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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We will continue with the general debate. The first speaker on the list for this morning's meeting is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

2. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I hope that I am addressing a meeting of the General Assembly, but if there is no quorum it is my humble submission that there is no meeting of the General Assembly. I should like the President to ascertain whether there is a quorum.

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the request made by the representative of Cyprus, I shall ask the Secretary to make a count.

A count having been made, it was found that forty-two delegations were present.

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): As fourteen more delegations are needed for the purpose of the required quorum, I request the representative of Cyprus to be good enough to wait until those delegations are present. As soon as there is a quorum, I will give him the floor.

A quorum having been subsequently established, the representative of Cyprus returned to the rostrum.

5. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): First of all, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most warmly, on behalf of the Cyprus delegation, on your election to the Presidency of this session of the General Assembly. You highly deserve this great distinction. Your integrity of character, your dedication to principle, and your independence of judgement are well known and deeply appreciated. These great qualities are coupled with your juridical wisdom and your long diplomatic experience and therefore eminently qualify you for presiding over this august assembly of nations. We are convinced that, under your enlightened guidance, the deliberations of this significant session will be carried to a most successful conclusion.

6. I wish also on this occasion to extend to the Secretary-General our deepest appreciation of the remarkably effective way in which he has so far been

carrying out the duties of his high office. His moral stature and his calm determination in the solution of international problems have brought a new content to the role of the United Nations and its executive and have thus enhanced its prestige and authority. The presence of U Thant at the helm of the Organization, whether in times of crisis or of "détente", is of immeasurable value to the Organization and to the cause of peace.

7. It is common ground that, since the establishment of the United Nations, this is the first General Assembly that meets in a climate of relaxation and of promise. But, more significantly, what has emerged during the progress of this debate is the positive approach to problems in a spirit of understanding freed from cold war antagonisms. This session may well mark the beginning of a new period in human history—the period of mental adaptation to the unprecedented conditions of a nuclear age.

8. This new international climate started with the overcoming of the Cuban crisis. That crisis suddenly gave to the world a sobering glimpse of the imminent danger of nuclear destruction. It brought a healthy reaction. The statesmanship of the leaders of the Powers concerned—their positive response to the mediation of the Secretary-General, and their consequent co-operation, with his assistance—finally solved the crisis. This experience introduced an element of greater trust—or perhaps less mistrust—in common efforts for peace.

9. The way to improved international understanding was subsequently facilitated by positive pronouncements from both major nuclear Powers. The sincerity of President Kennedy's call for a mutual re-examination of attitudes between the United States and the USSR proved fruitful, and so did Premier Khrushchev's firm stand for peace in the Sino-Soviet argument, coupled with his specific proposals for phased disarmament measures. The agreement on a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow was another factor towards improved relations.

10. Thus, the Moscow conference that followed came at a most auspicious moment. Its success, by the conclusion of a Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water,^{1/} is of great and historic significance. It is the first breakthrough in a series of long and unproductive negotiations over many years.

11. The benefits from this treaty are obvious. The cessation of further radio-active pollution of the atmosphere from test explosions has been a relief to the agonized peoples of all countries, who are increasingly conscious of the threat of extermination from nuclear war and, no less, from slow but inexorable

^{1/} Signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

destruction of life, even without war, through a continuance of nuclear testing itself. That certain areas have very closely approached, or even reached, danger levels of radio-activity is clear enough from scientific data.

12. From that aspect, therefore, the test ban treaty in the three environments could not be further delayed without increasingly causing irreparable harm to mankind. Equally important is the direct effect of this pact in slowing down the arms race and in helping to lessen the proliferation of nuclear arms. Finally, the treaty put a stop to a new form of peace-time aggression in the nuclear age; namely, the violation of the atmosphere of one State through radio-active pollution from the nuclear tests of another State. This type of international anarchy has now, hopefully, been halted.

13. The wider significance of the test ban treaty, however, lies in the fact that it represents the first action by the three nuclear Powers evidencing a realistic appraisal of the national interest as inseparably bound up with that of mankind.

14. The test ban treaty has been overwhelmingly acclaimed the world over, and certainly in this Assembly. The dissenting voice, however, was not lacking; and it was not unhelpful. The differing views on any issue must always be heard, so that fuller criteria are provided for judging their respective value. By presenting all that could be said against the treaty, the dissenting argument inescapably brought into focus its own limitations and its relation to realities. Often the most effective support of a sound case is the argument against it; this can certainly be said of the test ban treaty.

15. Criticism of the treaty was mainly based on an approach that regards it as a mere tactical move in the cold war, calculated to give advantage to the one side at the expense of the other. The vital aspects of the treaty as being of equally great benefit to both sides, as parts of one and the same humanity, were completely ignored. The opposition came from both Western and Communist sources, in a common approach; their only difference lay in their respective assessment of which was the gaining and which the losing side. The support of the treaty from East and West was equally common. Thus, an emerging division between two schools of political thought on a world-wide level made its first appearance, cutting right across the existing socio-political groupings in our world. This is a most significant feature of recent developments, far reaching in its implications for peace.

16. In this new division, the one school stands for international understanding and co-operation in peaceful progress; it bears the seed of a dawning world conscience and allegiance to humanity in harmony with a realistically broadened conscience of national allegiance. The other school stands for persistent adherence, despite a changed world, to unaltered notions of nationalism or social dogmatism as inextricably linked with armaments and war; it is wary of the concept of co-operation in international security and peace and minimizes the value of the United Nations.

17. The two schools could be termed, respectively, the progressive and the static. In a fast-developing world, however, standing still becomes regression. By entailing national insecurity, it defeats its very purpose. For we have reached a time in human history

when the concept of force as a main instrument of national policy is increasingly becoming obsolete because of the global destructiveness of the nuclear weapon. And therein lies the one redeeming feature of this weapon; namely, the compelling influence it exerts for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for international understanding and co-operation.

18. International co-operation for peaceful progress, however, cannot affect the respective positions on political systems and social ideologies. Such differences no doubt will continue, but they will be raised above the level of physical violence and war. The spirit of contest can find ample scope in an ideological competition to win the minds of free men through example and excellence, and not through compulsion and force.

19. The eventual resolving of such ideological differences will come—as historic experience shows—with the passage of time, through the force of universal balance gradually eroding the extremities and forging an ever closer approach and synthesis at the centre.

20. The main purpose of the United Nations is to eliminate war and bring peace in a world of diversity and freedom of choice, under the Charter. The United Nations is in effect the instrument of humanity to help it in its most trying period of transition, a transition from the concept of force to that of reason as the arbiter of human affairs. The difficulties involved in a sudden abandonment of traditional habits of life and ways of thinking are indeed great but they should not deter us. Already encouraging signs of an important move towards such transition were given in the present debate from the most revelant sources, namely the major nuclear Powers.

21. In their respective pronouncements in this Assembly the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom solemnly renounced force, coercion or intimidation as instruments in the promotion of national policies or social ideologies.

22. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, in line with Premier Khrushchev's recent pronouncements, offered peaceful competition which completely rules out force. These were his words:

"... it is not divisions of soldiers but legions of books, not nuclear bombs but the ability to produce more of the human benefits and to distribute them more equitably that must constitute the weapons in the fight between the two philosophies" [1208th meeting, para. 110].

This is an imaginative and encouraging approach to the Marxist theory in the light of present-day conditions of life in a nuclear age.

23. President Kennedy, reasserting a policy of peace, stressed the need for peaceful co-operation and spoke of a new approach to the cold war and of competition:

"... in a host of peaceful arenas, in ideas, in production, and ultimately in service to all mankind. . . . a contest in leadership and responsibility instead of destruction, a contest in achievement instead of intimidation" [1209th meeting, paras. 55 and 56].

Such consensus for the complete renunciation of force as an instrument of policy is another significant feature of this Assembly. These developments in word and no less in action are rich in promise, a promise that political thinking begins to adjust itself to a changed world in these nuclear times; that the cold war recedes

and a new chapter opens; the chapter of adjustment. This Assembly may thus become known as the Assembly of transition.

24. In the global endeavour towards adjustment we all share in responsibility, big countries and small. As my President, Archbishop Makarios, said in the General Assembly in 1962:

"We all share in responsibility. The decision for developing a new and wider life is for all of us. The decision for averting an impending catastrophe rests with those who wield the nuclear power. Our thoughts go out to them in the hope that . . . they may recognize the beacon of life and lead to it with courage and determination, commensurate with their authority and their responsibility for enlightened world leadership." [1107th meeting, para. 32.]

