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President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKEY
(Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Over nearly two decades the United Nations has increasingly become the centre and the stage of international diplomatic activity, and it has been customary in this general debate for representatives of Governments to look from this rostrum outwards at the world. All of us who have served at the United Nations in the past will remember the occasions when we have listened to speeches by some of the great statesmen of our generation speaking of the world-wide scene. I myself shall never forget hearing in this General Assembly the speeches of world figures such as Prime Minister Nehru and President Kennedy. It has been an unforgettable experience to hear in this Assembly reviews of the whole range of international events by the greatest figures of our time. Indeed there is probably no better place anywhere to survey the problems, the dangers and the hopes of the world than this.

2. But today our thoughts and our anxieties are directed not outwards, but inwards to ourselves. Those who have looked to the United Nations to deal with the dangers and diseases of the world can rightly turn to us today and say, "Physician, heal thyself".

3. The Organization created to settle disputes has become a centre of dispute within itself. I make no excuse, therefore, for speaking in this general debate not about the world but about ourselves, and about the Organization which is now in such grave danger.

4. Three months ago, a new Government was formed in my country. It was beset with many difficulties, both economic troubles within, and great issues for decision in its relations with other Governments of the world, and in problems of defence. But nevertheless, at once, amongst its first actions, the new Government took

three decisions to show to our own people and to the wider world new directions and new purposes of policy in three spheres which are of paramount importance to all of us here at the United Nations.

5. First, a Minister of Disarmament was appointed for the first time, to give his whole attention and effort to the measures necessary to pursue what is surely the greatest need of our generation—the need to free the world from the burden of armaments and to escape from the competition in the manufacture of mounting terror.

6. Secondly, a new Ministry of Overseas Development was created for the first time in my country under a Cabinet Minister, to co-ordinate and develop the contribution of my country in the effort to bridge and close the gap between the rich and the poor of the world.

7. Thirdly, for the first time, a Minister of my Government was appointed to represent my country here in the United Nations. My appointment in this new capacity was intended to emphasize the special importance which the new Government attaches to the work of the United Nations. By these three decisions, the new Government showed the course which it wishes to follow in three fields of international affairs. It wishes to intensify efforts to achieve progressive disarmament. It wishes to make a greater contribution to a world-wide effort for economic development. It wishes to support and sustain the United Nations.

8. I have said that no representative of my country ever came to the United Nations with clearer or more positive instructions than those given to me. They are: first, to seek new initiatives to further the purposes of the Charter; second, to seize every opportunity to support, strengthen and, where necessary, to reform the United Nations Organization; and third, to take a constructive and leading part both in peace-keeping and in the economic development of the new nations. Our hopes were high that at this nineteenth session constructive progress could be made in many directions, much of it on the basis of preparatory work already completed.

9. Always we put disarmament first. Following the limited agreements which have been reached on disarmament in recent years, we hope that during this session a new impetus can be given towards breaking the continuing deadlock. We recognize, too, that small agreements at the beginning will help towards international confidence. We hope to see progress in special areas, which will assist the relaxation of tension, and to see progress, too, towards positive agreements in the major field of general disarmament. We are most eager to reach new agreement to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Our hope is that all States will, in the future, be able to use their

developing economies to increase their resources for peaceful and not for military purposes.

10. We may pause for a moment to think what that would mean. Expenditure on defence in the world is now running, I am told, at something like one hundred and fifty thousand million dollars a year. This represents almost one-tenth of the world's total output of goods and services. That makes the amount required to rid the United Nations of all its debts—a mere one hundred and fifty million dollars—look like a trifling sum, as indeed it is.

11. A second aim which we set ourselves, one closely linked to the first objective of disarmament, is to increase the international capacity to keep the peace. We do not underrate the efforts which have been made, particularly—to their lasting credit—by countries other than the great Powers, to keep the peace in many different parts of the world. But, in the past, we have often had to rely on hasty measures of improvisation. We must surely do better in future. The time has come for the temporary and tentative efforts of the past to give way to more effective, more efficient and more permanent machinery for the keeping of the peace. It is accordingly our hope that it will be possible to create a new and improved method and new and improved machinery of international peace-keeping in which the larger Powers too can make a contribution.

12. No less important are our aims in the field of economic development. With the establishment of our new Ministry of Overseas Development we wish to plan and administer the British programme of overseas aid, both bilateral and multilateral, as a whole. And, with the proposals for the creation of a single United Nations Development Programme, under which the Technical Assistance Board and the Special Fund would be merged together to work in close co-operation with the specialized agencies, we look forward to a new, intensified and better co-ordinated international effort to raise the standards of living in all developing countries.

13. In trade we are anxious to carry forward the initiatives taken by the British delegation during the Trade Conference in Geneva.^{1/} We warmly welcomed the establishment of the Conference and the Trade and Development Board as permanent parts of the United Nations machinery [resolution 1995 (XIX)], and we are anxious to give them every support and every encouragement.

14. On human rights, the British Government has undertaken to legislate in Great Britain against the evil of racial discrimination, and we are anxious to take a full part in the negotiation of effective practical and workable covenants to give international effect to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. We are, moreover, anxious to give special consideration to methods for protection and enforcement of human rights, and we hope that Governments will seriously consider the new proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights. We look forward, too, to participating to the full in

the preparations for the United Nations Human Rights Year in 1968. We approach this problem of racial discrimination and racial relations in the spirit of what our Prime Minister said in a speech he made two months ago:

"Our approach to this challenge, whether in world affairs or in our domestic life, cannot be conditioned by cowardice or compromise; this is, for every nation, the great moral imperative, a straight issue between right and wrong."

