knowledge, providing for the employment of the services of literate conscripts, has given momentum to the pace of our campaign against illiteracy and has facilitated the implementation of compulsory national education. Under this scheme, secondary school graduates, instead of military service and attending to their duties in barracks, are given the responsibility of a school teacher and sent to the rural areas to fight illiteracy, thus providing free primary education in distant parts of the country.

163. The law which provides the workers with a 20 per cent share in the net profits of industrial concerns is a unique departure from tradition, ensuring for our working population a more equitable distribution of the national income.

164. But these revolutionary changes would have been incomplete had the traditional barriers that have barred Iranian women from participation in the social and political life of our nation been ignored. The Shahanshah's decision to bestow franchise and equal rights on Iranian women—a step unparalleled in the twenty-five centuries of our written history and courageously taken against powerful opposition—has remedied the evil and granted to one half of our population their basic freedoms.

165. Such are the fundamental changes which are at present under way in Iran, and which history may well record as a people's supreme and determined endeavour for the realization of a better life.

166. As regards economic planning and execution, we are now entering into a more active stage, and my Government has welcomed the response shown by international institutions for financial assistance.

167. My Government is appreciative of the contribution of the United Nations to the economic progress of the developing countries. We value the advisory services provided by the Technical Assistance Programmes and welcome the pre-investment activities undertaken by the Special Fund in Iran.

168. With regard to our policy with neighbouring countries, we have been persistent in abiding by the principles of the Charter and in maintaining friendly relations with all our neighbours.

169. We are happy that, after a year and a half of negotiation, my Sovereign's personal efforts and good offices were instrumental in restoring normal diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, our two neighbouring sister States. We are confident that

their future association will serve as a factor of great value in preserving the stability and peace of our region.

170. A new chapter in our relations with the Soviet Union, based on a spirit of goodwill, equality and mutual respect, has been inaugurated in the course of the last year. This new development, which our two countries have wholeheartedly welcomed, and which will be implemented without prejudice to our other international commitments, is already bearing promising fruit in the form of joint participation in, and equal benefit from, the implementation of bilateral economic projects. We are confident that this new spirit of friendship in our relations will prove to be a source of greater stability in our part of the world.

171. In concluding my remarks, may I remind my fellow representatives that, in two years' time, our Organization will be observing the twentieth anniversary of its foundation.

172. This world Organization, born some eighteen years ago, ironically under the trail of the mushrooming cloud of Hiroshima, and embodying humanity's hopes for world peace, has not only survived the gloomy prognostications of many, but, in facing some of the most dangerous crises of its growth, has exhibited signs of exceptional vitality. Although the very nature of its structure forced the Organization to remain, in some ways, a reflection of a torn and divided world, it did help the existing opposing forces to interact upon each other, not to the detriment of peace, but in the constructive spirit of the Charter.

173. Even if the United Nations were only to be credited for the part it has played in the emancipation of millions of the former colonial peoples, or for instilling, by daily and persistent action, the idea of peace in the minds of men, it should be congratulated for such a worthy accomplishment.

174. And so, with the improvement in the atmosphere of international relations, one wonders whether the time is not ripe for a still greater effort that could make the forthcoming twentieth anniversary of our Organization a date of special significance in the history of mankind.

175. We believe that present developments justify, and indeed demand, such an effort on the part of us all in order to pave the way within the next two years for the beginning of an era not merely of coexistence, but of genuine international co-operation and lasting friendship. We are convinced that, if such endeavours are undertaken with the necessary depth of vision and a true sense of responsibility towards the many millions of peoples whom we are representing here, no barriers would be insurmountable, nor any obstacles insuperable in our quest for implementing the ideals of the Charter and resolving all our pending problems, including that of complete and general disarmament.

176. I wish to express the hope that such a spirit will prevail over the deliberations of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly. I extend the assurance also that my delegation would not fail to lend full co-operation to any endeavour designed to achieve such worthy objectives.

177. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia): Allow me, Mr. President, to extend to you, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation and myself, our sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the responsible office of President of the General Assembly. We are confident

that the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, over which you will preside, will yield fruitful and constructive results in the preservation of world peace and the promotion of international co-operation.

