

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

NINETEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1290th
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 4 December 1964
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SHIINA (Japan):^{1/} On behalf of the delegation of Japan, I wish to express to you, Mr. President, our heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We trust in your high wisdom and your wealth of experience in this world organ to lead this session to a successful conclusion. I wish especially to add that your election, with the whole-hearted support of the African-Asian countries, of which my country is one, not only gives us very deep satisfaction, but also makes us even more aware of our responsibility to co-operate with you for the smooth and harmonious work of this session.

2. Let me also express at this time our profound thanks and appreciation to our former President, Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, who, with his wide knowledge of international affairs and his deep sense of fairness, guided the work of the eighteenth session in a manner that has greatly enhanced the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

3. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to the ripe wisdom and clear sense of purpose of our Secretary-General, U Thant, who has so efficiently discharged the important duties of his high office for the past three years. I am confident that he will continue to contribute in large measure to the cause of the United Nations and to the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. May I take this occasion to extend my sincere congratulations and warm welcome to the delegations of Malawi, Malta and Zambia, and to express my confidence that they will all three contribute greatly to our work in the interests of world peace.

5. It is gratifying that a confrontation over the financial problem, which caused us great uneasiness and

concern prior to the opening of this session, has been avoided, thanks to the spirit of co-operation shown by the Members of this Organization. I hardly need to say that one of the foremost tasks of the United Nations is to undertake peace-keeping activities whenever the need arises, and it is the collective responsibility of all the Members to provide this Organization with the financial means to carry out this important function. The urgent duty now before us is to effect a basic and constructive settlement of this difficult problem.

6. My country will co-operate in every possible way in seeking a solution of this problem without prejudice to its basic position in the matter. I ask all the Member countries, and particularly the countries concerned, to exercise their highest wisdom and statesmanship and to exert all the efforts in their power to save the United Nations from the present crisis.

7. The time has come when we should embark with high hope and firm determination upon the consolidation of genuine peace in the world. Last year, we saw an agreement on the establishment of a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow. Then, in August 1963, came a historic event—the signing of a partial test ban treaty by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. While this treaty does not give us complete satisfaction because it does not provide for the prohibition of underground testing, the fact that more than 100 nations have adhered to it is indeed a source of encouragement.

8. Following the momentum gained by the conclusion of the test ban treaty, a resolution [1884 (XVIII)] was adopted unanimously at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly to ban nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from outer space, a resolution based mainly on an earlier agreement on this subject between the United States and the Soviet Union. And then, during the course of this past year, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have respectively taken measures to reduce the production of fissionable material for military purposes.

9. These steps can hardly be called disarmament measures in the true sense of the term, but they provide us with some encouragement and hope for further development towards general and complete disarmament. The fact that the leaders of the major Powers, in particular of the United States and the Soviet Union, have stressed on many recent occasions their determination to continue seeking the relaxation of tensions offers us additional reassurance and sustains our hopes for the future of mankind.

^{1/} Mr. Shiina spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

10. I do not mean to imply by any means that fundamental differences between East and West have been removed by these steps. Nevertheless, if earlier we were surrounded by utter darkness, it cannot be denied that we have recently begun to see the opening of opportunities for a more positive and constructive exercise of our energies for the building of a genuine peace. We welcome this trend and we see no good reason why the series of events which took place in October should greatly change it. In my view, we are now moving out of the transitional post-war period into a new era of constructive action.

11. In the background of this recent shift of the wind in the world situation we must recognize the formidably increased power of nuclear weapons. War, should it ever come, would inevitably involve the threat of nuclear war in which virtually all mankind would be doomed to total destruction. In the present world, there is only one choice between war and peace, and we know what our choice must be. And in this regard we cannot emphasize too strongly the heavy responsibility of all nuclear Powers for the fate of mankind now and in the future. If the series of measures which I mentioned a moment ago truly demonstrates such a sense of responsibility on the part of the major nuclear Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union—it is a gratifying development for all mankind.

12. It is our earnest hope that all the nuclear Powers, deeply conscious of their responsibility, will exert their best efforts for the total prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, including underground tests, and for any other partial or collateral measures leading towards general and complete disarmament. If such concrete measures of disarmament can be realized, however small and incomplete they may be, they would greatly promote the easing of tension among the major Powers. An essential and urgent prerequisite to the achievement of this goal is agreement among all these major Powers on the principles of effective international control. We strongly appeal to the countries concerned to tackle this problem with renewed courage and decision, and with an open mind unshackled by past circumstances.

13. At this point, I am obliged to express our very deep regret that the People's Republic of China, aiming to become a nuclear Power, detonated in October its first test of a nuclear device in the atmosphere. Japan is adamantly opposed to any nuclear weapons testing by any country, in the atmosphere, underground or under water because, inherent in any such testing, lies the possibility of escalation to nuclear war. As a neighbouring nation of China, we cannot but express our deep concern, together with the other peoples of the world, over the possible radio-active contamination of the atmosphere caused by the recent explosion on the Chinese mainland.

14. We particularly regret the fact that the People's Republic of China conducted its recent nuclear test in total indifference to and defiance of the existence of the partial nuclear test ban treaty. This act was, in fact, an open betrayal of the earnest hope and desire for peace expressed by the millions upon

millions of people of more than a hundred countries in the world through their enthusiastic support of the treaty.

15. The People's Republic of China truly desires a ban on the use of nuclear weapons and their total destruction, the course it should take is not to work for the build-up of its nuclear strength, but, first of all, to adhere to the partial test ban treaty, then to co-operate with other nuclear Powers to expand it into a comprehensive test ban treaty and facilitating the achievement of nuclear disarmament. We feel grave doubts about the intentions of the Communist Chinese leaders who launch a nuclear test explosion with a view to developing their nuclear arsenal and who in the same breath advocate the holding of a world summit conference on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

16. If mainland China is sincere in its proposal, then it should correctly assess and respond to the aspirations of the world's millions by suspending all further tests and immediately subscribing to the test ban treaty.

17. In the introduction to his annual report to the nineteenth session [A/5801/Add.1], our Secretary-General suggested the possibility of a dialogue among the five nuclear Powers. This suggestion should merit our very careful consideration, if such a dialogue could reasonably be expected to make a substantial contribution to the progress of negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, with particular reference to a comprehensive prohibition of all nuclear weapons testing.