15. These are the objectives we set ourselves. These were the purposes of positive action which we wish to debate here and to turn into practical programmes. These are the initiatives in the fields of disarmament and peace-keeping, economic development and trade and human rights which we hope to discuss and develop together in and through the United Nations. These aims, so we believe, have the overwhelming support of the membership of the United Nations. As we looked forward to this session, two things stood out. First, how much there was to do, and second, how wide was the field of agreement on what should be done. But these are the policies and these are the programmes which have been delayed, and which are now threatened with further delay, by the continuing stultification of our United Nations activities.

16. Perhaps I might be permitted, with great respect and speaking as a representative with comparatively short experience here at the United Nations, to add a personal word. I speak as a convinced believer in the United Nations. I speak as a supporter of the Secretary-General. I speak with respectful admiration of the part which the general membership of the United Nations has played in expanding and developing the powers and the prestige of the United Nations. Others who have rendered to the United Nations far longer service than I have must feel with me the frustration of the present situation. Many of us have preached amongst our own people the need to support the United Nations and all that it endeavours to achieve. We have advocated that in the modern world we should pursue international initiatives and international co-operation. We have consistently argued that, by strengthening the United Nations, we can help to prevent conflicts, and help, too, to bring the benefits of economic advance to the millions who now live in the mass misery of poverty. I am more than ever convinced of the necessity and the urgency of these purposes.

17. But, by our delays and disputes, the forces of subversion and the forces of narrow nationalism, and the forces of aggression and the forces of racial domination are now encouraged. The enemies of the United Nations rejoice. In failing to settle our own differences, we have failed to live up to the hopes and the aspirations of all those who trusted us.

18. The harm which has been done in the past few months cannot be calculated. We embark on the International Co-operation Year in deadlock. We face the twentieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations with the reputation of the Organization at stake. In order to save face, there are those who have been prepared to disfigure the image of the United Nations in the world. Our work in this Assembly may

^{1/} United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva, 23 March–16 June 1964.

soon be brought to a dead stop. And the prospect is that we may continue in impotence to earn the rightful contempt of those who placed their faith in us. While we argue and delay, the needs of the world accumulate. The patients suffer while the doctors dispute. Wherever we look we see discord and danger. The need for United Nations leadership and United Nations help and United Nations conciliation was never greater. The forces of division, domination and aggression appear confident, well organized and well led. The forces of consultation, conciliation and co-operation, for which we stand in the United Nations, seem often to be weak and divided. While the need so urgently increases, the grim prospect is that the United Nations may become weak and poor, so weak and so poor that the Organization will be incapable of moving quickly and effectively when the dangers become so menacing that international action is the only alternative to complete disaster.

19. I ask your permission to go back to consider the causes of the dispute which has led us to our present pass. I make no excuse for doing so, since I believe that there is public perplexity and widespread misunderstanding of the causes of the deadlock.

20. This is no mere sordid squabble about money. The amounts involved are, as I have said, trifling compared with the amounts spent daily on armaments. The great Powers spend on defence in a single day much more than the amount now required to rid the United Nations of its total financial liabilities. The amount which threatens to sink the United Nations is less than the cost of a single submarine.

21. The questions at issue are not mainly questions of finance but of principle. Article 24 of the Charter confers on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Articles 10, 11 and 14 give the right to the General Assembly to make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the Charter, including questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 17 authorizes the General Assembly to make assessments to be borne by the Member States. Finally, Article 19 provides that a Member State whose arrears exceed two years' assessments "shall have no vote in the General Assembly".

22. These principles, so clearly set out in the Charter, are equally important. We seek to defend them. I have repeated that it is the policy of my Government to support and strengthen the United Nations. It would indeed be a betrayal of that high purpose if we were to make our first act an abandonment of the principles of the Charter which we are all pledged to support. Most important of all, we should be betraying our obligations if we destroyed the sole sanction for the financial contributions which are essential for the continuation of all the activities of the United Nations.

23. I repeat that the dispute which we now face is no mere financial squabble. Nor is it, as has frequently been suggested, a cold-war confrontation between great Powers. The principles involved are just as important and the outcome of our discussions on them are just as far-reaching for the smallest State here represented as they are for the largest State amongst us. The great Powers may feel that they can

rely on their own strength to maintain their position in the world; it is the smaller Powers who look most anxiously for international co-operation and stand to gain most from it. Indeed, I believe that the dispute and its result are much more important for small States than they are for the States which are rich and powerful. We are all deeply concerned, all deeply involved, all deeply responsible.

24. What, then, are the tests we bring to the consideration of the dispute? We do not believe that in order to enhance the power of the Security Council it is necessary to whittle away the authority of the General Assembly; the Council and the Assembly both have a vital role to play.

25. We do not believe that we can pick and choose which principles of the Charter we support and which we can avoid; the principles must stand together. We do not believe that the findings of the International Court or the resolutions of the General Assembly on this matter should be set aside; we respect the opinion of the Court and decisions of the Assembly.

26. We do not believe that, while small nations have been required to pay their assessments, often at severe sacrifice, great Powers should be free to pay or not to pay as they wish; there should be one law for rich and poor alike. We do not believe that, in order to settle a particular dispute, we should destroy the financial foundation of the United Nations; that would be much too high a price to pay.

27. We believe that these tests are sound and are widely supported. Speaking for my own Government, I now go on to say that if we put first the maintenance of the principles and provisions of the Charter, we count scarcely less important the purpose of reaching agreement without prejudicing those principles.

28. Nearly a year ago, we made proposals for dealing with the subjects in dispute. We greatly hoped that those proposals, designed to take account of the views of the Soviet Union and other States, would lead to a successful negotiation. We were gravely disappointed when our proposals were not pursued. Since then we have supported every proposal for a settlement consistent with the Charter. When you, Mr. President, put forward the basis for a solution, we promptly agreed. When the Secretary-General took the initiative we immediately accepted his suggestion. Throughout we have been at all times ready to go more than half way to meet the views of other delegations. All the time we have been searching, not for a cold-war victory, but for a United Nations success.

