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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Item 9 of the provisional agenda:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
Speech by Mr. Gómez Martínez (Colombia)	1
Speech by Mr. Talib (Iraq)	3
Speech by Mr. Wachuku (Nigeria)	5
Speech by Mr. Velázquez (Uruguay)	8

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

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GOMEZ MARTINEZ (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): It is my duty, on behalf of Colombia, to greet the President and all the representatives of the countries present here and to express our satisfaction that, for the first time, a citizen of Africa is presiding over this world Assembly. In presenting the world with a fertile crop of new States, Africa is suffering the convulsions and pain attendant upon any political transformation, but the intellectual maturity of its men, such as the one now presiding over these meetings, is sufficient proof of its ability to determine its own future and to serve its apprenticeship in the cause of freedom.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our great satisfaction at the admission of three new Members to the United Nations: the States of Malawi, Malta and Zambia. On behalf of Colombia, I extend to them the warmest of welcomes. Furthermore, I wish to offer them the fullest and most friendly and fraternal co-operation of the Colombian delegation to this Assembly and to express our conviction that their contribution to the great task before us will undoubtedly be of incalculable benefit. The excellent speeches that we have heard from the lips of their distinguished representatives and the sound opinions that they have given on the most intricate problems have already justified this confidence.

3. Day by day we are drawing nearer to the ideal outlined by the United Nations from its very inception, even before San Francisco, namely, that only when every inhabitant and every corner of the planet is adequately represented here will it be an effective force in the community of nations.

4. My speech has but one theme, for there is no need to give voice once again to the principles and purposes of the United Nations, especially as I represent a people which, when it first came into being, adopted those principles and purposes and followed them in

the drafting of its constitution and in its international relations. Colombia has never disturbed the peace of other countries or committed aggression or been lacking in justice; it has always striven to settle its differences amicably, has encouraged friendly relations with other countries, has honoured its treaties and has championed human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of strict equality. Moreover, on previous occasions my country's representatives have stated those principles and have given a clear picture of Colombia's position regarding the political problems before the United Nations.

5. My theme, my one theme, derives its inspiration from Article 1 (3) of the Charter, in which the United Nations has undertaken "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character ...".

6. There is a great disequilibrium, an enormous inequality among the nations belonging to the United Nations. There are great differences in the degrees of power: in contrast with the countries whose monstrous weapons have enormous destructive power, the small countries are unable to defend themselves. In contrast with countries in which an advanced technology facilitates and increases production, we find countries that are not strong enough to progress beyond the initial stages of development; in contrast with the high level of education that encourages research, we find countries where the level is so low that outside ideas can be assimilated only with difficulty; in contrast with enormous progress—if indeed progress can be measured—we find backwardness. But this is not the disequilibrium that affects the harmony of nations, since the achievements of some are occasionally communicated to and shared with the others and since any progress is admirable.

7. Following the devastation caused by the last war among the peoples of the world, we have witnessed an astounding miracle. From the ruins and ashes industrial power has risen anew and privation has given way to well-being and plenty. The disequilibrium that threatens the peace of the world is economic and social; it lies in the difference in levels of living and in the unequal distribution of wealth. A parallel could be drawn between the socio-economic problems in the domestic affairs of nations and the same kind of problem in international relations.

8. Many American countries are criticized for the inequitable distribution of the national income, for when some people—the minority—receive a great deal, the others—the majority—receive hardly anything at all. This is a fact. But the same thing happens at the international level: of the great volume of what might

be called total income, the greater part goes to the developed countries, which are in the minority, and the smaller part to the developing and under-developed countries, which are in the majority. This means that the level of living in the developed countries is high and their people have a high purchasing power, whereas the level of living in the other countries is low and the purchasing power of their people is minimal.

9. The labour of the under-developed and less-developed countries, however, provides food for the developed countries and supplies them with raw materials which, when processed industrially, are of greater value than they were on the international market and the increase in value is to the almost exclusive benefit of the developed countries. Thus some countries labour to earn a little and at the same time to enable others to earn much more.

10. As is well known, the fundamental cause of this disequilibrium is the tendency of the demand for industrial products to increase more rapidly than the demand for agricultural products as national income increases.

11. The theory of surplus-value, ennobled by the concept of the human value of labour, inseparable from man himself and from human dignity, served to correct an evident injustice in the domestic socio-economic field, by attaching greater value to labour than that recognized by liberal economic theory and that accorded to it under the capitalist system in its first stages.

12. In the international field, however, injustice remains. The industrialized countries, which possess the most producer goods, are the ones that profit by the surplus-value, while the labour of the under-developed or developing countries is not fairly paid and has no share in the increased value which the commodities it has produced acquire when they have been processed.

13. To put the problem in another way, it might be said that the countries which produce primary commodities such as foodstuffs and minerals do not receive a just return for their work, while the industrialized countries, which buy those commodities, receive more than they ought to receive in the context of a wide and generous concept of universal human solidarity. It is these countries, too, that grow wealthy by transforming, to an excessive degree, personal labour into accumulated labour.

14. When people speak of the unfavourable position of those who devote themselves to agriculture in our countries and compare what they receive with the earnings of those engaged in city and urban pursuits—industry, the stock exchange, banking, transport, speculation and so forth—they say that rural life means poverty and backwardness. This dictum discourages people from engaging in agricultural activity and there is a great deal of truth in it, as is shown by the flight from the countryside and the resulting huge growth of the cities.

15. Applying the dictum to the international field, it might be said that an economy based on the production of primary commodities means poverty and backwardness, with the additional disadvantage that the

disequilibrium that has always existed, instead of diminishing, becomes more acute. Countries are now relatively richer or poorer than they were before. Contact with one another and more active trade have raised or lowered their level of living and widened the economic gap. Thus international trade has an unfavourable effect upon the economy of the weak countries. That is why, as a student of these problems has pointed out, it has been possible to organize mass production from a technical point of view but not to organize mass consumption from an economic point of view and therefore, he adds, the law of supply and demand is reflected in international prices. In other words, what was successfully countered in the private sector through the progress of social ideas promulgated by the labour movement and by the Church and thanks to trade-unionism, has reappeared at the international level.

16. All this was the substance of the proceedings at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which was held at Geneva early in 1964 upon the initiative of our Organization and in which countries of very different status met together for the first time to deal with these problems. This thesis of world disequilibrium, this disturbing evidence of the conflict that exists between some countries and others, was presented there in all its stark reality.

17. As a first solution was suggested the idea of improving the support prices for primary products with a view to reducing and eventually eliminating, if possible, the disparity between the terms of trade of the developed and of the primary-producing countries.

18. The problem is still before us. At the present time, for example, the International Coffee Agreement has given rise to a struggle between producers and consumers, that is between under-developed and developing countries on the one hand and industrialized countries on the other. The law of supply and demand is once more in operation to an extent that is neither rational nor just and the producing countries are once more asking that their labour, which is their livelihood, should not be subject to the fluctuation of prices imposed by the consumer countries.