178. This year the session of the General Assembly is meeting under conditions which give it a particular significance, which open up new prospects, but which, at the same time, impose a heavy responsibility upon us all. We are called upon to make the fullest possible contribution to the further positive development of international relations, a contribution which the peoples of the world have a right to expect of our Organization.

179. Despite the existence of a considerable number of unsettled problems, we have reason to look more hopefully to the future. For, after the extremely perilous moments mankind went through last autumn in connexion with the Caribbean crisis, international relations began to show signs of improvement, opening the way to a more flexible and more realistic approach to some of the world's major issues. This approach found practical expression in the conclusion of the Moscow Agreement of 5 August 1963 on the banning of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We warmly welcomed the Agreement as making possible further concrete steps towards general and complete disarmament. By entering into this Agreement, the great Powers have assumed the obligation to make the preservation of peace and the seeking of agreements their main concern in the future and to be guided thereby in their foreign policy.

180. We welcome the assurances given to that effect both at the time of the signing of the Moscow Agreement and at the present session.

181. We are sincerely gratified to see East-West relations develop in a more satisfactory manner and the appearance of broader prospects for a "détente" in international relations and for disarmament. We have always supported such a course. We therefore view the present turn for the better in international relations as our own success as well as a general achievement, as the vindication of a policy we have constantly pursued. We have always urged the method of negotiation and the policy of coexistence in word and deed as the only realistic policy, the only realistic way out of the impasse into which the cold war and the arms race have led the world.

182. This positive trend in international relations has resulted from the fact that both sides have reached the conviction that war is not inevitable. It stems from a growing awareness of the need to accept the world as it is, in progressive movement, and not as some would wish it to be. It also comes from what would seem to be a general consensus that responsible Governments are pursuing in practice, and in a realistic spirit, a policy of peaceful coexistence.

183. The entire peace-loving world will welcome the growing sense of responsibility displayed by the leaders of the great powers and reflected also in their determination to remain constantly in contact for the purpose of exchanging views and seeking solutions to international problems. As always in the past, we shall readily support every further initiative contributing towards the easing of international tensions and the solution of controversial issues. The changes for the better in international relations are the result of a long, persevering and consistent struggle of the peace-loving forces in the world and of their increasingly powerful impact. An extremely important role is

played by the newly independent and the developing countries, which, as President Tito recently remarked, "by the nature of their position and their interests are on the side of, and are waging a struggle for, peace and a policy of peaceful coexistence". International relations are now taking, we feel, the course charted in Bandung, in Belgrade and in Cairo, and so powerfully stated at the conference of Heads of African States and Governments at Addis Ababa in May 1963. In its Charter and other documents, the Addis Ababa Conference reaffirmed Africa's role in the world today. It also emphasized a common acceptance of the policy of non-alignment and of the need for a growing activity on the part of African countries in the struggle for the strengthening of peace and for the triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Conference bears witness to the changed conditions in the world of today and stresses the imperative need for non-African countries to develop their relations with the new Africa with a proper understanding for its problems and aspirations.

184. The ever more fruitful activity of our Organization in all spheres of international life has greatly contributed to these propitious trends, which are, of course, fully in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter. In saying this, I also have in mind the many useful initiatives of our distinguished Secretary-General.

185. My country wholeheartedly welcomes and supports all these new and favourable trends in international relations and in the solving of international problems.

186. The atomic age—and there should no longer be any doubt in this regard—calls for a change of the very foundations on which international relations have hitherto rested. Owing to this, many countries, regardless of their differences, develop similar or even identical views on major international problems. This confirms the fact that peace and prosperity among nations are indivisible. It also offers proof of the common aspirations of mankind.

187. We cannot, however, rest content merely with noting that there is progress in the world. If there is a growing acceptance of the fact that, in present conditions, war has lost all meaning, if the atomic age inevitably transforms our views on social and international relations, then it is clearly imperative to strive towards an early agreement on general and complete disarmament; to ensure the settlement of all disputes by negotiation; to do away with colonialism in all its aspects; to ensure respect for the independence and the free, unfettered development of all countries and peoples and to render possible a speedy solution of the world's major economic and social problems.

