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*President:* Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KHAIR (Sudan): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of the Sudan, it gives me the greatest pleasure to congratulate you on your election to this high office of unique responsibility. Your unanimous election is a reflection of one of the measures of the esteem in which you and your country, Venezuela, are held by the Members of this Organization. A son of the native land of Simon Bolivar, born and brought up in the admirable traditions of Latin American civilization, endowed with the intelligence, competence, integrity and wisdom which we all recognize in you, you possess all the qualities and attributes that promise us a smooth and hopeful sailing on this eighteenth voyage of our ship of the United Nations. The signs on the horizon, as we read them, promise us fair winds.

2. The United Nations is now eighteen years old. The ashes of the Second World War under whose warmth the San Francisco Conference was held, have by now been blown away by the winds of change onto the shores of reality. In the broad historic process of these eighteen years, each session of the General Assembly has marked a step forward—though a slow and hesitant step—towards the attainment of the ideals of the Charter. We join our prayers to yours, Mr. President, that this eighteenth session will be no exception, all the more so since it convenes in the auspicious wake of the Moscow Treaty<sup>1/</sup> and the Addis Ababa Conference.<sup>2/</sup>

3. In your eloquent and wise opening address to this session of the General Assembly [1206th meeting], you referred to three political imperatives, which since the Second World War have emerged with irresistible force and are shaping the course of history in this second half of the twentieth century. You, Mr. Presi-

dent, have categorized these as: first, the outlawing of war as a means of settling international disputes; second, the abolition of the dependence of certain peoples on others; and third, international co-operation with a view to improving the standards of living of the developing countries. We fully agree with this general categorization of the problems that face mankind today.

4. Although I intend to devote the main theme of my intervention to these imperatives, I intend, in the process, to make some short comments on two other closely related categories of imperatives whose challenge to the cause of international harmony is not less ominous. I am referring to the misery that man is capable of inflicting on man as symbolized by the Palestinian tragedy and the apartheid régime in South Africa.

5. With regard to the first imperative, disarmament, my delegation has this to say. The problem is not a new one. Even before the days of the United Nations, going back to the League of Nations, its persistence had for a long time been the nightmare of good men in every land. The question of the necessity of finding solutions to the problem was clearly spelt out in the Charter of the United Nations as a necessary ingredient in the maintenance of international peace and security. If, in the pre-atomic world, the question of disarmament had constituted one of man's cardinal problems, in the atomic age in which we have been destined to live for the last eighteen years the problem has assumed staggeringly fearful proportions. We have always maintained in this forum that the question of the cessation of nuclear tests and the control and destruction of existing stockpiles of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons was an indispensable first step on the road to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

6. This year we meet in an atmosphere of optimism, resplendent with hope and rich in opportunity. The historic partial test-ban treaty signed in Moscow on the eve of this session of the General Assembly came as a shaft of light across the darkness which overshadowed the future of humanity. The Moscow Treaty is, as a principal signatory to it has rightly remarked, "a step towards peace, a step towards reason, a step away from war". For the first time in history we have seen that the leaders of the great Powers have mirrored the sentiments, both of hope and fear, of the whole of mankind. We consider that this treaty, although limited to three environments only—in the atmosphere, outer space and under water—and although marginal to the central problem of general and complete disarmament, is an important step in the direction we all wish to travel together.

7. Although this treaty will directly serve the humanitarian purpose of limiting the pollution of the air which we all breathe, and although it will restrict the

<sup>1/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow, 5 August 1963.

<sup>2/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, 22-25 May 1963.

proliferation of nuclear weapons, it leaves much to be desired, even at this initial stage. It does not encompass underground testing, whatever the arguments for or against that kind of testing. It will not halt or restrict the production of nuclear weapons. It will not dispose of or reduce existing stockpiles. It would not, after all, restrict the use of these weapons if a war, against humanity's anguished prayers, were to take place by calculation or accident, and under present conditions such a war might put an end to all forms of life on this planet. And if from such a war there were likely to be any survivors, these survivors would have every reason to envy the dead. But none the less, this is an opportunity, an historic opportunity, which we should make the most of to reduce international tension, to slow down the perilous nuclear arms race and to check humanity's slide down to the abyss of final oblivion.

8. Let us make this treaty, however partial, universal in its obligation by the accession of all States to it. We should follow this up by sustained efforts to secure a treaty banning underground tests. When we have succeeded in this, as succeed we must, we should then concentrate our immediate attention on the important question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The Sudan has already intimated to the Secretary-General its support of this proposal and its willingness to subscribe to such a convention immediately it is open for signature.

9. These things we are in duty bound to do, not only for the sake of all of us, whether strong or weak, who live in these anxious days, but for the same of our children and grandchildren and those who follow in their wake. Posterity, it has wisely been said, has no lobby in the nuclear capitals or in the United Nations.

10. As has been pointed out, another historic development that will mark 1963 as unique in the annals of history is the conference held at Addis Ababa which saw the birth of African unity. There the Heads of States and Governments of all independent African nations assembled, for the first time in history, in solemn conclave to devote and dedicate themselves and to commit their nations to the cause of our mother continent and that of her sons and daughters. For many years now, since the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra in 1958, the goals of African unity have been the specific objects which have occupied our minds at all times.

11. To many, especially outside Africa, this seemed a far-removed dream, a deceptive mirage or even an inaccessible utopia. We knew there were difficulties on the road to the ideal of unity. The sceptics, who even on the eve of the Addis Ababa Conference were in the majority, succumbed to the temptation of exaggerating our differences. They maintained that the divisions left behind by colonialism could not be transcended. It pleased them to think that differences of cultures, of race, of language, of heritage, and so on were incapable of solution.

12. These sceptics in particular dwelt on the political groupings that existed in the pre-Addis Ababa Africa as an obstinate barrier to unity, but, as is now common knowledge, once the Heads of African States and Governments met in solemn conclave in Addis Ababa, each of these barriers was shaken and was revealed to be more artificial than had been supposed. We do not claim that we solved all our differences in Addis

Ababa, because, after all, the participants were men, like any other group of men. But in Addis Ababa we effected an historic confrontation and, thanks to God, we came to an agreement. We produced and adopted a charter of unity which we trust, as it is binding on us, will establish a title to respect by the international community at large.