19. I think that in an under-nourished world, physically capable of absorbing all the foodstuffs that can be produced, over-production should not debase prices because of some misunderstood law of supply and demand but should give rise to a broader and more efficient distribution. Remunerative prices for all primary products could easily be maintained in order to encourage expansion and policy could be directed towards better distribution. The FAO should push their programmes more in that direction.

20. The Geneva Conference produced specific recommendations for the establishment of a new subsidiary organ of the General Assembly for the permanent study of the problems of international trade in the light of economic development. Since the hopes of the peoples of the world for economic well-being are linked to the establishment of this body and since the relevant recommendations were unanimously adopted, the General Assembly should be able to overcome any obstacle caused by the special circumstances in which the United Nations now finds itself and should proceed

to establish this body without any delay, for which there would be no justification. Colombia is confident that all Members of the United Nations will help in this vital measure, by setting aside differences on procedural matters, so that this measure can be approved before the Christmas recess in accordance with the agreements that have enabled the Assembly to function since 1 December.

21. The Geneva Conference also saw the emergence of a defensive group: the Group of Seventy-Seven. This Group constitutes a union of the weaker countries, a unified movement to counter disequilibrium. It does not present a hostile face but takes a stand against injustice.

22. I know that the United Nations is concerned with these matters which are serious. The purpose which inspired me to develop this theme is clearly defined in the Charter. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, or humanitarian character is to go straight to these objectives. The very convening of the Geneva Conference was directed to the same end. Technical assistance provided through the specialized agencies, and financial assistance, which has been considerable, are adequate means for a beginning. I say for a beginning because a definitive solution has yet to be found. To find that solution and put it into effect will be the means of achieving, to a great extent, the objectives that have brought us together, among them the rule of justice and peaceful coexistence.

23. Mr. TALIB (Iraq): Mr. President, may I offer to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your election was a tribute to your high qualities and a recognition of the increasingly important role of Africa in world affairs. May I also express our high regard to your predecessor, Mr. Sosa Rodríguez, who guided the Assembly's work last year with great distinction.

24. I should like to reaffirm, at the outset, my country's deep faith in the United Nations and its Charter. We shall continue to support the Organization in its efforts for the preservation of peace, the liberation of peoples, and the promotion of human welfare and progress.

25. The membership of the United Nations continues to grow as a result of the successes achieved by national liberation movements the world over. Many countries and peoples who for centuries have remained outside the mainstream of international affairs are today participating actively in the pursuit of the great objectives of our Charter. I take this opportunity to welcome the three new Members—Malawi, Malta and Zambia. Our membership in the Committee of Twenty-Four ^{1/} has given us the opportunity of following closely; and with admiration, the struggle of these three countries for freedom and independence.

26. In spite of the rapid increase in membership, the ultimate objective of universality still eludes us. The representation of China in the Organization

is a matter of the highest importance, and we shall support any initiative that aims at fully restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

27. Now that the Organization has entered its twentieth year, we feel that the time has come to reappraise its work and effectiveness.

28. A step in the right direction has already been taken with amendments to enlarge the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council [General Assembly resolution 1991 (XVIII)]. We add our voice to many others in expressing the hope that all countries will ratify these amendments so that the work of these two important organs shall truly reflect the realities of our world today.

29. One of the most significant international developments during the current year has been the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva. The General Assembly is called upon to consider the important recommendations and conclusions of the Conference. We hope, in particular, that the new institutions proposed by the Conference will be established without delay in view of the important tasks entrusted to them and the great hopes and expectations which the developing countries attach to them.

30. The urgency of the problem of development cannot be over-emphasized. The achievements of the trade conference, significant as they are, still fall short of the requirements of the developing countries. If the gap separating these countries from the advanced nations is to be narrowed, then greater and more determined efforts must be made to solve the urgent needs of the overwhelming majority of humanity. While recognizing the responsibility of each and every developing country in this regard, we must underline the important contributions that the advanced countries are called upon to make in the world-wide campaign against poverty, disease and ignorance.

31. The problem of disarmament remains one of the most difficult problems facing the world. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has not made any appreciable progress since last year. Today the situation is as dangerous and potentially explosive as ever. The threat of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons is becoming more serious, and, unless urgent and effective measures are taken to halt the further spread of these weapons, then the world may forfeit its last chance to save itself from the holocaust of thermo-nuclear war.

32. We support the efforts of the eight neutral countries in the Geneva talks, and we hope the General Assembly will endorse the proposal for the convening of a world conference on disarmament to which all countries will be invited. The recent Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo ^{2/} endorsed the convening of such a conference, which we believe will contribute greatly to settling many of the outstanding issues which still stand in the way of general and complete disarmament.

^{1/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

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

33. Since our national revolution of 14 July 1958, Iraq has been pursuing a policy of non-alignment. This policy, which we share with many other countries, has proved to be an important factor in the preservation of world peace and the lessening of international tensions. The soundness of the policy of non-alignment was clearly demonstrated when, barely three years after the first Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade,^{3/} a second conference was held in Cairo, in which nearly half of the independent States of the world participated.

34. The policy of non-alignment does not mean standing aloof from what happens elsewhere in the world. It endeavours to promote co-operation and understanding based on justice and peace among all countries of the world, irrespective of their political and social systems. In this regard I should like to express our satisfaction that the United Nations is continuing its efforts to codify the legal principles governing friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter. We shall spare no effort to help in this important endeavour, because such codification of principles is necessary for the stabilization of international relations.

35. Among all the problems facing this Organization, none is more pressing than that of colonialism. It is an affront to the dignity of man that, nearly twenty years after the establishment of this Organization and four years since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], there are still many territories and millions of people under the colonial yoke. Imperialism is using various forms of force, terror and intimidation to maintain colonial positions in a world that has resolutely decided to rid itself of this evil. The national liberation movements are gaining in momentum and fighting with growing confidence everywhere. The United Nations, acting through its Special Committee of Twenty-Four on decolonization, has contributed significantly to this process of emancipation.

36. In some parts of the Arab world and Africa, colonialism is making a futile attempt to maintain itself by force and terror. In Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Palestine, Oman, Aden and the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, the people are looking towards the United Nations for help in their struggle for independence. Iraq, which has recognized the Provisional Government of Angola, is ready to co-operate in any steps which the United Nations may wish to take to help the valiant struggle of the Angolan people.

37. Similarly, the international community is called upon to give its support to the people of Mozambique in their heroic struggle for freedom. The United Nations must also do everything in its power to prevent the creation in Southern Rhodesia of another bastion of apartheid on the African continent, and ensure that the people of that country attain their legitimate rights to liberty and equality.

38. This brings me to the problem of apartheid in South Africa, whose Government has for many years

defied the will of the United Nations and violated the principles of the United Nations Charter. My country will support any collective action designed to secure the implementation of the resolutions on apartheid with a view to the total eradication of this policy and its evil consequences.