188. Such, in our opinion, are the practical ways whereby, and conditions wherein, enduring peace and progress for all can be secured. Guided by the basic principles of its policies, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has always taken and will continue to take an affirmative and most resolute attitude with regard to these demands.

189. We are, of course, under no illusion that matters will henceforth go well of themselves, that all obstacles have been removed, that all difficulties have been overcome and that all the negative factors have ceased to operate. On the contrary, these negative factors still make themselves only too clearly felt. There is still

outright opposition to the present favourable trends. There is still too much distortion and misinterpretation, or else incomprehension, of their meaning and of their goals, too many attempts to deprive them of their substance. There are too many remnants of former attitudes and influences. Hotbeds of conflict and sources of tension have not yet been removed, nor have elements of force and pressure been done away with. It is therefore essential to isolate and render powerless the forces opposing the present favourable trends, the proponents of the cold war and of the policy of force, wherever they may be and regardless of the guise or pretext under which they may be advocating this policy.

190. All this stresses the need for yet more resolute efforts to ensure that the present course not only continues, but gains in scope and depth, so as to cover widening areas of international relations and lead to the inclusion of a growing number of countries—all those countries and those forces that are able and willing to help along such a course. We are all expected to act here and now, where we are represented on an equal footing and where we all have the possibility and the responsibility to act. We have neither the reason, nor do we have the right, to stand aloof from a course which we have done so much to initiate. Nor should we, under the pretext of not interfering, let events run their own course. Things will move satisfactorily only if we all do our utmost and work in the same direction. What is expected of us is not only to give our resolute and constructive support to present positive trends, but to indicate the lines along which the process should evolve. Thus, by finding solutions to the numerous political, economic, social and other problems confronting the world community today—many of which are on our agenda—we would establish the prerequisites for a lasting peace based on freedom, independence and the equality of all peoples and countries.

191. It has become essential today to put an end to the senseless and highly perilous arms race which consumes such tremendous financial resources of the highly developed countries. Put to more useful ends, these resources, at the present high level of science and technology, could make it possible for humanity rapidly to attain well-being and prosperity. There can neither be a durable peace, nor can the world be rid of the threat of force so long as international relations repose on arms and fear. The utmost efforts are, therefore, called for in order gradually to establish conditions for general and complete disarmament.

192. After so many years of fruitless discussions, tangible progress has at last been achieved in the field of disarmament. An agreement has been reached on the partial banning of nuclear tests. This agreement, despite its limitations which have been sufficiently emphasized and which, moreover, no one denies, is a step, the first step, in the field of disarmament. It not only frees mankind from the harmful effects of atomic radiation, both present and future, but also curbs the nuclear race to some extent at least and in some of its aspects. We look upon the Moscow Agreement as the initial stage of a process which, along with the solution of other international problems, will gradually embrace more and more concrete and substantial disarmament measures and lead to the basic objective: general and complete disarmament. It is as part of such a process and in the light of its further prospects that the Moscow Agreement acquires its full meaning.

193. We consider that, in order to create a climate of confidence and to improve international relations, it is possible, and indeed necessary, to undertake a whole range of other measures which would lessen tensions and remove the danger of war, while at the same time making possible further steps in the broad and complex field of disarmament.

194. It is only natural, of course, to begin with those measures which now appear most feasible and with regard to which a greater readiness on the part of those concerned is most immediately apparent. It is essential, however, not to stop there, but to ensure that the process should continue uninterruptedly, with due regard, of course, to what is realistic, useful and possible. However, it should also be borne in mind that realism in this context is a dynamic and not a static category. That which seems unrealistic today may well become attainable—and even seem modest—at subsequent stages of the process. For by then—and owing largely to the disarmament measures which, we trust, will be undertaken by that time—the conditions for other, more substantial, measures will have matured. The disarmament measures which come into consideration here are generally well known. They have been discussed in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and in connexion with the Moscow Agreement, and also here in the general debate. As far as we are concerned, we do not cherish any hard and fast predilections and would be even less inclined to recommend a rigid system of priorities.