29. Even at this late stage, we remain eager to find and support any compromise, any settlement, which could achieve agreement without inflicting a lasting injury upon the United Nations Organization or the Charter.

30. We go further. We have paid all that we owe. We have supported every United Nations obligation. We are proud to be the second-largest contributor to all the activities, voluntary and otherwise, of the United Nations family. We have pledged ourselves to increase our contributions to the economic activities of the United Nations. We are ready to go further, and if a voluntary fund is established, we ourselves

would be prepared, under suitable conditions, to make a contribution. We shall do so in the interests of an effort, in general agreement, to enable the United Nations to escape from its financial difficulties and go forward unencumbered to face the tasks of the future, tasks which we are so anxious to tackle without further delay.

31. We appeal to the Soviet Union to give the lead so that all can join in a common effort to make that possible. If it does so, we believe that others will rally in support. Then we can put aside all dispute and forget the delays and disappointments of the past, and turn the deadlock to advantage, as we go forward, in agreement, with a United Nations not divided and weakened, but strengthened and sustained. It is sometimes said that all that stands between us and agreement is a matter of prestige. I cannot imagine any action which would rightly win greater prestige than such a gesture from the Soviet Union now. Equally, I can imagine nothing which would more rightly earn continuous and mounting condemnation than the throwing away of this opportunity. And if we are to be sentenced to further frustration and ineffectiveness, no one will have any doubt where the responsibility lies.

32. I was taught when I was young that when in trouble you should count your blessings. And now that we face certainly the gravest crisis in the United Nations since it was created, it is well that we should think of the factors which may contribute to a solution, a settlement and a success.

33. First of all we have in you, Sir, a President of great experience here at the United Nations who commands the widest respect and brings to our problems new energy and new determination. You have already shown us, and you showed us again yesterday, that you will devote that energy and that determination to the cause of making the nineteenth session not a failure but a major advance.

34. I am sure that every member of every delegation would also wish to pay deep and sincere respects to the Secretary-General, whose statement yesterday emphasized so clearly the seriousness of our situation. He commands the confidence of us all. We were distressed that, carrying such a load of responsibility, he should have fallen sick at a time when our deliberations and negotiations reached a critical stage. In wishing him a full recovery to face the greater strain of the future, we believe that the trust we place in him may well be decisive in achieving an escape from our difficulties.

35. I would also wish to express my admiration for the will of the general membership of the United Nations to rally to the support of the United Nations at a time of crisis. The strength of the United Nations lies not in a few great Powers, but in the contribution which can be made by all the Member States, large and small, rich and poor, weak and strong. The membership of the United Nations has rallied before to save the United Nations and to enhance its authority. I hope that it is not too late for the overwhelming will of the general membership to achieve another success now.

36. I have said that the delay of the past few months has caused harm beyond calculation. But nevertheless

I would agree that delay was better than breakdown. It is a remarkable fact that every one of the hundred and fifteen nations has been prepared to exercise such patience and such restraint and that we should all have been prepared to take a number of essential decisions by unanimous agreement. All this is evidence of an overwhelming desire to succeed in our efforts. Speaking for my own Government and my own delegation, I pledge our continued endeavour, in association with all those who wish to see the United Nations strong, to co-operate in a last and final effort to be worthy of our obligations.

37. I cannot believe that there are any of us who wish to perpetuate the deadlock. I cannot believe that there are any who wish the practical tasks of the United Nations to come to a stop. All we ask, and all we should ask, is that the principles of the Charter be maintained and that the potentialities of the United Nations for conciliation and co-operation should now be demonstrated to the world.

38. Mr. LEKIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation and in my own name, on your election to the Presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Your election is due recognition of the constructive policy of your country and of your personal merits. It is, at the same time, a reflection of the profound changes that have taken place in international relations and of the recognition of the growing role, contribution and importance of Africa and African countries in our Organization and in the world.

39. I also wish to welcome the new Members of our Organization—Malawi, Malta and Zambia—and to extend to them our best wishes. The attainment of independence by these countries and their admission to the United Nations is a great victory, not only for their peoples, but for all those who are struggling for freedom, equality and peace in the world.

40. The past year has been one of very intensive activity for those countries united by a common interest in safeguarding the peace and by the desire to establish among nations and States relationships of genuine equality, mutual respect and fruitful international co-operation. The nineteenth session of the General Assembly was preceded by a series of important international gatherings and conferences. All those gatherings were characterized by the common determination of their participants to make new efforts to secure peace in freedom and equality and to place international relations on new, more democratic foundations.

41. The most recent among those important conferences was the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries,^{2/} whose participants opted resolutely for peace and freedom. A "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" was adopted at this Conference. That programme fully supports the solving of international disputes by peaceful means. It also reflects the conviction of the participating countries that the preservation of world peace depends on the solution of current international problems. Among

^{2/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Cairo, 5-10 October 1964.

those problems, particular attention was paid to the need for the immediate eradication of colonialism and for a persistent struggle against neo-colonialism, for the acceleration of economic development through the implementation of the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, for disarmament and for the codification of the principles of active and peaceful coexistence.

42. There were fifty-seven participants at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, as compared with twenty-eight only three years earlier at Belgrade,^{3/} when the guidelines for further action by non-aligned countries were laid down. This is one demonstration of the fact that the process of political emancipation of States cannot be stopped, that this process is leading to truly independent action, and that States are no longer willing to acquiesce in policies which are contrary to their own vital interests.

43. The policy of dividing the world into opposing military-political groupings, which by its very nature fosters inequality, has become increasingly unacceptable. The world is becoming ever more united. The consolidation of peace and the securing of conditions for free and unimpeded development are the common interest. This common interest was expressed in the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and in the proceedings at the Conference itself.

