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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ZINSOU (Dahomey) (translated from French): Permit me, Mr. President, to associate my delegation with the congratulations that have already been addressed to you upon your election to the presidency at this session of the General Assembly. May your presidency mark a significant turning point in the history of the United Nations and an irreversible development in relations among States.

2. As has been pointed out, the present session is opening in auspicious circumstances. If this Assembly is not yet a forest of olive branches, we can at least note with satisfaction that certain cold-war weapons, with their attendant invective, threats, tension and acute crises, seem to have been left in the cloakroom; this is all to the good. Since the last session, which witnessed one of the most serious crises of this post-war period, two important events have taken place. One of these was the Conference at Addis Ababa,^{1/} which saw the birth of the Organization of African Unity, and the other was the signing, in Moscow, of the Treaty imposing a partial ban on nuclear tests.^{2/}

3. It was obvious, and it is being borne out in practice, that these two events were bound to have their effect upon the present session. For more than three years now, the independent States of Africa have been stating from this rostrum the main objectives which are ever present in their minds. One of these objectives, which in our opinion affects to a large extent the attainment of the others, is African unity. Scarcely a year ago, this seemed to many a distant, unattainable ideal, an utopia or a pious wish. On the very eve of the Addis Ababa Conference, the majority of observers were sceptical. I do not mean that they were all hostile to the achievement of our unity; but when they gauged the difficulties of the task and recalled the futility, the failures and the pitfalls of similar undertakings and the time needed to achieve any

recognizable results, they told themselves that Africa—a continent divided, if not set against itself, by colonialism—would be no exception to the rule. The world, inattentive or sceptical, has let itself be taken by surprise. At one of the august places in African history, where millenia bear witness for us, on 26 May 1963, thirty-two States, freely and in full sovereignty, decided to co-ordinate their efforts in all important matters, to harmonize their policies, to develop their economies jointly, and, through active solidarity to achieve together their peaceful, dynamic and beneficial integration into the modern world. By this decision African unity turned from a myth into a reality. It had its own charter and organs of co-operation, and had chosen conciliation and arbitration in preference to conflicts, whether hot or cold.

4. Of course we do not claim that we have thus eliminated, at one stroke, all the differences, even divergencies, between us. We are only human like everyone else. When we went to Addis Ababa we never pretended that we were going there to work a miracle. There are still certain problems that may set us at odds with one another, certain legitimate interests that may yet clash. But what we can now be sure of is that, in all our States, an awareness has come into being that we all belong, not only to the world of men, but to the African under-developed world—in fact, to the under-developed world at large—and therefore that the problems confronting us are fundamentally the same problems even though, here and there, they take different forms and sometimes call for specialized solutions. Today our community of ideals and our community of destiny, as yesterday our common situation as colonized and dependent peoples, bid us join hands, gird our loins, struggle and work together so that African man, rehabilitated and himself again, may become more of a man every day and do his part—I venture to say, make his enriching contribution—towards building the new world, which would otherwise be incomplete. It is enough to see the universal enthusiasm which, in the countries concerned, has greeted the results of the Addis Ababa Conference to realize that those results meet the deep desires of our peoples.

5. The Dakar Conference^{3/} proved that, whatever the difficulties of our undertaking, we shall be able to face any sacrifice, to make the necessary concessions, and to work in the spirit of Addis Ababa until our aims are achieved.

6. In the meantime, while we were organizing ourselves into a peaceful grouping for evolution and mutual assistance and thus creating one of the conditions for peace, the great Powers, on whom peace depends more than on us, were deciding to take a short step forward in the search for ways of achieving it.

^{1/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

^{2/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

^{3/} Conference of the Organization of African Unity, 2-12 August 1963.