195. It is essential, in our view, to move forward steadily in establishing and strengthening the necessary confidence and towards general and complete disarmament. The Moscow Agreement should be universally adopted. It should be made complete by the inclusion of an underground test ban, a ban as essential and urgent as it is objectively feasible. Measures should be taken to curb the nuclear arms race on what might be termed a "horizontal plane". In other words, steps should be taken to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons and to establish denuclearized zones. This does not, of course, imply the preservation of a nuclear monopoly, but, on the contrary, tends to create conditions for its abolition. These measures, as we understand them, are not only, and not primarily, designed to prevent the spread of atomic weapons to areas where there are none as yet—although this is, of course, of the greatest importance in the present circumstances. They are also intended to narrow the area where there are already such weapons, with a view to their total elimination. The two aspects of this problem are not mutually exclusive but, rather, complementary. It is for this reason that Yugoslavia firmly supports both the proposals for the establishment of atom-free zones in Africa and in Latin America and the demands for the "denuclearization" of certain particularly sensitive areas in Europe, more especially in Central Europe. The "denuclearization" of that part of Europe, combined with disengagement, could contribute substantially towards political solutions, the absence of which makes any genuine normalization in this area impossible. Nor is that all. Alongside or following upon this "horizontal denuclearization"—which would in itself be of the utmost significance for the consolidation of peace—a "vertical denuclearization" should be sought. This would cover both the production and the stockpiling of nuclear arms, as well as of the delivery vehicles. "Denuclearization", as we envisage it, would therefore be a single and comprehensive

process. It would in itself be part of the over-all process of disarmament. It would lead to the "de-nuclearization" of the nuclear Powers themselves.

196. Measures tending towards a reduction of military budgets, of conventional armaments and armed forces seem to us to be entirely appropriate and realistic. There are, obviously, other concrete and even more substantial measures whose adoption should have the Assembly's fully support. Such measures should also lead to the drastic reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles, to the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons, to the reduction of their stockpiles and the elimination of the weapons themselves; to various measures in the field of conventional armaments, and so on. They should include measures to prevent the extension of the arms race to outer space. In supporting such measures, the Assembly would be supporting the general process of which they are a part and a motivating force and which should lead to general and complete disarmament. We have a right to expect that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament will now, in the improved atmosphere since the conclusion of the Moscow Agreement, and along the lines of our conclusions here, deal more successfully with these and other measures and the disarmament problem as a whole.

197. This session should also contribute towards the solution of various problems relating to the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. We have noted with satisfaction the results obtained thus far and the immediate prospects in the domain of scientific and technical co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space. This kind of co-operation should, we feel, be extended to other scientific activities as well. However, it must be noted that the present atmosphere has not been reflected in the negotiations on the legal norms which are to govern the various aspects of the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. In view both of the large measure of agreement regarding the substance of such norms and the need to adopt them as soon as possible, the General Assembly should, we believe, play a more active role in the efforts to reach adequate solutions.

198. Before turning to other problems, I must stress once again that, as we bend our efforts towards the solution of the disarmament problem, we should also persevere in seeking and undertaking measures designed gradually to eliminate potential sources of conflict and to prevent the emergence of new ones. In this light, the efforts to realize the idea of a non-aggression pact between the members of NATO and the signatories of the Treaty of Warsaw (Warsaw Treaty) and other similar initiatives, should be welcomed and supported.

199. The importance in the present situation of the problem of disarmament and of the whole complex of relations between the nuclear Powers in no way lessens, but may even be said to enhance, the significance of the other major problems on our agenda. I am referring here above all to the problem of colonialism and to that of economic development.

200. The endeavours to find solutions to those problems are an integral part of the general struggle to preserve and strengthen the peace. The relaxation of world tension makes the solution of these problems easier. On the other hand, positive solutions of these problems have a favourable impact on the broader field of international relations.

201. To set these problems against others, to make their solution contingent upon the solution of other

"more important" problems or to neglect the former "to the advantage" of the latter, would lead us nowhere. It would obstruct progress in either group of problems and certainly would not contribute to the successful struggle for peace and international co-operation on a basis of equality.