39. When Belgian troops were landed in the Congo last month, my Government deplored the foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of that country. The problem is now before the Security Council and we whole-heartedly support the demand of the African States that steps should be taken to ensure that such violations of the Charter will not occur in the future.

40. The Zionist invasion and occupation of Palestine represents the worst example of colonialism the world has ever seen. This is not merely a situation where foreign rule has been imposed by force; the victims have not only lost their freedom, but their country as well. Their tragedy has no parallel in modern times. Their expulsion from their homeland was the result of the collaboration of colonialism with Zionism, one of the most reactionary, racist and aggressive movements ever to disgrace mankind. It would be idle to expect that the passage of time will in any way diminish the determination of the people of Palestine to regain their rights and recover their lost homeland.

41. The people of Palestine are now co-ordinating their activities in a new liberation organization. It is an important step towards the restoration of their homeland, which was usurped from them in violation of the most elementary principles of justice, and in total disregard of the right of self-determination. Israel has been and still is an imperialist base and a perpetual source of aggression in the region. Only last month Israeli planes committed an act of blatant aggression against Syria. I would like to reaffirm the complete solidarity of the people and Government of Iraq with Syria and our readiness to give every support and assistance to our sister Arab country, if it should ever again be the victim of Israeli aggression. The Middle East will never know peace until the rights of the Arab people of Palestine are fully restored. This was fully recognized by the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries recently held in Cairo. Its Declaration, which is before us as an official document of this session, states the following:

"The Conference condemns the imperialistic policy pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decides to:

"(1) Endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination;

"(2) Declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism." [A/5763, sect. I.]

42. The question of Aden and the protectorates has been before the United Nations for nearly two years. The world is witnessing there a great struggle for freedom.

43. In its resolution 1949 (XVIII), adopted a year ago, the General Assembly recognized the right of the people of the territory to freedom from colonial rule,

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

and recommended a number of measures to enable them to exercise freely their right of self-determination. It also recommended that the British military base in Aden be liquidated, since its maintenance is prejudicial to the peace and security of the region. The British Government paid no heed to this and other resolutions, and did not co-operate with the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, refusing, for the second time, to allow a Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the territory. The Special Committee fully endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee and called, once again, on the British Government to implement resolution 1949 (XVIII) and to give its full co-operation to the Special Committee and its Sub-Committee.

44. It is our hope that the new British Government will review the situation, and co-operate with the United Nations in achieving, without delay, the objectives of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I would like here to recall that the distinguished British historian, Arnold Toynbee, said, shortly before the recent elections in Britain, that the next Government of his country ought to arrange to give the people of South Arabia an independence that will be genuine, and he went on to say:

"On our own initiative, we should propose that there should be a United Nations inquiry into the real wishes of the South Arabian peoples. It is certain that we shall soon have to evacuate Arabia anyway. Since we have to go, it will be much better for us to go quietly and, above all, to go quickly."

45. In Oman, British imperialism is still reluctant to give up its influence and privileged position, and for the last nine years the people of Oman have been fighting heroically to attain their freedom.

46. The question of Oman is in essence a colonial problem and should be treated as such, since there can be no doubt that the United Kingdom exercises great power and influence in the country, in order to protect its economic and other interests in the area.

47. Finally, may I express the hope that everything should be done to enable the nineteenth session to proceed with its work normally, so that the important items on its agenda will be dealt with in an orderly manner, in accordance with established practices and procedures.

48. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high office of the President of this Assembly, and to say that my delegation is very confident that under your guidance this session of the Assembly will achieve great things. I am sure you know that my delegation, along with other delegations from the continent of Africa, is very happy and proud that another son of Africa has been elected to occupy this post. We know that this is the greatest international club, the greatest inter-racial club, that we have and it is meet and proper that a son of Africa should also be one of the Presidents.

49. We have gone through another year in which the world has steadily witnessed the continuation of efforts to reduce international tension and improve the

climate of understanding among nations and peoples—a trend which happily began over a year ago. During this period the United Nations has continued to exert its energies in different directions for the maintenance of international peace and security. Consequently, the dark cloud of the threat of nuclear war which is the greatest danger of our time to the survival of humanity is clearing gradually. Of course there remain areas of tension and conflict in various parts of the world, but I am sure that we are all happy that efforts have been made, and are being made, to control and finally eliminate these sources of friction in the interests of international peace and security.

50. The period since the last session of the General Assembly has produced some important changes in the Governments of certain important Member States of this Organization. We gladly welcome them to our joint effort for the preservation and maintenance of peace in the world. We are very reassured to learn that these objectives are uppermost in the minds of these new Governments.

51. I should like, at this juncture, to welcome and congratulate the new Members who have been admitted to membership of this Organization. I refer, of course, as you know, to our brothers from the newly independent sovereign States of Zambia and Malawi—two States that along with us are members of two other families, the Commonwealth of Nations and the Organization of African Unity. We welcome also the State of Malta, which again, in common with us, is a member of the Commonwealth. All will understand why Nigeria is very happy that we have three new members in the three fraternities to which we belong. We rejoice with them in the successful conclusion of their struggle against the forces of imperialism and domination. We are sure that their presence among us will enrich our discussions and deliberations. These, our brothers, are torchbearers, men who proclaim to the nations that the tidal wave of freedom in the continent of Africa and in the rest of the world is an irresistible force.

52. Nigeria has continued to play its part and fulfil its obligations as a Member of the United Nations. It has continued to uphold, to the best of its ability, the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and to contribute in all possible ways to the furtherance of the aims and objectives of the Organization. In these various ways, Nigeria has continued to demonstrate its strong belief in the Organization as a most important and reliable instrument for the preservation of peace and the promotion of international understanding. In the Congo, Nigeria supported the United Nations operations up to the end and contributed its share in human and material terms towards the successful conclusion of those operations. It also contributed financially to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus. Nigeria has paid its dues and made voluntary contributions in support of this Organization.

53. In the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and concerning the thorny subject of the financing of future peace-keeping operations, Nigeria is contributing of its best toward the resolution of those problems, and we shall continue to do so.

54. It is with a great sense of disappointment that Nigeria witnessed the conclusion of this year's session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. The year had begun with the hopes and promises that the breakthrough which was achieved in 1963 of a partial nuclear test-ban treaty^{4/} would be followed up with important developments in the direction of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Since I last had the opportunity to address the General Assembly [1221st meeting], there indeed have been encouraging developments in this regard, for which I wish to place on record the immeasurable satisfaction and appreciation of the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The three nuclear Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom—early this year took certain steps on the basis of a policy of mutual example designed to promote the relaxation of international tension. I refer to the reduction of military expenditures early this year by the United States and the Soviet Union, and the announcement by the three nuclear Powers of their decision to reduce production of fissionable materials for the production of nuclear weapons.