44. The political liberation of former colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories has emphasized the absolute necessity of speeding their economic emancipation through changes in the existing structure of world production and trade. A new international division of labour must be evolved in accordance with the needs and interests of developing countries and the world economy as a whole. Without changing the international division of labour, which dates from the colonial era, no newly liberated country will be able to eliminate social backwardness and economic dependence. Economic emancipation is, in fact, the key to the elimination of all forms of political domination, old and new.

45. The historic importance of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development lies both in the fact that it reflects changed conditions in the political and economic structure of the world and in that it proposes methods for the solving of international economic problems. In certain cases it has already given important recommendations for action.

46. Although the Geneva Conference did not produce specific solutions for some of the fundamental problems it considered, it recommended a programme of action, the implementation of which has been generally recognized as the responsibility of the entire international community. The inconsistent practice of recognizing the need for action to solve world-wide problems of economic development, whilst at the same time delaying such action cannot long continue.

47. Viewed in that light, the recently adopted General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX), endorsing the recommendations of the Conference on the establishing of

United Nations machinery for a systematic solution of the problems of international trade and development, is of particular importance. The new machinery reflects a general political understanding. It is the political will of all the interested parties to co-operate in achieving mutually beneficial goals in the field of economic development. Its task is, first of all, to take concrete steps, within both international and national frameworks, to implement the recommendations of the Geneva Conference. The growing economic interdependence of all States, regardless of their social, economic or political differences, calls for a change in method; economic problems should be approached in terms of the interests of world economy as a whole. Such a change in approach would certainly result in a more direct application of the United Nations Charter and in the strengthening of our Organization.

48. The developing countries view the new machinery not only as a guarantee that the recommendations of the Geneva Conference will be implemented, but also as an instrument for further action within a comprehensive, long-term programme which would mobilize the world's tremendous economic potential and give new impetus to the progressive development of world economy. In that respect, the Joint Declaration of the seventy-seven developing countries, issued at the end of the Geneva Conference, represents their evaluation of the results of the first stage of their efforts. It is also, above all, an agreement on the need for further joint co-operation.

49. This latter fact was recently confirmed by the work of the group of seventy-seven developing countries to ensure the adoption by the General Assembly of the recommendation of the Conference concerning the establishment of new machinery. The concerted action of the representatives of such a large number of countries, not only in terms of their general stand, but also in the specific formulation of all major proposals for the solution of trade, financial and other economic problems, represents one of the most important elements contributing to the further elaboration and implementation of the recommendations of the Conference, and the suppression of those opposed to them. The solidarity of the group of seventy-seven developing countries has, in our opinion, opened a new chapter in the history of international co-operation, a chapter which is full of great new possibilities.

50. The efforts of all who value peace to end the "cold war", to establish among States—irrespective of their socio-political systems, size, power and level of development—relations of mutual respect and co-operation, and to solve controversial issues by negotiation, have borne fruit. There has been a relaxation of tension in the world, negotiations have begun, and favourable conditions have been created for the settlement of outstanding problems. The last two years have proved that, through negotiation, agreements can be reached even with regard to the most complex issues.

51. The world has greeted with a sigh of relief the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and the acceptance of negotiation as the method for the settlement of disputes. It is reasonable to demand that the use of negotiation to

^{3/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961.

reach agreement should be expanded to include other countries and to embrace problems outside the narrow confines of East-West relations. The future of those relations will depend greatly on the settlement of such problems. The big Powers bear especial, but in no way exclusive responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the world. They have an obligation to explore ways and means of stabilizing the peace. They can negotiate successfully, however, only if they enjoy the support of the international community. In order to enjoy such support, the great Powers must of course, when negotiating, bear in mind the interests of all countries, irrespective of their power and size.

52. As international tensions eased and greater stress was placed on policies of active and peaceful co-existence, resistance grew on the part of those forces that were not suited by such a development. There were periodic moments of dangerous tension and there was recourse to armed force in some parts of the world. In the interest of all mankind, such actions have been and must be opposed and condemned by all those who value peace.

53. My country's position regarding such a policy has been set forth unequivocally in statements concerning developments in Cyprus, South Viet-Nam and the Congo. Yugoslavia has condemned and will continue to condemn all actions that threaten peace, as well as any failure to respect the right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and equality.

54. Some colonial Powers are still stubbornly trying to arrest the process of liberation of colonial peoples. This is particularly true in the case of colonies to which special military-strategic, political and economic importance is attached. There is an obvious tendency to retain those colonies as strongholds from which it will be possible to obstruct the stabilization of neighbouring countries, to endanger their development and independence and to undertake various measures of pressure and interference, or even to resort to the use of arms.

55. It is a matter for serious concern that such actions by colonial Powers are supported by certain States with political and economic interests in the regions concerned. Those States have increasingly and with growing persistence attempted to subjugate economically the newly liberated and the developing countries, and in doing so have been limiting their political independence.

56. The decisions of the Cairo Conference emphasize the need to take immediate measures to accelerate the liquidation of colonialism and apartheid, and to support peoples engaged in the struggle for freedom and unhampered development. The patterns of uneven development and conflict which have evolved in recent years underscore the increasing need for a policy of active and peaceful coexistence and for its full application. This policy makes possible the preservation and stabilization of peace in the world, as well as the complete liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the elimination of every form of inequality, the acceleration of the development of developing countries and their full economic and political emancipation, disarmament, and the creation of conditions under which mankind will be freed from the fear of war and will, at last, be able to place its

creative genius at the service of peace and progress for all. The resistance offered to such a policy comes from different quarters and stems from different positions, but the purpose is always the same—namely, to impede the process of emancipation and freedom of action of newly liberated and developing countries.