202. The problem of the immediate eradication of the remnants of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere is one which directly affects international peace and security. It is therefore only natural that it should be dealt with as such by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Consequently, the present session of the General Assembly has to deal with the colonial issue with determination and solely from the standpoint of its immediate and total elimination. Unless it does so, the Assembly will not be living up to the expectations of the millions of people who are still living under colonial domination.

203. The situation in the territories under Portuguese domination, which has recently been considered by the Security Council, is a glaring example of how untenable and dangerous this long-obsolete system has become. The case of Southern Rhodesia, where several million inhabitants have been abandoned to the mercy of the white minority, is no less fraught with danger, even though its immediate repercussions may not be as readily apparent.

204. The opposition of the colonial Powers to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples in the remaining colonies and the odious policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa run against the course of history and are a challenge to the conscience of mankind. They are a gross violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. They are also a direct and infinitely dangerous threat to international peace and security. Energetic action by our Organization has therefore become imperative. Such action, needless to say, will have the full and firm support of the Yugoslav delegation.

205. We are also of the opinion that as part of the general efforts to liquidate relationships which stemmed or still stem from colonialism, the present session should adopt without delay the Declaration on the elimination of racial discrimination everywhere and in all its forms. This Declaration should, in our view, clearly state the obligation of all States to take determined steps towards this end. This should rapidly be followed by the adoption of a convention outlawing such discrimination and investing the moral obligations in the Declaration with binding legal force.

206. The practice of inequality and discrimination in international economic and trade relations is being continued and even intensified. This practice is also the cause of instability in the broader field of international relations. The contradictions of the transitional era are reflected, *inter alia*, in the fact that parallel with the progress in solving the political problems in the world and the liberation of peoples, there is a disquieting aggravation of the disproportion in the degree of development, in the economic power and in the wealth of certain peoples and countries. This is being most severely felt by the newly independent and the developing countries. In their endeavours to step up their economic and social development and to increase their productive forces, these countries are meeting with a lack of understanding and with difficulties on the part of many highly indus-

tralized countries and of their closed economic organizations. The growth of productive forces in the world is such that the economic relations existing between the developed and the under-developed countries and the creation of closed economic groupings of the highly developed countries are impeding, at an alarming rate, the normal growth of these forces of production. On the one hand, they are widening the gap between the developed and under-developed countries, thus creating sources of international political complications. Such a harmful practice endangers the independence of these countries, opposes nation to nation and thereby undermines the very foundation of the world community and of peace. On the other hand, in a number of developed countries, elements are beginning to accumulate which lead to crises, business recessions and also impede the more rapid growth of productive forces within the countries themselves.

207. It is in the common interest, therefore, to place the problems of the developed and under-developed countries on the agenda as they are crucial problems for the further development of all.

208. The demand for the abolition of inequality and monopoly in world economy and trade follows logically upon the eradication of colonialism and political emancipation in international relations.

209. For these reasons, one of the permanent and essential features of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and international activities is the efforts to speed up the economic development of the developing countries.

210. This explains why we have taken our place among the proponents and initiators of a World Economic Conference on Trade and Development. The idea of such a Conference was put forward at the historic meetings of the non-aligned and the developing countries in Belgrade and Cairo. The purpose of the Conference, which is to be held under United Nations auspices, is to stress the principles of relations of equality in the world economy, to adopt a programme of practical international actions and to undertake the necessary measures and pave the way for new relations in world economic and trade co-operation.

211. Although the advancement of the developing countries is to be the basic task of the Conference, this does not imply that its scope will thereby be exhausted. The Conference would not achieve its purpose if it failed to lay the foundations for such co-operation as would enable all the countries participating in international trade exchanges to find their concrete and practical interest therein.

212. We therefore feel that it is essential for the success of the Conference that agreement should be reached on the basic problems, that the additional points upon which a common programme can be built should be discovered and that this programme should become one of general progress in the world. Eighteen years of the activity of our Organization, of its regional commissions and specialized agencies make it possible clearly to grasp the nature of the problems confronting us now in the economic field. It has also made it possible for us to perceive the essentials of the measures to be undertaken without delay in order to solve these problems.