55. These steps, following so closely upon the Moscow test-ban treaty, the agreement in principle not to station weapons of mass production in outer space, and the establishment of a direct communication link between Moscow and Washington, encourage the world to hope for better things to come.

56. It is regrettable, however, that in none of the other outstanding issues pertaining to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament was agreement reached. Even the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, which was called for by the General Assembly in its resolution 1910 (XVIII), eluded the Committee of Eighteen. My Government believes that the conclusion of such a treaty is essential and should be pursued vigorously in order to eliminate, once and for all, the fears of all humanity concerning radio-active fall-out. We have seen the reports of reputable scientists demonstrating that the dangers of radio-active fall-out are not totally absent from underground tests. Besides, continuation of such tests can only indicate that the arms race is still going on—something which we are all against.

57. We also believe that an agreement on non-production of nuclear weapons should be concluded without further delay. In this way, the present fear that attempts are being made by some Powers to obtain control of nuclear weapons through the back door will be removed.

58. The originators of the idea of a multilateral nuclear force owe it to humanity to ensure that the proposal does not involve the spread of nuclear weapons to States which do not have them at the moment, nor the extension of control of these deadly weapons to States which, by not having them, cannot assume full responsibility for their use.

59. We received with great interest proposals on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union for the destruction of certain nuclear weapon delivery

vehicles—bomber aircraft—and consider that these proposals should be followed through to a quick conclusion which should result in the building of a bonfire. Even though there is disagreement as to the scale of this bonfire, we believe that it should not be too difficult to reach a general and acceptable agreement. The important thing is that action should be taken in this regard, in view of the psychological effect it is bound to have as to the seriousness of the proposals on the part of the nuclear Powers, and their efforts in the direction of general and complete disarmament. Until full agreement on the destruction of nuclear weapons is reached, perhaps it would help if the nuclear Powers would begin action on the basis of mutual example.

60. There are other fields in which, from the facts available to us, we consider that agreement should be possible; for example, a complete cut-off of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes and the reduction of military expenditures. We continue to stress the senselessness of the expenditure of vast sums in the manufacture of weapons of destruction in a world in which more than half the population still suffer from the ravages of poverty, hunger and disease. The Nigerian Government believes that, on the whole, there are many ways in which the present détente in international relations should be utilized to push forward a programme of disarmament, and we wish to make a solemn appeal to all concerned to ensure that these golden opportunities will not be allowed to pass by. It is our hope that our deliberations on this most important subject at this session of the General Assembly will bring about the achievement of concrete results with regard to general and complete disarmament.

61. The presence among us of three new Members cannot fail to remind us of the sad lot of millions of our brothers who still languish under the forces of oppression in South Africa, South West Africa, the territories under Portuguese administration—Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea—and in Southern Rhodesia. We in Nigeria condemn and oppose colonialism and imperialism in all its forms. I repeat, in all its forms. We are determined to do everything in our power to promote the attainment of freedom by all our oppressed brothers in Africa and in any part of the world.

62. The obnoxious policy of apartheid, practised by the Government of South Africa, has proved to be a revolting insult and an assault on the conscience of the entire international community. That Government is consequently being steadily isolated from the mainstream of international life. In this respect, we welcome the recent bold stand taken by the Government of the United Kingdom in placing an embargo on arms supplied to the Republic of South Africa; but we regret that the British Government, which has thus demonstrated its progressive outlook, was unable to prevent the supply of sixteen Buccaneer aircraft to that Government for its murderous aims. We nevertheless acknowledge that the British Government now seems to be moving in the right direction.

63. We must warn the Government of South Africa to note the handwriting on the wall and to desist from

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

oppressing the majority of its citizens, and to remember that thirty-five African States are irrevocably committed to fighting the régime of apartheid to the finish. As I stated in this Assembly last year [1221st meeting], these architects of mass oppression are suffering from a neurosis of fear, and it is the duty of their friends to help them to recover from their illness before it suffers further complications which would be even more dangerous and, indeed, disastrous.

64. As for Portugal, its continued intransigence in refusing to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and with Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter is a challenge which this Organization cannot continue to tolerate. The illusion that vast territories in Africa could ever be an extension of metropolitan Portugal constitutes the greatest farce and the greatest fiction of the twentieth century. It is beyond reason and it is only a matter of time before Portugal will be severely jolted from her dream, to begin to face the realities of contemporary existence.

65. The peoples of Africa are steadily recapturing their right to determine their destiny and to govern themselves, and little Portugal cannot stop them from so doing. In this connexion, we once again wish to address an appeal to the friends of Portugal to desist from supplying it with arms, which it uses for the oppression and suppression of indigenous inhabitants of territories under its administration. We welcome, accordingly, the recent stand which the British Government has taken on this matter.

66. The minority Government of Southern Rhodesia, in its anxiety to capture power from the majority of the inhabitants of the territory, is jumping from pillar to post, generally making a nuisance of itself and displaying great irresponsibility in the art of government. We are reassured that the mature and progressive British Government is calling a halt to the childish game being played in Salisbury, having issued a strong warning against the dangerous course which they are thinking of pursuing. The Government of Ian Smith must surely realize the heavy responsibility which it will place on its shoulders if it should wantonly act illegally and unconstitutionally in its naked bid for total power to oppress the majority of its own citizens. Thirty-five African nations can certainly not be expected to stand aside in such an eventuality, and will be bound to use all forces at their disposal for the rescue of their brothers from an oppressive and illegal régime.

67. The solution to the Southern Rhodesian question is not a fraudulent referendum, but the free and complete expression of the people's will on the basis of equality. General amnesty should be granted to all political leaders now being detained or imprisoned, and a constitutional conference should be convened at which all parties will be represented. Only in this way can a constitution, acceptable to all parties in the territory, be worked out in order to enable Southern Rhodesia to march to independence, united in peace, not in pieces.

68. We trust that the British Government will spare no effort or ingenuity to make such a development possible.

69. The recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was indeed a landmark in international co-operation; for the first time, probably, all the issues in the world economic situation were fully and truly brought out and examined at a fully-attended world conference. It is already apparent that a new international order is in the making in economic relations among nations, and we are looking forward to the Trade and Development Board to translate this new order into concrete terms and realities. The Conference was long and difficult and the negotiations were delicate and arduous; but then the issues involved were great, for it had become clear that a grave threat to peace is the division of the world into the "haves" and the "have-nots"—the so-called North and South division. Although the developing countries did not get all that they wanted at the Conference, owing to the reluctance of some industrialized countries to share their wealth and prosperity with their less fortunate brothers, nevertheless we are fairly satisfied that a positive beginning has been made, and we hope that through the Trade and Development Board the existing imbalance in levels of development in the world will be speedily eliminated.

70. We appeal to those countries which are in a position to do so to join in this common effort in the interest of peace.