13. Those who read and ponder the contents of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity will no doubt find out that we are a league for the good not only of Africa, but of humanity at large. Consonant with the maxim that charity starts at home, we naturally paid the bulk of our attention to Africa, but we did not try to shun or evade our collective responsibility to the rest of humanity. In article II of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity we explicitly and solemnly undertook to "promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

14. We, in the Sudan, have embarked on the irreversible path of translating the promises of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity into living tangible realities. Our capital, Khartoum, has been accorded the honour of playing host to two conferences designed to put teeth into the Addis Ababa resolutions. The Conference of African Finance Ministers has already agreed on the establishment of an African development bank, with an initial capital of \$250 million, to help realize productive development projects on a continental basis. Last month the heads of thirty-five African universities and university colleges met on the campus of the University of Khartoum on the banks of the Nile to lay the solid cornerstones of Africa's educational and cultural co-operation—one of the fundamental purposes of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

15. As was to be expected, the main thoughts of the Addis Ababa Conference were addressed to the questions of colonialism and racialism, and this brings me to the second imperative, that is, the abolition of the dependence of certain peoples on others. We must say that great strides have been made in this field in the post-war period; the members of this family of sovereign independent nations have more than doubled over the past eighteen years, with the result that we are coming closer and closer to the realization of the Charter's objective of universality. But to say this is not to say that colonialism, though cataleptic, is completely dead.

16. In the African continent we still witness numerous forms of the injustice, domination and oppression which characterize this obsolete and evil system. The situation in the Portuguese territories, as is well known, continues to deteriorate. A fierce armed conflict is raging in Angola and Portuguese Guinea between the forces of liberation and freedom and those of senseless oppression. The dormant volcano in Mozambique threatens to erupt at any moment. The Government of Portugal has not, we regret to note, made the slightest move to comply with the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions with regard to these unhappy territories. They have instead continued to take shelter behind the transparent myth that these African territories constitute integral parts of metropolitan Portugal or that those Africans leading the struggle for liberation are bands of terrorists deriving inspiration from outside subversive influences. Both of these claims have, of course, been rejected by

both the General Assembly and the Security Council, because no such claims can be accepted by any reasonable man living well into the second half of the twentieth century. Portugal would do well, even for its own sake, to adopt the example of former colonial empires in Africa.

17. Colonies are made to be lost. They are born with the cross of death on their brows. The measures adopted by the African Heads of State in Addis Ababa, and subsequently ratified by individual Governments, with regard to Portugal's policy in Africa, were not, and could not have been, prompted by any intrinsic vindictiveness towards Portugal *per se*. We will all be happy, and Portugal herself will stand to gain, when Portugal sees the wisdom of drastic changes in its archaic policies in Africa, changes that will respond to the realities of the times and will ensure for the African people in Portuguese-dominated territories their legitimate right to self-determination, freedom and human dignity. We agree with the conclusions of the Sub-Committee on Angola when, in its report of 1961, it said:

"What is needed is readiness to understand the new forces in the world, courage to accept change, and wisdom to formulate and pursue viable means towards an enduring peaceful solution."<sup>3/</sup>

18. The situation still obtaining in Southern Rhodesia is by no means any happier. It is a situation of which we are all so unhappily aware. The reaction of the Government and people of the Sudan to the recent regrettable turn of events in that territory was stated to the United Nations during the sixteenth session of General Assembly [1113th meeting]. Then we denied, as we deny today, the contention of the United Kingdom delegation that, because, in their view, Southern Rhodesia had enjoyed a measure of self-government since 1923 based on a special relationship, that has presumably subsisted since that day. The United Nations has, however, notwithstanding British contentions to the contrary, decided that Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. Recently, the attention of the United Nations was brought into focus when the Security Council was convened last month to discuss the recent disturbing situation resulting from the decision of the United Kingdom Government not only to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to the white-minority Government, but also to transfer to that Government a white army of four battalions and one of the strongest air forces in Africa.

19. One would have thought the decision of the Security Council prohibiting the shipment of arms to South Africa<sup>4/</sup> would be a sufficient guide to Members, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, with regard to the situation prevailing there. The situation in Southern Rhodesia contains the same elements of danger as the one in South Africa. We all know that the two Governments champion the same discreditable cause and would naturally be expected to come to each other's aid. The Government of the United Kingdom has, under the Charter, an obligation to the African people of Southern Rhodesia—comprising 90 per cent of the population—which it cannot and should not shun. We hope and pray that the United

Kingdom, true to its tradition and its colonial record, will do nothing in Southern Rhodesia which will indelibly mar that tradition and irreparably damage that record.

20. The Government and people of the Sudan are unreservedly opposed to any manifestations of racial discrimination and intolerance wherever they are practised, anywhere in the world. In this connexion, the General Assembly is once again seized of the question of the race relations, or the so-called apartheid, in the Republic of South Africa. This obnoxious policy has gone down in the annals of history as a criminal policy, to use the terms of the historic summit conference of the Heads of African States and Governments held in Addis Ababa in May of this year.

21. In spite of the twenty-eight resolutions passed by this Assembly and the Security Council in condemnation of this practice, and in spite of the countless voices raised throughout the whole world against the continuance of this obsolete myth of racial superiority, we note with profound indignation that whenever the United Nations passes a resolution condemning the practice of apartheid, the Republic of South Africa responds by tightening up these repulsive policies and practices. Apartheid is the evil within that disturbs the peace without. So much is known in the world about this ghastly drama that one feels sick in speaking about it. No logic, however counterfeit, will countenance the arguments advanced in defence of this policy and no stretch of the imagination, however malevolent, can succeed in justifying this deliberate senselessness to any reasonable human being, and even less so in the eyes of God, Who does not classify His creatures by the colour of their skins. Religion, law and morality aside, what is there in politics to justify this situation? Cannot the authorities in South Africa realize that even if they were somehow able to keep a man down for a time, they could never do so forever? This is the law of life as ordained by the Almighty God, and no minority, however momentarily strong, can change that eternal law. Nobody has any intention of denying the white settlers in South Africa a place in the land in which they have chosen, by their own will, to make a home. They need only to live in amity and equality with the indigenous majority of the population.

22. The Security Council, in its decision of August,<sup>5/</sup> has for the first time recognized that the racial policies of apartheid not only are a violation of basic human rights under the Charter, but are also a source of disturbance to international peace and security.

23. We note with satisfaction, from the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/5501/Add.1, section V], that after three years of tragedy and anxiety the Republic of the Congo has embarked on the road to national unity and stability. We note from the introduction to this report that the Secretary-General advocates, *inter alia*, that, in view of the considerably improved situation, especially in the military field, an early withdrawal and winding-up of the United Nations Force in the Congo should be envisaged. While we fully understand all the reasons which have led the Secretary-General to advance this suggestion, and while we agree with the suggestion that the time must come when the Government of the Congo must assume all responsibility for security and law and order in the country, nevertheless the Sudan Government is sympathetic to

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16, para. 480.

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5386.

<sup>5/</sup> *Ibid.*

the appeal made by the Government of the Congo for the United Nations Force to remain in the Congo for the first half of 1964. We trustingly hope that in spite of the difficulties involved, this Organization will find its way to a favourable response to the appeal of the Congolese Government, in the hope that that Government will not find it necessary to renew a similar request at the end of the extended period. We feel that it would be a pity if the United Nations, after all the sacrifices it has made in the Congo over the past few years, were to leave behind in the Congo any feeling of resentment or sense of abandonment.