25. Now that the beacon of life has been recognized and followed in the test agreement, there should be no delay in the progress on the long journey towards the establishment of peace and world order. The present momentum offers an opportunity and a challenge. If the opportunity is lost, if the challenge is evaded, if that new spirit withers in sterility, still heavier responsibility would weigh on the leadership of this present generation of mankind.

26. The first step needs to be supplemented by other and bolder steps strengthening the edifice of peace. Relaxation of tension will not admit of relaxation of effort. Further agreements should be pursued with determination and care, but freed from that exaggerated caution which is tantamount to fear and which has been a stumbling-block on the road to peace.

27. A field in which co-operation should be eminently sought is the exploration of outer space for the peaceful uses of mankind.

28. It is most heartening that a second step and a major step in averting nuclear dangers has been taken. The agreement in principle just reached between the nuclear Powers to prohibit the placing of nuclear weapons in orbit brings a new relief to mankind. It keeps and further generates the momentum of the test pact and shows it to be not an isolated act but a new and promising start. We warmly congratulate the representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom on this important achievement. It ensures peace in space; it means freedom from radio-active contamination of that dimension. We hopefully, however, look for still more. We expect not merely the negative aspect of stopping the orbiting of nuclear weapons. We wish to seek co-operation in all aspects of space exploration. We therefore welcome President Kennedy's suggestion that the United States and the Soviet Union should co-operate, and not compete, in their efforts to reach the moon.

29. Space is a virgin field removed from the earth's atmosphere, which is so laden with the spirit of antagonism and war. It should bring clarity of vision and purity of thought. The concept of man in outer space should awaken a sense of proportion between our now shrunken earth, orbiting in a harmonious universe, and the exaggerated divisions tearing mankind apart and driving it to the folly of nuclear self-annihilation.

30. A next step that would naturally be expected is one extending the ban to underground tests. It appears, however, that difficulties are encountered in effectively negotiating such a treaty at the present juncture. Yet

the unrestricted continuance of underground explosions continues the arms race. It also adds to the radio-active hazards of human life. While such harm will no longer be global—as in the case of atmospheric tests—but limited in area, it is by no means negligible. Efforts to halt underground tests should continue unremittingly. An agreement could be reached in respect of that threshold, where underground tests could be detected and verified by existing national means. As to tests below that threshold which are not detectable, an interim arrangement could be made for their temporary suspension, at least on a trial basis, a basis that could meet the reservations of both sides, perhaps on the lines suggested during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Such trial arrangements could open the way to the improved confidence so direly needed for an advance toward disarmament and peace.

31. Collateral disarmament proposals could also be tackled, and successfully, such as further efforts to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, to safeguard against surprise attack and to prevent war by accident or miscalculation. There is one partial step that the non-nuclear nations themselves can initiate, and that is to create their own denuclearized areas. We welcomed the initiative of Africa at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly in this respect ^{2/} and we now welcome the current proposal for the establishment of Latin America as an atom-free zone [A/5447 and Add.1]. All such denuclearized areas, to be initiated by the States involved, ought, however, to result in relaxation of tensions and not cause imbalance in the world political situation.

32. General and complete disarmament remains our joint human goal on the road to peace. Nothing must divert us from this necessary objective. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament with the participation of eight non-aligned countries has done very useful work and will, we hope, achieve still more. We wish that France would yet take its place on that Committee and that other countries, whose commitment to disarmament would seem essential, might eventually participate.

33. In the pursuit of peace, the way is obviously through disarmament. This is generally recognized. But the way to disarmament is not by a shortcut; it is not by mere negotiations on disarmament; it is by the steep and difficult way, the way that passes through international security in an improved world order. This is still not sufficiently realized, and perhaps that is why long disarmament negotiations over the years have completely failed. Before nations can be expected finally to cast away their armaments, there must be the assurance of some international security to replace national armaments. However difficult and remote this may seem, it remains the only logical basis for disarmament and a lasting peace. The necessity for it has in a sense been recognized during the present debate—in President Kennedy's reference to the need for "building the institutions of peace as we dismantle the engines of war" [1209th meeting, para. 52] and in Lord Home's words that collective security is in the long run "the only sure guarantee for the peace of the world" [1222nd meeting, para. 52]. However, it is a matter of no little concern that, since the United Nations was established, there has been hardly any collective

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, vol. III, agenda items 73 and 72, document A/C.1/L.291/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1-3.

endeavour for the construction of the institutions of peace parallel to the long and fruitless, I am sorry to say, effort for the destruction of the instruments of war.

34. Looking at the various disarmament plans submitted recently to the Eighteen-Nation Committee, we see that any proposals for international security through the United Nations appear only in the second and third stages. Consequently, until agreement is reached on the whole question of disarmament, on the total process, and the first stage is actually put into effect—a rather distant prospect—there will apparently be no progress towards international security through a developing United Nations. Steps in this direction should be taken in a parallel way and, if anything, precede rather than follow disarmament agreement, in order to create the conditions that would make disarmament finally and practically achievable.

35. Shortly we shall be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. On that occasion we should have a closer look at the Organization and its needs. During the two decades of its life the United Nations has grown considerably in size and importance. Its clothes are now bursting at the seams. In the past, on occasions of pressing necessity, the outlet was improvised by means of dynamic interpretation of the Charter. An evolving interpretation of constitutional articles in a developing world is desirable and necessary. But even the most liberal interpretation cannot expand articles containing definite limitations without amending the Charter. Those limitations were placed in the Charter at times and under conditions totally different from the present. Since then, apart from the requirements resulting from the United Nations growth, the achievement of atomic science after the establishment of the Organization has radically changed the world in which we live. Because of that change, the United Nations now is not merely necessary for peaceful progress, as was conceived by the drafters of the Charter, but is actually indispensable for the very survival of mankind.

36. Whatever developments there have been in the functions of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace, they came, as I pointed out, from the force of events and the necessity to meet dangerous situations, rather than through deliberate effort to that purpose. The cold war and a certain distrust as to the objectivity and independence of the United Nations prevented its development. This may have been true in the past. The expansion in membership of this Organization, however, by the admission of a large number of new and non-aligned countries, bringing it closer to universality, has revitalized dedication to the Charter and has brought a growing impartiality of approach on world issues. Furthermore, the climate of mistrust has now, from recent developments, been succeeded by a more hopeful atmosphere.

37. In the light of new and relaxed circumstances, the big Powers, as permanent members of the Security Council, may come to rethink their attitude towards a necessary development of the United Nations. We hope a more positive spirit will prevail regarding such development. As a first step, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council will have to be enlarged by an amendment of the Charter in order to provide a fuller and more equitable geographic representation of non-permanent members. Next, and more important, the United Nations should be given

increased executive authority, and the means of effectively maintaining peace.

38. We would, therefore, wish to see a start made by devising new and more effective machinery for peace, based on the experience acquired from various United Nations emergency peace-keeping operations. These peace-keeping functions could be put on a more permanent basis under one consolidated fund, in place of the present temporary and improvised arrangements of loaned forces for each occasion, involving delay and lack of complete control, as well as the controversies of finances, with which this Organization is still faced.

39. The need for a peace fund through voluntary contributions from Member States, as well as from organizations and individuals, is still increasingly evident. The preliminary consultations by the Secretary-General showed support for the new effort to make funds permanently available to the Secretary-General in order to enable him to discharge, without undue delay, his responsibilities under the Charter in cases of breaches of the peace. Cyprus believes that the establishment of such a United Nations peace fund is essential and, in this sense, was a co-sponsor of the relevant General Assembly resolution [1879 (S-IV)] at the fourth special session.

40. We are in full agreement with the suggestion made by Canada, Italy and Sweden [see A/5490] that a study be conducted by the Working Group on the Examination of Administrative and Budgetary Procedures.

41. We of the smaller nations who cannot seek security or maintain our freedom through our national forces have the most to gain by the creation of permanent international security forces under the United Nations. We should take a collective initiative in this respect. Cyprus, since joining the United Nations in 1960, has consistently advocated the development of a United Nations permanent force. During the last special session of the General Assembly, we suggested in the Fifth Committee [998th meeting] that Member States allocate a part of their defence expenditure to the building up of such a peace force.