71. My Government is aware of the financial difficulties facing the United Nations, primarily brought about by the involvement of this Organization in recent years in massive peace-keeping operations. We have accordingly followed with great interest the efforts of all parties dealing with the question of the financing of future peace-keeping operations, with a view to regularizing the machinery and placing the procedure on a firm basis. We are also aware of the difficult situation created by the huge arrears owing to the Organization and the difficulties facing the Governments which are expected to pay these arrears. Nigeria is deeply interested in this question and it has been playing its part through its representative in an effort to reach an amicable solution to these problems. We are prepared to continue to negotiate on this matter on the basis of our determination to see the Organization put on a firm financial footing and become an effective instrument for keeping the peace.

72. We are painfully aware that in these matters legal arguments and pronouncements have failed to provide the answer, where positions have been taken on the basis of other considerations. But we hope that, in reaching a solution to these problems, the principles enshrined in the Articles of the United Nations Charter will not be undermined. An important principle of belonging to any club is acceptance of the obligation to abide by the rules, and this applies equally to membership in this Organization.

73. With respect to China, doubts have been raised in certain circles regarding the policy of my Government on the question of Chinese representation at the United Nations. I shall now briefly reiterate our basic position in order to set the record straight.

74. First, Nigeria recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the Government of the

people of China. We consequently have been and are in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

75. Secondly, we are willing to consider that a Government is based on the island of Formosa, and that this island has all the attributes of a State—territory, population and an effective Government. We therefore feel that any solution of this delicate problem must take account of these factors in such a manner that these two States should be able to co-exist both in the United Nations and elsewhere, and that one should not necessarily exist at the expense of the other. Nigeria would like to help solve the problem in an amicable and peaceful manner, not to exacerbate the issue.

76. As is known, in every session we use this rostrum to restate our position and the foreign policy of our country, and in the statements I have made so far I have concerned myself with general world problems. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not bring before the General Assembly some of the problems with which we are faced on the African continent, within our home grounds, and state categorically the attitude of my Government in respect of these problems.

77. As I have said in a preceding statement, the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is determined that all Africa must be free and that the freedom, when obtained, must be maintained and not lost as soon as it is gained. I want to state our fears and apprehensions that, while we are getting rid of the old imperialism on the African continent, there is a danger of new imperialism in different guises rearing its head. And it is because of the fear of this danger that the Government of Nigeria, along with other independent African States, did everything within its power to create the Organization of African Unity as the best insurance that African freedom once won will be retained intact.

78. It is our ardent desire that all countries of the world will hearken to this our appeal and respect the fledgling African States and give them a chance to develop their resources, establish stability within their environs and learn from others those qualities that will be beneficial to their future growth and stability.

79. It is in the light of this that we wonder what was meant by the statement that was reported and attributed to the Head of Government of the country that we have all been fighting to admit into this Organization, to the effect that Africa is ripe for revolution. What does that mean? To us, that statement is fraught with great danger, the more so because of the impact and repercussions of this type of thing in a certain part of Africa, namely, the Congo.

80. When Nigeria was admitted to Membership in the United Nations on 7 October 1960, we met and were confronted with the problem of the Congo. In our early years as the ninety-ninth Member and the baby of the family, we waded into the problem, and we played as good a role as any other Member of this Organization to try and find a solution to that problem. The whole Organization bent itself to that

problem and met a certain amount of success, even though, in the opinion of my country, the United Nations withdrew earlier than it should have. Now, after so many years of toil, and expenditure of human and material resources, we find once more that at this nineteenth session the Congo is a problem facing the United Nations, and the Security Council is now seized of that matter. I would have made a comprehensive statement on that problem, but considering that the Security Council is discussing that matter, the best I can do here is to appeal to all Members of this Organization to co-operate with my country and the other African countries in an effort to give the Democratic Republic of the Congo a chance to find its bearings. There is too much intervention in the affairs of the Congo.

81. We believe that liberation of territories should mean liberation of territories which are dependent, not liberation of territories which have already been liberated from foreign imperialism. And when there is going to be any revolution at this stage of our development in Africa, this revolution should start from the areas which are still dependent, and let us give those who have just won their independence a breathing spell to find their bearings.

82. We usually come to the General Assembly to say what we have done in the past and what our hope for the future will be. But I shall not conclude my statement without appealing specifically to the African States—more than to any other Members of this Organization—to consider whether we will not be hurting ourselves if we profess non-alignment in theory and find ourselves aligned in practice either ideologically, economically or militarily, one way or another. And once we have made our commitment some of us begin to think that others who do not agree with us are either neo-colonialists or stooges of imperialists or not even independent.

83. I am concluding my speech with this appeal. Africa cannot be subverted unless African States aid and abet in our subversion. No foreign Power can get a footing on the African continent, unless Africans aid and abet such foreign Power.

84. I am taking this opportunity to appeal to all Members of this Organization to assist us and aid the forces of cohesion in Africa to maintain stability, in order to be able to contribute their own quota to the building of the United Nations. I am sure that if all of us adopt that spirit, which has been the spirit of my country in relation to other African countries and in relation to our membership of this Organization, the disarmament we are seeking in terms of nuclear weapons will be achieved. When you have various regions living in peace and security, there will be no necessity for dropping atom bombs, because these will be stale and unnecessary.

85. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uzuguay) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, speaking on behalf of my Government and also for myself I should like to congratulate you most warmly upon your election as President of the nineteenth session. Not only do you represent a country which has greatly distinguished itself in the community of new African States by its important participation in all fields of

international activity—and particularly in the struggle against colonialism, in which it has always been in the vanguard—but, having had the opportunity to follow your brilliant career in this Organization closely, I consider that the significant honour which has been conferred upon you is no more than the just recognition of your outstanding qualities.

86. In beginning this statement I should like also to pay a tribute to our former President, Mr. Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela, who with great skill and dignity presided over the Assembly until the beginning of the present session. Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to welcome the three new States which have become Members of our Organization: Zambia, Malawi and Malta. Uruguay warmly welcomes them and is glad that their struggles and tribulations have at last received their just reward.

87. The present session has opened in circumstances in which international tension or at least the tension which prevailed at the antepenultimate session, has decreased considerably for more than a year. It is true that many problems are far from solved and that to what might be called the chronic sources of danger—the German problem, the problem of South-East Asia, the vestiges of colonialism in Africa and other areas—there has recently been added the danger created by the possession of atomic weapons by a country which has never disguised its aggressive policy and by the possible dissemination of these weapons among a greater number of countries, with the eventual risk that this would entail. But if there are dangers which we can describe as "chronic", this is because, as is usually the case with invalids of this type, we have come to a sort of compromise with danger and have learned to live with it as our second nature.

88. Accustomed to living in a state of permanent crisis, we cling desperately, like a shipwrecked man to his ship, to any sign of hope, even though the light it sheds may be weak and its substance fragile. We express our most humble and heartfelt gratitude to those men who made this rebirth of hope possible: to those who have died, like Pope John XXIII and President Kennedy, and to those who are no longer at the helm.