18. I would now like to touch upon the remarkable progress of science and technology in recent times.

19. The successful eighteenth Olympiad recently held in Tokyo was clearly seen live on television by millions of people in their homes thousands of miles away. This was made possible by the extraordinary power of science, with particular thanks to Syncom III, a communications satellite launched over the Pacific Ocean at an extremely high altitude.

20. The great achievements of the space-ship Voskhod and Ranger VII have made it clear that a voyage to the moon has now emerged from the realm of imagination and mere science fiction.

21. We are experiencing, day by day, dramatic changes not only in the military and industrial fields, but also in our lives as individuals and societies. I hardly need to emphasize the close relationship between such scientific and technological progress and the recent changes in the international situation. Science and technology have advanced not only in their negative aspects, increasing the horrible power of nuclear energy to the point where it is capable of destroying all mankind and our whole civilization, but also positively, giving mankind the promise of untold possibilities for economic and social progress.

22. Perhaps we have now reached the point of no return in the destiny of mankind. Science and technology are moving forward; they cannot retreat. But it is up to human beings to decide how they shall be used.

23. Being thus fully cognizant of the power of science to sway the destiny of mankind, we must promote international co-operation in furtherance of the positive uses of science for the purpose of creating a true and lasting peace and, in particular, of advancing the economic and social welfare of the developing countries.

24. I believe that we must exert all possible efforts towards the realization of genuine peace in the world. Though this is far from an easy task, beset as it is with many obstacles and difficulties, we must not waste a single day. Changes there are in the international situation, but there still exist, in various parts of the world, insecurity, disputes of a local nature and, in some cases, even resort to the use of force. The evolution of the international situation is also bringing about hostile confrontations and an increase of tension in some regions of the world. We cannot for a moment dismiss the possibility that such regional disturbances might develop into serious threats to the world and to mankind.

25. The task before us, then, is, in the first place, to face up to the international situation confronting us and endeavour further to attain the goal of disarmament and the total prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, and, in accordance with the aims and spirit of the United Nations, to strive to establish a truly effective system of ensuring peace and security in the world. At the same time, we must build a peace that is a concrete reality rich in substance, and not a merely abstract notion. For that purpose, we must further exert our efforts not only for the achievement of economic progress, including the satisfactory solution of what is called the North-South problem, but also for the attainment of full respect for human rights, the elimination of racial discrimination and the achievement of the early independence of the remaining colonial and other Non-Self-Governing Territories.

26. It goes without saying that, in order to tackle such a diversity of extensive and interdependent problems, we must ever more positively promote co-operation among nations, placing ourselves in the great stream of world history and keeping the future in broad perspective before our eyes. In these days, when there is a strong trend toward greater self-assertion, freedom and independence, deriving in part from the easing of East-West tensions, there is need to emphasize that all the nations of the world should promote mutual co-operation without foundering in narrow nationalism or chauvinism, and should enhance respect for each other's freedom and independence, even though they have different political ideologies and different social systems or are at different stages of economic development.

27. The task before us cannot be accomplished in a day. And in this difficult and unavoidable task it is the United Nations which should play the leading role. The time is at hand when this world Organization must face the challenge and the opportunity to demonstrate its true worth and potential. It is above all essential for all the States Members of the United Nations to make a first resolute step, with renewed determination, without losing sight of the direction in which the world must now advance. We have arrived

at a great historic moment, when all the Members of this Organization must be ready to assume greater responsibilities and obligations.

28. The questions we are now facing are truly manifold and complex. The most urgent and crucial question is how to strengthen the United Nations in its peace-keeping role. What is commonly called the North-South problem is also a matter of immediate concern at the present time. I should now like to state the views of my delegation on those questions.

29. How best to strengthen the peace-keeping function of the United Nations has been a perennial problem of urgent importance to us. The time has now come when we must seriously and earnestly review this problem. In that connexion, the proposal put forward by the Soviet Union [A/5721] to the effect that United Nations forces should be established on a permanent basis in accordance with Article 43 of the Charter, should be carefully noted. That proposal poses a grave problem, because it places in the Security Council exclusive competence to decide all questions relating not only to the establishment, dispatch and employment but also to the financing of United Nations forces. Such an idea is far from realistic unless real co-operation is maintained among the permanent members of the Security Council, which are vested with the veto. More specifically, it poses a problem of financing the forces under relevant Charter provisions, and raises other controversial questions by applying the so-called "troika" system to the command of United Nations forces and excluding the five veto-holding Members from participating in the forces.

30. The peace-keeping function of the United Nations should be further strengthened within the framework of a realistic system and organization, in consonance with the objectives and spirit of the Charter. Hence, even pending the establishment of United Nations forces under Article 43, the United Nations, as an organization with responsibilities for world peace, should be equipped with peace-keeping machinery enabling it to deal effectively with all the situations which confront it in that capacity. Therefore, due regard being paid to the principle of the primary responsibility of the Security Council, the established practice should be maintained—that is, the General Assembly should be able to act on behalf of the Security Council if the latter is unable to perform its peace-keeping function because of the exercise of the veto.

31. From a similar point of view, the moves made by Canada, the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands to establish stand-by forces for the United Nations should be regarded as constructive and very timely in present circumstances. We pay a high tribute to those countries for their positive efforts and devotion to the cause of world peace.

32. It is gratifying to note that discussions on the establishment of United Nations forces on a permanent basis are at last being taken up seriously, spurred on by such moves as the Soviet proposal for the establishment of United Nations forces based on Article 43 and the provisions of stand-by forces for the United Nations by the countries I have just mentioned. I hope that United Nations forces on a permanent basis

will come into being as soon as possible, and that the forces thus established will evolve into the "United Nations peace force" envisaged in the process leading to complete disarmament. To that end, all Member States, including my own, should further extend active and positive co-operation in the exploration and study of the various interdependent aspects of this problem.