24. In many fundamental respects similar to the situation prevailing in the Republic of South Africa is the equally evil phenomenon that has brought about the tragedy of Palestine and given birth to a situation that has plagued life in the Middle East for the last fifteen years. It is particularly painful, although imperative, for the Sudan delegation to refer once again to this question because of the most ominous threat it poses to stability and security in one of the most explosive regions of the world, the Middle East. If we are agreed that this eighteenth session of the General Assembly is meeting in an auspicious climate, if we agree that we should take advantage of this favourable climate to discuss fairly, constructively and truthfully all the major problems that disturb, sometimes very violently, the tranquillity of international life, that impair amity among nations, and that embitter and poison relations between man and man, we should agree that the question of Palestine is not merely a question of keeping 1.5 million human beings alive. Feeding the Palestine Arab refugees, although a necessary act of human solidarity, is no solution to the basic problem.

25. The problem is basically political and national. It is the problem of an entire nation torn away from its ancestral national home by forces of treachery and aggression and thrown into a life of injustice, torture, despair and degradation beyond the facilities of expression. It is a cold fact of history that these people who are now made the object of international charity, had before 1947 enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the Middle East. It is also a fact that these Arab refugees own 90 per cent of the land of Palestine—property worth billions of dollars, the annual income of which is much greater than the amounts collected by the United Nations to keep them alive.

26. As is well known, the General Assembly prescribed a remedy for the problem as far back as 1948. By resolution 194 (III), the General Assembly set the basic juridical norm with regard to this question. That resolution gave the refugees a free choice between returning to their homes or being compensated for their losses. That verdict of the General Assembly has been reiterated over and over again up to this day.

27. In the intervening years we have heard various arguments. Israel contends that the smallness of the territory and the scarcity of resources rule out the possibility of repatriation. How can we accept that thesis in the face of the incontrovertible fact that Israel is actively encouraging immigration of alien Jews from every corner of the earth to come and settle in Israel? In 1948 the Jewish population of Palestine was about 750,000. Today we are informed that the population has jumped to almost 3 million.

28. Another thesis that has also been advanced in recent years is that an approach to a solution of the prob-

lem should be based on what is called "a recognition of the realities of the situation". In the light of what I said a while ago, I wonder what these "realities" are. To condone aggression? To flout United Nations resolutions? To throw one-and-a-half million human beings into gas chambers, where no such things exist? Or, through compulsion, to pull the trigger firing a highly loaded magazine, the explosion of which might engulf areas beyond the Middle East?

29. In our humble view, the problem of Palestine can be solved only by impartial recognition of the origins and facts of the situation and on the principle of elemental justice to the Palestine Arab refugees, who have done nobody any wrong.

30. The situations I have felt called upon to refer to—though drastic in their bearing on international peace and security—by no means exhaust the list of irritants to the Organization's quest for international peace and harmony. The ancient, small and peaceful people of Oman and their neighbours of the southern Arabian Peninsula have been left with no choice but to enter a tragic struggle between unequal forces to vindicate their God-given right to achieve their legitimate aspirations to independence and dignity. The struggle of the people of Oman and their neighbours of the southern Arabian Peninsula to shake off the suffocating yoke which the interference of colonialism has tightened around their necks should receive from this Organization recognition and assertion of their right to self-determination and to liberty. We have always maintained, as we maintain today, that the United Nations is under a duty, juridical as well as moral, to bring its influence to bear to find an equitable solution that will ensure to the people of Oman and the other people of the southern Arabian Peninsula the free exercise of their right to self-determination and thereby take a step forward on the road towards peace among nations.

31. Neither are we unmindful of events in Southeast Asia which have added new problems to the heavy weight of responsibility with which the United Nations has to live. The Sudan has always upheld the principle of religious beliefs and freedom of worship. We are a multi-religious State whose citizenship includes Moslems, Christians, Jews, animists and pagans. As such, we are opposed to religious discrimination or persecution wherever it takes place.

32. I referred awhile ago to the question of the universality of the United Nations. Some States which some of us recognize as entitled to membership are excluded either because they are divided or because of their political and social systems. Regarding the first category, we believe that we should voice our disquiet at the possible development of the question of countries divided by war or by the ruthless interplay of power politics. I have in mind Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam. We believe that in this field the big Powers have a responsibility to discharge. We hope that they will spare no effort in the way of direct consultations to put an end to these human tragedies and to work conscientiously in order to achieve solutions based on the will of the people concerned and the principles of the Charter.

33. Prominent in the second category is the question of the proper representation of the People's Republic of China. The United Nations was clearly not intended as a club of "like-minded States". Widely differing ideologies and political and economic systems were



meant to find their place. We feel that the United Nations will gain in strength and prestige if it does not close its doors to the established representatives of a quarter of the inhabitants of the earth—a Government whose decisions can colour in very strong relief the chart of the future march of humanity. In humanity's anxious efforts to find solutions to its most pressing problem—disarmament—China's military significance cannot be conveniently or safely ignored.

34. Another question on which my Government feels very strongly is the question of the expansion of the principal organs of the United Nations in order to ensure a more equitable and balanced representation for the sixty new Member States that have joined the Organization since 1945. Our arguments in this regard are simple and have been made known over the years. The Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, as presently constituted, do not reflect the changed composition of the membership of the Organization. Some regions of the world are over-represented, some are under-represented, and others are hardly represented at all. We know that we can rely on all the Members of the Organization to understand and sympathize with our concern over this matter.

35. Before I conclude, I should like to say a few words about the third political imperative, that is, international co-operation with a view to improving the standards of living of the developing countries.

36. The world economic community must take pride in the fact that it has achieved, during the past year, some progress in its consistent and indeed concerted attack against poverty and under-development. Modest as they were, these achievements represent a movement in the right direction. The principal feature of this development has been the relative growth of exports in international trade and a slight increase in commodity prices. Further, there has been a wider recognition of the role of international trade as an instrument of economic development.

37. The programme of action formulated during the GATT Meeting of Ministers last May, although not fully adopted, will nevertheless provide the basic principles that will guide the next round of international trade negotiations between the contracting parties. It must be emphasized in this connexion that the principle of reciprocity may have a determining effect in any forthcoming trade negotiations between the developed and the developing countries, and the outcome may largely depend on the form which the concept of reciprocity may eventually assume. In the view of my delegation, it is not realistic on the part of the developed countries to expect full reciprocity from the less-developed areas, because the latter view of trade expansion in the context of balanced economic growth. Full reciprocity on tariff and non-tariff protection is bound to impede the development of industry and other means of diversifying the economies of primary procedures.