42. Now the prospects for the establishment of a United Nations force have been considerably heightened in consequence of the increasing awareness of the necessity for such a force. It is highly encouraging that Canada and the Netherlands have joined the Scandinavian countries in offering appropriately equipped and trained stand-by forces for United Nations service. This praiseworthy example should be followed by the other small countries which possess armed forces.

43. In this connexion, we feel it desirable that the units so earmarked for United Nations service should, in addition to their specific military training, also receive special instruction and mental training for the purpose of endowing them with an international spirit compatible with their functions. A sense of primary allegiance to the United Nations would, and should be expected of them, in much the same way as it is expected of the civil servants of this Organization.

44. The problems of creating and maintaining a permanent United Nations peace force, even of a minimum strength, are formidable and we do not minimize the political obstacles involved. We would suggest, nevertheless, that this Assembly, under a new agenda item if necessary, should make a definite move for-

ward by setting up a small working group to study ways of strengthening the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations, particularly by giving it full control over its forces, and to make recommendations for the gradual development of a permanent United Nations force.

45. International security in its wider implications inescapably involves problems of sovereignty. National sovereignty will have to be qualified by the requirements of international order and peace through a supranational authority. An analogy may be found in the generally accepted restriction of the citizens' sovereign rights to the extent necessary for order and security within a state under municipal law. Happily, there is a growing awareness of the need for the gradual development of international security under a world authority. His Holiness the late Pope John, in the historical encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, which has had a tremendous influence over the world, spoke of the increasing necessity for a public authority "endowed with a wideness of powers, structure and means of the same proportions".^{3/} Only by the establishment of such world authority can lasting peace and security become a reality.

46. National defence in terms of armaments becomes unrealistic in these times when the homeland and its people can be completely destroyed by nuclear missiles in a matter of minutes. President Kennedy put it very clearly in this Assembly when he said that "absolute sovereignty no longer assures us of absolute security" [1209th meeting, para. 75]. It is only, however, in relation to a world authority that national sovereignty has to be qualified. In other respects, the right of sovereignty is absolute.

47. The inviolability of such sovereignty based on the sovereign equality between States, which is a basic principle of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, has been emphatically reaffirmed in the ten points of the Bandung Conference and in the communiqué issued by the Belgrade Conference, and in other international declarations. Any interference, therefore, by any State in the internal affairs of another State would amount to a violation of the basic norms of general international law.

48. In this connexion, it might be mentioned that the International Law Commission at its fifteenth session, dealing with the law on treaties, adopted a draft article [A/5509, chapter II, section B, article 37] under which any provision in a treaty which conflicted with a peremptory norm of general international law would render the treaty of no validity and effect. Consequently, a clear distinction has to be drawn between the concept of absolute sovereignty as between States and that of qualified sovereignty in relation to the United Nations.

49. A case in point is the item on the violation of human rights in South Viet-Nam, which was inscribed on our agenda without a dissenting vote or voice. This action shows the general and wide-spread recognition of the competence of the United Nations to deal with matters of domestic jurisdiction, notwithstanding paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter, when there is a violation of the Charter or of human rights. Such competence of the United Nations in particular cases has been sanctioned on many previous occasions by resolutions of the General Assembly.

50. Among other problems which, during the present favourable East-West climate, might be given earnest consideration by both sides is that of Germany. Division of a country and a great city, the confrontation of guns on each side of a separating wall, and a mounting hostility on each side, is a situation which is wholly incompatible with the present international spirit.

51. A solution has to be found, whether permanent or interim. My country, consistent with its basic principles and declared policy, supports the right of self-determination and unity for the people of Germany, no less than for all other people, for no people can be indefinitely denied the right to decide their own future. The present situation in Germany and its division is the result of conditions imposed upon it at the end of the Second World War. Eighteen years have since elapsed, and we have now reached a stage when this problem could perhaps be tackled in a new and imaginative approach from both sides.

52. We do not in the least disregard the commitments involved in a complicated situation at the very centre of the cold war, nor do we overlook the present-day realities which cannot be ignored. But we believe that there is room for negotiation in a spirit of fairness, in a spirit of what is right and just, if the present climate of relaxation is extended to that problem.

53. On the progress of decolonization, our policy has been repeatedly and fully stated in this Assembly, and it is not necessary, therefore, to elaborate on it. As one of the co-sponsors of the Declaration on colonialism,^{4/} we emphatically supported on all occasions the early implementation of that Declaration in a sense of urgency and by all appropriate means under the Charter. Our attitude on problems of colonialism and independence is deeply rooted in our heritage and tradition over the millenia and in our history, both ancient and recent, which has been a continuous struggle either to retain or to regain freedom. The people of Cyprus have, therefore, a particular dedication to the principles of independence and self-determination. We firmly uphold their application under the Charter to all countries whose peoples demand it for themselves. But we would certainly not encourage it where it is used as a pretext for negative purposes in the sense of breaking up the integrity of a country or the unity of its people, as a sequel to divisive colonialist policies. In this connexion, it is a source of particular satisfaction to my delegation that this danger has been averted in the Congo, through the statesmanship of the Secretary-General and the devoted service of the ONUC. If the further presence of the United Nations in the Congo is considered essential, as it appears to be, in order to consolidate peace and unity in that territory, the United Nations must give the authority and provide the finances. It would be false economy to refuse the necessary funds and thereby jeopardize what has been achieved with so much effort and sacrifice. My delegation will support all measures for the necessary extension of the period of the United Nations presence in the Congo.

54. It is a matter for profound concern to my delegation that there has been no advance towards independence or towards the restitution of basic human rights to the peoples of certain parts of the African continent where those rights are still denied. The problems of the Portuguese territories, and of Southern

^{3/} *Encyclical Letter on establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty* (Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963), p. 31.

^{4/} Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Rhodesia and South Africa, which are closely inter-related, still loom dark on the horizon as sad reminders of a lamentable retardment in human progress. Earnest consideration of these problems should be given by the Assembly at its present session in the sense of achieving an effective and practical move towards their solution.

55. The decolonization process is inseparably bound up with progress toward peace. For indeed there can be no peace where there is no freedom and justice; and this is why the United Nations as an edifice of peace was made to rest upon the moral principles of the Charter. Not only, therefore, in the common pursuit of freedom, but no less in that of peace, we take our stand in brotherly solidarity by the side of all peoples on the African continent, and elsewhere, who are struggling for their inalienable rights to freedom, equality of rights and human dignity.

56. We need scarcely stress how abhorrent to us is apartheid. We emphatically condemn all discrimination, whether based on colour, race, religion, ethnic origin, or otherwise, as offending against the fundamental notions of morality and human dignity which form the basis of a civilized mankind. No constitutional or other laws, imposed under whatever circumstances upon a people, can acquire validity as long as they conflict with the basic democratic norms and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

57. Long experience has shown that the anomaly created by injustice inevitably leads to unrest and conflict, constituting a growing threat to international peace. The timely remedy of such situations is important and vital. In a spirit of understanding a solution can in all cases be found, based upon democratic norms.

58. The United Nations has an important duty to perform in these respects. As an organization for the maintenance of peace, it can achieve results, in many cases, through the mediative action of its executive organs. The peace functions of the United Nations are not merely the extinction but also the prevention of fires. Successful mediation by the Secretary-General in the problem of West Irian and in the Cuban crisis, and also through a fact-finding team in Malaysia, shows the significance of these functions, which can be fruitful in many international situations. The use of United Nations fact-finding teams should be extended. They can prove very helpful in an objective examination of disputes from various aspects.

59. We are therefore gratified to see that in the case of South Viet-Nam the General Assembly has already proceeded in this manner, by the way of deciding [1234th meeting] for the appointment of a fact-finding committee.

60. In regard to world economic conditions, the problems arising from the disparity between the developed and the less developed countries constitute a theme that has long been discussed in this body. It is a major problem, growing in dimensions and in the threat which it poses to peace. When disarmament agreements are reached, some of the colossal sums now spent on arms will no doubt be released for use in development and towards a less unequal distribution of elemental benefits. Economic aid now, however, to the new and developing countries, on constantly increasing levels, preferably through the United Nations, is an ever-important factor towards reducing that disparity. But what is also of great importance is the better

organization of world trade. We look, therefore, with eagerness and confidence to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for constructive work toward that end.