213. We therefore urge that the Conference should adopt a declaration on the principles of international economic co-operation.

214. The developing countries made it clear in their joint statement in the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that they expect the Conference to provide the opportunity for a demonstration in the field of trade and development of that political determination which led to the adoption of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco and to the creation of the United Nations. The Conference should make practical decisions providing for basic solutions and initiating a process of more effective international co-operation. These should be designed, *inter alia*, to remove obstacles to exports from the developing countries to the markets of the industrial countries, to stabilize their primary commodity exchanges, to promote their industrial exports and to increase the international financing of development. The Conference should, in our view, establish such international machinery as could ensure the implementation of its decisions.

215. At the same time the Conference should set up machinery which will stimulate, through the setting up of appropriate international funds, economic and trade exchanges under general conditions of equality. This should be a mechanism for consultation and mutual contacts on the basis of voluntary co-operation. The Conference should also examine the question of the establishment of assistance funds to be formed out of contributions proportionate to national income and out of savings from the freezing of military budgets and from disarmament.

216. Under such conditions of international trade and economic co-operation the need arises and a broad possibility appears for the further growth and increased activity of the United Nations system. Although it is clear to all that the United Nations must become more active in the economic field, there are still differences among us concerning the concrete organizational and institutional forms for co-operation. The Conference will, we hope, provide an opportunity for the detailed consideration of the functions of existing organizations and of the organizational structure of the United Nations in the field of economic co-operation. This certainly applies both to the problems of industrialization where the need to establish a new organization is obvious, and to those of science and technology. The Conference should, we feel, also examine both the substantive and institutional aspects of the problem of international financing and lay down criteria which would ensure the economically sound and efficient lending policy. The removal of the obstacles to trade will fully achieve the desired results if production is increased. Production, however, can be increased only by a growing mobilization of both national and international investments. The experience of the last decade has shown that every dollar in international financing makes it possible to mobilize approximately four dollars of domestic investments in the developing countries. However, to every one hundred dollars of the national income of the industrial countries, ten dollars are still being expended on armaments and less than one dollar for the economic development of the underdeveloped areas. The time has come, in my opinion, for the Assembly as well as for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to re-examine, in the light of new developments, the question of launching of operations of the United Nations Capital Development Fund, or for the existing Special Fund to grow, naturally with increased means, into the fund for investment financing.

217. Since only a few months separate us from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, this session of the General Assembly should, in our opinion, make a major contribution to the general and practical planning of the forthcoming Conference.

218. Changes, which are the reflection of general developments in the world have taken place within our Organization. The influx of new Members from the ranks of the newly-liberated countries and the growing influence of the progressive and peace-loving forces make our Organization increasingly capable of assuming a still greater role as an instrument of peace, co-operation and security. It is in this light that we view the question of adapting the structure of the United Nations to world changes and to the requirements arising from these changes for the purpose of making it more fully and more completely democratic. We are convinced that the time has come for practical steps to expand the principal organs of the United Nations and we shall support all such steps.

219. In conclusion, it is our profound conviction that the United Nations can at present make an even greater contribution to efforts to strengthen international con-

fidence and facilitate and promote efforts towards agreement. The overwhelming majority of peoples and countries have declared themselves in favour of the policy and of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The United Nations should continue to reaffirm this policy and to sanction the principles of coexistence as binding norms among States and nations. This would greatly contribute to the effectiveness of the United Nations in its peace-making role. It would, at the same time, constitute an important achievement in the life of the world community.

220. The PRESIDENT: The members of the delegations have no doubt observed that a document (A/5552) has been distributed requesting the insertion of an additional item entitled "Measures in connexion with the earthquake at Skoplje, Yugoslavia".

221. I should like to ask the members of the General Committee to attend at 2.40 p.m. tomorrow in the Trusteeship Council room for a short meeting to discuss the inclusion and allocation of this item in the agenda of the General Assembly's eighteenth session.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.