33. In connexion with the peace-keeping function, it is a matter of great regret that not a few local disputes or tensions exist at present—in Cyprus, the Congo and various parts of Asia. My country, by reason of its geography, feels a particularly great sense of anxiety and apprehension about certain situations in Asia—situations in which tension, instability and sometimes even the use of force prevail. Those situations are without question detrimental to the peace not only of that area but of the world at large.

34. We must all reflect upon the plight of Asia, stagnating in the midst of confusion and anxiety, at a time when every country should join together with others, in concert and co-operation, and exert its utmost effort towards the realization of genuine peace in the world. I earnestly hope that all the countries concerned, in a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation, will endeavour at the earliest possible time to find a peaceful solution of the problems with which they are now confronted. Our country wishes to make as large a contribution as possible to achieving that purpose.

35. There is no need to dwell upon the fact that the question of China occupies a very important place in the situation now prevailing in Asia. It is for that reason that Japan, which, geographically, historically and culturally, has very close ties with China, has hitherto asserted that this question requires very careful deliberation, based on a realistic and balanced appraisal of all the factors involved. In considering at the present session the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, we deem it necessary to maintain a prudent attitude, recalling the resolution adopted at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, in 1961 [1668 (XVI)], that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

36. I wish to stress once again that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means. The pacific settlement of disputes is the primary objective of the Charter for the purpose of maintaining peace, and it is also the highest responsibility of each and every Member State. Yet in actuality, though in different degrees, the threat or use of force is often exercised in Asia and in various other parts of the world.

37. Of course, the reasons leading to the threat or use of force are manifold, and they are not always simple. However, we should stand firmly on the position that any threat or use of force, and any aggression, regardless of origin, should be denounced, except in a clearly unavoidable case of self-defence, and we should concentrate our efforts on the pacific settlement of disputes. We believe that that is the only way to conform to the purposes and principles of the Charter. In this regard, let me emphasize that it is not only the direct use of force that must be

denounced; any act of indirect aggression must be as vigorously denounced.

38. The denunciation of the use of force would, however, become meaningless unless it facilitated in fact the pacific settlement of disputes. Therefore we must direct our endeavours to removing the causes of disputes. In other words, we should co-operate more actively, in a constructive attitude and in a spirit of mutual understanding, to settle problems which might lead to or are at the sources of disputes, before they actually arise. In this connexion, I can only express the strong hope that a fair and amicable settlement of the question of the northern territories of Japan will be found as soon as possible. Most important of all, every Member country must demonstrate its zeal for the realization of genuine peace and show it by actual deeds, for this is the true measure of respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter.

39. In order to make peace truly meaningful and lasting, we must work for progress and prosperity in the world economy as a whole. The so-called North-South problem, or the problem of organizing co-operation between the developed and the developing countries, is among our most urgent tasks in our effort to build a new era of peace. In this connexion, we attach great significance to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964 on a scale unparalleled in the annals of international conferences.

40. The great achievement of that Conference was that it not only brought about a wide recognition of the importance of the North-South problem, but also helped us identify the issues involved and obtain a number of suggestions concerning the direction in which international measures should be sought. As a nation which for nearly a century has trodden the thorny path of economic development, Japan cannot but have deep and sympathetic regard for the common aspirations and demands expressed by the developing countries at the Conference. Japan is always ready to listen carefully to these countries, and will take their views fully into account in deciding upon the measures to be adopted in assisting them.

41. Another important achievement of the Conference is, of course, the establishment of an institution to deal with the North-South problem on a continuing basis. We earnestly hope that the present Assembly will soon approve the Conference recommendation on the establishment of new continuing machinery of the United Nations on trade and development^{2/} and enable the various organs centred around the Trade and Development Board to start functioning within the framework of our Organization. Fully aware of the important role to be played by the new machinery as a centre of international activities in the field of trade and development, Japan intends to participate constructively in its work when it commences.

42. Here my delegation would like to emphasize the strong desirability that the new institution should become a meeting place where all countries, developed

^{2/} The recommendation appears in annex A.V.1 of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (see E/CONF.46/139).

or developing, may work together in search of solutions to our common problems in a spirit of co-operation. It should not provide a mere debating forum. For the new institution to be constructive and effective, it is essential that both the developed and the developing countries establish a practice of seeking with mutual trust, solutions which would command the widest possible support. If such a practice gradually evolves out of the institution, its recommendations and resolutions will have more practical meaning and greater effectiveness.

43. Japan will spare no effort within its power to co-operate with the developing countries in increasing and diversifying their exports. The fact cannot be ignored, however, that trade expansion requires the efforts of the exporting as well as of the importing countries, and mutual understanding of the difficulties involved on either side.

44. The strengthening of aid efforts is just as important an issue of the new era as trade expansion. In response to the serious efforts of the developing countries to advance their economic growth, the developed countries, which unanimously supported an early increase in the volume of aid to the level of 1 per cent of their respective national incomes, must expand and improve their economic and technical co-operation programmes. Japan, for its part, is determined to continue to intensify its aid efforts with a view to assisting the developing countries further in their own development efforts.

45. During the past two decades, the United Nations has played a truly great role in the maintenance of world peace and the economic and social advancement that underlies it. That fact amply testifies that the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter have a lasting and constant value that cannot be washed away by the currents of time. However, embarked as we are on our constructive work in pursuit of genuine peace, we must also admit that an equally important task devolving upon us is to undertake an over-all review of the Charter, based on past experience and present reality, and with the object of further strengthening the United Nations in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The adoption at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of a resolution [1991 (XVIII)] for the expansion of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council proved that amendments to the Charter could, even if only partially, become a reality.

46. With the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations coming next year, now is the time of all times to consider seriously an over-all review of the Charter. To this end, everything must be done to give effect to the Charter amendments for the expansion of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. For our part, it is our intention to take the necessary steps for the early ratification of these amendments. I strongly hope that the same will be done promptly by as many countries as possible, especially by the permanent members of the Security Council, whose ratification is indispensable to make the amendments effective.

47. The international situation is now changing and the world is on the point of moving forward in search

of genuine peace. Our task is to seize this opportunity forthrightly and to embark on the creation of a new order based on law and justice, and on that foundation to realize a truly durable world peace. Naturally, the road ahead of us is not necessarily an easy one. We must not forget that if we take the wrong turn, we may run the risk of inviting serious confusion and disorder. We have reached a point where we can no longer evade our responsibility. All the nations of the world, accepting as they must the sublime purposes of the United Nations as their own, should exert their highest efforts to fulfil this grave responsibility and succeed in this undertaking by all possible means.