61. Regional economic groupings, as a stage in a constant evolution towards larger and more-embracing structures, are most positive steps on the road to international order through organized trade. This, however, will depend largely on the outlook and further evolution of such groupings as now exist. We hope and trust that they will not look inwards but outwards; that they will not remain static through notions of narrow national or group interests, but will expand in a broader concept of balance and the common good.

62. It is perhaps not without significance that the present period of relaxation comes so closely ahead of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations and, moreover, heralds the year of international co-operation. The Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year set up by the General Assembly at its seventeenth session [resolution 1844 (XVII)] of which Cyprus has the honour to be a member, recommended that the year of international co-operation be 1965, coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. This is a particularly happy choice and combination. It should serve as an indication that there should be special efforts in that year towards strengthening and developing the United Nations. This combination of the two, the anniversary and the year of co-operation, should enable us to tackle that problem effectively; for indeed, the development of the United Nations is the key to the solution of other major problems: disarmament through a growing international security, decolonization through peaceful change, economic development through an organized system of international economy in a world of closely-knit interdependence.

63. All these problems are closely inter-connected; indeed they are one problem, and essentially a moral one: the ability of human leadership in thought and in action to conform with the higher standards of international morality required by our times. This ability would be reflected in the degree of progress of the United Nations.

64. The Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year in its report [A/5561, para. 17 (f)] suggested, among other constructive recommendations, that Heads of State and Government might attend the twentieth session of the General Assembly in order to facilitate the settlement of international problems and to further the aims of the International Co-operation Year. We heartily welcome that suggestion. If, as is hoped, the present climate of relaxation is maintained, if the emerging spirit of working together is productive of preparatory and collateral agreements, if the cold war thus freezes in cold storage, if this Assembly is in fact the Assembly of transition, then the International Co-operation Year should see a real break-through in negotiations for peaceful progress. It should mark a dynamic move forward not merely to avert war but to build a positive peace in a world of justice, human dignity and freedom. We hope that the beacon of life may thus continue to lead mankind on the road to peace and human brotherhood.

65. Mr. PHARAON (Saudi Arabia) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I offer you, on behalf of my delegation and in my own

name, my warmest congratulations on the great confidence that the General Assembly has placed in you in electing you to preside over the work of its eighteenth session. Knowing your great ability, we are sure that you will assume this heavy responsibility with competence and dexterity.

66. May I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, who so admirably conducted the work of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, showing so much wisdom and decision. I wish also to express my high esteem for U Thant, the Secretary-General, and my appreciation of his untiring efforts to ensure the success of the work of this Organization.

67. The agenda for the eighteenth session of the General Assembly reflects three objectives: disarmament, decolonization and economic development.

68. This session has begun its work in a favourable atmosphere of international "détente". The conclusion of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests opens the way to further international agreements aimed at avoiding the mass destruction of mankind and ending the arms race, thus allowing great and small Powers to devote to the welfare of humanity the funds now used for armaments.

69. It is with great satisfaction and keen interest that we have listened to the speeches made from this rostrum by the representatives of the three sponsors of the Moscow Treaty. They have indeed swept aside the clouds that have hitherto obscured the atmosphere of international relations, they have renewed the hopes of mankind and have opened up a road which, we trust, will lead to an era of peace and security throughout the world. We hope also that an agreement on general and complete disarmament will follow this important first step and will encourage peaceful co-operation among all nations.

70. One of the most important subjects on the agenda of the present session is decolonization. Imperialism continues to cling obstinately to certain parts of the world, particularly in Africa, in defiance of the United Nations and of the will of the freedom-loving nations which are firmly resolved to eliminate the last vestiges of imperialism. In reaffirming here the attachment of my Government to the principle, proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, of the right of peoples to self-determination, my delegation strongly supports the legitimate claims of the people of Oman, who are struggling to regain independence and sovereignty.

71. The deep wounds caused by the tragedy of Palestine are still painful in the heart of the Arab people. Ever since 1947 my delegation has constantly brought this matter before the United Nations. I ask what justice there can be in uprooting an entire people from their native soil and implanting another there. We have met here to defend the principles and the noble ideals of the United Nations Charter. We denounce injustice, aggression, racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism. How can we allow a Member of the United Nations to flout all the principles that we defend and to defy the resolutions of our august Organization?

72. Mr. President, in your presidential address you rightly said:

"We should not exempt some from what we demand of others, nor excuse in some what in others we condemn; such inconsistencies weaken the moral force of the Assembly and breed mistrust and scepticism." [1206th meeting, para. 29.]

In the history of this Organization I have not found a more flagrant example of inconsistency and injustice than in the Palestine question. The United Nations has on its conscience the sufferings of more than a million Arab refugees who have been unjustly torn from their homes and have for fifteen years been living in a pitiful state of poverty, misery and privation. If the United Nations can pretend to be unaware of the fate meted out to the people of Palestine, the Arab nation can never forget it.

73. In her speech to the General Assembly [1224th meeting] the representative of Israel sought to represent herself as a factor of peace and security in the Middle East. She announced her Government's alleged good will and desire to diminish tension and promote a solution of the problem.

74. Would it not have been better, before making such a proposal, to furnish proof of that attitude by positive and specific acts, indicating the will of her Government to accept the resolutions of the United Nations and faithfully to comply with them?

75. My delegation is convinced that no final solution can be envisaged unless it is based on respect for the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and that peace cannot be established in the Middle East until this problem is solved in accordance with the principles of law and justice.

76. Saudi Arabia is a developing country. In record time it has achieved considerable progress in the economic and social fields. I wish to make it clear that the development programme is financed by a growing balanced budget, without national debts or direct fiscal charges imposed on the population.

77. A very brief glance at the statistics of the last ten years may give a clear idea of the development of the country. In 1954 the general budget was \$110 million; in 1963 it has risen to \$550 million. Expenditure on national education has risen from \$3 million in 1954 to \$45 million in 1963, that is to say it has increased fifteenfold. The budget for public health in 1954 was \$3 million; in 1963 it has risen to \$20 million. These figures do not include the funds allocated for the construction of schools and medical centres.

78. I should like to say here that education at all stages—primary, secondary and higher—is completely free, as are all medical and hospital services provided for the people.

79. A social security law was promulgated last year providing for an effective system of help and assistance for all needy citizens and complete protection for children and the aged.

80. The budget for social affairs, which was \$2 million last year has risen to \$10 million this year.

81. Development in other aspects of our country's life is no less great. I shall mention, as an example, the budget of the Ministry of Communications, which is large enough to allow of the achievement of a road network of 5,000 kilometres, in addition to the 2,000 kilometres of roads and the 500 kilometres of railways that have already been built.

82. Together with its national responsibility towards the people, Saudi Arabia has a heavy international responsibility to care for the health and welfare of the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims who arrive each year, all at the same time, coming from the four corners of the earth to fulfil their religious obligations in the holy places of Islam.

83. In the face of these two heavy responsibilities, Saudi Arabia spares neither funds nor efforts to carry out these noble tasks successfully and to promote the well-being of its own people and of its guests from the different countries of the world.

84. We take this occasion to thank the United Nations and its specialized agencies for the valued assistance they are giving us in the fulfilment of our plans.

85. Within the framework of this general development programme, and in order to promote its achievement, my Government has concluded a cultural and technical agreement with France; it has already been put into effect and we hope it will be an example of peaceful, fruitful and useful co-operation.

86. Saudi Arabia places its trust in the United Nations and has always endeavoured to promote the noble ideals proclaimed in the Charter.

87. The United Nations has justified its existence and shown the value of its work on various occasions of international conflict in Africa, in the Middle East and recently in Yemen. The conflict in Yemen is one between brothers, and it should be settled, as Saudi Arabia has suggested from the outset, in accordance with the aspirations and desires of the Yemeni people, for my country is convinced that ultimately it is they who will decide their own future.

88. In view of the traditional friendly relations and spiritual ties between the Yemeni and Saudi Arabian peoples, my Government, which has sincerely collaborated with the United Nations, is prepared to give its honest and loyal support to any effort designed to produce a peaceful, just and equitable solution to this problem.

89. We are sure that the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations will help to put an end to this conflict and to similar conflicts which might threaten peace in different parts of the world.

90. Saudi Arabia, whose territory covers the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula, occupies a special place, not only among its Arab brothers but in the whole Moslem world. Indeed, this country was the cradle of Arab and Islamic civilization and culture, and throughout the centuries it has remained the repository of the Arab heritage and the guardian of the holy places of Islam.