38. Another encouraging feature on the world economic scene has been the formulation of specific and positive proposals for the United Nations Development Decade. However, these proposals will remain a dead letter unless we translate the objectives of the Decade into practical realities. The means of financing the Decade, whether in terms of external development capital or internal domestic savings, are lagging. The recent changes in the pattern of aid allocation, the decline in the flow of long-term private capital and the

increased consciousness by the developed countries of the so-called economic effects of foreign aid on their own capacities have in combination depressed the prospect of providing adequate financing for the Development Decade. If this tendency should persist, the developing countries would have to rely on their own domestic resources and export proceeds to promote their economic development and compete in the international money market. However, the rate of progress will be far below the targets envisaged in the Development Decade. It is doubtful that the modest increase in multilateral assistance and in the loanable resources of international finance institutions will fully meet, in the near future, the global need for long-term low-interest investment capital. I am sure, however, that the developing countries appreciate the efforts of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association in having extended the scope of their activities, as well as those of the International Monetary Fund for the recent relaxation of its policies on the use of its resources. In the past fiscal year, the International Bank has committed the highest volume of funds in its history to financing development projects.

39. It is in this framework and for the reasons implied in my past observations that my Government welcomes whole-heartedly the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is to be convened in Geneva on 23 March 1964. I am glad that the idea of the Conference has survived the avalanche of controversy and disagreement which has marked its development ever since it was conceived two years ago. My delegation has had the honour of supporting the project and of co-sponsoring the various resolutions that relate to it. I therefore do not propose to go into any detail beyond expressing our firm belief in the objectives set out for the Conference and our great hopes for its success. If the Conference proceeds as envisaged, it will, I am sure, be the greatest single economic event in recent history and the largest conference ever held under the auspices of the United Nations. It is unique in its diverse membership, in its long duration, in its complex agenda, in the painstaking and careful preparation currently being undertaken by the United Nations Secretariat and, above all, in its basic theme, namely, that expansion of international trade is a major component of development plans. This is indeed a significant emphasis and a principal departure from the outmoded consideration of trade and development in water-tight compartments.

40. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development cannot succeed if we approach it with a divided heart. It cannot succeed if it is to be used as a forum for exploration and academic discussions and a mouthpiece for expressing lofty hopes and noble sentiments. In our view, it is a business conference of the first order and should be treated in the most serious and business-like manner. It must define the problems of international trade and development and seek specific solutions. It must formulate a programme of work and devise the proper implementing machinery. It must have immediate results and effect long-term adjustments and transformations. Finally, it must harmonize the conflicting interests of its members lest these conflicts generate forces which will undermine its very basis.

41. I feel that I could not leave this rostrum without paying my delegation's warm tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, and his collaborators of all ranks

and all grades—whether military or civilian, whether serving at Headquarters or in the field—for their singular devotion to the cause of peace. The important role which the Secretary-General personally played during the Cuban crisis of last year contributed in great measure to the easing of the tensions which had brought us so close to the brink of nuclear calamity. Of no lesser measure has been his contribution to the considerably improved situation presently prevailing in the Congo. His constant, patient and courageous efforts in narrowing the gap between the protagonists in the cold war have earned him universal acclaim. We wish him success in all his endeavours on behalf of peace.

42. Mr. LIU (China): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government and delegation, let me first of all extend to you our sincere congratulations on your election to your high office. Those of us who have come to know you and your personal qualities have no doubt you will guide this crucial session of the General Assembly to a fruitful conclusion. My delegation is particularly impressed by your inaugural speech as President of the General Assembly, which bears eloquent testimony to your sense of justice and unwavering faith in the principles of the Charter.

43. We live in a moment of history which is fraught with unprecedented dangers as well as unprecedented opportunities. The development of nuclear weapons has reached a point where a single miscalculation can wipe out life on much of this planet. Yet the same nuclear energy which is capable of mass destruction can also be harnessed to the service of man. Modern science and technology have opened up vistas of change and progress which stagger the imagination. The conquest of disease and poverty is clearly within reach. Despite all the crises and upheavals, we refuse to believe that sanity and reason will not in the end triumph, that mankind is destined to extinction, that man cannot use his creative resources to make this world a better, safer, and happier place in which to live.

44. It is in this context that the recently concluded treaty on a partial nuclear test ban has been hailed as an historic event. Men of goodwill everywhere fervently pray that the treaty, limited as it is, will mark the beginning of a new era in world affairs. In common with all humanity, the people and Government of the Republic of China welcome the test-ban treaty. We have signified our support of the treaty by acceding to it. We are, however, fully aware that this is at best only a start toward larger goals, goals that are still not easily attainable. The very exclusion of underground testing from the purview of the treaty is in itself significant, indicating that suspicion and mistrust continue to cast a dark shadow over world relations. The cold war, though presently conducted in less frigid terms, has by no means come to an end. The drive toward Communist expansion on a world-wide basis has not ceased. So long as this is the case, peace—genuine peace—will, I am afraid, continue to elude us.

45. It is not my intention to paint the world scene in unduly sombre colours. But while believing the partial nuclear test-ban treaty is a step in the right direction, we should not allow our enthusiasm for it to blind us to the harsh realities. The Soviet Union has undoubtedly compelling reasons to shrink from the appalling consequences of nuclear war. This, however, in no way contradicts the fact that Communism assumes the necessity of continued conflict. The signing of the

treaty, praiseworthy as it is, does not alter an iota the basic Soviet plan to remake the world in its own image. "Peaceful coexistence", whatever the slogan might mean, certainly does not include ideological coexistence. The Soviet Foreign Minister, in his address to this Assembly on 19 September, has plainly told us:

"...we, the representatives of the world of socialism, have indeed waged and will go on waging an unremitting struggle for the triumph of the ideals of socialism and communism. We shall accept no ideological compromise ..."\* [1208th meeting, para. 110.]

46. It is precisely this grand design to communize the world that has brought about the enslavement of the people on the Chinese mainland, that has kept such countries as Germany, Korea, Viet-Nam, and Laos divided, that has transformed Cuba into a base of subversion for the Western Hemisphere, that has given impetus to the arms race, that has thrown the world into a jungle of lawlessness and chaos.

47. Speaking from this rostrum almost exactly a year ago, I said:

"In Laos, a new coalition régime has just been set up. Let us hope that, in spite of the continued presence of large bodies of foreign communist forces in that country, this will not prove to be only another step towards eventual communist take-over." [1142nd meeting, para. 22.]

48. The events that have since taken place, I regret to say, have confirmed my worst fears. The coalition régime has proved itself a precarious one. The Pathet Lao leaders have shown no intention of abiding by the Geneva agreement. Fighting has been going on since last April. The Laotian Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, in his speech before this Assembly on 21 September, made this abundantly clear when he said:

"This war, willed and maintained from abroad, has been of a devastating nature. It is planned and promoted in quarters characteristic of the fact that certain countries have an interest in seeing our country a prey to disorder because, with such disorder, it would be possible to set up an authoritarian régime which nobody in Laos wants." [1210th meeting, para. 17.]

Prince Souvanna Phouma said further:

"Attempts to divide and undermine the purely symbolic forces placed under my authority have been organized and carried out by persons hostile to Laotian neutrality, the internal consolidation of which might run counter to their political ambitions." [Ibid., para. 23.]