57. Recent developments, as well as the increased number of countries endorsing the policy of active and peaceful coexistence, have confirmed that the struggle for peace and freedom on many fronts is a single process. In the atomic age, the strengthening of the independence and unimpeded development of developing countries can be achieved only through the preservation of peace, negotiation and international co-operation. That, we feel, needs to be particularly stressed, as there are some who contend that it is possible to apply the policy of coexistence to relations with some partners, while ensuring one's interests in other countries by applying a policy of pressure and resorting to the use of force. A policy of preferential treatment for one region and of pressure and interference in the internal affairs of States in other regions actually amounts to a distortion of peaceful coexistence, which cannot be twisted into meaning the maintenance of the status quo in regions where colonial relations and different forms of inequality are still in existence. Attempts to do so have, of course, nothing in common with the spirit of the policy of active and peaceful coexistence.

58. No less harmful are concepts which, taking as their departing point the premise that no one will dare start a nuclear war, advocate the aggravation of international relations as a means, allegedly, of speeding the progress of a given people toward genuine independence. We do not believe that the champions of this dangerous concept fail to take into account the fact that the cold war, in the course of which political influence was concentrated in the hands of big Powers, adversely affected the struggle of dependent peoples for liberation and, in general, impeded the growth of the influence of less developed and small States on world affairs.

59. We feel very strongly that it is necessary that the principle of peaceful coexistence become a norm governing relations among States. The stability of international relations would thereby be greatly enhanced. For that reason, it is necessary to codify those principles. The codification of the principles of peaceful coexistence would give increased legality in international relations to a ban on the threat and use of force, to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, to that of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, and to the right to self-determination and unobstructed political, social and economic development. Such codification would enhance the moral obligation of all States to co-operate in the implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in the safeguarding of world peace.

60. The key issue of our time, upon the solution of which the improvement of international relations and the solution of disputes in the world actually depend, is disarmament. The present method of dealing with disarmament has not produced satisfactory results in spite of the fact that an atmosphere conducive

to agreement has existed. If such a course continues, one cannot realistically expect satisfactory results in the future either. The present approach to the problem of disarmament has been accompanied, in the course of two decades, by an unrestrained arms race which has resulted in greater inequality in international relations. We have reached a point at which we are faced with the following alarming facts:

61. Mankind spends over \$40 per capita annually on war preparations, while the developing countries exert all their efforts to invest a little more than the present \$10 per capita annually in economic development. More than 80 million people serve in armies, or are connected in one way or another with the world's defence industries. The number of nuclear Powers has risen to five, with prospects of further increase. Nuclear tests are being continued. The variety of nuclear weapons and their destructive power have reached unheard-of proportions, while the methods for their delivery have been improved. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons in the possession of nuclear Powers are estimated at over 300,000 megatons. Superbombs of up to 100 megatons have been created. Intercontinental ballistic missiles to replace obsolete bombers and even obsolete missiles have been developed.

62. Responsible statesmen and scientists have repeatedly warned that it is high time to start disarming and that the alleged risks of disarmament are incomparably smaller than those involved in the arms race. They have also pointed out that further perfection of nuclear weapons can no longer serve any nation's defence purposes.

63. We deem it indispensable and in the general interest that disarmament negotiations should be conducted in a more realistic manner. New efforts should be exerted on a wider scale. In this respect, the responsibility of the nuclear Powers, although not exclusive, is undoubtedly the greatest. It is the duty and the right of all other Member States of the United Nations as well as of non-member States to make the most significant contribution possible to the solution of this problem. It is imperative, in our view, to convene a general conference on disarmament or a number of conferences on specific aspects and measures of disarmament, in which all countries would participate.

64. Nuclear weapons represent, for obvious reasons, the greatest danger to the existence of the human race. Consequently, the demand that this problem be examined as a matter of urgency and that steps be taken as soon as possible for the elimination of nuclear weapons is quite understandable.

65. Yugoslavia has actively supported agreement on initial and partial measures, considering that this would make it easier to create conditions for the solving of the problem of disarmament. We have always pointed out, however, that those measures, in order to be effective, should be radical in character and should have direct material and political results. In this respect, without underestimating the importance of agreements on measures having an explicitly political impact and contributing to the growth of confidence, we believe that such measures cannot be substituted for and passed off as measures of disarmament.

66. Partial measures which could be objectively realized under the present conditions would be in our opinion: first, a pledge that nuclear weapons shall not be used; second, the prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests, without any exception; third, the prevention of direct or indirect dissemination of all types of nuclear weapons, and an agreement to start denuclearizing the nuclear Powers themselves.

67. If the big Powers do not themselves denuclearize, no one can seriously believe that the dissemination of nuclear weapons can be prevented. Agreement on such measures could be realized in the immediate future. They would preserve the indispensable balance while gradually reducing the capacity to destroy. True security is to be sought only in decelerating and not in accelerating the arms race.

68. We shall have more to say about these measures and about disarmament in general at a later stage. The urgency of this question and other problems points even more to the necessity of overcoming the present abnormal situation in the work of our Organization.

69. The work of the General Assembly is blocked to an extent unknown even at the time of the most severe cold-war tensions among the big Powers. This situation constitutes a peculiar form of resistance to all that is new and progressive in international relations. It cannot be explained merely as failure to agree on how to liquidate the financial deficit. First of all, the existence of the deficit is not a new thing, nor has it seriously obstructed the normal functioning of our Organization in the past. This does not mean, of course, that we should not exert combined efforts to overcome these difficulties, since the financial situation of the United Nations demands an urgent solution, as the Secretary-General stated yesterday. Yugoslavia, for its part, has done what it can to contribute to a solution of the financial problems of our Organization. We supported the African-Asian plan, which was designed to overcome the present crisis. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Yugoslav National Assembly made a statement on 12 January in which this plan was endorsed as an acceptable formula for finding a solution. The Yugoslav delegation will continue to support all initiatives to this end.