7. The Moscow agreements have been hailed as a positive contribution and an event of great significance. The fact that my country was among the very first in Africa in deciding to associate itself with the Moscow Treaty proves that we fully grasp its significance and scope. However, we must not delude ourselves; as I said before, it is only a step, a short step. If the Moscow Treaty is not to prove, tomorrow, the most tragic illusion cherished by mankind in our time, it must be followed up by other agreements that go to the very heart of the problem and that lead to drastic measures. What the world has hailed in the Moscow agreements is a hope which must not be disappointed. Their importance, which is far from slight, lies in keeping the talks going and in catching up the participants in the machinery of peace. It lies also in the fact that, from now on, these agreements will reduce the dangerous pollution of the atmosphere and its eventual lethal consequences for the human race. But the real danger has not been eliminated and mankind is still threatened, for each of the great Powers has long had in its possession the means of bringing down final catastrophe upon the earth. To keep the stockpiles of atomic bombs of all kinds, to continue their manufacture and to go on testing them underground would make a mockery of the Moscow agreements if matters were allowed to rest there; for possession creates temptation and keeps anxiety, distrust and suspicion in being. So we are a long way from our true objective. The problem is not merely a matter of denuclearizing this or that area and leaving the terrifying means of destruction stockpiled somewhere else. Who, then, would be safe, and where should we go for shelter if one day the cataclysm came down? The objective is total and controlled disarmament, the destruction of all existing bombs and their delivery vehicles. In subscribing to the Moscow agreements my country's aim was to encourage progress towards this outcome, and to spare no effort in attaining it. There was no foolish optimism, no vain euphoria, only a reasoned hope; for peace is the first, the greatest, the common good of mankind. It is the business of all of us, great and small. It must be prepared for and won. It is indivisible. It does peace no service to parade it, every day or now and then, before the muzzles of the guns. Listening to you, gentlemen, with all the attention that your words and responsibilities deserve, and hearing the professions of faith that so often ring out from this rostrum, one might wonder why success is so hard to achieve, when everyone proclaims his desire for peace. For who still harbours thoughts of committing aggression? Who holds back from discussion, negotiation and arbitration? Who thinks to hold the world under the threat of terror, the blackmail of destruction? Who? From now on it will not be enough that no one is willing to incur these terrible responsibilities; it will also be necessary to show by deeds a sincere will to succeed; and all our peoples are watching you; certain propaganda tricks, certain stratagems do not deceive them.

8. But it is not only guns and bombs that threaten the peace of the world. Peace will not be secure so long as there are peoples, entitled like the rest to life and freedom, who are held in slavery, or even in a gilded subjection—if such there can be—which they do not want. An injustice to one is a threat to all; that has not changed, and we shall have no pause or respite until all those still held in colonial bondage against their will have regained their freedom. Most of the States which in the past colonized others have

finally come to understand that it is in the nature of things for colonies one day to attain independence. They have helped in the process, or resigned themselves to it, and have succeeded more or less happily in decolonizing. Others, in contrast, who have learned nothing, diabolically persist in an error which threatens to destroy them, even though the whole trend of world history is before their eyes as a lesson. To proclaim, in 1963, that such-and-such a colony, thousands of kilometres away—an utterly foreign country where, what is more, a policy of complete assimilation and perfect equality among men has never been practised—to proclaim that that colony forms an integral part of the colonizing country is both nonsense and obscurantism. Let no one be surprised that the people concerned refuse to knuckle under.

9. For our part, we cannot remain indifferent. Silence, inaction, from us would be nothing else but complicity, and we could not be accomplices of the colonialists, those fossils from bygone days. And since we love peace, since we want peace, and because there will be no real peace so long as an oppressed people remains anywhere on earth, because we feel ourselves to be in solidarity with all those who are still oppressed, we have decided to face the laggards of colonialism with a resolute front and firm action.

10. Please understand us and believe us: we should have preferred to harness our enthusiasm and resources, which our countries need so badly and so urgently, to tasks more agreeable and more beneficial to our peoples. But can a clear conscience be bought at the cost of a betrayal? We shall not betray our brothers, who are waiting to enjoy their freedom as we do and to set themselves, in whatever way their free choice dictates, to the stirring task of building their country.

11. Shall we speak frankly? In this matter of decolonization, the so-called great Powers have a considerable responsibility. Nothing will make us believe that, if they really wanted, the process of decolonization would not be irresistibly speeded up. There is no State in the world today that could hold out for long, entirely alone, against a quarantine imposed by all the others. Without a shot being fired, Portugal—for we must call it by its name—would be obliged to take the action which others have taken so successfully and from which, quite unawares, it stands to gain a great deal. For that to happen, the freedom of man must not be outweighed by what some regard as their strategic and others as their economic interest.

12. What is true of Portugal is also true of South Africa, the realm of apartheid. As we know, there are yet other places where racial discrimination is practised and in abominable fashion. Wherever it is and whatever it comes from, we condemn it. But let us be fair to those who do not resign themselves to it, who ban it by law and fight day by day to abolish it, in contrast to South Africa, where the law, the State and the Government are its most determined champions.

13. We are told: "Let us keep our specialized and technical bodies free from political disputes. Let us not paralyse them with quarrels that do not concern them. Let us confine debate on certain subjects exclusively to the competent organs—the Security Council and the General Assembly—and let the specialized agencies get on with their practical work of co-opera-

tive assistance." Apart from the fact that our peoples do not want such assistance and co-operation from just anybody—for we are just as concerned with the hand that gives as with the manner of giving—the logic of this piece of advice is only skin-deep. For this is not merely a question of politics; it is also a question of principle and morality. Would you let a notorious bandit, a highwayman, go free and allow him, for instance, to sit in your country's Academy of Sciences, simply because he was also an undisputed scientific genius and because the Academy in question dealt only with purely scientific and technical problems? The problem is a complex one, we admit; we do not shut our eyes to that fact. It has been raised from this very rostrum in the last few days, and our task in the days to come will be to seek a straight answer to it.