49. Communist aggression against peaceful countries is not confined to Laos. In the Republic of Viet-Nam, the Communist gangster war of horror and assassination goes on with unabated ferocity. The much publicized internal difficulties with which the Republic of Viet-Nam is confronted should not divert the attention of the world community from the real danger, the danger of Communist aggression. It cannot be too strongly or too often emphasized that what is at stake here is not merely the fate of one country, but the freedom and independence of all the peoples of Southeast Asia.

\*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

50. Elsewhere in Asia, I may mention in passing the understandable concern of India regarding the Chinese Communist military build-up along its border areas. I may also mention the fact that along the 38th parallel in Korea, quiescent for some years, there has been of late a resurgence of Communist violence. Thus, Communist activities, ranging from direct military pressure to infiltration and subversion, pose a real and present threat to the peace and security of the vast Asian continent.

51. In Europe, Berlin remains a danger spot. The Soviet Foreign Minister's speech before this Assembly provides scant comfort for those who would like to see Germany reunited through the process of self-determination. His vitriolic attack on the Federal Republic of Germany is particularly disquieting. His insistence on formalizing and perpetuating the division of Germany through the conclusion of a peace treaty on Soviet terms is hardly in accord with the aspirations of the German people.

52. In October 1962, the Soviet installation of a series of missile sites in Cuba brought the world to the brink of catastrophe. The danger of direct nuclear confrontation was avoided, but as long as Cuba represents an extension of Soviet power in the Western Hemisphere and serves as an accomplice in the Communist conspiracy for world domination, it constitutes a direct threat to the security of the American States at a time when they are making a new concerted effort for economic progress and social betterment.

53. I have touched upon some of the most critical areas of the contemporary world. The roots of the conflict are found in the fact that there are those who, armed with an aggressive and absolutist ideology, are out to impose their way of life upon all mankind. This conflict cannot but be reflected in this Organization. The division of the world into irreconcilable camps has distorted the vision of San Francisco—the vision of a true community of nations, united in spirit and purpose, dedicated to the maintenance of international peace and security on the basis of law and justice, to the protection of fundamental freedoms and human rights, and to the promotion of social progress and better standards of life for all peoples.

54. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report, rightly draws our attention to the role which the United Nations has played during the past year. In reviewing the work of the Organization during the past seventeen years, however, we cannot but come to the conclusion that, in spite of its successes in some fields, its accomplishments have fallen far short of expectations. The world situation, since 1945, has not been such as to make it possible for the United Nations to play the kind of role envisaged at the time of its formation—to become a true centre where all serious conflicts of national interests may be harmonized and where all vital issues of war and peace can be resolved. As a consequence, some of the momentous problems of our time—problems affecting the lives of millions and the peace and security of large regions—have not been and are not being dealt with by the United Nations but are relegated to other groupings outside the framework of this Organization. Perhaps this is inevitable. But the fact remains that the lack of unity of purpose has tarnished the image of the United Nations as the protector of peace.

55. It is generally recognized that if the United Nations is to meet the challenges of our hazardous

age, it must be endowed with new vitality, new strength. As a free association of sovereign States, however, the United Nations can be only as strong and effective as its Members make it. All too often short-range national interests are allowed to prevail over the common interests of the world community. All too often the General Assembly and the Security Council, in an effort to facilitate agreement, have not hesitated to resort to expediency at the expense of vital Charter principles. This is what the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, had in mind when he sounded this note of warning in the introduction to his annual report written shortly before his tragic death:

"It is my firm conviction that any result bought at the price of a compromise with the principles and ideals of the Organization, either by yielding to force, by disregard of justice, by neglect of common interests or by contempt for human rights, is bought at too high a price. That is so because a compromise with its principles and purposes weakens the Organization in a way representing a definite loss for the future that cannot be balanced by any immediate advantage achieved." <sup>6/</sup>

This readiness to yield to force, to disregard justice, to neglect human rights, or to ignore the common interests of the Organization, has been to a large extent responsible for the so-called "crisis of confidence" in the United Nations.

56. At its present session, the General Assembly has on its agenda many questions of transcendental importance for the future of humanity. Not all these are new. Some are as old as the United Nations itself. The question of disarmament even outdates the United Nations and harks back to the League of Nations.

57. Let me make a brief observation. The precondition for successful disarmament is the existence of mutual confidence. If the signing of the partial nuclear test ban could in fact help create an international climate conducive to the establishment of confidence, meaningful progress in disarmament would naturally follow. Yet, even in such a circumstance, spectacular results are out of question. The issues involved—political, military and technical—are far too complex to allow easy and quick solutions. Progressive and balanced disarmament, coupled with on-site inspections, are the best assurance for security. No "crash" disarmament plan can be regarded as a business-like and realistic approach to the problem. The Soviet proposal to convene a conference in Moscow of the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament "with the participation of leading statesmen of the highest level" to be held in the first half of 1964, is hardly calculated to achieve a break-through. It will only serve to deepen the suspicion that the Soviet Union intends to make as much political capital out of disarmament as possible.

58. The problem of economic development rightly occupies a position of high priority on the agenda of the Assembly. The fruits of science and technology must be made available to all the peoples of the world. The living standards of the peoples of the emerging nations must be improved. This is no less important than the maintenance of peace and security. For there can be no lasting peace if two-thirds of mankind are condemned to hunger, disease and ignorance.

<sup>6/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement IA, section V.

59. In redeeming the overwhelming majority of the world's population from the sub-human conditions in which they live, the United Nations has a special responsibility. The United Nations Development Decade programme launched last year is an attempt to tackle this problem in an integrated manner. It has already sharpened the sense of purpose within the Organization.

60. Economic development calls for the inter-play of a multiplicity of factors: modern technical knowledge, capital accumulation, trained manpower, and sound development plans. The United Nations and the specialized agencies have already done much in these fields. But much remains to be done.

61. The problem of economic development is so complex and vast that it is, as President Kennedy has rightly pointed out in his address before this Assembly, "the task of all nations—acting alone, acting in groups and acting in the United Nations" [1209th meeting, para. 57]. In the past few years, my Government has, on a modest scale, begun to contribute its share to this endeavour. Being ourselves in the midst of development, we believe our experience can be of value to other developing countries. The success of our land reform programme, which has enabled the farmers to own the land they till and has thus provided them with the incentive to increase agricultural production by 100 per cent, is an example of what can be done to improve the living standards of the people through democratic means and without resorting to the coercive measures used in the communist countries. Our farming methods and techniques are now being introduced to other lands through farm demonstration teams. Since 1954, over 1,000 agricultural workers from twenty-one Asian and African countries has received training in Taiwan. This has served to promote friendship and mutual benefit.