48. Mr. President, I hope and trust that this Assembly will be restored to normalcy without delay and that, under your leadership, it will accomplish fruitful results and make a further valuable contribution to the realization of genuine peace in the world. I assure you, Mr. President, that the Japanese delegation will spare no effort in co-operating to this end.

49. Mr. DUALEH (Somalia): Mr. President, I must begin by associating my delegation with the congratulations which other distinguished speakers have extended to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. The honour of your election is one in which all African States will share and take pride. Yet the primary honour must go to your country and to yourself, for this is a happy choice which is based upon your reputation for wisdom, good judgement and diplomatic skill.

50. Equally, I would wish my delegation to be associated with those other delegations which have expressed their appreciation for the work of your predecessor, Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela, a man who has left upon the traditions of this high office his own stamp of dedicated and impartial service to the cause of the United Nations.

51. This present session has before it a number of problems which will tax the resources of Members and, not the least, their resources of understanding and goodwill. There are opportunities for the exploitation of purely national interests, and there are opportunities for setting aside purely national interests in an attempt to promote our common interests in furthering the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that Members will seize the latter opportunities, and not the former.

52. Happily, the United Nations becomes each year a more truly universal Organization, and to the new Members my delegation offers its greetings and a most welcoming hand. Yet there remains, to mar our progress towards universality, that travesty of good sense, the failure to represent the countless millions of Chinese people by the government of their own choice. Is this really consonant with the purposes and principles of the Charter, or is it not another manifestation of the pursuit of national interests by some States in a manner inconsistent with those purposes and principles? Perhaps the most telling criticism of this policy of non-admission is not, however, its legality or even morality, but its

futility; it is a self-stultifying policy, devoid of any link with the reality of the situation.

53. Perhaps this air of unreality is nowhere more apparent than in the holding of disarmament talks without China being represented. The progress of the Geneva disarmament talks is a matter of great concern to my country, as it must be to all Member States. No one seriously believes that total agreement is going to be achieved overnight, and it is for this reason that my Government would wish to see greater emphasis upon what might be termed the collateral or preliminary steps which may lead to general and complete disarmament.

54. Hence, we welcome the test ban treaty; but we would equally welcome limited agreements between the great Powers to extend this treaty to all tests, to stop the proliferation of the atomic weapon, to declare certain zones "denuclearized", to outlaw the use of the atomic weapon and to establish means for protecting States against surprise attacks. These measures will not constitute disarmament, but they will constitute the kind of political climate without which no general and complete disarmament can ever be achieved. In Cairo, this last October, the Conference of Non-Aligned States^{3/} adopted a statement on disarmament and related questions which I trust will be given very serious consideration by the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, for it outlines, in practical terms, the measures which might be attempted.

55. There are other short-term measures which could effectively improve the political climate and perhaps pave the way for eventual progress towards disarmament.

56. One such measure is to increase the effectiveness of United Nations machinery for keeping the peace. I do not wish for one moment to deny the efforts that have been made in the past, by the United Nations organs, by Member States, by the Secretaries-General of the Organization and the Secretariat, and by individuals from many countries, some of whom have even laid down their lives. But our machinery is really no machinery; it is piecemeal and haphazard, and few States would dream of resting their own security on so flimsy a basis. Why then must the peace of the world rest on such a basis?

57. I do not underestimate the difficulties involved in such a project—and amongst these I cannot fail to mention the difficulties of financing—but has not the time now come for the members of the Security Council to take a new look at the task they abandoned nearly twenty years ago? The task is laid down for them in the Charter, and it calls for initiative from the Security Council in negotiating the agreements provided for in Article 45 of the Charter.

58. Another such measure is the outlawry of force or the threat of force in the relations between States, except as a lawful measure of self-defence. Over the years, and increasingly of late, there have been examples of military intervention, upon one pretext or another, against the territory of other States. Of

course, there are always justifications, for man in his ingenuity is seldom without an explanation. There may be treaty rights, there may be civil unrest, threats from abroad, calamities threatening nationals abroad, invitations to assist, and so forth. Indeed, these justifications have become so frequent that foreign bases upon the soil of other nations have become almost a commonplace, as if to signify the permanence of this state of affairs. The States of the world have linked arms, not in friendship towards all States, but in military alliances which constitute a threat against their neighbours. The culmination of this trend is not difficult to see: it is the virtual abandonment of the restrictions on the use of force which form a cardinal part of the entire Charter scheme.

59. To those who contend that the Charter scheme has collapsed, and therefore justifies a kind of "free-for-all", I would reply that our very presence here denies that there has been any such collapse. There has been failure to implement it in very large part, but then the remedy is plain. Let us proceed to implement, and in so doing restate in the clearest possible terms that resort to force is not a permissible means of solving international disputes or of furthering national policies, and that foreign bases represent a poor and improper substitute for an effective machinery for collective security within the United Nations itself.

60. Unless and until we can do this, our aims of disarmament will seem appropriate to some other world. We shall, in short, be destined to endure indefinite tension and strain, in which disarmament appears as but a utopian fantasy, while the threat of war itself is ever present. Nations will live in fear and will waste their slender resources on material for man's destruction rather than his salvation.

61. This is not simply a problem for the so-called great Powers, but for all Powers. We have in a sense become hypnotized by the East-West rift, and all too rarely see the dangers which lie in the rivalries and unresolved disputes between smaller Powers. There are very few regions of the world free from the tensions which arise from these situations. In the Horn of Africa, for example, there has been considerable tension for several years, and recently it erupted into armed conflict. In the Congo, too, we have witnessed in recent weeks developments of a most grave and alarming nature. Contrary to accepted international practice, and in defiance of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the appeals of African States, we have had the distressing experience of witnessing a flagrant and armed intervention in the domestic affairs of the Congolese people.

62. The crisis precipitated by these unfortunate developments is ominous and the repercussions may well be far-reaching. In situations which are politically intricate, it is important that we should encourage the people concerned to settle their own problems, and if outside assistance is needed, it should be provided by an organization which is impartial and whose motives are above question.