14. What sort of United Nations do we want? This raises the pressing question of changes in our Organization. Those who founded the United Nations eighteen years ago did not foresee the present situation, where a third of the membership is made up of former colonized countries which are now independent and which must have their say in the conduct of world affairs.

15. We have worked out specific proposals for changes in the composition of the Security Council and certain specialized organs. We ask that our congeners should be more widely and more equitably associated with the administration and operation of all organs. Since everybody seems agreed on the justice of this position, we hope there will be no difficulty about acting on our proposals. A reformed United Nations, in which each and every country was more fairly represented, and in which certain working methods were encouraged, could not but do better service to our common ideal.

16. To keep the peace and to raise the level of living of all peoples: such are the primary objectives of the United Nations. It must be enabled to work for them effectively.

17. In the matter of assistance to under-developed countries, it is time to get away from bureaucracy, from the countless reports—interesting, as they unquestionably are—from the volumes of records of survey missions and all the rest of it, and get down to specific, practical reality. We must reduce, and drastically, the excessive length of time taken up by applications, studies and missions which in the majority of cases, alas, result only in documents for the archives or the library shelves.

18. I must confess that I hesitated to address this Assembly because, without denying the work undertaken by the United Nations since its foundation, without minimizing the decisive part it has played in the liberation of our young States, and without underestimating its noteworthy contribution to the maintenance of peace, we must admit that we have demonstrated our capacity for words more clearly than our capacity for action. As this autumn begins, what are we doing? Are we performing a rite? Are we the last of the conversational salons? You have been hearing the same statements for years, and they will be back again this year, over a hundred times, noble, eloquent and fine. But then what? The Berlin wall will remain the absurd symbol of a divided people denied self-determination; the Israel-Arab dispute will remain the painful consequence of refusal to negotiate and refusal to show tolerance. In Laos, in

Viet-Nam, in China, the world and peace will be kept in suspense, while men whose only crime is that they are not of the same colour as others, or that others, more fortunate, learned the art of conquest and enslavement before them, will continue to claim, at the cost of their lives, their rightful place at the common table; whereas if everyone really wanted peace and decided to create the conditions for it, one-hundredth of the sums now swallowed up in engines of destruction would be enough to change the meaning of life for many people and the face of the earth for all.

19. I am not the first one here to say this: a single weapon from today's arsenals can do more damage by itself than all those used during the last war put together. Yet at the same time cancer, for instance, continues its ravages and scientists wait in vain for the wherewithal to carry on their research.

20. Achievements in space baffle the imagination and do only honour to the genius of man. However, I should like to put these questions to the great Powers, who will soon be flying away together, arm-in-arm, to the moon; "Are you sure you have done your whole duty on earth? Are all human beings eating their fill? Have all children access to a minimum of education? Have you taken care to allay the anxieties and distress of the peoples? This earth—our earth, man's earth—have you made it more humane and men more brotherly?" We await a reply to these questions.

21. One of our colleagues was speaking the other day of the two fountains which play at Geneva, one at the Palais des Nations, the other beside the Lake. Here, let us admit it, we give Niagara some competition. We African peoples are in favour of palaver and negotiation; we believe in the virtues of speech; but we believe even more in the virtues of action. And the time for action has come; hence the brevity of my statement, which I acknowledge to be contrary to the custom here. We have our work cut out and we are in a hurry. You have all the means and are entitled either to squander them or to hoard them. In our view the greatest people, the greatest State, will be, not the one that owns the most destructive bomb or the one that first lands on the moon, but the one that does most for understanding between men and nations, the one that works hardest for the happiness of mankind by driving back disease, ignorance, poverty and hunger.

22. Dahomey, my country, is for self-determination and freedom for all. It believes in human solidarity and brotherhood. It wishes to make its modest contribution, earnestly and in all conviction. May the United Nations prove fertile ground for our enthusiasm in all these matters, for we are among those—to echo a speech still ringing in our ears—who want to take their stand in the United Nations in order to raise the world to a just and lasting peace.

23. Mr. CORDINI (Argentina) (translated from Spanish) Mr. President, I wish, first, to convey to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the high post you occupy. I am convinced that the outstanding qualities, of which you have given proof in the course of your many years of international endeavour, will make you a brilliant leader and an admirable President of the General Assembly. Latin America cannot fail to be proud that one of its prominent sons now directs our debates. In this happy circumstance I see an augury for success. Our America, a continent of peace and the friendly settlement of international differences, today directs the business

of an Assembly which we all trust will go down in the annals of the United Nations as the session that opened the gates to a new period of coexistence among the peoples of the world.