62. Before I leave the subject of economic development, let me stress yet another point. The lifting of standards of living cannot be achieved in one day. To ensure broad progress, a down-to-earth system of priorities must be mapped out. As our first task is to provide an adequate supply of the basic necessities of life, energy and resources should not be squandered merely for the sake of seeking superficial prestige. Inasmuch as the very purpose of development is to advance the dignity of man, there can be no room for any form of coercive regimentation in the use of labour. Personal incentive and initiative must be encouraged, and they must be channelled toward promoting the general welfare of the community as a whole and not for the benefit of a few. In other words, both the creation and distribution of wealth should only proceed on the basis of social justice.

63. No development in the United Nations in recent years has been more dramatic than the growth of its membership. The majority of the new Members are from Africa. Their emergence from colonial rule to independent statehood testifies to the acceleration of the decolonization process. The process is still incomplete. But the rising tide of nationalism is well-nigh irresistible. Sooner or later all remnants of colonial rule will be swept from the face of the globe. My delegation unreservedly supports the aspirations of the colonial peoples for freedom.

64. It is hardly necessary to remind the Assembly that the struggle of dependent peoples for independence and freedom is world-wide and extends itself beyond the confines of Africa. General Assembly resolution

1415 (XV) is thus applicable not only to Angola, Mozambique and other African territories under European rule, but also to Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the non-Russian ethnic groups within the Soviet empire including the captive peoples of East Europe.

✓65. With the growth of the United Nations family, the question of adequate representation of Asia and Africa in the principal organs of the United Nations becomes a question of great urgency. This can be done either through a general review of the Charter as provided for in Article 109, or through amendments to the Charter as provided for in Article 108.

66. The Soviet Union, however, has been opposed to both, using the bogus and totally irrelevant question of the representation of China as the "reason" for the opposition. The real reason is, I believe, something quite different. A general conference for Charter review, if held, might seek to restrict the veto power possessed by the permanent members of the Security Council, thus depriving the Soviet Union of a potent weapon to block United Nations action in the cause of peace. Charter revision is also unacceptable to the Soviet Union because it would have the effect of giving the Asian and African members a preponderance of influence in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. The Soviet Union, notwithstanding the lip-service paid to the importance of Asia and Africa, is interested only in increasing the representation of the Soviet bloc in the principal organs at the expense of other geographical areas. This has been made clear by the Soviet proposal for the redistribution of the non-permanent seats of the Security Council.

67. My delegation favours Charter revision. Justice demands that the growing importance of Asia and Africa in the United Nations should be adequately reflected in its principal organs. No single Member, however powerful, is justified in denying them what is obviously their due. If the Soviet Union is as good as its word, if it is indeed a friend of Asia and Africa, this is the time for it to prove itself.

68. But there is little reason to believe that the Soviet Union would change its stand on this question. In the Soviet view, the United Nations is merely another arena for power struggle. The Soviet Union would have like, of course, to transform the United Nations into a subservient tool of Soviet policy. Having failed to do this, it seeks to destroy the effectiveness of the United Nations. The unconscionable abuse of the veto power is clearly calculated to cripple the machinery of this Organization. The Soviet refusal to bear its share of the expenses of the Organization's peace-keeping operations is another glaring manifestation of this policy.

69. No less than the preservation of peace and security, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the primary purposes of the United Nations. The preamble to the Charter calls upon the peoples of the world "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". It is a sad commentary on our times that eighteen years after the adoption of the Charter, and fifteen years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, millions upon millions of the world's population do not yet enjoy their most elementary rights as human beings.



70. We of the Republic of China are opposed to all forms of oppression, be it in Africa, in Asia, in the Americas or in Europe.

71. Nowhere in the world have human rights and fundamental freedoms been more systematically and ruthlessly violated than on the mainland of China. I need not go back to the 1950's, when tens of millions of innocent people were liquidated in the name of the suppression of "counter-revolutionaries"; nor is it necessary to recall to the Assembly the inhuman system of the so-called "people's communes". The facts are well known. Suffice it to say that communism as typified by the Chinese Communists is the most reactionary and most counter-revolutionary force of our time. On the mainland of China, there is no freedom of worship, no freedom of work, no freedom of expression. There is not even the freedom to enjoy the company of one's family.

72. The Chinese Communist régime constitutes a negation of all the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Since the "Big Leap Forward" campaign of 1958, the Chinese people have been condemned to unremitting hunger and starvation. In agricultural and industrial production, a remorseless descending spiral has set in, each year worse than the preceding one. The downward trend cannot be effectively reversed until the Communist rulers abandon the dogma of collectivization and revise the policy of regimented compulsory labour, which has reduced human beings to the level of animals. But this cannot happen to a band of fanatics whose faith in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism knows no bounds and who are convinced that the economic system they have devised will ensure not only rapid industrialization but also the perpetuation of their own power.

73. Ever since the establishment of the Communist régime, the people on the mainland have never ceased to struggle against their oppressors. Their resistance has, since 1959, taken the form of open revolts and uprisings, and not infrequently Communist cadres have been killed by angry villagers and mobs. Inasmuch as the Communist army is essentially a peasant army, unrest in the countryside cannot but affect the morale of the troops. Thus, the very prop of Communist power—the 2.5 million regular troops—has been seriously shaken.

74. Internal stresses have immeasurably weakened the Chinese Communist régime. This, however, does not make it less of a threat to world peace. Its grim philosophy of hate and violence has even alarmed the Kremlin. The possibility of it trying to divert the attention of the Chinese people from domestic failures to foreign adventures can never with safety be discounted.

75. The Government of the Republic of China, which I have the honour to represent, is dedicated to the restoration of freedom to the Chinese people. We do not subscribe to the proposition that the Communist régime is invincible. On the contrary, we believe its day of reckoning is near at hand. Our struggle is not a struggle of the 12 million people in the province of Taiwan against the 600 million people on the mainland of China. It is the struggle of all Chinese people—the 12 million in Taiwan, the 13 million overseas Chinese, as well as the 600 million on the mainland—against a tiny minority of people who form the Chinese Communist Party. Being convinced of the righteousness of our cause and the feasibility of our task, we can

neither be deterred by cynicism nor be disconcerted by mockery. Nothing can shake our resolve.

76. In this connexion, let me reaffirm my Government's faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations is at one with us in its determination to do away with man's inhumanity to man. But in this task of restoring freedom to the Chinese people we ask no assistance from the United Nations. This is the responsibility of the Chinese people, and the Chinese people have no intention of shirking it. All we ask of the United Nations is to refrain from acts that would aggravate the sufferings of the Chinese people, that would snuff out their hope for freedom and condemn them to perpetual enslavement. Above all, we ask the United Nations and all the free nations to refrain from giving aid and comfort to the enslavers of the Chinese people.

77. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): When we met in this hall a year ago to open the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, it was in a climate of fear created by the growing number of nuclear explosions and the increase in their power. By that time nuclear bombs equivalent to a total of 390 megatons had been exploded and there was every indication that a continuation of such tests would produce dangerous levels of radio-active fall-out.