70. It is nevertheless obvious that disagreement on finances is not the only or even the chief reason for the present impasse. In our opinion, a more grave crisis is involved here. New States have emerged and have been actively included in international life; the balance of power in the world has been altered; demands for the introduction of a greater degree of democracy in the world Organization in particular, and in international relations in general, have been put forward; the independence of States and their aspirations towards greater freedom of action have been strengthened; there is a clash between the just demands of the majority and the interests of a privileged minority. Such resistance to new developments manifests itself also in the fields of decolonization, disarmament, world trade and development, codification of the principles of peaceful coexistence—wherever the growing influence and action of the international Organization are felt. In other words, the crisis that the world Organization is experiencing at present

reflects the unwillingness and/or inability of some countries to relinquish obsolete conceptions and to approach international problems and their relations with other countries in a constructive manner, in conformity with the interests of peace and the requirements of contemporary developments.

71. This state of affairs does not at all justify those who are deliberately undermining the prestige and significance of the United Nations. Actually, such stands benefit those who are opposed to the strengthening of the United Nations and to its further development and democratization. We feel that the present abnormal situation in the United Nations is also due to the fact that the structure of some of the principal organs of our Organization does not reflect adequately the changes that have occurred with regard to its membership. This underlines even more the necessity of ratifying, as rapidly as possible, the amendments on enlarging the membership of the main organs of the United Nations.

72. The prevention of the normal work of the General Assembly harms the interests of all Member States. It threatens the future of our Organization and the further improvement of international relations. For this reason, it is the duty of each and every one of us, according to his possibilities, to contribute to a settlement of the present crisis and to the normalization of the work of the nineteenth session of the Assembly. It goes without saying that those who have a greater potential to contribute to a solution of this crisis, bear a proportionally larger responsibility for doing so.

73. The non-aligned and developing countries consider it their duty to continue efforts to this end, which will enable us to engage, jointly and effectively, in a search for the solution of those problems whose persistence has actually brought about the present crisis.

74. Under the complex and controversial conditions of post-war development, the United Nations has had the difficult task of finding solutions for numerous problems—some inherited and others newly-created. In spite of its weaknesses, which are to some extent the result of the imperfection of the Charter or of United Nations machinery, but to a greater extent the result of the attitude and policies adopted by individual Member States towards the world Organization—the United Nations has played a major role with regard to the safeguarding of peace, the elimination of colonialism and the realization of equality among peoples and States. Under the present circumstances, the United Nations, as President Tito said last December:

"... remains an irreplaceable instrument of rapprochement among nations, and the broadest framework for participation by all nations on a footing of equality in the solution of world problems; this despite all difficulties and shortcomings and the unfavourable conditions under which the Organization continues to operate. It is of prime importance to consolidate the United Nations further, and particularly to apply fully the principles of universality and more consistent democracy; it must also be adapted continually to new trends and needs". ^{4/}

^{4/} Address to the Eighth Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Belgrade, 7 December 1964.

75. Guided by the principles of active and peaceful co-existence, the Yugoslav Government shall spare no efforts in order to contribute, in co-operation with other countries, to the settlement of outstanding international problems, the establishment of new and more democratic relations among nations and the strengthening of our Organization and its role in international life.

76. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to perform a pleasant duty. The delegation of the Central African Republic would like to add its fraternal congratulations to those which have marked your unanimous election to the Presidency of our Assembly. By electing you to the highest office in our Organization, the General Assembly has recognized your undisputed and indisputable qualities as an accomplished African diplomat who has been a staunch defender of the lofty ideals of the United Nations. My delegation is pleased at the signal honour which has thus been conferred on a sister nation and, by association, on Africa, where we wish to see concord and unity grow stronger every day. Your qualities as an impartial arbitrator give the Central African delegation hope that the course of our work may be brought to a happy conclusion in the best interests of our Organization.

77. It is also a pleasure for me to pay a tribute to the ability and skill of the distinguished diplomat whom you have succeeded, Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, and also to our Secretary-General U Thant. We are happy to see him back among us. My delegation expresses its wishes for his complete recovery so that he may once again be able to exercise in the service of the Organization the foresight, courage and unswerving devotion which he has demonstrated in the past.

78. The founding Members of the United Nations wished it to be a "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of... common ends", namely: safeguarding the peace by fostering human brotherhood, by preserving equality and by continuing to promote international solidarity in all spheres. It is for this reason, Mr. President, that my delegation expresses the hope that, under your able guidance, the present session will direct its efforts towards the strengthening and maintenance of peace among peoples and among nations.

79. One cannot talk of peace without wanting to mention the vital problem of general and complete disarmament. My country very much regrets that once again at Geneva the Committee failed to make "any concrete substantive progress" [A/5801/Add.1, section II], which makes it evident that, in some respects, the resolutions on disarmament adopted at the eighteenth session have remained a dead letter. My country was deeply perturbed by this failure, and this feeling was vindicated by the recent explosion of the Chinese atom bomb. For this reason the Central African Republic joins with those countries which adopt the suggestion made by the Secretary-General and recommend that discussions should take place between the five nuclear Powers. My Government fully supports any solution which would bring about

general and complete disarmament under adequate international control.

80. It will be recalled that my country joined other nations in applauding the signing of the Moscow Treaty.^{5/} At the time, however, my country felt itself obliged to postpone becoming a party to the Treaty which, in its opinion, had certain defects. I am pleased to announce, however, that, as of 22 December 1964, the Central African Republic has become a party to the Moscow Treaty. We earnestly hope that in the near future the discontinuance of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests will be world-wide and total. Moreover, the denuclearization of Africa remains one of our main preoccupations.

81. We feel that the strengthening of peace requires more than disarmament. The subjugation and exploitation of one people by another, if not brought to an end on rational political terms, may well jeopardize peace. The problem of decolonization is of particular concern to my country. For this reason we welcomed the admission to the United Nations of the new sovereign and independent States of Malawi, Malta and Zambia.