63. It is for these reasons that the Somali Government has advocated from the beginning that the Congo

^{3/} Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

problem be left to the Congolese people to solve, and because of the special political circumstances prevailing in the country, that outside assistance be given through the medium of the Organization of African Unity. In this way we would not only confine the problem to the African continent through an organization of which the Congo is a member State, but we would also prevent the situation from becoming another arena in the cold war struggle.

64. The Somali Government is firmly convinced that the Congo situation can still be saved if all nations at this stage give their unqualified support to the efforts and recommendations of the Organization of African Unity. All States should first respond to the appeal of the organization to refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of the Congo. By doing so they would create conditions which would assist the organization in bringing about peace and national reconciliation in the Congo and end the senseless slaughter which is taking place.

65. My Government has already proposed that the Congo question be again discussed by an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity. It is our hope that at this special session there will emerge a solution which will contribute effectively to the early restoration of peace, and to the establishment of the conditions necessary for the orderly government and development of the Congo in accordance with the express wishes of the people. All that we ask now is for nations to refrain from all forms of interference in the domestic affairs of the Congo, and not to indulge in activities likely to impair or frustrate the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in its quest for a speedy and peaceful solution.

66. I have found it important to give this Assembly concrete examples of the dangerous situations which exist both in the Horn of Africa and in the Congo simply to illustrate the reality of these tensions, which exist not only in Africa but throughout the world.

67. It is the wish of the Somali Government that, during this present session, some constructive thinking should take place on how to eliminate these tensions. I would wish to emphasize the word "constructive" because, frankly, we are apprehensive that these substantial and very real problems will be met with bland resolutions which are entirely negative. I can pledge my Government's fullest support of any genuine attempt to explore ways and means of reducing tension and solving by peaceful means disputes which are likely to lead to tension. We cannot, however, support any approach which simply pretends that the problem does not exist.

68. These tensions occur in different parts of the world; they assume different forms, and may have different causes. Yet when these different causes are examined, it becomes clear that they have one substantial common element: they all stem from policies which spring from a concept of State interest running counter to the interests of the people. Yet, in this enlightened age, the interests of the State tend to be regarded as synonymous with the interests of the people. Unhappily, this is often not the case, and that is so often the real explanation of the existence of tension.

69. If one looks at many of the problem areas of the world, this clash between the interests of States and the interests of the people is striking.

70. In South Africa and South West Africa, the policy of apartheid is, in essence, a policy of oppression of the majority of the people in order to sustain a concept of State interest which appeals to the white minority. The same is largely true of the recent developments in Southern Rhodesia, where the denial of equality to all men produces an attempt at democracy which is a flagrant denial of all that democracy means.

71. In other parts of Africa, too, the vestiges of colonialism remain in a vain effort to preserve for the alien few the benefits which are the natural right of the indigenous people: in the Portuguese colonies there exists the most blatant denial of the rights of the people, a denial persisted in by Portugal in utter defiance of the wishes of this Assembly, representing the conscience of the world. So, too, in French Somaliland, the French Government has carefully nurtured and fostered a régime which presents the semblance of a régime acceptable by the people. It is time this sham was exposed, and I sincerely hope that this Assembly, through its own organs and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, will do so. My Government cannot rest content until the peoples of this territory are given their freedom, their right to choose their own political destiny.

72. Elsewhere in the world the true interests of the people are frustrated and destroyed by alien domination. In Aden and the British protectorates, the United Kingdom still has a tenuous hold upon areas which it deems to be necessary to its own safety, on strategic or economic grounds; but of the interests of the peoples of those areas nothing is said, and, as these are ignored, so the tension mounts. Many thousands of Somalis live in Aden, and there exist historic and traditional links between the peoples of the South Arabian Peninsula and the Somali Republic which stretch over the centuries and join us in friendship. Therefore, my country has a special concern in seeing that the peoples of those territories are allowed to shape their own political future, free from all outside interference.

73. In Africa, Europe and Asia, nations are divided and thus provide a constant source of tension and a continuing threat to world peace. In whose interests are they divided? Certainly not in the interests of the peoples of those areas. Indeed, if outside Powers were to cease their intervention in the affairs of the peoples of these areas, my Government is confident that these situations would become stabilized and the peoples would work out their own solution, as they have the right to do.

74. I am, in short, appealing for the application of the right of self-determination of all peoples not as just another political slogan, or even a pious statement of human rights, but as a legal principle which can contribute to the elimination of tension in the world. I believe that this principle, if applied genuinely as a principle of positive action by all Member States, would effectively contribute to the maintenance of international peace.

75. There is a commonly held view that, whilst the right of self-determination is a legitimate weapon for ousting the colonialist Powers from territories held by them, that right has no validity thereafter. I need scarcely say that such a view can only give enormous satisfaction to the colonialist Powers, for if ever they needed proof of the double standards of morality which they complain of, then they surely have it in this insupportable restriction on the right of self-determination. An alien rule is an alien rule and the people subjected to that rule care not in the least what the colour of their oppressors are, or from what continent they originated.

76. Then there is the equally prevalent view that self-determination, liberally construed, will work chaos in the new nation States of Africa, Asia and elsewhere and that, therefore, the territorial status quo, however nonsensical and unjust, must be left untouched. As to this, let me say the following.

77. First, we have accepted no other part of the colonialist legacy without question: in the economic, cultural and political fields we have striven for freedom in its fullest sense. There have been problems, many problems, but we have never shirked the task of finding a rational, indigenous solution. To pretend that the status quo must endure for ever, knowing that it is palpably wrong and unjust, is to fly in the face of history and ask the impossible. In many cases the status quo is itself devoid of any legal foundation. What, therefore, is there to respect? The only real solution must lie in a genuine attempt to reach a settlement acceptable to the peoples concerned, and such a settlement must be brought about by peaceful means and not by force.