24. This moment is doubly important to my country. In a few days, with the handing over of power to the new authorities, a difficult chapter in our internal affairs will have ended and another under the sign of national concord will have begun. The deeper meaning of the period now drawing to its close has been the ending of apparent dissension, allowing expression to the underlying realities of the truly democratic tendencies of our people. Their voice was heard during the last elections, whose results rewarded the constancy of the men who, from the seat of government, had led the country to this expression of popular will.

25. Today Argentina, with renewed faith, adds its endeavours to those of all the Members of this Organization to achieve co-operation, peace and collective security, for my country knows that it is the common responsibility of all to strive for the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

26. The specific problems to be dealt with in our deliberations clearly point the way for us to follow. To their solution we must bend every effort and thus satisfy the desires of the world's people who, with growing hopefulness are watching the progress of this important session of the General Assembly.

27. Our century, especially in its recent decades, has witnessed vast and astounding changes in the international picture. Those changes have obeyed the impulse of dynamic and irresistible forces set in motion by circumstances that make our epoch unique in history. Perhaps at the very heart of this process of change lie the unprecedented technical advances which are growing in a geometrical progression. Its effects, however, have made themselves felt in the extremely important moral and psychological phenomena it has engendered. Mankind as a whole has reacted to the impact of the new concepts now placed in the service of ancient ideals, and today we witness their repercussions on the relations among States.

28. Two salient features stand out in this tide of change in the affairs of nations. One is the progress of co-operation among countries in all fields, especially those of economic and technical development, and the other is the relatively speedy fulfilment of the lofty principle of self-determination, which tolls the knell of the colonial system. Both these are prime movers in man's evolution towards the higher reaches of his destiny, reaches whose grandeur can only be glimpsed today.

29. There is no doubt that the spirit of international solidarity which is the hallmark of our time has evolved through economic and technical co-operation, and indicates the realization, on the part of the more advanced countries, of the responsibility incumbent upon them in the common task. To deny this would be unfair, but perhaps it would be even worse to overlook the shortcomings and flaws which have marred the programmes put into operation, particularly in the post-war period. These plans have, to a certain extent, proved unable to provide adequate solutions to the problems of development, and the tangible result is that no way has been found to prevent the steady widening of the gap, due to the difference in the degree of control over the means of production,

that separates the developed from the more backward nations.

30. What economists call the "demonstration effect" has deep and upsetting social repercussions and serves to reduce mutual understanding among nations. Thus, there is a feeling of impatience and unrest among the great masses of the world, a feeling which will not allow them to accept long-range formulas or delayed solutions. Hence, a new responsibility rests on all Governments, and particularly on those of the highly developed countries, to find adequate ways of solving these problems. These countries are not unaware of the influence exercised by their economic policies on the rest of the world, nor how far we still are from the goals unanimously set at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

31. That sense of urgency signifies that we have passed the stage of diagnosis and that what is required today is vigorous international action. The United Nations recognized this when it inaugurated its programmes for the Development Decade, but we cannot hide our concern at the fact that, while almost one-third of the Decade has elapsed, we still have not progressed beyond the organizational and preparatory period either on a regional or on the world level. We cannot forget that under-development means hunger, ignorance, lack of decent dwellings, disease and suffering for millions of human beings whom it is our duty to help.

32. I am not trying to place the responsibility on some and to exempt others. The analytical studies show that a large part of the effort must come from the under-developed countries themselves. It is for them to forge that spirit of national enterprise, of order and stability, which alone will permit them to attain their economic goals. The vigour of these countries will manifest itself in the requisite preparatory work, and success will crown those which are able to carry it out successfully. Nothing lasting can be built save on the firm foundations of a country's own efforts. My country does not believe that the required co-operation means maintaining economies in permanent dependence, for such aid would be fictitious and destructive of the national spirit. But a nation's efforts must be carried out in circumstances in which they can be successful; hence it must be understood once and for all that the present international trade structure must be altered.

33. The structural changes which we advocate correspond to a new concept of international division of labour. This will allow the less developed countries to lay new economic foundations and promote their industrialization, so that they will be able to supply increasing quantities of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods to the world market. This new concept is based on a more equitable interpretation of the principle of reciprocity than hitherto. Remunerative and stable prices for basic commodities must obviously be guaranteed, and to that end quantitative tariff restrictions must be eliminated and the policy of subsidies gradually done away with. Instead, perfectly feasible economic adjustments can be made to protect the more exposed sectors in the industrialized countries. Furthermore, obstacles to trade among all areas of the world must also be removed.