91. For this reason my country will remain in the minds and hearts of 600 million inhabitants of our planet who still see in it the living symbol of a universal mission which has enriched the world by its contribution in the fields of progress, culture and civilization.

92. It is these inexhaustible spiritual and traditional sources that inspire Saudi Arabia in its policies, which are consonant with the principles of law and justice proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. It is in this spirit that it holds out, in all sincerity, a friendly hand to all the peace-loving nations of the whole world.

93. Mr. GUMALI (Central African Republic) (translated from French): On taking the floor for the first time in this Assembly, I should like first of all, Mr. President, to discharge a pleasant duty, that of adding the warm congratulations of the delegation of the Central African Republic to those already addressed from this rostrum welcoming the appointment of our

General Committee and especially the choice as President of so wise a diplomat, so impartial an arbiter and so brilliant a defender of the United Nations as you, Sir, who are the son of a country which, "faithful to the traditional principles of all the peoples of America, seeks the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means".

94. My delegation wishes also to congratulate the Vice-Presidents, those collaborators whom the Assembly has chosen to assist you in your difficult task. I am convinced that under your competent leadership the work of the present session will be successfully completed.

95. May I also be allowed, Mr. President, to pay a tribute to the competence and mastery of the distinguished diplomat whom you have succeeded, Mr. Zafrullah Khan, and to our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose clear-sightedness, courage and devotion to the cause of our Organization have enabled the latter to achieve some appreciable results recently.

96. My delegation does not consider it superfluous to reaffirm that the Central African Republic is so deeply attached to the United Nations that resolute support of the latter's actions is one of the essential features of my Government's foreign policy. Since ideological and military reasons are causing the political blocs into which the world is at present divided to emphasize the considerations that divide the nations and not those that unite them—an approach which is contrary to the spirit of the Charter of San Francisco—my country, I repeat, refuses to be a part of any group which is generally designated by that word.

Mr. Kural (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

97. Nevertheless, this principle does not prevent us from entering into alliances which appear to us to have peaceful and positive aims, or from entertaining friendly relations with other nations or groups of nations which are ready to assist us while at the same time respecting our rights.

98. Thus, after joining the organization known as the African and Malagasy Union and thereby strengthening the bonds forged by cultural affinities, geographical situation and remembrance of the common struggle for independence, my country is now a full Member of the Organization of African Unity, which was set up at the Addis Ababa Conference^{5/} and whose major objectives are to co-ordinate the efforts of all the thirty-two countries of which it is composed, to harmonize their policies and to develop their respective economies. In doing so, the Central African Republic, thanks to a continuously dynamic solidarity, is seeking to take its place peacefully among the modern nations.

99. Of course, this African solidarity which inspires us does not by any means prevent us from turning our eyes towards the other continents. We therefore willingly offer the hand of friendship to all nations which, like our own, are striving through economic and social progress to raise their citizens to that dignity of which political independence, notwithstanding its vital importance, is but a part. We are also looking to the industrial Powers which are prepared to make such an effort easier for us while at the same time respecting our national sovereignty. For psychological, geographical and economic reasons, my country welcomes in particular any agreement or co-operation with Western Europe.

^{5/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

100. It is precisely this desire for friendship with all nations which has been consistently stressed by Mr. David Dacko, the President of the Central African Republic, who stated last year that "the Central African Republic is a State which is wide open to the outside world". Hence it is easy to understand our reaction to the rivalry between the two great blocs, which appears to be the source of the world political situation and of all the localized conflicts.

101. Last year, indeed, rivalries and quarrels, first between individuals and then between peoples, confronted mankind with the frightful vision of an atomized and lifeless world—so much so that it seemed as though human vanity was making it impossible for minds and efforts to be united in order to remove once and for all the threat of war, hot or cold, and to promote "universal civilization".

102. All States should unite their efforts to ensure that from now onwards sound basic principles of peace are inculcated in youth, which will be responsible for handing them down to succeeding generations, so that the idea of war may be extirpated from our planet for ever.

103. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central African Republic, adding his voice to those of other delegations, declared in this very hall two years ago:

"To avoid disaster I would, on behalf of my Government, urge the great Powers ... in particular ... the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to pursue their discussions with the sincere desire to succeed, so that they may establish an effective system for the control of nuclear and conventional armaments applicable to all atomic Powers, present and future." [1037th meeting, paras. 14 and 15.]

104. The Central African delegation, adding its voice to those that preceded it in the general debate, is pleased to say that it may be stated without exaggeration that the present session has begun its work in an international atmosphere which is comparatively relaxed and reassuring. In saying this, I wish to hail what in our view are the two most important events that have occurred while the Assembly was in recess, namely, the birth of the Organization of African Unity and the conclusion of the Treaty for the partial banning of nuclear tests.

105. Eminent persons have already expressed their views on the Organization of African Unity. At the risk of being repetitious—which is not perhaps without its uses—my delegation wishes to draw attention to the laudable work that our Heads of States have accomplished in bringing about so impressive and promising a result without difficulty. The various stages of this accomplishment have been marked by that will for union and frank co-operation, and above all by that spirit of active solidarity which our Heads of State have always placed above everything else ever since the wind of independence first blew over Africa.

106. It is well that the whole world should know that the fundamental principles of the Organization of African Unity and the precise objectives that it has set itself represent nothing else than the formal expression of their desire to promote peace, human dignity and harmonious development in all fields in Africa. Such objectives and such a line of conduct—as has been proclaimed—are logically in keeping with the views of nations which hold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the greatest respect.

107. I have referred to the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty as another striking event in international relations. It must be recognized that in its quest for peace, freedom and speedy progress, Africa cannot be content with half-measures. Africa must be demanding and must make it clear to the Powers which at present hold the record for speed that it wants matters to proceed with all haste. That is why my country, like most of the Members of our Assembly no doubt, considers that the Moscow Treaty, which does honour to those who negotiated it, merely represents a tremendous opportunity for the opening of constructive and positive talks regarding the maintenance of international peace and security. This treaty has undoubtedly rekindled hope and faith in the hearts and minds of men, but does this mean that peace is no longer threatened, or that security is ensured?

108. Peace, which is so dear to all, great or small, rich or poor, and which we want to be real and lasting, is again in jeopardy, for whereas modern man, with his creative genius, is unable to bring about an era of peace on our own planet, he now proposes to make a journey to the moon! So much so that, to quote the words of the first citizen of one of the signatory Powers of the Moscow Treaty:

"The world has not yet escaped from the darkness. The long shadows of conflict and crisis envelop us still." [1209th meeting, para. 37.]

For whether it is a matter of general and complete disarmament of Berlin, of the Straits of Formosa, of South-East Asia, of the Near or Middle East, of the still dependent African countries, of Korea or of apartheid in South Africa, we are still enveloped by the "shadows of conflict and crisis" and "the world has not yet escaped from the darkness".

109. It is imperative that the world should dispel the darkness, the conflict and the crises that envelop it. That is to say that it is the compelling duty of the United Nations, which is the living symbol of this anguished world, scrupulously to observe the obligations imposed by the San Francisco Charter.

110. General and complete disarmament must be our first concern. In this connexion, President David Dacko recently stated that:

"The Soviet Union has concluded all its nuclear tests but it possesses a large stockpile of atomic weapons, the destruction of which is not provided for in the Agreement ... The same applies to the United States of America."

111. In the opinion of my delegation, the voices of all the nations of the earth should be raised in unison to insist on the systematic destruction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In this respect, my delegation has taken note with a certain amount of optimism of the recent statements made at the United Nations rostrum—and thus before the whole world—by the President of the United States of America and the representatives of the Soviet Union and of the United Kingdom. May these great nuclear Powers realize that the fate of all mankind is in their hands and that it is their bounden duty to spare no effort to reach a final and satisfactory agreement.

112. Having expressed its faith in African unity, now finally achieved, and the view that general and complete disarmament is the key to any solution of the problem of universal peace and progress, my delegation must

now set forth as briefly as possible its views on some other important matters confronting the eighteenth session.

113. In the context of its international policy, the Central African Republic attaches particular importance to the principle of self-determination, which holds good for all countries, great or small, rich or poor. My country considers that the Berlin crisis must be resolved in the light of that principle. At present we are confronted by two Germanies, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and by the spectacle of Berlin split asunder. The ex-allies of the Second World War should review their respective positions with a view to putting an end to that situation.