82. It is because we desire decolonization to take place as rapidly as possible, in accordance with the right of peoples to self-determination, that we admire the political courage shown by the Labour Government in London. It has satisfied us by rejecting Southern Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence. We shall give all possible support to those of our brothers who are fighting for their independence. This is our firm resolve.

83. It is known that we categorically condemn the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa. We hope that the great Powers will do everything they can to persuade the South African Government to end its reactionary policy.

84. The war which is raging in South-East Asia does nothing to strengthen the peace. Hatred must be replaced by the brotherhood of man. We beg the opposing parties and their allies to listen to the voice of reason. Unless South Viet-Nam is neutralized, there will be no hope for this region of South-East Asia.

85. The tragedy in South Viet-Nam, the result of what I might call a "hot war", leads me to mention in passing such consequences of the "cold war" as the fate of Berlin and Korea. We cannot tolerate the existence of divided nations without feeling indignation; we cannot tolerate indefinitely the anguish suffered daily by separated families. My Government considers that the distressing situation of the two Berlins calls for an early solution through the application of the principle of self-determination. Korea must be reunified, and for this to be done, the competence and authority of the United Nations must not be challenged by any of the parties concerned.

86. In the Middle East, every passing year sees the conflict between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbours continue unabated, so much so that the agonizing problem of the Arab refugees remains unsolved, despite repeated United Nations declarations that it is determined to settle the matter by peaceful

means. My Government firmly believes in the possibility of direct discussions, free from political passions, between the parties concerned. Our position on this issue is well known.

87. My country's recognition of communist China has provoked anxiety in some Western circles. The Washington Post, a United States newspaper, states:

"... France is in competition with communist China in its own sphere."

This point was well taken by the newspaper Terre Africaine in an editorial entitled "Independence and Friendship":

"... This is going a bit far. A Central African proverb says: 'One should not throw away one's old game-bag just because one has made a new one.' We in the Central African Republic, apart from all material problems, consider that relations with the different countries of the world lead towards better understanding between nations and, consequently, towards peace, that greatest hope of all men."

88. This was later stressed by Adama Tamboux, President of the National Assembly, who stated, at the opening of the 1964 budgetary session:

"The extension of our diplomatic relations does not in any way affect our traditional friendships. We desire both old and new friendships to be an effective and continual exchange and to be sincerely reflected as much in everyday affairs as in feelings. For such friendships to blossom and grow, they must of course be accompanied by a scrupulous respect for the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs, and by careful precautions which must be observed by even the most well-intentioned and most earnest advisers, so that it is never forgotten that the decision is ours and ours alone.

"One must also say that friendship with all—and I stress this point—does not mean commitment to one side or the other. Everyone should understand that we value our freedom too highly and have too much common sense to commit ourselves to either bloc. It has been said that our role was to be the Switzerland of Central Africa. In any event, one thing is true; the absolute neutrality of Switzerland must be a permanent example to us."

89. Thus, the Central African Republic refuses to accept the idea of a world divided into rival blocs. A purely African concept, based on other theories which are commendable for their flexibility, a concept which can be adapted to the traditions and the needs of our country—that is the goal towards which the Central African Republic, which is an African State above all, directs all its efforts. The motives for our joining both the Organization of African Unity and the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa can therefore be readily understood: we wish to strengthen existing ties, to establish real friendship, and to find a reasonable solution to such differences as may arise between sister nations.

90. However, we do not wish to interfere in the domestic affairs of other States, nor do we admire those who think they are authorized to do so. But then, we may be asked, why did the Central African Republic take sides in the Congo affairs?

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

91. We should like to make it clear that we, for our part, have never questioned for a moment the legitimacy of the present Congolese Government. But, as a neighbouring State, we have continued to deplore the succession of tragic events in the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is for this reason that the Central African Government, in its desire to see peace return to that country, has on many occasions appealed to all the Congolese people to settle their problems themselves in peace and unity and without any vindictiveness or rancour.

92. There was an attempt to convince us that the foreign intervention at Stanleyville last November had a humanitarian purpose; nevertheless, we cannot but say that its murderous character shocked us. In fact, the action which was initially called humanitarian not only showed itself as discriminatory, but above all, it "destroyed human lives and caused considerable damage to property". Of course, we received the news with indignation, and we strongly condemned the action; this is shown by our participation in the request for the convening of the Security Council.

93. We placed great hopes in the assistance of the Organization of African Unity in settling this tragic crisis, an assistance spontaneously requested by the legally constituted authorities at Leopoldville. We wanted, in fact, an African solution to the problem, and only the Organization of African Unity appears to hold the key to such a solution. If only some patience had been exercised, that Organization would have been able to make some headway towards a peaceful settlement acceptable to the parties to the dispute. Unfortunately, the opposite has happened, and now the Democratic Republic of the Congo is on the way to being converted into a second Viet-Nam, if nothing is done to prevent it. This simile is not far-fetched. On the contrary, we are firmly convinced that it applies.

94. My Government still believes that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a matter of vital importance. We have noted and stressed the universal scope of the United Nations. In common with other States, we have recognized that communist China is a living reality. China has now shown to the world that it is henceforth one of the atomic Powers.

95. The vast extent of its territory and its enormous population compel us to reject the "two Chinas" theory and undeniably contributes to the arguments in favour of the admission of communist China to the United Nations. This Organization must end its hesitations and postponements and arrive at a positive decision. The ostrich-like policy it has pursued so far must be discarded. The legitimacy of the Peking Government is unquestionable.

96. The Central African Republic, as a developing country, is not indifferent to economic and development problems, and has accordingly followed with great interest the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

97. We have noted that some industrialized countries which favoured the elimination of all obstacles to international trade made little or no provision for the increased purchasing power of the peoples of the under-developed countries, whereas others showed

a preference for a system of limited trade, governed by bilateral agreements. Others, again, opposed the abolition or even the reduction of fiscal barriers, while yet another group spoke of "chaos" and "anarchy", forecasting a new tower of Babel and expressing the opinion that, after all, the new States—meaning us—were immature and inexperienced in economic matters.