34. There is no doubt that from this point of view the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is of decisive importance. It is for this reason that Argentina strongly supports it; we

do not wish it to be a mere forum for an exchange of opinions, but a new and eminently serviceable framework within which the basic problems of trade can be considered and solved. It would be desirable therefore—and my country has repeatedly stressed this—that the decisions taken by the Conference should be based on consent and conciliation rather than on simple majority votes, for only in that atmosphere will present restrictions be eliminated.

35. We are entering into a period of decisive importance, since 1964 will witness not only the Conference to which I have just referred, but also important discussions and agreements already planned for. The "Kennedy negotiations" on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the reconstruction of the British market for agricultural products, the agrarian policy of the European Economic Community and the possibility of a world organization of markets—which last plan still has too many unknown factors—are all events of major significance.

36. There is no telling how disastrous the consequences of failure would be, at a time we consider to be as vital as the present, and we do not hesitate to say so in this Assembly, the most universal forum that exists for the consideration of problems so deeply affecting the world community. This Assembly is the witness to the fact that we live in a world where economic solidarity is not achieving its objectives, and is losing ground because of the gradual limitations placed upon plans for financial assistance and because of the existence of distorted and selfish trade structures. The events which are to take place during the forthcoming year will determine to a large extent whether or not the unforeseeable disastrous consequences I have mentioned are produced.

37. The other distinctive feature of our time, to which I have already referred, is the notable phenomenon of the attainment of independence by the new States which are now making their valuable contribution to the work of this Organization. This new blood which in the past few years has been injected into the United Nations has given it that universality which is so necessary if it is to be truly representative of the world community of nations.

38. Argentina has always been a stout defender of the principle of self-determination of peoples, which is the heart and soul of the process of independence taking place in recent times. It has welcomed joyfully the friendly countries of Africa, Asia and our own continent which now sit among us in the conclave of sovereign States. We believe that this age of freedom in which we are living will put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, even in the case of small territories. Thus we regard the occupation of the Malvinas Islands, a crude violation of our sovereignty originally perpetrated during the period of imperialist expansion, when our own country was in the early stages of its independence, as a phenomenon which should not continue, in the interest of mutual understanding and friendship between two nations which are linked by many ties. The anachronistic presence of the United Kingdom in these islands, which are very sparsely populated, is pointless. We hope that our friend of so many years standing, which has acted so fairly in other parts of the world, will make yet another magnanimous gesture in this very special case.

39. Argentina realizes that the principle of self-determination laid down in the Charter must be con-

sidered in the context in which the right is to be exercised; i.e., there are factors which might limit its range when other principles, such as that of the territorial integrity of a State, or the special situation of disputed territories call for careful examination. Thus we think that the principle cannot be applied indiscriminately to situations where a territory has been separated by force from an independent State without any subsequent international agreement legalizing this *de facto* situation, and most especially when the indigenous population has been dispersed and groups of colonists who are nationals of the occupying Power have settled in the territory. For instance, if the principle of self-determination was indiscriminately applied to very sparsely populated territories, the destiny of those territories would be placed in the hands of a very small group of settlers who had established themselves there by force in contravention of the most elementary principles of international law, and the principle of self-determination would then be used as a screen to legalize a transfer of sovereignty under the protection of the United Nations. Nor do we believe that the principle of self-determination would be wholly applicable in a situation where the personality of a nation had not been respected and methods of penetration destructive of genuine independence had been used.

40. My country will continue to work for the universal application of human rights, a signal achievement of the United Nations and of the regional organizations. One of the most hateful blots on human relations, an obstruction which the international community has thus far been unable to remove, is racial discrimination, whatever its type or form. This is the reason why we are concerned when we see that in some parts of the world there is continued violation of this fundamental human right to equal treatment. We can do no less than reiterate our regret at this circumstance and, through the intermediary of the General Assembly, urge that this state of affairs should cease as soon as possible. On the other hand, in all fairness, we shall be no less emphatic in our sincere praise for Governments which are making genuine and vigorous efforts to abolish racial discrimination.

41. The United Nations has now been in existence for eighteen years. This session of the Assembly looks very different from the sessions of some years back. Certain reforms are urgently needed, including an expansion of the membership of certain United Nations organs, so that universal representation, one of the Organization's guiding principles, may be achieved. The Latin American States proposed such a step some time ago, but hitherto the problem raised has not been settled despite the fact that the steady increase in the number of Members has made it even more pressing.

42. In this connexion, I cannot refrain from referring to our regional organization, the Organization of American States which, in its own sphere, has been steadily endeavouring to put into effect the purposes and principles of the Charter and those of the Americas.