114. On 12 August 1963 Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar made a statement in which he said, *inter alia*:

"... the Portuguese overseas provinces are legislatively true States, administratively autonomous and politically integrated, for whose peoples cultural assimilation and serious political reforms are already contemplated ... If the links which unite them to Portugal and make them a part of the mother country are cut, these regions will disappear from history and from geography ...".

The Salazar Government is not lacking in imagination. My delegation has more than once had occasion to refute such gratuitous statements according to which the African territories under Portuguese administration are an extension of Portugal's national soil. The Security Council recently rejected such legal quibbles by its resolution of 31 July 1963.^{6/} President Salazar claims, moreover, that the attainment of international sovereignty by the Portuguese territories in Africa will entail their disappearance "from history and from geography".

115. My delegation cannot see where the disappearance of a country "from history and from geography" on its attainment of independence begins or ends. It would be better to admit that Portugal is at bay. It fears its own disappearance "from history and from geography" when the time comes—and we hope it will be soon—to liberate peoples who are firmly determined to regain their human dignity. We stand for economic and psychological, cultural and political decolonization; in short, we stand for the full restoration of human dignity to the people of Africa.

116. That is why the Central African Republic is giving its full and unconditional support to the oppressed peoples in the bitter struggle they are bravely waging for liberation. I am glad to point out, in this connexion, that within the framework of the application of the measures agreed upon at Addis Ababa my Government has decided to refuse entry visas to Portuguese nationals. I must also state that for some time now there have been no diplomatic relations between my country and Portugal. Other measures will follow, showing the determination of the Central African people and their Government to condemn the anachronistic colonialism of a nation which has failed to keep abreast of history.

117. Africa wants to be free and to be independent in interdependence. "There is only one thing that unites people in seditious outbreaks and that is oppression."

118. My delegation associates itself with the appeal repeatedly made to the Powers which, in one form or

another, continue to support Portugal. Their complicity cannot be underestimated by the African States.

119. We should like South Africa's friends to join us in our efforts to eradicate the institutionalized policy of apartheid from that part of the continent. It is clearly inadmissible that a policy of systematic racial segregation should have any place in an international family founded on human brotherhood and the equality of all its Members.

120. In this particular aspect of human relations my delegation wishes to express its admiration for the Kennedy Government's struggle against segregation. We must recognize that this is a long-term endeavour, the successful outcome of which is not in doubt.

121. My delegation is also convinced that the United Kingdom, whose liberalism in colonial affairs has won it the friendship of the African peoples, will carry its task of liberating its colonies through to a conclusion. We appeal to its liberalism to persuade the white minority in Southern Rhodesia to accept the fact that it is no longer in a conquered country and that it is in its interest to submit without further delay to the principles of democracy.

122. It is by completing the process of decolonization in Africa and condemning apartheid, which strips the African of his personal dignity, that the world will be freed from the conflicts and crises which, according to President Kennedy, "envelop" it.

123. In the Middle East, too, there is a continuing conflict: I refer to the tension between Israel and the Arab States. We firmly believe in the virtue of a direct dialogue from which all sophistry, temporizing and violent words must be banned.

124. The Korean question, too, calls for a pacific settlement. The competence of the United Nations in this particular matter must not continue to be disputed by one of the interested parties.

125. In South Viet-Nam reason must prevail over the hatred born of dictatorship and tyranny.

126. The current session of the United Nations, like those before it, will have to look at the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China" once again. This is an important question.

127. The position of my Government on this issue is well known. My country recognizes the demographic importance and the military power of the People's Republic of China. My Government, arguing from the universal character which the United Nations should possess, continues to be favourably predisposed to the admission of continental China, providing, of course, that that country provides evidence of its determination to practise a policy of peaceful coexistence.

128. As for China in Taiwan, we know that it is a permanent member of the Security Council and that every day it gives evidence of being a politically, economically and ideologically peaceful State. For that reason my country is not prepared to support any move to exclude it from the United Nations.

129. Within the framework of the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations had to face the crisis in the Congo (Leopoldville). Thanks to the co-operation of men of goodwill, the integrity of this part of Africa has been preserved. The survival of the Congo (Leopoldville) as a unitary

^{6/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5380.

Republic is due above all to the wisdom and competence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The prospects, however, are none too reassuring. While my Government fully understands the Secretary-General's justifiable desire to withdraw the United Nations forces from that area, it would like that withdrawal to be carried out gradually, for obvious reasons of public order. The request to that effect made by Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula^{1/} shows once again the wisdom of the old Central African saying that "only the occupier of a house can tell where the roof leaks".

130. By supporting the desire expressed by the authorities of the Congo (Leopoldville) we shall once again demonstrate our firm resolve to assist in restoring law and order in that country and the political stability which is so necessary for its harmonious development. Of course, it would be eminently desirable that States Members of the United Nations should, in consequence, contribute to the financing of the operations of the United Nations forces which the Congo (Leopoldville) has asked to retain until the end of the first half of 1964.

131. The interest which the Central African Republic takes in all the questions to which I have just alluded does not blind it to the importance of economic problems. My delegation will therefore follow with the closest attention the debates on the agenda items concerning industrial development, the establishment of a capital development fund, accelerated flow of capital and technical assistance, etc.

132. It goes without saying that my country fully endorses the aspiration of the United Nations to play an increasing part in this field and is predisposed to welcome any steps it may take. We therefore feel that the intensification of the economic action of the United Nations, whether by strengthening the existing means or by creating new ones, is highly desirable.

133. Nevertheless, approval of multilateral forms of economic assistance does not mean that we renounce the advantages offered by bilateral agreements; nor does it even imply a preference so long as we consider that such agreements, freely entered into, do not infringe our independence.

134. My country—and I am sure that it is not alone in this respect—considers that the coexistence of both forms of assistance offers it greater latitude and greater freedom by enabling it to direct its choice towards whichever one suits it best at a given moment or even to enjoy the advantages offered by both.

135. I must add that my delegation, like so many others, warmly welcomes the announcement of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which is to be held early next year. We are among those who think that such a Conference will open up wide prospects for the under-developed countries. May our hopes not be disappointed!

136. After this rapid survey of the political and economic questions which are of the greatest concern to the United Nations, I wish to say that if we are to examine all these questions with all the necessary effectiveness it would seem to us highly desirable that the structure of the United Nations should be adopted to present-day realities. The composition of such important organs as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council has long since ceased to reflect the real character of the United Nations

with its membership of over a hundred countries. It therefore seems essential that the African and Asian countries should be given equitable representation on those Councils and that to this end the Charter should be revised so as to take the new membership structure of the United Nations fully into account.

137. Mr. Chairman, it seems to my delegation that at the current session, the conduct of which has been placed under your eminent authority, we must direct our efforts towards the consolidation and maintenance of peace: peace for enslaved minds and empty bellies, since starvation and ignorance are hardly conducive to peace; and peace for suffering bodies, since destitution and sickness drive men to revolt and that does not promote concord among men or nations.

138. The United Nations has a noble mission: to safeguard peace by fostering human brotherhood, preserving equality and doing more and more to promote international solidarity in every sphere.

139. My delegation, paraphrasing the words of a previous speaker, is of the opinion that the nation which can earn the title of "benefactor of mankind" will not necessarily be the one which leads the way in the exploration of the moon but the one which at the same time makes the greatest contribution to the happiness, the prosperity and above all the peace of this world, which we hope to make, day by day, a better place for all to live in.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

140. Mr. MPAKANIYE (Rwanda) (translated from French): Allow me, Mr. President, to join all those who have spoken before me from this rostrum in extending to you my sincere congratulations on your brilliant election, which enables us to look forward to fruitful debates during the present session of the General Assembly. I pray the Almighty that the atmosphere of "détente" in which this session has opened will allow us to find solutions in order to terminate the atrocities of colonialism in its death-throes and the ideological disputes of which some countries are still the victims, to induce the rich countries to give more help to the poorer countries whose objective is the raising of their peoples' level of living, and to strengthen peace in the world. The events of great historic significance which have recently, since the last session, taken place enable us to discern, on the horizon, clear gleams of hope.

141. One of the most important events for the African world has been the creation of the Organization of African Unity. This Organization is aimed against nobody; it does not threaten the security of any State and is guided by the sole desire, as its Charter states:

"To promote understanding among our peoples and co-operation among our States in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences",

and

"to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavour."