89. The paradox of this new international situation is that, while tension is decreasing, the United Nations, the instrument destined "par excellence" to serve that very end, is for the moment undergoing a crisis which only a few days ago seemed insurmountable. For this reason the Assembly is today an "Assembly of silence", despite the fact that many voices may be heard in this Hall.

90. I shall not refer to the specific problems at the root of this crisis. I do not feel that it would be wise to do so, when it is common knowledge that important conversations are now being held, which we all hope will be successful. My delegation, like all those present here, has studied these problems very carefully and will, of course, make its views known at the appropriate time.

91. There are nevertheless one or two reflections which I should like to submit for the Assembly's consideration. The first of these is that, as many

saw from the beginning and as everyone sees now, the scope of this crisis far exceeds what might be called its strictly financial aspect. This crisis, despite the monetary terms in which it is expressed, is the manifestation of a much deeper conflict, of a conflict or difference of opinion which concerns delicate problems of a political and juridical character, relating to the competence and powers of the principal organs of the United Nations, relating basically to the interpretation of the Charter and to certain aspects of it which, I would say without hesitation, constitute the very foundation of the Organization. For that reason, the solutions attempted so far—all of which were emergency solutions which deliberately avoided the root of the problem—were doomed to fail, or at least to leave the future in shadow, doubt and uncertainty.

92. The peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the Congo were in fact the first experiments in what was then a new experience. But history does not stand still, much less turn back, and whatever the balance of these operations may have been—and my delegation considers it, in the last analysis, a very favourable balance—it is now difficult to imagine the United Nations abandoning an activity which, as we have perhaps realized recently, may constitute its very *raison d'être*.

93. If one thinks about it a little, what is happening now is more than a financial crisis, it is a development crisis, the crisis which precedes maturity, what might be called the crisis of adolescence. Nineteen years do not pass in vain and nineteen years is sufficient time for the essential traits of a character to crystallize. Institutions too are living entities, destined to live and to endure, and just as our life consists of moving towards maturity, which is the goal, even so institutions—like plants, like animals, like man himself—need to develop all their capacities and potentialities harmoniously in order to attain the full consummation of their destiny. The maintenance of peace, even over and above the possibilities provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, is—as we can clearly see, now that the Organization has become more mature—one of the essential traits of the character of our Organization, of its spirit and of its essence.

94. We shall be told that the founders at San Francisco worked with a more limited perspective and for more specific objectives. This may be true, but San Francisco belongs to the past and the United Nations belongs to the future. It is not necessary to point out how different are the circumstances prevailing today from those prevailing in 1945.

95. Of course, it is not a question of forcing the texts to mean what they do not mean. Even for those of us who have been trained in Roman law—so different from other systems and particularly from the Anglo-Saxon system—it is not difficult to admit that Anglo-Saxon law and its twin, Roman law, are not ends in themselves but, like everything in the juridical order, instruments designed to serve certain ends which are inherent in them, like the spirit in the letter and like the alcohol in the wine. True interpretation consists precisely in extracting the meaning of the text

in order to discover the spirit, which gives life, and not the letter, which kills.

96. For this reason we should deem unacceptable any agreement which, contrary to what is surely the majority opinion in the United Nations, would attempt to retreat into the past and fall back upon formulae such as the so-called "exclusive competence" of the Security Council in relation to the maintenance of peace, which, far from being the only possible interpretation of the Charter, is surely one of the causes of the present paralysis.

97. A few days ago Mr. Belaunde, in his admirable statement, reminded us that the responsibility for maintaining international peace and order lay with the Organization as a whole and not with the Security Council alone, although the Council had primary responsibility. I venture to add that the responsibility for maintaining peace is not restricted to the Security Council or even to the Organization as a whole; the maintenance of peace is an unrenounceable attribute and power of the international community itself, of which the United Nations and its organs are simply visible and perhaps temporary manifestations. And if the maintenance of peace is the exclusive responsibility of the international community—for in the nuclear age the maintenance of peace is an indispensable condition for its existence—it would be very difficult, even for those of us who, as I have said, have been trained in a more rigid legal tradition, to admit the legitimacy of any interpretation which would be tantamount to denying the vast majority of the members of the international community—whom we must reasonably consider to be its authorized representatives, as the International Court of Justice has already pointed out on one occasion—the right to put into operation the machinery necessary for the preservation of that precious possession which belongs, with absolute equality, to each and every one of them.

98. We trust that this community spirit will finally prevail and that the negotiations which are now under way and the formulae which they produce, after consultation, of course, with all the regional groups within the United Nations, will enable us not only to overcome the present difficulties but to prepare the Organization to perform efficiently the noble duties implicit in its purposes.

99. It has quite rightly been said that ideas have an iron logic. And if it is true—if I may be allowed to revert to the idea I expressed just now—that the States represented here are united in something more than an alliance relationship, if it is true that these States form a whole, a community in the true sense of the word, then this idea of the international community implies a series of corollaries, which, applied with iron logic to the various fields of international activity, must provide us with certain true criteria which will also be just criteria, for we all know that justice is one of the facets of truth.

100. For example, it is evident that if an international community exists, its true foundation must lie in the unity of origin and nature of all the human beings comprising it. The international community must reject outright, as something which is in-

trinsically repellent, any theory, system or institution based on discriminatory principles, which disavow both the unity of our origin and the oneness of our nature.

101. The policy of apartheid, based, as it seems to be, on the most evil heresy to flourish in the modern world, the heresy of the absurd myth of racial superiority—and it must be said that this is true of all forms of racism—is not only outside the law of the Charter, it is outside the law of the international community, and the international community has not only the right but also the duty to force its recalcitrant members to comply with the minimum requirements of co-existence.

102. We are, of course, aware of the serious difficulties encountered so far and of the relative ineffectiveness of the measures adopted. Nor need I say that Uruguay will, as always, use every endeavour to ensure that all the means that the Charter places at our disposal are used to put an end to the sad fate of millions of unfortunate persons whose dignity as human beings must be restored without delay.

103. Similarly, as the international community is composed of human beings who, by natural law, enjoy inalienable rights older than and superior to the juridical order, which merely recognizes or describes them, my country will continue to urge that the Covenants on Human Rights, which the Assembly has been examining since its ninth session, receive preferential attention.

104. Although in Uruguay civil and religious freedoms are respected "to the full extent imaginable", to use the words of José Artigas, the founder of our nationality—and I can assure you that I am not exaggerating—we continue to recognize, of course, that the question of the protection of human rights cannot be considered strictly from the point of view of closed national societies.