78. Second, my Government sees the application of the right of self-determination as a means of ending strife and tension, not as a means of creating it. We do not advocate the fragmentation of existing States, creating units which have neither political nor economic viability, and I may add that no claims my Government has ever made on behalf of Somali peoples or any other peoples would have this effect. We are advocating a rational, practical principle, not anarchy. Nor do we maintain the impossibility of a free, multiracial State and society; indeed, in many parts of the world we should hope to see such societies flourish as a tribute to the spirit of co-operation.

79. But that happy condition can exist only when all the elements within the State, despite differences in their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious origins, are willing and co-operating parts of one and the same State and society. When they are not, when their participation has to be exacted by force, then the society is no longer free and the brave experiment—which in many cases the colonialists have tried—becomes enslavement for those peoples who wish to be free. The alternatives then become either enslavement of a people in the interests of some State whose control is alien to them or, alternatively, freedom under their own rule or in association with another State according to the political and economic realities of the situation.

80. Which of these two alternatives should be chosen? I have no doubt that the choice of this Organization

must be the latter, that of freedom for the people. I say this not simply because their right of self-determination is enshrined in the Charter but also because, in the long run, the choice of the former alternative, that of the subjugation of a people in the interests of an alien State, only can lead to tension and strife.

81. Therefore, I would hope to see within the United Nations, and in particular within the organs, such as the Committee of Twenty-Four, which are especially concerned with the elimination of oppression in the form of alien rule, a new and strengthened emphasis upon the right of self-determination. Not self-determination as construed by States which have particular national policies to pursue in defiance of the wishes of the people, but self-determination as construed by the people.

82. I have, as yet, said nothing of the economic and social policies which the United Nations is pursuing. The essential purpose behind the many and impressive programmes of technical assistance should always be the betterment, the economic and material improvement, of mankind. It should not be the pursuit, by way of favour or blandishment, of particular national policies. Assistance must be given to eradicate the discrepancies which circumstance, history and sometimes geography, have created between our standards of living. It should be given out of humanity, not out of self-interest. My own country benefits greatly from such assistance, and our friends and the United Nations know how grateful we are. But, as recipients of this assistance, we know the difficulties of co-ordinating and utilizing it to the greatest possible advantage. It is for this reason that the Somali Republic will support any measures, within and outside the Organization, to rationalize and improve any programmes for technical assistance.

83. There remains, finally, the problem which is particularly crucial to a smaller country with a limited range of experts, and that is to ensure that whatever benefits we might gain from increased productivity, with the aid of technical assistance, should not be taken from us by a swing in the balance of trade which is for ever against us. We need some guarantee of markets for our products, and we need some guarantee of fair prices. It is in this area that the United Nations can make an enormous contribution to the well-being of the peoples of the smaller nations.

84. Mr. LOZES (Dahomey) (translated from French): It is a particular pleasure for me, Mr. President, to perform in my turn the traditional duty of congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly's nineteenth session. It is particularly agreeable to me, first because you are the representative of a friendly sister nation with which Dahomey maintains close and cordial relations, and secondly because you yourself are a brilliant representative of the new Africa whose work and activities are appreciated both inside and outside our continent. I have no doubt that your level-headedness, moderation, wisdom and gift for compromise, in addition to your passion for truth and justice, will be most helpful to this Assembly.

85. On behalf of the delegation of Dahomey, I would express the hope that this nineteenth session will,

under your guidance, be a milestone on the road to peace and friendship among nations in justice and progress.

86. Allow me at this point to hail the entry into the United Nations of one Mediterranean State and two sister nations of Africa—Malta, Malawi and Zambia. It is in this way that the Organization every year gains in strength and authority, and thereby in effectiveness in its work for understanding and universal brotherhood.

87. Peace is the greatest blessing of mankind. We must establish, maintain and defend it. That is the purpose for which we have assembled in this hall. It is towards the achievement of this aim that the Dahomean delegation wishes to make its modest contribution, because we believe that peace among all peoples should be the concern of all nations, great or small, rich or poor.

88. During the last few months the international community has been shaken, and it continues to be shaken, by crises and flash-points of tension in Viet-Nam, Laos, Cyprus, Cuba, the Congo and other places on our planet.

89. These tensions, which some optimistic souls call "limited conflicts", could well erupt into a murderous general conflagration when we reflect on the news, reported some time ago in the Press, that one great Power had just developed a weapon capable of destroying all life on earth. Fortunately, that alarming news turned out to be merely a mistake in translation. But we all know now that these "limited conflicts" can quickly lead to an apocalyptic confrontation between the strong of this world. That is why we think we must analyse the causes of these conflicts objectively, in order to try to remedy them.

90. In the view of the Dahomean delegation, most of these tensions are due to the intolerant attitude of the great Powers towards other, weaker States. Those Powers find it difficult to accept the fact that systems different from their own, or even the opposite of their own, can exist in an area which they regard as their sphere of influence.

91. This shows disregard for the principles on which our Organization is based, and in particular for the idea of coexistence among nations having different political, economic or social systems. But above all it is a violation of the principle of the equality of all States, large or small. It is symptomatic of a desire to interfere in the domestic affairs of peoples, as if they were under trusteeship or were not mature enough to decide what their own interests were. It shows contempt for the right of peoples to self-determination. Lastly, it reveals an unacknowledged desire for hegemony on the part of certain States.

92. In these circumstances it seems clear that the possession and the dissemination of atomic weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear or thermo-nuclear, constitute a means of intimidation and, above all, a grave threat to the survival of the human race. It would suffice if one of the antagonists in the conflicts that erupt in the world, apparently for little reason, abandoned self-control for the passing-bell

to be tolled for the human race and for the accumulated achievements of hundreds of generations.

93. Since the signature of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests,^{4/} which breathed new hope into the world, matters have remained at a standstill. What explanation can there be for the fact that, since the Moscow Treaty, nothing more substantial has been offered to a world hungering for peace?

94. There has been one new element since last October. The People's Republic of China has exploded its first atomic bomb. While we can be proud that the atom and modern technology have been mastered by one of the less developed countries, this pride is nevertheless tinged with sorrow, because we have never concealed our hostility to the atomic bomb and to nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. We have always and everywhere stated that we are opposed to the dissemination of atomic weapons because it increases the danger of war and because radio-active fall-out poisons the atmosphere and damages human health.