78. It was known that nuclear explosions, whether caused by fusion or by fission, produce extremely dangerous ionizing radiations which alter atoms or molecules to create the so-called isotopes such as strontium-90, caesium-137, iodine-131 and carbon-14, and that these cause somatic and genetic disorders. To these isotopes are attributed such ills as leukaemia, bone tumours, damage to the haematopoietic tissues, and glandular disturbances, as well as genetic mutations which may endanger the future of the human race.

79. As we meet again on this occasion, we may say that mankind has freed itself from one of its greatest fears. The Treaty of Moscow, signed on 5 August 1963, which puts an end to the nuclear tests of the three most powerful States, is one of the most important steps the world has ever taken to prevent its wholesale destruction. This is a very encouraging development.

80. We do not regard the agreement as perfect, since it leaves open the possibility of underground tests, which always involve the risk of radio-activity escaping through cracks in the earth's crust or contaminating underground water which finds its way to the surface. However, the signing of this Treaty, together with the agreement to establish a direct telephone link between Washington and Moscow in order to avoid another great danger—that of war by accident—are steps of great significance. Nevertheless, we are not so optimistic as to believe that we are close to general and complete disarmament, which alone can guarantee absolute and lasting peace.

81. We believe that peace is an active and positive blessing which cannot be confused with mere absence of war. This idea is not mine nor is it a modern one; it was put forward by the utilitarian philosopher Thomas Hobbes when he said:

"For Warre, consisteth not in Battell onely, or the act of fighting; but in a tract of time, wherein the Will to contend by Battell is sufficiently known."

This seems to be a definition of the cold war formulated two centuries in advance.

82. Realism compels us to recognize that there are dangerous international tensions affecting all the continents of the world. We are bound to recognize the existence of a violent struggle between totally opposed systems of life and of thought, and to acknowledge that as long as these tensions exist and as long as these two systems remain aggressively hostile to each other there will continue to be a danger of war, a war which cannot be kept within the limits of conventional warfare and which will call into play the most powerful weapons of mass destruction.

83. If it is true that the nuclear potential now stockpiled amounts to the equivalent of 25,000 megatons of T.N.T., then it is sufficient to destroy mankind. However, we must also recognize that steps in the direction of a rapprochement between the great Powers are possible. In this connexion I should like to quote the words used by President Kennedy in his statement made in this hall on 20 September:

"... I would say to the leaders of the Soviet Union, and to their people, that if either of our countries is to be fully secure, we need a much better weapon than the H-Bomb—a weapon better than ballistic missiles or nuclear submarines—and that better weapon is peaceful co-operation." [1209th meeting, para. 47.]

In addition to the two developments already mentioned, there is the possibility of an understanding between the great Powers on the peaceful use of outer space. All of these developments are steps towards progressive disarmament, which can only be based on mutual trust and peaceful co-operation.

84. My Government, believing that it was its duty to make a modest contribution towards the promotion of peace, joined with Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia and Chile in preparing a Declaration [A/5447/Add.1] aimed at preventing Latin America from becoming a nuclearized continent. This Declaration is not a treaty or commitment. It is an appeal to the peaceful conscience of our Latin American peoples to find ways of giving to this initiative, at a future date, the form of a mandatory agreement compatible with our international obligations.

85. It is clear that all steps taken by the great nuclear Powers in the direction of disarmament will free economic resources which can be used to promote the development of areas that are not yet developed. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, in his statement of 19 September [1208th meeting], pointed out that if 1 per cent of the economic resources spent annually on armaments—which amount to the almost astronomical sum of \$120,000 million—could be released, then \$1,200 million would become available per year for the development of vast areas of the earth. The inspired idea of the Secretary-General, U Thant, to devote the present decade to development could thus achieve extraordinary success.

86. The utilization of those economic resources would, moreover, constitute an investment in defence. The conflict of ideologies and ways of life which now divides the world poses no threat to the highly developed States which have broad programmes of social welfare. It is difficult to imagine the United States changing its federal system for a system of the Soviet type, or the United Kingdom drifting hap-

pily towards Marxism, whereas the major sources of tension, except for the case of the re-unification of Germany, are found or are likely to be found in areas outside Europe which are economically underdeveloped and whose inhabitants live in poverty.

87. It is highly significant that these areas are practically all former colonial territories. From an economic point of view, the distinctive feature of colonialism is the exploitation, thanks to the availability of cheap labour, of the wealth of colonial territories. Since all colonialism conceals a submerged racialism, it is based also on the idea of a superiority of the European race—if such a race exists—over the indigenous races, which, except for small minorities, are kept at low cultural levels. Many colonies, on achieving independence, have found themselves faced with a choice. They can either co-operate with their former colonizers and allow them freely to exploit their wealth, or they can take the path of revolution. In the absence of effective assistance from the democracies, the peoples of the underdeveloped countries are losing their faith in democracy, which is increasingly becoming, for them, a high-sounding but empty phrase.

88. Latin America itself, to which my country belongs, has not escaped this fate. It has always been my personal view that colonialism began in Latin America on the day of its liberation. Spanish rule was not colonial rule, but the extension of European feudalism to America, since Spain considered America to be part of its own territory. Spain did not have industries which required American raw materials, nor did it have surpluses to dispose of in the American market. It engaged in the extraction of precious metals, but it did not create an industrial society in Latin America. Its agricultural production operated on the basis of the feudal "encomienda" system, its industrial production on the basis of handicrafts. From the point of view of economic organization, Latin America was almost entirely divided up into large or small self-sufficient holdings. When Latin America freed itself from Spain, the period of free trade began and in many places this meant the ruin in incipient Latin American industry as the result of the competition of better and cheaper European articles, especially from England. The absence of a capitalist concept prevented industrial development. The physical barriers created by mountains and forests hindered unity and for many years a number of Latin American countries remained semi-colonies, providing raw materials produced with cheap labour, as well as consumers for manufactured goods.

89. This certainly did not occur to an equal degree everywhere in Latin America, which is not a sociological unit in spite of its common history, religion and culture. It was, however, the general rule in those countries which I described on another occasion as "stratified"—that is, having a series of social classes overlying one another like geological strata. It is also true to say that in some countries democratic systems of government were often built on weak feudal socio-economic bases.

90. I must apologize for having introduced a personal view into a statement of this nature. But I do not think that there will be any disagreement with the view that Latin America is anxious to transform its economic and social system. Virtually all the Latin American countries are at present considering radical reforms of their economy and social structure. Land reform;

redistribution of the population in order to settle the more fertile agricultural land; diversification of production to avoid the risk of dependence on a single crop or on the market for a single commodity; irrigation to reclaim arid areas; development of road systems on economic lines, in order to open up the more fertile areas; improvement of methods of cultivation; utilization of hydraulic energy and its transformation into electrical energy; prospecting and surveys to determine geological resources; industrialization based on domestic raw materials, particularly basic industries; systems of low-interest, long-term loans for agriculture and industry—all these needs are obvious, as is also the need for sanitation and public hygiene. A campaign against illiteracy and efforts to transform scholastic education into technical education are necessities recognized by all the Latin American Governments. My Government has prepared a development plan, and I understand that it is to be submitted today to the appropriate international agencies, whose active co-operation is hoped for.