98. We shall not lay too great a stress on such negative aspects of the Geneva Conference. On the contrary, we note with satisfaction that the developing countries have some staunch friends, and that it is certainly owing to their good will that the Geneva Conference achieved some positive results:

"... the adoption of international policies and measures for the economic development of the developing countries shall take into account the individual characteristics and different stages of development of the developing countries, special attention being paid to the less developed among them, as an effective means of ensuring sustained growth with equitable opportunity for each developing country." ^{6/}

99. For this reason, we were pleased to note: first, the explicit or implicit recognition of the necessity for far-reaching changes in international economic policy, as also in the direction which that policy should take; secondly, the decision to set up an international body in the framework of the United Nations for the purpose of applying that policy to trade and to the trade aspects of development; and thirdly, the spontaneous emergence and evolution, among seventy-seven developing countries, of the will for joint action, aimed at giving those countries a greater say in the development and application of international economic policy.

100. The Central African Republic gladly pays a tribute to the men of good will who, from near or from far, contributed to the achievement of these positive results, although we recognize, with the Secretary-General of the Conference, that this road has only just been opened, and it will be long and difficult. The Central African Republic is fully aware that the road will be long and difficult, and that is why Mr. David Dacko declared recently before our National Assembly:

"Our people is prepared to give of its best in the battle for development... I am turning now to our friends, because we need them. This international movement of solidarity for the benefit of the least favoured countries is a reality which the blind egoism of the "Cartierists" cannot do away with. Every State, every international organization naturally has the right to choose the country which it wishes to aid; but our policy of peace and friendship towards all peoples, our calm and our stability, which are the guarantee of a rational utilization of capital and technicians sent to our country, are trump cards which lead us to believe that all States which share our ideals will come to our aid. The interests of the Central African people dictate that we accept all assistance, because our needs are

^{6/} Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), Final Act, Para. 54, General Principle Fifteen.

too great to do otherwise. That is why we have adopted a policy of non-alignment . . . based on honest and fruitful co-operation with all those States which offer us their sincere friendship. We also wish to stress that this policy is founded on the principle —which we hold to be supreme—of non-interference in the domestic affairs [of States]."

101. It will be remembered that at its eighteenth session the General Assembly adopted amendments [see resolution 1991 (XVIII)] enlarging some of the principal organs of the United Nations, in accordance with the changes in the Organization's membership. The Central African Republic, for its part, is happy to state that it is among those countries which have ratified the amendments adopted at the eighteenth session.

102. The United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the Congo have entailed considerable expenditure, and the question of how these costs are to be defrayed has given rise to differences of opinion among Member States. Some States feel that the defaulters should be compelled to pay their share.

103. Since then, a political and constitutional crisis has developed within the Organization, despite the ruling by the International Court of Justice,^{7/} which had been consulted on this very point, and that crisis constitutes a serious threat to the very existence of the United Nations. My Government is not indifferent to this, being, as is well known, deeply attached to the principles of the Charter. It therefore considers, after mature reflection, that Article 19 cannot be applied against any State except for non-payment of its regular assessments for the normal functioning of the Organization, a term which excludes special operations such as those in the Congo, Cyprus, etc.

104. Indeed, my Government feels that the crisis we are experiencing appears in some measure to justify re-examination of the Charter in regard to the problem of peace-keeping operations, and more particularly in regard to the composition, control and financing of United Nations forces.

105. The acute crisis our Organization is facing has naturally concerned the delegation of the Central African Republic, and we need hardly say that our country greatly regrets the deadlock reached by the present session of the General Assembly in its work.

106. It is asserted, admittedly, that "the United Nations . . . is the sham communication in which [the great Powers] hide their purposes . . .". Again, it is asserted that "the United Nations is a managed organ

of the powers . . ." ^{8/} The German philosopher, Karl Jaspers, made these statements in his famous book, The Future of Mankind. The Central African Republic, however, refuses to lend its support to this point of view; on the contrary, it reaffirms its faith in the wisdom of which the great Powers are capable. Our faith is all the more profound since the year 1965 calls for more active international co-operation than ever before.

107. In this spirit, we should like to express, as we begin the year 1965, our fervent hope of seeing international co-operation at work in every field to make our world more habitable, not only for the weak and poor nations, but also for those that enjoy both wealth and power.

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Maurice Pate, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund

108. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: It is with profound sorrow that I have to announce the sudden death this morning of one of my most distinguished colleagues, Mr. Maurice Pate, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund. UNICEF is a name known, respected and, I may say, loved throughout the world. The credit for its unique achievement in promoting in all parts of the world the health of children and pregnant and nursing mothers belongs to Maurice Pate, who had served as its Director since the General Assembly established UNICEF in 1946. Maurice Pate was truly a great humanitarian.

109. I am sure I express the feelings of all representatives and of many simple, ordinary people throughout the world in voicing here our deep regret at his death, and in extending to Mrs. Pate, to the other members of his family, and to his colleagues in UNICEF our deepest sympathy and condolence.

110. May I suggest to you, Mr. President, that the Assembly rise for a minute of silence in tribute to this distinguished and tireless servant of international co-operation.

111. The PRESIDENT: As President of the General Assembly, I should like to add my own expression of condolence to you, Mr. Secretary-General, and to the members of the family of Mr. Pate, especially his wife, in connexion with their loss.

112. May I ask the General Assembly to stand for a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Maurice Pate.

The representatives stood in silence.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

^{7/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962: I.C.J. Reports, 1962, p. 151.

^{8/} Karl Jaspers, The Future of Mankind, The University of Chicago Press, 1961, p. 155.