43. One constant feature in my country's international life is the strengthening of its ties with the sister republics of America. Above all, we claim for Latin America the role which is its due in the great world debates and we recognize the need to close our ranks in order to achieve the co-ordinated action which is

the best means of attaining that universal welfare which is one of the purposes of our Organization. We cannot forget that Latin America has been the cradle of great principles of international political life, some of which have achieved the status of rules of international law. Our America must live up to its historic heritage and renew its endeavours to promote coexistence among nations. My country will spare no effort to support the action of the Organization of American States as a natural source of measures applicable to our continent, because we believe that it is with the framework of that body that the far-reaching aims expressed in its charter can be achieved.

44. As matters stand in the world today, it is more necessary than ever for us to unite in joint action. All Members of the United Nations should make their contribution to ensure that good sense shall govern the world, taking advantage of the present unusually favourable climate of international relations.

45. I do not want to be guilty of unfounded optimism; reality will always damp any excessive enthusiasm. But it is true that in the world today there is a relaxation of tension which should encourage us to persevere on our course. The conclusion of the nuclear test ban treaty, which my country signed is a first step and a sign that the great dialogue has begun. We think that the arms race is only the outward sign of deeply hidden motives, at the root of which lie fear and distrust. If those are overcome, the apparently impossible will be achieved; the Geneva talks may lead to that ideal situation of general disarmament under effective international control which Argentina has so fervently advocated. All of us, whether Members of the United Nations or not, must assume responsibility for the success of this first step, so that we may avoid any possibility of the world's so much as thinking of the use of nuclear weapons.

46. In concluding this statement on behalf of Argentina, I should like to appeal to the high humanitarian ideals and the goodwill of the men upon whose shoulders lies the heavy responsibility of this task. May the hope of their peoples guide them in the maze of diplomatic negotiations, so that the General Assembly at its succeeding sessions may carry out its work in an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding, in the certainty that promises and undertakings will be fulfilled, and in that spirit of comradeship, not to say utopianism, that presided at the birth of the United Nations at a time when the last echoes of the great disaster, whose repetition we were anxious to avoid, had not yet died away.

47. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): My first words must be words of congratulation to the President on his election to the high office with which the Assembly has honoured him at its eighteenth session. Our American continent is deeply gratified that one of its foremost intellectual and moral leaders is the President of the world assembly.

48. In commenting on the Introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization from this rostrum, only a year ago [1144th meeting], I expressed the view that the United Nations, which at that time was passing through a "crisis of confidence" would survive that and other crises and would emerge from them strengthened and invigorated.

49. The accuracy of that prediction is now apparent. There is an appreciable difference in the atmosphere of the General Assembly, in the prevailing international climate and in the optimistic spirit in which we have come to this session.

50. But we are not deceiving ourselves in our appraisal of the difficult and complex task which lies ahead of us; nor do we in any way under-estimate the volume of work with which we shall be confronted in the plenary meetings and in the Main Committees, when we consider in detail the numerous items on our agenda. Since that lies ahead, I have no intention of attempting to make a preliminary analysis of these questions. My delegation, like all the rest, will have ample opportunity to express its views on the various items in the course of the coming debates; and as in the past, Paraguay's vote will in all cases be determined by considerations of justice, equity and unwavering respect for the lofty moral and legal principles which give our Organization its purpose.

51. Some items are of such importance, either because they affect us all equally or because they have a direct bearing on our own national interests, that positions will have to be taken at the highest level. I consequently propose to confine my comments to some of these problems, with the purpose of informing the General Assembly of Paraguay's position on them. I am not afraid of repeating the obvious, because I am convinced that our voices, which are weak if heard in isolation, become powerful when they are joined together and will end by being heard.

52. The ashes of the Second World War were still warm when the United Nations was born, blessed by the hopes of nations torn and shaken by that great upheaval. The instrument created at San Francisco to preserve the peace and to promote the happiness of the human race was not perfect, but it was perfectible, and then, as now, it alone was capable of enforcing moral and legal principles in relations among States to ensure the benefits of peace, collective well-being and happiness for all nations.

53. But at the same time the great Powers began an arms race involving weapons in such quantities and of such destructive force as had never been known in the history of mankind; and this race has been consuming material resources of incalculable value and entailing a boundless waste of talent and energy. What is worse, this race has inspired a fear never felt before—fear of the possible extinction of human life on the planet.

54. Our only hope lies in disarmament; and therefore, this subject must have priority. The fact that we developing nations have no part in the arms race matters little. We too are feeling its effects. And if the item remains on our agenda year after year, the responsibility lies with the great Powers and not with us, reduced as we all too often are to the role of spectators in apparently endless negotiations. Despite this almost passive role, we firmly refuse to believe that the difficulties are insurmountable. With the optimism of those who look towards the future with confidence, we think that it is possible to achieve world agreement on disarmament subject to adequate international inspection and supervision. Freely agreed international inspection and supervision do not, in our opinion, constitute any limitation upon the sovereignty of States greater than the offer of disarmament itself when made in good faith.