105. While not denying the progress reflected in the incorporation of certain guarantees in the texts of our constitutions, we must recognize that whatever may be the significance of that progress, real protection can be found at the supranational level only. This is not only because the idea of international community embodies that other idea that, as the Apostle said, when one member suffers all the others suffer with it, but also because recognition of the rights of all members of the human family is, as the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says, the foundation of justice and peace in the world. No one who has signed this Declaration has the right to be surprised if there is a growing tendency to resort to the "threat to peace" idea of Article 39 of the Charter, in order to apply it in certain cases which possibly were not in the orthodoxy of San Francisco but which are certainly in the spirit of the Charter, which is a dynamic instrument, and in the spirit and letter of the Declaration.

106. This year the General Assembly will discuss the measures of implementation of the Covenants. I do not need to stress the great importance of this chapter, for upon its structure will depend, in the last resort, whether the Covenants will be more than mere declarations, like those so far adopted. On this

point Uruguay will strive to ensure not only effectiveness of protection through jurisdictional bodies, in keeping with a tradition common to it and the other Latin American countries, but also acceptance of the possibility that it will be the actual persons—and even non-governmental organizations—deprived of their fundamental rights who have access to the jurisdiction of the bodies responsible for supervising the implementation of the Covenants.

107. As you know, the Charter does not provide for the system of petitions by private persons—which it does accept, however, with respect to Non-Self-Governing Territories—nor does it grant individuals the right to appear before the International Court of Justice.

108. The fact that the United Nations receives thousands of letters and thousands of petitions a year from persons reporting violations of human rights in all parts of the world and that it can do nothing but file them shows that the present system which limits access to States is not capable of satisfying the profound, though possibly premature, hopes which the oppressed peoples of the world place in this Organization. Uruguay is the sponsor of a reasonable and balanced draft, which it submitted to the Inter-American Council of Jurists for consideration at its fourth session, held at Santiago de Chile in 1959, and we hope that we shall be able to make profitable use of it during our next discussions.

109. The international community is not, however, composed solely of individuals, although in the last resort it is the individual who is the beginning and end of every institution. The international community is formed, in the first place, of peoples and nations, whether or not their systems as States in the modern sense of the word are the most advanced. A sound and authentic conception of the international community absolutely excludes any tie, situation or dependence of a colonial character, even colonialism not motivated, as was the inhuman colonialism of the nineteenth century, by a perverted spirit of gain. The international community implies, *per se*, the radical equality of all the lesser communities, whatever their legal status, at least in that right which amounts to the same thing as the free will of men, namely, the right of self-determination. While we are still discussing whether the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is consistent with this or that Article of the Charter, I should like to recall that as long as four centuries ago Francisco de Vitoria, the founder of the "Derecho de Gentes", affirmed unequivocally, although going against the national interests of his country, the full personality in international law of non-Christian peoples, particularly those recently discovered in America, and expressed the most serious reservations with respect to the legitimacy of the system now known as trusteeship.

110. International law did not follow, nor in fact did the Western thought as a whole, the road indicated by the illustrious professor of Salamanca. In this sense, all that the historic Declaration of the Assembly, resolution 1514 (XV), has done is to reproduce, in baroque and contemporary language, the teaching of a school of which I as a Westerner am proud. But the

importance of this resolution, the tremendous impact of which no one would dare at this stage to deny, must be measured in the light of the extent to which this theory was abandoned.

111. I do not propose to examine now the measures which have been taken to put into effect the principles embodied in that Declaration. As you know, my country has from the beginning taken part in the work of the Special Committee responsible for the application of the Declaration and has the honour to be one of its Vice-Chairmen. The Committee's work, which has certainly been extensive and intensive, will be examined in due course when either the Assembly in plenary session or the Fourth Committee examines the relevant report. I only wish to point out that this year, for the first time, the Special Committee began examining the so-called small territories still under colonial domination. There is no reason to hide the fact that we encountered innumerable difficulties in this task; difficulties due, in the first place, to the lack of precise information, particularly information of a political character, which is what the Committee, which is entrusted with an eminently political function, should possess in greater detail; difficulties also due in large measure to the fact that some administering Powers have apparently not yet understood the real meaning of the Declaration, particularly with respect to the exercise of self-determination by the peoples of these small territories. As I had occasion to say in the course of some discussions, whatever the meaning of the expression "independence", which is mentioned six times in the text of the Declaration, there is not the slightest shadow of doubt that those peoples must be allowed to exercise self-determination without restrictions of any kind and not within the framework of any system, constitution or previous law; that those peoples even when the act of self-determination is accomplished in their present dependent status, must be regarded, for this purpose, as an entity capable of negotiating on an equal footing with the metropolitan Power; that the latter, in all cases and whatever its interests or whatever attitudes it may previously have adopted, will have to respect, grant and even facilitate the solutions those peoples may have chosen. While this remark does not necessarily exclude anyone else, I should like to express my admiration and appreciation of the way in which the Government of New Zealand has implemented resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to the Territories of the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelau Islands under its administration. I think that the steps that Government has taken and those it proposes to take in the near future are exactly those contemplated in the resolution, in both the letter and the spirit, and we trust that this excellent example will be followed. Lastly, the Special Committee has also had to tackle, for the first time, the case of territories in dispute, territories in which a number, generally small, of nationals of the occupying Power have displaced the original population in most cases by force. It is obvious that in these situations the rigid and indiscriminate application of the principle of self-determination might produce a result which is exactly the contrary to what is sought, that is to say, to consolidation, in one form or another, of the colonial status.

112. My delegation is glad that the Committee had the wisdom and skill, in the case of the Falkland Islands and Gibraltar, to examine the situation in the light of all the principles involved, which merit equal consideration and respect, and we trust that the parties directly concerned will conduct their negotiations in the spirit in which they were recommended and with the same intention. It also expresses its satisfaction at the fact that this solution, unanimously approved by the Committee, has been the subject of a special recommendation by the Secretary-General.

113. There is one field in which these consequences which follow, with iron logic, from the principle of the international community are patent and visible, even to the most ignorant. And sometimes we begin to wonder if those who so often consider it necessary to mention, in justification of their external policy, the paramount interests of the international community really know what they are talking about. This field, as is easily divined, is that of the economic relationship existing between States, and in particular between developed and developing States.

114. My delegation has been struck by the increasing frequency of resort to the idea that the real root of the conflict which today divides humanity lies not so much in ideological differences, in West-East dichotomy, as we who have lived a large part of our life under the sign of the cold war had thought, as in antagonism between those countries and States which have taken and continue to take the lion's share in the distribution of the world's goods and the others which are the disinherited offshoots of the international community; in other words, the real conflict seems to be not the West-East conflict but the North-South conflict.

115. I say that I was struck, because this is not the first time that my delegation has wondered if there is any meaning in a community in which—and I am giving conservative figures because actual statistics must be much harsher—500 million members suffer real hunger and another 1,000 million suffer at least malnutrition. It is not only our sense of charity and justice that rebels against this.