142. In the developed countries, the general trend is towards the formation of increasingly large production units, in both agriculture and industry, in order to avoid costly duplication of effort and to permit a more rational utilization of human and material re-

^{1/} *Ibid.*, document S/5428, annex I.

sources. Similarly, we Africans are trying to pool our resources and co-operate in order to remedy the under-development from which we are suffering after decades and even centuries of colonialism. We seek to help each other; we seek to harmonize, together, the progress of our Africa.

143. It seems undeniable that the world is tending increasingly towards the creation of regional units and organizations aiming at more or less close co-operation. That is why Rwanda deplors the fact that after so many years Germany, Viet-Nam and Korea are still divided. We cannot believe that a situation which runs counter to world trends can be healthy, stable or salutary. We therefore hope that it will soon come to an end.

144. Another event of the first importance was the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The Rwandese Government and people are in full agreement with the African Ministers for Foreign Affairs who, at the Dakar Conference^{8/} last August, welcomed with satisfaction

"the partial agreement of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty as an initial step towards general and complete disarmament",

and expressed

"the conviction that the differences impeding the agreement banning all tests in all environments can be solved in a spirit of mutual understanding and concessions".

145. In fact, this agreement really does seem to be a first step towards what the peoples of the world so deeply desire—a "détente", and peaceful coexistence. The results of this beginning of a "détente" are already being felt. An agreement banning the placing in orbit of nuclear weapons in outer space, which was referred to here by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting], would appear imminent. Negotiations on protection against surprise attack, and to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons, seem to be well under way. Lastly, we hailed with satisfaction the proposal of the United States [1209th meeting] to explore the moon in co-operation with the Soviet Union. We see there the possibility that the two technically and scientifically most advanced countries may one day combine their efforts in peaceful pursuits, for the greatest good of mankind. But all that would be unthinkable if the first and most difficult step towards a "détente" between the East and the West had still to be taken.

146. Rwanda is a lover of peace. It has always believed, as Fénelon said, that "war is an evil which dishonours the human species". It aims to do its utmost to support the endeavours of all who are working to banish war from society for ever; because, all moral and humane considerations apart, as President Kayibanda has said:

"What is certain is that if there should be war the non-aligned countries, the under-developed countries, would be used as if they were mindless tools. What is certain is that if there should be war the under-developed countries would enter not upon stagnation but upon catastrophic retrogression."

147. Rwanda also hopes that, if the Moscow Treaty is respected to the letter, trust will come to reign.

The great Powers will then agree to halt their mad arms race and will, perhaps, devote the resources freed in this way to more constructive ends. The United Nations study entitled Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament^{9/} disclosed that the world's military expenditures far exceed the combined gross investment expenditures of the less developed areas. If the arms race were ended, therefore, the great Powers would be in a position to increase their foreign aid considerably, while still retaining large resources for furthering the welfare of their own peoples.

148. No one should think that technical assistance to the under-developed countries is an enterprise of pure charity. The representatives of the African and Asian States in the United Nations have constantly repeated that their countries are quite capable of making their contribution to the world's knowledge. This is not an empty boast. One of the great questions which has been absorbing research workers on cancer for many years is whether certain forms of the disease might not be caused by viruses. Since 1958, Makerere University in Uganda has been taking a close interest in the solution of this problem; and some experts believe that the research is about to yield results. If that happens, could anyone any longer deny that aid to the less developed countries can benefit mankind as a whole? And what better use can be imagined for human and material resources than one which leads to the eradication of the great scourges of mankind?

149. But the new countries do not, for their development, rely solely on co-operation with their neighbours and the assistance with which the more fortunate countries may be able to furnish them. It goes without saying that they rely first and foremost on themselves and on their own efforts. I would not try your patience by here enumerating all the advances which Rwanda has made during the first year of its independence—despite the budgetary deficit, an unfortunate heritage of colonialism. Thanks to its strict austerity régime and the people's keenness to build their nation, thanks to the confidence it inspires in every foreigner who visits it and even in those who simply hear about it, thanks to the support of friendly countries, including Belgium, and thanks to aid and assistance from the United Nations, Rwanda looks toward the future with great optimism. We are proud to see the opening, this year, of Rwanda's first establishment of higher education—the University of Butare. To begin with, it will have four faculties, and we believe that in the more or less near future it will be the meeting place for African university people.

150. The development of a country calls for gigantic efforts from the population. Such efforts can be made only in free countries. As President Kayibanda has said, "at the present juncture of history, colonization, far from reducing under-development, merely consolidates and stratifies a situation which condemns the colonized being to a sub-existence". We who come from recently liberated countries, and have personal experience of colonialism, know how true this judgement is. Even if colonialism could be reproached with nothing more than this sub-existence to which it condemns the indigenous peoples, that would be sufficient reason to put an end to it as rapidly as possible.

151. But in fact the whole world, or virtually the whole of it, is in agreement on the question of decolonization.

^{8/} Conference of the Organization of African Unity, 2-11 August 1963.

^{9/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1, para. 140.

Every year since the question of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was placed on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly at the request of the Soviet Union,^{10/} the United Nations has adopted further resolutions on the subject, by overwhelming majorities, in both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

152. The Heads of African States, at the Addis Ababa Conference, declared that

"the forcible imposition by the colonial Powers of the settlers to control the Governments and administrations of the dependent territories is a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the territories concerned."

153. In the encyclical Pacem in Terris, Pope John XXIII expressed the wish

"that the day may come when every human being will find [in the United Nations] an effective safeguard for the rights which derive directly from his dignity as a person, and which are therefore universal, inviolable and inalienable rights".^{11/}

And among the universal, inviolable and inalienable rights, is not the right to freedom paramount?

154. I might also quote the words spoken by Mr. Khrushchev to the Communist Party Congress on 17 October 1961:

"From the bottom of our hearts we wish success to those who are struggling for their liberty and happiness against imperialism. We believe that it is the inalienable right of peoples to put an end to foreign oppression, and we shall support their just fight."

155. I might also quote Mr. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, who said on 18 March 1963 that, as Americans, he and his fellow-countrymen believed that the basis of a lasting world order was universal recognition of the right of all peoples to determine their own destiny, and that they could not themselves be truly free so long as any people, no matter where, was deprived of its freedom.

156. For his part, the United Kingdom Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, said on 3 February 1960 in the South African Parliament:

"The wind of change is blowing through the continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a fact. We must accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it."

157. Still on the same subject, we cannot pass over in silence President de Gualle's effective policy of liberation.

158. But if everyone—or almost everyone—is agreed on the need to decolonize, there is no such agreement as to how this is to be done. In this connexion, we would urge the United Kingdom not to let slip, in Southern Rhodesia, its last chance of repairing the errors of the nineteenth century and, since it still retains sovereignty over that supposedly self-governing territory, not to grant it independence until a new

Constitution and Government have been approved by a majority of all its citizens. So far, many Africans have been killed by the police in the name of white supremacy, while not a single European has been killed by the Africans in the name of self-determination. This fact, in itself significant, does all honour to the Africans.

159. Nevertheless, the situation remains very tense. The former United Kingdom Ambassador to the United Nations, Sir Hugh Foot, who should know the situation better than anyone, intimated in an interview granted to the newspaper The Observer that the future prospects for Southern Rhodesia were "terrifying" and that the United Kingdom should intervene to prevent a "disaster".

160. The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, one of the most moderate African leaders in Southern Rhodesia, stated in London that if the United Kingdom gave the country its independence while it was still governed by the white minority, the Africans would be obliged to have recourse to the ultimate sanctions. His actual words were:

"We shall regard such a step as a declaration of war and shall not hesitate to form immediately a government in exile, and, as a government, to enlist material aid from other Governments inside and outside Africa. If fair constitutional means are denied to us, we shall be prepared to solve the problem with our blood."

If such a bloodbath were to take place, not only would world peace be endangered, but the brilliant reputation which the United Kingdom has won by peacefully guiding 600 million coloured people to independence since the end of the war would be forever tarnished.

161. While the United Kingdom has always shown itself willing to liberate the territories still under its authority—a willingness which has not always been translated into action as quickly as we would have wished—Portugal, by contrast, still clings to the fiction that Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea are Portuguese provinces. That we already knew. But, feeling the need to justify its position before an ever more sceptical world, Portugal has recently made two truly ludicrous discoveries. Despite the existence of some 4 million proofs to the contrary, Mr. Salazar affirmed, in his speech of 12 August 1963, that "there are no Angolans, but only Portuguese of Angola". One thing or the other: either Angola has no indigenous inhabitants, which is patently false, or else Mr. Salazar is claiming to know, better than they, what these indigenous people really are.