55. If there is any task in which there should be no remission, or discouragement in face of repeated setbacks, that is the task of finding a formula for general disarmament. Not only our national interests are at stake, but the survival of all mankind.

56. This year, the Assembly is meeting in a climate where the major tensions of the cold war have been relaxed. Two recent events give grounds for reasonable optimism. First, there is the establishment of direct lines of communication between the capitals of the two great nuclear Powers, with the clearly stated purpose of avoiding the accidental outbreak of a war of annihilation. The other is the signature of the Moscow treaty, prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

57. We having been advocating the prohibition of such tests for years, as they were progressively contaminating the earth's atmosphere, seriously endangering the terror-struck nations. In accordance with its tradition, my country not only greets this treaty with relief and satisfaction, but has resolutely formally acceded to it, signing it in the capitals of all three contracting Powers. We think that the treaty is not only a positive reply from the great Powers to the world's appeals; it is the precursor of a series of other agreements which will finally lead to disarmament. It is a great step forward which must be followed by other steps.

58. It should be remembered that despite the extremes of horror which were reached during the Second World War, both sides were able at least to respect certain agreed standards, such as the ban on the use of poison gas and on bacteriological warfare. It was, I repeat, a total war. Hence the logical consequence of the Moscow Treaty should be the banning of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and the destruction of the stocks of such weapons.

59. In view of the magnitude of the problems of disarmament and the obvious common danger of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons an attempt has been made to devise formulas to safeguard vast areas of the world through denuclearization. Such progressive denuclearization may lead gradually to complete denuclearization.

60. The heads of State of five Latin-American countries have been making a joint effort to reach a regional agreement for the purpose of denuclearizing Latin America. I solemnly declare that Paraguay is most favourably disposed to the denuclearization of our region. These negotiations should be initiated in the proper framework for this issue, i.e. in the Organization of American States and not in the United Nations.

61. We sincerely believe that for such denuclearization to provide real security the following basic requirements must be satisfied. The denuclearization of a particular zone, in this case Latin America, must be complete, and consequently should include all the States and territories within the zone. Full guarantees of respect and protection on the part of the nuclear Powers must be obtained and effective systems or means of international control and inspection must be instituted.

62. I said before that certain items or groups of related items dominate the scene in the General Assembly. Prominent among them are those relating to the liquidation of colonialism which, regrettably,

still stains the map of the world—a stain which will remain as long as even a single people is prevented from exercising the right of self-determination and rising to be master of its national destiny. I wish to pay a simple and sincere tribute to the efforts of those peoples that are struggling for emancipation, and of course to their leaders as well. The one and the other have our respect.

63. I also wish to pay a tribute to the committees set up by the General Assembly to watch over the fate of those peoples which are still unable to speak for themselves in our Organization; and in a very special way the same tribute goes to the representatives of the young States of Africa and Asia which are the standard-bearers of the liberation movement. To our way of thinking there is something inexorable in this march towards emancipation. Final victory, which cannot now be far distant, belongs to those peoples which have not yet won self-government and in which we welcome the free, sovereign and independent States of tomorrow.

64. If there is any matter before the Assembly on which there is unanimity of views, it is the policy of apartheid practiced by the Republic of South Africa, which is rejected by all. The concept of racial discrimination is perhaps more foreign to the Paraguayan people than to any other people of Latin America. Consequently, with regard to the problems of discrimination we can have only one position. I declare emphatically and in all sincerity that Paraguay considers that the policy of apartheid practiced by the Government of South Africa is fundamentally wrong; that it engenders serious conflicts deriving from racial segregation, and that it is characterized by a vexing and continual denial of universally proclaimed rights. Such a policy must be outlawed.

65. I now pass on to other questions which concern the great mass of members of the Assembly. We are in the midst of the United Nations Development Decade; we trust that the beneficial effects of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas will soon make themselves felt; and we are on the eve of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We attach tremendous importance to this last Conference, and justifiably so, because we under-developed peoples have been asking for it with a rarely encountered unanimity.

66. It is always the agricultural commodity-producing countries which are designated as under-developed. Developed countries, on the other hand, are, with very few exceptions, countries having mainly industrial economies. In exporting their primary products the agricultural countries barely manage to pay for their low level of living and the inevitable export taxes. On the other hand, when the industrialized countries export their products they make the purchaser pay for the high cost of labour caused by their high levels of living, and include industrial profits, social security and all manner of taxes in the prices.