95. The Republic of Dahomey has always, consistently, and on many occasions, taken a stand in favour of the denuclearization of Africa and of the other continents. The bomb, an arm of military dissuasion for some and of political persuasion for others, is for us an object of horror and a source of terror.

96. But there is perhaps a ray of hope and a note of comfort in the fact that, in announcing to the world the explosion of its atomic bomb, the Government of the People's Republic of China formally renounced the use of that force which it had just mastered. China has undertaken never to be the first to use the atomic bomb against anyone whomsoever. On the contrary, it has undertaken to continue its efforts to achieve the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons.

97. The Government of Dahomey supports the Chinese proposal for the immediate study of an international agreement whereby the nuclear Powers would undertake not to use such arms against the non-nuclear countries, against denuclearized zones, or against each other.

98. The Republic of Dahomey also thinks that the suggestion for the convening of a summit conference of all countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons is deserving of consideration. If the United Nations took the initiative in convening such a conference, the result would be a new step forward in the direction of peace through collective security.

99. The threat of an apocalyptic end which is overhanging mankind must be ended once and for all. But denuclearization alone will not solve the problem of disarmament, which we desire should be general and complete.

100. We are told, of course, that the manufacturers and sellers of arms oppose this plan and exert pressure in certain countries for continuation of the race to death. They fear for their own selfish interests,

^{4/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

even though the financial and human capital that they have at their command could be invested in new and profitable industrial activities, as is shown by the report of the group of experts instructed to study this problem. They could also become the artisans of science in the service of peace and human progress.

101. This enormous amount of wealth and experience to which I have just alluded could be better utilized in order to banish from half of our planet the fearful spectre of hunger, poverty and disease. Whole continents are living at a bare subsistence level. Millions of men are caught in the grip of disease and ignorance. Would it not be constructive to help them free themselves from these evils, so that they could play their part in the inauguration of the reign of peace and progress?

102. The delegation of Dahomey feels it to be imperative that in the first place all Member States should be more scrupulous in fulfilling their obligation to settle any differences between them by peaceful means. But this is not enough. The international community must, this very year, succeed in prohibiting all nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon tests of any kind, as well as the manufacture of these weapons of mass destruction.

103. So far as Africa itself is concerned, the States members of the Organization of African Unity have already clearly pronounced themselves in favour of the denuclearization of our continent. The Republic of Dahomey will, in addition, support the sincere desire of all peoples that wish to see their continent or subcontinent declared, and guaranteed as, a denuclearized zone.

104. However, the stages of disarmament as thus defined must be accomplished under international control, since mutual confidence is lacking between States and still more between the great Powers directly concerned.

105. Another source of tension in the world lies in the difficult problems of divided nations. We think that the reunification of those nations is a matter for their peoples themselves. A free and democratic solution must be found without any foreign interference, and, if necessary, under United Nations supervision. The problem of China is a very special one. In that regard, the Government of the Republic of Dahomey has just taken the only objective decision possible: it has recognized a Government which exerts effective control over 700 million people, almost the whole of China. A satisfactory solution to the problem of the divided countries would in itself be an important contribution to the establishment of world peace.

106. But international peace does not mean solely the silence of guns or the abatement of conflicts. For us, the peoples of the less developed countries and the African peoples in particular, it is linked with the final end of an era of exploitation and oppression, the end of the claim by certain races to superiority over others, and the end of racist dictatorship.

107. We, the African peoples, are today still calling for the complete decolonization of our continent. What we demand is the right of peoples to self-determination, which some States, like Portugal and South Africa, refuse to recognize. Despite daily demonstrations

which conclusively and irrefutably show that Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and the other territories still under the illegal domination of Portuguese colonialism should enjoy the right to self-determination, the Government of Lisbon has brought genocide into these territories. Despite the disapproval of the international community, the Lisbon Government stubbornly persists in flouting the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. We know that if Portugal can today venture to defy the conscience of the world with impunity, it does so because it knows that it can count on the indulgence of its Western partners; these friends of Portugal should put pressure on Lisbon so as to make it see reason before it is too late. For it is to be feared that, if Portuguese stubbornness pushes the Africans to the point of desperation, it may end by unleashing a bloody conflict which will irreparably jeopardize world peace.

108. At the southern extremity of our continent, an even more inhuman situation persists. Three million white racists are imposing upon 10 million human beings the despicable system of apartheid. The whole world has condemned, from this very rostrum, this institutionalized contempt of some men for others. But today it is clear that those who condemn apartheid include some who shrink from taking the measures which could bring about its demise. We are told that trade and economic relations have nothing to do with politics. Certain of those States which have the most influence with the Government of South Africa do not believe in the merits of economic sanctions: they say that in the last analysis it will be the oppressed majorities which will suffer the effects of such measures. Casuistry and sophistry have plunged the world into chaos; the abandonment of generally accepted moral principles will be fatal to peace among men.

109. We urge those States which are friends of Portugal and of the Republic of South Africa to agree, at long last, to apply sanctions against those countries. This is the only possible way of bringing the misguided practitioners of colonialism and racism to their senses; otherwise, those States will be held responsible, by future generations and by history, for having refused to prevent sanguinary clashes. Already, through their inaction, they share the responsibility for the murder and torture of African patriots deliberately and coldly carried out by the police Government of the Republic of South Africa. I am sure that our Western friends, who, like us, are horrified by the unspeakable practices current in those countries, will help us as they should.

110. Racist domination by the ruling minority in South Africa is not, however, limited to the Republic of South Africa itself. The Pretoria Government, in flagrant violation of international principles, extends its oppressive system of apartheid to the Territory of South West Africa. It is essential for the United Nations to place that Territory under its direct trusteeship and to bring it to independence within the shortest possible time.

111. I would not leave this part of Africa without touching upon the thorny problem of Southern Rhodesia. We are gratified to note the stand which the United Kingdom Government has recently taken towards the extremists at Salisbury. However, the handful of

white extremists in Southern Rhodesia, apparently with the support of Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, is threatening to make a unilateral proclamation of pseudo-independence which will allow it to maintain its grip on the 3 million Africans of the Territory. The entire spectacle staged in recent weeks has had no purpose other than to deceive the world and, as it appears, to pave the way for an unlawful, unilateral decision. In the circumstances, we expect the United Kingdom Government to take all steps which may be necessary.