116. Our intelligence, too, rejects it, for in our time there is nothing novel or revolutionary in the assertion that the good things of this earth were created for the benefit of all and not just a section of humanity; and that what this section, ignoring the historical background, claims as its right is in its hands only by virtue of its administrative function, its social function, a fact which must be recognized within the nations themselves and, more important still, within international society. Just as in every society the inhuman concentration of wealth in the hands of a few has deprived the mass of the population of their natural right to the use and enjoyment of commodities which are there for the benefit and service of all, so has a similar process been taking place within the international society, with distinctions being made between rich and poor nations. Thus the problem of the just distribution of wealth now arises at the world level in the same way as it formerly arose at the national level. And if an international community truly exists, if this community is unified, as it is said to be, not only must the social function of owner-

ship be unified, in whatever hands it may be, but the international community must prescribe the means by which those property-owners—we refer to the property-owning nations—are required to make a proportionate contribution to the common welfare.

117. We note with satisfaction that provision is made for such measures in the conclusions and recommendations which emerged from the recent Conference on Trade and Development and, in particular, in the text of the "General and Special Principles" appearing in annex A to the Final Act.^{5/} We hope that you, Mr. President, will take the necessary steps to ensure that the executive bodies for which the Conference made provision are enabled to begin their work immediately. This task does not allow of pause or procrastination: every day that passes may be a day of prosperity for a few but it is certainly another day of suffering for many. It must not be forgotten that today we are watching the most remarkable revolution in history and that, for the first time since the beginning of civilization some 5,000 years ago, the majority of the human race is in a position to gain access rapidly, thanks to technology and productivity, to the enjoyment of the material and spiritual advantages of civilization which during those 5,000 years had been reserved for a tiny minority. Those who do not understand this development will pay the penalty of isolation and loneliness, which, as Toynbee says, is the social and moral price which wealth must pay as long as poverty continues to be the normal state of ordinary men and women everywhere. If the international community is a living entity, it is at the same time a legal entity, which has its own structure and within which certain principles of public order, of jus cogens, must necessarily prevail. The international community has its own rules, derived, as I have said, from its own being and this is why the States, as members of the community, must assume a series of obligations which, in a certain sense, rank higher than those arising from voluntary agreements between themselves on relations of reciprocal justice. However fervent our national feelings may be and however legitimate the life of each nation may be, as it certainly is, the autonomy of a State is not absolute and is limited not only by the equal rights of other States but also by the more general requirements of the good of humanity as a whole, without which it would be quite useless to aspire to the welfare of its members.

118. Explicit recognition of the existence of an international public order, of a genuine jus cogens irrevocably binding all States, has just been given—although the idea itself is much older—by the United Nations itself in General Assembly resolution 1902 (XVIII), in which it virtually associates itself with the report of the International Law Commission^{6/} and especially the report on the validity, duration and termination of treaties. This, at any rate, confirms our belief that the Members of the United

^{5/} 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), Annexes, annex A.I.1.

^{6/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 9 (A/5509).

Nations have no objection to recognizing the existence of an international public order to which they are subject and that all that remains to be done now is to lay down in detail the rules or content which that system of public order must have.

119. This, of course, will be no easy task. This year the Sixth Committee, when it meets, will discuss the report of the Special Committee^{7/} which has been circulated recently and deserves the most careful consideration. My delegation does not think that there should be any difficulty in agreeing that some, if not all, of the principles stated in operative paragraph 1 of resolution 1815 (XVII) are, by their very nature, true rules of jus cogens. If this were recognized, it would represent a notable advance in the development and improvement of international relations. For the small States, in particular, an explicit acknowledgment by the international community that such principles as the equality of States, self-determination, territorial integrity and non-intervention are essential elements of international public order and—as the International Law Commission stressed in the above-mentioned report—may not be the subject of negotiation, bargaining or compromise, since any treaty which violated those principles would become null and void, represents a valuable guarantee and probably, in a world in which the differences of power are so great, the only effective protection for small States against the pressures to which they have been subjected continually throughout their history.

120. I have not yet referred to what constitutes, in this nuclear age, the sine qua non of the existence of an international community: peace and such measures as may ensure or lead to peace.

121. Clearly, we small and unarmed countries can say little on the subject of disarmament except to reaffirm, in our speeches and by our votes, the support we have consistently given to every resolution which sought such lofty objectives. I do not need to repeat that Uruguay has always voted in favour of resolutions on disarmament, as it voted in favour of the resolutions on the suspension, cessation and dissemination of nuclear tests and weapons; that it sponsored and vigorously defended the creation of a denuclearized zone in Latin America and that it is prepared to support, with equal sincerity, any effort in this direction during the present session. It must be remembered that it is the so-called small countries that have made the greatest contribution to all United Nations peace-keeping activities, from their physical contribution to the "blue-helmet" contingents to their active participation in every committee or working group that has been set up for that purpose. It must also be remembered that, for the small nations, peace has

always been a unique blessing. Prior to the nuclear age, other more powerful nations could sail the stormy waters of war, with varying fortunes. For the small nations this choice never existed. For them, peace has always been not only a prerequisite for their physical survival but also the only condition on which their Governments could fulfil their purpose and their mission: to secure the happiness of their peoples.

122. But we aspire to a real and genuine peace, to that kind of peace which President Kennedy described in his memorable speech at the American University in June 1963, which is neither pax americana nor pax sovietica, to the peace which he defined, with unsurpassable precision and honesty, as "the necessary rational end of rational men".

123. There is nothing unexpected about this attitude. Uruguay is not a great country, if we measure greatness in terms of military power—which is an illusory standard of measurement—but it is one which, because of a unique trait of national character, has made the struggle for justice and peace a national cult. We were one of the first, as early as The Hague Conference in 1907,^{8/} to proclaim the rule of compulsory arbitration. Our Constitution provides that all treaties concluded shall include a clause to the effect that any disputes which may arise between the parties shall be settled by arbitration or other peaceful means. Moreover, of the 115 sovereign States represented here, the earliest recognition of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, in accordance with Article 36 (2) of its Statute, was that of my country.

124. This zeal for peace was no sudden inspiration; like all nations, we had to serve our apprenticeship of peace and it was not an easy task. But we finally discovered that peace must be achieved through conciliation and a spirit of compromise, for history has shown that what might be called "total victory" does not exist. Peace is the result "par excellence" of political compromise. As our Secretary-General, U Thant, said when he took office: "No difficult problem can be solved to the complete satisfaction of all sides. We live in an imperfect world, and have to accept imperfect solutions, which become more acceptable as we learn to live with them and as time passes by."

125. When we feel tempted to yield to impatience, it is well to remember that peace is the fruit of perseverance, modesty and patience and that experience shows that it is only by modest, patient and persevering efforts that good and lasting results can be achieved. Someone once said—and this definition has always delighted me—that God, too, is unlimited patience.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

^{7/} Report of the Special Committee on Technical Assistance to Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law (General Assembly resolution 1968 (XVIII), 16 December 1963).

^{8/} Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, The Hague, 18 October 1907.