67. I shall quote some figures which reflect this tragic situation. In 1962 Paraguay's volume of commodity exports was 300 per cent greater than in 1950, but the foreign exchange proceeds were barely higher than the total for 1950. To this must be added the aggravating factor that most of the products purchased from abroad with that currency had increased in price by up to 200 per cent. I imagine that this serious situation is not confined to Paraguay, but is common

to the majority of the commodity-producing nations of Asia, Africa, the Pacific and Latin America, whether or not they would describe themselves as under-developed countries.

68. The constant decline in the prices of commodities produced by the countries with agricultural economies, aggravated by the constant increase in the prices of products from countries with industrial economies, has accentuated and will continue to accentuate the difference between the developed and the under-developed countries. When the last territory in the world is emancipated, political colonialism will have come to an end, but the economic colonialism to which countries with an agricultural economy are subjected will persist unless substantial changes are made in the present conditions of production and export of agricultural products. Under the system of economic freedom we favour, it is difficult to adjust prices of commodities and manufactured goods on the world market.

69. In our view the way to solve the problem of under-development is by attacking simultaneously its two main causes; first, through financial and technical assistance to increase the output of agricultural countries with a view to offsetting the low prices of commodities and thus achieving a rise in levels of living, and secondly, by promoting the industrialization of the agricultural countries, giving them an opportunity of processing their main commodities. This task also requires technical co-operation and the contribution of the necessary capital.

70. These two measures are indispensable to put an end to the present economic colonialism which the developed nations in fact exercise over the under-developed nations.

71. The specialized agencies of the United Nations and of course the Conference on Trade and Development should give due attention to the problem of under-development, which is the main cause of the world's economic, social and political ills.

72. In connexion with the recent inauguration of a new presidential term of office, Paraguay received visits from some sixty special missions, many of which were led by permanent representatives accredited to the United Nations and now present in the General Assembly. I would repeat the gratitude of Paraguay to all of them for having thus honoured us. Those sixty missions were reliable witnesses of the consolidation of an order marked by economic, social and political progress. They have seen that our economic progress is based on free enterprise, free trade, free imports and exports and the absence of quotas and other restrictions, and that it rests on monetary and economic stability and respect for capital and for private property. They have also seen that in our order social progress is based mainly on the steady and uninterrupted increase in the number of rural landowners through agrarian reform, which, without noisy propaganda or internal violence, has created 30,000 new landowners in the last five years, and that it is also based on incentives to workers in the cities, who fully enjoy all their rights, including social security. They have seen, too, that political progress is firmly consolidated through the partici-

pation of the political parties in the government of the country, through the exercise of control on the part of the opposition, and through freedom of the Press and freedom of expression.

73. As the old saying has it, no chain is stronger than its weakest link. Each Member of our Organization has the duty to strengthen the chain by strengthening himself. In keeping with that idea, we believe that our present situation and our promising prospects for the future are the best contribution that Paraguay as a Member can make to the United Nations.

74. Before concluding my remarks, I should like to mention briefly the forthcoming twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, which will be celebrated in 1965. The General Assembly, which at the seventeenth session set up a Preparatory Committee of the International Co-operation Year [resolution 1844 (XVII)], will shortly receive the Committee's report. As a member of that Committee my country supported suggestions intended to give prominence to everything which unites the Members of the Organization, and to avoid anything controversial. Acting, as we still do, in fulfilment of a trust, this is the way in which we had to discharge our obligations.

75. However, individually and as a representative of a land-locked State, I should now like to appeal to the goodwill of the Assembly, so that in due course it may consider giving unanimous approval to a resolution which, as a magnificent contribution in that anniversary year, provides for the solution of the foreign trade problems of those States which are not fortunate enough to have access to the sea.

76. I would express the sincerest wishes for the success of this Assembly. May this session, as a result of its labours, go down as one of the most constructive in the annals of the United Nations.

77. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom to exercise his right of reply.

78. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): I thank the President for allowing me to exercise very briefly the right of reply.

79. The representative of Argentina, in the course of his speech, referred not only to the cordial relations which very happily exist between his country and mine, but also to Argentina's claim to the Falkland Islands or the Islas Malvinas. In this connexion, I wish to state that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands and the Falkland Islands Dependencies, and I wish formally to reserve its rights on this question.

80. The PRESIDENT: Before closing the meeting I should like to ask the representatives who wish to speak in the general debate to enter their names on the list of speakers if they have not already done so. I wish to stress the importance for delegations to get in touch with the secretariat of the Assembly with a view to ensuring continuity in the general debate and avoiding interruptions for lack of speakers which would cause us to lose valuable time and impede the normal progress of the Assembly's work.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.