112. The Republic of Dahomey, for its part, is prepared to recognize and give the strongest support to an African nationalist government in exile, in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence.

113. We also believe that the United Nations, confronted by this wave of racism and these incessant assaults upon the freedom of peoples, has a duty to protect, and to ensure the independence and freedom of, the Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, which are vulnerable enclaves in the Republic of South Africa. These Territories will soon become independent. There is reason to fear that the Pretoria Government will pose a serious threat to them. The international community will therefore have to stand guard over their territorial integrity and independence.

114. Until there is greater justice in relations between men and peoples, until certain States desist from exploiting other States, until there are no more minorities trying to hold masses of humanity in misery and slavery, no peace will exist in the world.

115. My country believes that the economic development of the proletarian nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America will be one of the greatest factors contributing to world peace; this is the third point in my statement.

116. The weaknesses of the developing countries, and their grievances, have been set forth at the Geneva Conference. The States represented at that historic Conference agreed on the need to establish forthwith an international commodities organization which, inter alia, would ensure that the developing countries had a regular market for their export products, in increasing quantities, and at remunerative prices. Our main concern is that the purchase price of those products should never be allowed to decline in relation to the prices of the manufactured products imported by our countries.

117. At the same time, industrialized States must refrain erecting tariff barriers against our countries' export trade. They must agree to consume more of our products, whether primary commodities or semi-manufactures. We cannot repeat too often that trade must go hand in hand with aid; we must be given the opportunity to earn, by our own effort, much of the capital which is vital to our development. I do not mean to say that there must be no more foreign aid. Indeed, I shall be speaking in a moment of the need to increase it. Nevertheless, aid should serve simply to supplement our own earnings, the main source of which is trade.

118. At the Geneva Conference, certain countries made the following suggestion, which was well received

by all the developing countries. The industrialized States which are our partners would agree to devote to purchases of our goods the repayments on credits granted to our countries for their economic development. In other words, those States would be markets for the enterprises they had helped to create.

119. My delegation also supports the idea of consolidating short-term and medium-term debts and of allowing longer periods, which should not be less than twenty years, for repayment. We developing countries must also impress upon the lending States that the rate of interest should in no case exceed 2 per cent, and that it should be made possible to repay the loans partly in local currency and partly in goods. In addition, an increase in aid from the developed countries, to at least 1 per cent of their national income, would be desirable.

120. Our demands are so numerous that one may wonder what the industrialized countries called upon to make all these sacrifices would have to gain. I firmly believe that the prosperity of the less developed countries is the surest guarantee of prosperity for the developed nations. It is obvious that the more our purchasing power increases, the more valuable we shall be to those nations as economic partners. Some believe that the industrialization of countries like ours would mean the end of the supremacy of their industries, and consequently of their profits and their *raison d'être*. This, however, is not so. The industrialized countries, having accumulated a wealth of capital, skill and experience, could without loss to themselves specialize in other, more individualized sectors like electronics, the peaceful uses of the atom, telecommunications and so forth. As a result, the world would tend, surely and harmoniously, towards an international division of labour which would serve to cement our co-operation and our solidarity. Under-development, as has been repeated only too often, is the scourge of the second half of the twentieth century. It is for the men of our age, for our Organization and for the enlightened peoples of the earth to eradicate it forever.

121. The United Nations, having launched the noble project of the United Nations Development Decade, must see that the successive stages of the Decade are accomplished. This is perhaps the place to pay, once again, a well-deserved tribute to the various bodies and specialized agencies of the United Nations which play so important a part in the development of our States—such as UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO, FAO, the Special Fund and the Technical Assistance Board. These bodies must increase the assistance—the substantial and greatly appreciated assistance—which they are already giving to us. While it is true that we need bilateral aid and that such aid is quantitatively, and perhaps qualitatively, more important, it is equally true that multilateral aid is better suited to the attainment of certain objectives.

122. While hoping for increased multilateral aid and United Nations assistance, we should nevertheless wish that certain errors might be avoided in the future—that, for instance, the importance of pre-investment and other surveys should not be exaggerated to such a degree that they ultimately cost as much as, if not more than, the actual execution

of the project, and that the experts sent to us should always be very experienced advisers. A further defect in United Nations bodies which has been noted is that there are few Africans nationals, and in some cases none at all, in senior and policy-making posts.

123. I believe that the African States and the less developed countries have given adequate proof of their devotion to the United Nations.

124. We think that one urgent question of the day is to find a solution to the problem of the huge financial deficit of our Organization. It is unwise to mortgage in this way the future of the United Nations which, despite its defects, has proved its worth. Dahomey solemnly reaffirms its devotion to the Organization, which is the last resource of small nations like ours. For that reason, we hope that any stand which might weaken the effectiveness of the United Nations or even jeopardize its existence will be avoided.

125. The United Nations must be not only safeguarded, but strengthened. It must become even more representative; the various regions of the world must be more equitably represented in all its organs. The Member States should supply the Organization with effective means of defending the ideals embodied in our Charter.

126. My country, the Republic of Dahomey, which since 28 October 1963 has embarked upon a new political course—that of freedom for all its citizens, of democracy, of work for all—today solemnly reaf-

firms to this impressive Assembly its adherence to the principles of equality among States, respect for their sovereignty, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the coexistence of States with different economic and social systems, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the right of peoples to self-determination, opposition to racism and to all hegemonies, and international co-operation and solidarity.

127. The people and Government of Dahomey pledge themselves to strengthen the world Organization for the purposes of working to maintain and defend peace on earth, and to promote the advancement of peoples.

128. When I came to this rostrum, I stated on behalf of my country that peace was the first and greatest blessing of nations. You are the representatives of the peoples of the earth and you are called upon to establish, maintain and defend that peace. I am sure that you will not fail in your task, especially in an age when, as was so truly stated in this very place one year ago by that ardent lover of peace, the late President John F. Kennedy: "We have the power to make this the best generation of mankind in the history of the world—or to make it the last." [1209th meeting, para. 58.]

129. Representatives of the peoples of the earth, let us all pledge ourselves to shoulder these heavy responsibilities.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.