91. I should like now to refer to a subject which is of particular interest to my delegation and will be one of those most vehemently discussed at the present session. I refer to the question of revision of the United Nations Charter.

92. It seems to have become a commonplace to say that the United Nations is a dynamic body and not a static one. However, we must know what is meant by dynamic and what structural changes are required. Some, for example, interpret dynamism to mean strengthening the Security Council, increasing not only its membership but also its functions, a step which, accompanied by the strengthening of the regional organizations, would detract from the importance of the General Assembly. We wish to state that we are totally opposed to this view.

93. We must start from the premise that the United Nations is a dynamic organization because we live in a dynamic world. Our age is dynamic because of the profound changes wrought by technology. We might say that we are in a period of transition between two historical epochs.

94. International life has altered greatly as changes have taken place in the techniques of transport and communication. In the first place, the conquest of the air has made it possible for a jet-propelled aircraft to reach any point of the globe in less than twenty-four hours. In 1906 an aircraft could fly no faster than forty miles an hour and the feat of the Frenchman Blériot, in crossing the English Channel, stirred the whole world. Until well on in our century telecommunications depended on aerial or submarine cables which limited their range. Today the discovery of Hertzian waves and their application by Marconi to communications has led to the internationalization of news reporting. The world has grown smaller and solidarity has increased with the internationalization of human activity. This has given rise to something hitherto unknown in history: the development of a world public opinion which acts as a stimulus to and a brake on world events, in a similar manner to domestic public opinion.

95. We believe that the United Nations is the medium for the expression of this new phenomenon and that the principle of universality, based on the equality of nations large and small, should be increasingly reaffirmed. However, we do not think that the time has

yet come for reviewing the Charter in accordance with the provisions of Article 109. We feel rather that, for the time being, we should envisage only a partial revision as provided for under Article 108, with a view to increasing the membership of the Councils.

96. A revision of this kind would not entail such problems as might arise from a general review of the Charter and would obviate the development of regional conflicts within the Organization between friendly States and regions which have many common problems to face.

97. One of the problems—leaving aside the common war against under-development—is the struggle against all forms of colonialism. We realize that great progress has been made in this field. In 1914, the crucial year in which the First World War began, the British Empire, with its dominions and colonies, covered nearly a quarter of the world's land areas and included nearly a quarter of mankind. French Africa covered 4 million square miles and had approximately 30 million inhabitants. In addition to Portugal and Belgium, which held large areas, Germany had also built up a colonial empire. Africa had been fragmented and the great Powers ruled over enormous areas in Asia, consolidated at the same time their American colonial possessions, which we regard as an affront to our democratic system. The part played by the United Nations in the liberation of colonies cannot be denied. Nearly all the States which have entered the Organization since 1945 were formerly under colonial rule.

98. We must not forget, however, that there are still sixty-six territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The indigenous populations of Southern Rhodesia and of the Republic of South Africa are, of course, subjected to what used to be called apartheid and is now, in an elegant euphemism, known as "separate development". Portugal, too, rigidly maintains the view that its African territories are part of the metropolitan country, in contradiction with resolutions of the General Assembly. In addition, the Republic of South Africa is refusing to restore self-government to South West Africa in spite of the decisions of the International Court of Justice.

99. In the United Nations, my country has pursued a consistent policy of opposition to all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. At a time when colonialism maintained that Chapter XI of the Charter was no more than a declaration, without binding force, Ecuador upheld the principle of the indivisibility and unity of the Charter. When an attempt was made to establish clear criteria regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, Ecuador gave firm support to the factors which must determine self-government. When the Assembly sought to establish the conditions in which an administering Power is obliged to supply the information provided for in Article 73 of the Charter, Ecuador upheld the view which was most favourable to colonial emancipation.

100. With regard to racial discrimination, it fell to me in 1953—when there was still vacillation and indecision in many quarters—to express in the Special Political Committee [14th meeting] my country's rejection of apartheid and of the attempt to shelter behind Article 2, paragraph 7. We maintained at that time that the Charter is a treaty and, as such, restricts the sovereignty of signatory States in all mat-

ters which they have placed under international jurisdiction by a free contractual act. Today, we should like to register our approval of the work of the Special Committee presided over by the representative of Guinea, Mr. Diallo Telli, with the wise assistance of the representative of Costa Rica, Mr. Volio Jiménez.

101. I stated at that time, in 1953, and I repeat today, that my country is the outcome of a blending of races. The immortal contribution of Spain was to treat every man—whether white, Negro or Indian—as a soul to be saved—and the recognition that every man is the equal of other men whatever the colour of his skin. We are keeping this tradition alive.

102. Latin America cannot forget the contributions made by Africans in its struggles for freedom. Without the support of Pétion, the head of a Republic set up in a part of Haiti, Simón Bolívar would not have been able to return in triumph to Venezuela. In Jamaica he found a warm welcome and it was there that he wrote that essential page of American history, which is known as the Jamaica Charter. Many of Bolívar's great generals were of African origin. There were men of African origin among the troops which came from the Rio de la Plata to Lima on a liberating mission, and Ansina, the faithful friend of Artigas during his long exile on Paraguayan soil, was of African stock. We would be betraying the essential meaning of our democracy and of our history if we failed to condemn every form of racial discrimination.

103. I should like to conclude by placing on record my delegation's appreciation of the objective, careful and firm manner in which Secretary-General U Thant has

tackled world problems, and the tact he has shown in solving them. For his contribution to international peace and security he deserves the gratitude of all mankind, and I believe that this Organization is the true representative of mankind.

104. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Australia who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

105. Sir Garfield BARWICK (Australia): This morning the representative of the Philippines, exercising his right of reply, questioned the use of a reference which I made to his country during my speech. The reference reads: "But unfortunately Malaysia has not in fact been spared the hostility of Indonesia and the Philippines" [1226th meeting, para. 48.]

106. I am indeed sorry if I had misinterpreted the attitude of the Philippines to Malaysia, and I hasten to welcome the assurance of the representative of the Philippines that his country has no hostility to Malaysia and that, on the contrary, the question of its acceptance is under advisement at this time. Of course, with this assurance, I am happy to withdraw entirely from my speech the reference to the Philippines to which the Philippine representative took exception.

107. The Philippine representative also referred to the close friendship which exists between the Philippines and Australia and to our common partnership in many international organizations. May I assure him without hesitation that these relationships are cherished with equal warmth in Australia.

*The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.*