162. The second discovery is perhaps even more astounding. It is contained in the letter from Prime Minister Salazar to His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia. The text of this letter was published in a Portuguese Press release [No. 10/63] dated 18 July 1963. The letter stated:

"Thus, when the United Nations Organization proclaims, as it has done, that lack of preparation in the political, economic, social and educational fields does not justify the least postponement of the independence of any territory, it is merely driving populations to chaos in Africa and laying the foundation for subjecting the continent to neo-colonialism ...

"In as far as this concerns us especially, it is the duty of Portugal to thwart this eventuality in the name of all the Portuguese populations of Africa."

^{10/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/4501.

^{11/} Encyclical Letter Pacem in Terris on establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty. Vatican Polygot Press, 1963, p. 34.

163. In other words, we have here a cat which explains that it has a duty to eat the mouse in order to save it from being caught in a mouse-trap. It is fortunate for Mr. Salazar that ridicule does not kill.

164. Another problem, which is not strictly speaking a problem of colonialism but is akin to it in certain respects, is that of "apartheid". Let no one object that this is an internal affair which concerns only South Africa. The great United States President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, expressed our feelings perfectly when he said:

"If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure."

Apartheid is not a domestic affair; on the contrary, it concerns the whole of mankind.

165. I do not intend to abuse your patience by once again stating the case against apartheid. That has already, since 1952, been done too often. Instead, I should like to read out the impartial and considered judgement of a world-famed woman historian and economist, Barbara Ward, who in 1959 wrote the following passage, as true today as it was then:

"It still remains true that no human community in our day can be founded upon a total contradiction and this, surely, is the present basis of South African policy.

"In the Union today, the processes of economic growth are going forward at breakneck speed. With an annual investment of over 20 per cent of national income, South Africa has been expanding and diversifying its economy in every direction . . .

"But all this wealth depends upon the labour of millions of Africans. The 300,000-odd migrant labourers in the gold mines are not the only essential sector of the working force. All the bounding growth of the secondary industry depends upon African labour and upon increasingly skilled African labour, too. Yet the political basis of the society is to deny the African any responsible part in a community wholly dependent upon his labours. I do not think that any system based upon so profound a contradiction can endure. Nor, clearly, can there be any hope of reconciliation or co-operation between the various communities. What seems to lie ahead today is not a synthesis, but explosion."^{12/}

166. That is the policy of apartheid as seen through the eyes of an impartial and impersonal observer. Let us now see how it feels to have to live it all the days of one's life. I quote from the book by Peter Abrahams, entitled Tell Freedom—Memories of Africa:

"All my life had been dominated by a sign, often invisible but no less real for that, which said: 'Reserved for Europeans only'.

"Because of that sign I had been born into the filth and squalor of the slums and had spent nearly all my childhood and youth there; because of it a whole generation, many generations, had been born, had grown up and died amid the filth and squalor of the slums. I had the mark of rickets on my body; but I was only one of many, not unique. I had had to go to work before I went to school. Many had never gone to school. Free compulsory education was 'Reserved for Europeans only'. All that was finest

and best in life was 'Reserved for Europeans only'. The world, today, belonged to the 'Europeans'.

"And in my contacts with them the Europeans had made it clear that they were the overlords, that the earth and all its wealth belonged to them. They had spoke in the language of physical strength, the language of force. And I had submitted to their superior strength. But submission can be a subtle thing. A man can submit today in order to resist tomorrow. My submission had been such. And because I had not been free to show my real feeling, to voice my true thoughts, my submission had bred bitterness and anger. And there were nearly ten million others who had submitted with equal anger and bitterness. One day the Whites would have to reckon with these people."^{13/}

167. Can we be surprised, in these circumstances, if violence is mounting in South Africa, if the situation is becoming more and more explosive?

168. What might appear surprising is the fact that the South African Government is the only one not to understand the dangers which it is itself creating; but Mr. Verwoerd provided the explanation when, on 15 October 1960, he said to a correspondent of The Observer: "I never have the nagging doubt of wondering whether perhaps I am wrong". Evidently, believing himself infallible, he is equally incapable of conceiving that he could be mistaken as to the aims pursued by the Africans. He is convinced that they want to massacre all the Whites, or at least to push them into the sea. The idea that the Africans can be infinitely more realistic, more humane, more tolerant and more generous is evidently beyond his understanding. Yet their leaders like Chief Luthuli, and their intellectuals like Mr. Ngubane, have repeatedly stated that all they are claiming is a multiracial State and the same rights for all. This is how Mr. Ngubane put it:

"Blood links need not forever remain the only bonds of unity among men. The most powerful nations in the world today are mixed communities whose peoples are knit together, not by race or colour, but by the values of life they cherish together. South Africa is ripe for a non-racial type of unity. In the social order envisaged above, the African will not see in threats to Afrikaner survival the guarantee of his own security. Where citizenship has a non-racial meaning, the various groups will see in threats to any one of them a danger to themselves . . . The African, the Afrikaner, the Asian, the coloured, the British and the Jew will then march arm in arm to defend together those things they value most and that have the same meaning in their lives—their country, their freedom and their independence."^{14/}

Is this aim not infinitely more noble, more generous and also more realistic than the constricting and inhuman abomination of apartheid?

169. Rwanda is opposed to all racial discrimination, in South Africa as elsewhere and whether its victims are white or black. That is why it has enthusiastically greeted the decision to put an end to it in the United States, a decision which was so clearly apparent in the address delivered by President Kennedy from this very rostrum [1209th meeting].

^{12/} Five Ideas that Change the World, by Barbara Ward, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1959, p. 107.

^{13/} Tell Freedom—Memories of Africa, by Peter Abrahams, Africaf. A. Knopf, New York, 1954, pp. 369-370.

^{14/} An African Explains Apartheid, by Mr. Ngubane, p. 211.

170. I would not like to leave the problems of Africa without saying a word about the Congo—this country which is our neighbour, whose inhabitants are our brothers and are bound to us by a common history and common interests. The United Nations—first under the guidance of Mr. Hammarskjöld, to whose memory we all pay grateful tribute, and then under that of our present Secretary-General, U Thant, whose wisdom, skill and perspicacity compel our admiration and are the pride of our Organization—has done magnificent work in the Congo. But the work is not yet finished, as the Congolese are the first to realize. Must we really, out of our concern for economy, risk the collapse of everything which has thus far been built up? Surely not. That is why the delegation of Rwanda associates itself with so many others in suggesting that the Organization leave a few thousand United Nations troops in the Congo until June 1964, as the Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, has himself requested.

171. In conclusion, Rwanda too would express the hope that the number of seats on the great Councils of the Organization will be increased so as to enable all parts of the world to be more equitably represented. In all the countries of the world, constitutions and institutions are periodically adapted, by amendment, to the new exigencies of the times. The United Nations does not yet seem convinced of the need for this, and it is Africa which suffers thereby. When the number of seats—particularly in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council—was originally determined, there was no more than a handful of independent African States. Today, when the number of such States has tripled, Africa is inadequately represented; and

the position will be even more unsatisfactory when additional African countries enter our Organization. In this context I should like to say how gladly and impatiently the delegation of Rwanda looks forward to being able, soon, to greet our brothers from Kenya in this hall.

172. Certain events proceed slowly, far too slowly for our liking. But the day is now in sight when the United Nations will become what it has always set out to be—a genuinely universal organization. It will then have passed successfully through one of the most difficult stages of its existence, and the world will breathe more freely as a result.

173. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the lateness of the hour, the representative of Mexico, who was on the list of speakers for the present meeting, has agreed to speak at the morning meeting on Friday, 11 October.

174. With all due respect, I would remind the Assembly of the importance of beginning the meetings at the appointed time. This morning, because there was no quorum, we could not begin the meeting until 10.48, that is to say eighteen minutes late. I urge Members of the Assembly to make an effort to have at least one representative in place at the time when the meeting is supposed to start. Otherwise, if the meetings cannot begin at the appointed time, we cannot organize or plan the work of the Assembly properly, and as a result shall be unable to complete our work within the period prescribed for the eighteenth session.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.