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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. OHIRA (Japan):^{1/} Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Japan, I extend to you, Sir, our warm congratulations on your election as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. We feel strongly assured that with your high wisdom and your wealth of experience in the United Nations you will ably lead this session to a successful conclusion.

2. I should also like to express at this time our sincere thanks and appreciation to our former President, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, who, with great dedication and sense of fairness, has guided the work of the seventeenth session and of the fourth special session of the General Assembly in a manner that has contributed greatly to the enhancement of the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

3. At no time has the problem of peace been so intensely discussed as it is today. We are now giving our most sober thoughts to this problem because of the increasing danger of nuclear war which, should it ever come, would mean the total destruction of mankind.

4. Still fresh in our minds is the Cuban crisis of less than a year ago which made the whole world shudder with fear. It was a vivid reminder that a crisis of this kind occurring in one corner of the globe has a direct bearing on the very survival of the world and of all mankind. All of us today share indeed a common fate. Such a situation has never before existed in the history of our world and is one of the foremost characteristics of our times.

5. But it is not only in such a negative sense that we share this common fate. Developments in science and technology have so dramatically increased intercourse in all aspects of human life that the people of one nation are now closely linked with the people of all other nations politically, economically and culturally. As no individual can live in isolation in his own country, no nation can exist in isolation from the

rest of the world. In life, and indeed in death too, mankind is linked together by a fate that is one and inseparable. World peace, therefore, is not merely an abstract concept; it is something real and tangible which we ourselves must secure with our own hands. To win it is the duty and the responsibility of all of us now living.

6. No matter how difficult it is to secure peace, we should not be, nor are we, pessimistic. Since the end of World War II we have witnessed, and are still witnessing, many local wars and armed disputes. The Berlin Wall and the no-man's-land dividing Korea into North and South, stark symbols of the cold war, still continue to exist. But, we ask ourselves, are enmity and conflict, hatred and distrust, incurable human diseases? No, we do not believe so. The important thing is for us to exercise patience and work persistently to lessen conflict and dissolve distrust. In order to eliminate long-continuing distrust, the desire to do so must be evidenced by actual deeds. However difficult or complex a problem, we believe it can be solved if good faith and trust are demonstrated by factual proof.

7. The cessation of the Cuban crisis, to which I have referred, and the perceptible changes in the world situation which have since occurred have strengthened our belief and given us encouragement that hope and opportunity exist. The Cuban crisis was an enormously significant incident, for it brought home to us the fact that, depending on the resolution of a great Power, the whole world can either be plunged at once into the maelstrom of a nuclear war or can be spared from such a catastrophe. From the manner in which this crisis was resolved there has been revived a stronger faith in man. It was indeed the triumph of reason. Can it not be said that the subsequent agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to establish a direct line of communication between Washington and Moscow—even though it may be but one measure to prevent accidental war—signifies, if not the revival of mutual trust, at least a desire to move in that direction?

8. Following these developments came the formal signing on 5 August 1963 by the three principal nuclear Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union—of a treaty to ban nuclear weapons testing in space, in the atmosphere and under water. This treaty, of course, is only a partial test-ban treaty. It does not include underground testing. Neither does it provide for nuclear disarmament in the true sense of the term. We Japanese, who have directly experienced the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are naturally opposed to nuclear war. We are equally opposed to nuclear weapons testing by any country, because it increases the danger of nuclear war. We believe that it is our bounden duty to mankind to appeal ceaselessly and vigorously, in the name of human dignity and human existence, for a complete ban, at the earliest possible moment, on all nuclear weapons

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

testing. It goes without saying that the recent treaty does not give us complete satisfaction, for it is no more than a first step in what is a long process that still lies ahead. Yet it is a significant milestone—significant in the very fact that these Powers took the step and in the fact that, so long as they are governed by reason and respect for mankind, it could well serve as an important springboard for further progress. It is because Japan recognizes this significance that it has joined many other countries in supporting and acceding to the treaty.

9. The road to peace is not an easy road. It is a rugged road over which the nations of the world must tread one step at a time, with patience and effort, never losing hope along the way. But I must emphasize here that the peace which we seek is not the peace designed as a slogan for tactical purposes nor peace as a mere concept. The peace which we truly seek is a peace founded on freedom and respect for human rights—a peace that is real, a peace that embraces all mankind. To secure such a peace—true peace—the role of the major Powers is a particularly heavy one. To all the world and to all mankind, they bear a grave responsibility. Should a major Power advocate world peace for no other purpose than to advance its selfish national interests, then there could be no greater betrayal of its responsibility as a major Power. The recent nuclear test-ban treaty should not be regarded by the three Powers which concluded it as according them any privileged status. Rather it has imposed upon them an unlimited moral responsibility towards mankind—a grave responsibility to secure true world peace in a spirit of humility and devotion. May we earnestly hope that these Powers, moved not by self-righteousness nor resorting to arbitrary actions, but deeply aware of the responsibility that comes with the power which they hold, will endeavour to their utmost to translate that awareness into specific actions for peace.

10. While there now is a glimmer of hope of better things to come, we are yet unable to free ourselves from a sense of fear and foreboding. Now is the crucial moment. It is now that the mission of the United Nations as an Organization for the maintenance of world peace assumes increasing importance. Since its establishment, the United Nations has, to be sure, accomplished much in carrying out its purposes. In the Cuban crisis, the Congo, in West New Guinea (West Irian), and in Yemen, the United Nations, directly or indirectly, has performed or is performing a very important function. These and other accomplishments are splendid proof of the United Nations' reason for existing. Here I should not fail to mention the notable part played by Secretary-General U Thant. With tireless energy and talent he has ably performed the difficult duties of his office and has contributed much to the enhancement of the authority of our world Organization.

11. The United Nations has accumulated many achievements in furthering economic and social progress, which constitutes the basis for the maintenance of peace, in fostering and spreading the principle of respect for human rights, and in furthering constructive actions in many other fields of endeavour. They all should be valued highly as meaningful achievements. But fear is still present; and contradictions—abundance and poverty, freedom and oppression, progress and stagnation—exist side by side, keeping the world out of balance and out of harmony. This situation notwithstanding, the relations between nations are becoming closer and more complex. There are

many urgent problems requiring solution, and while they may increase, it is unlikely that they will ever decrease.

12. In Asia, where my country has very close relations, there have been some heartening developments such as the peaceful settlement of the West New Guinea (West Irian) question. Yet, on the other hand, tension and instability continue unabated in a number of areas—in Laos, in Viet-Nam, in Korea—and there are various issues relating to Communist China. On 16 September 1963, the state of Malaysia came into being in the hope held by many countries that its formation would contribute to stability and prosperity in Asia. But to our deep regret, a situation has arisen from the very outset which casts a cloud over our expectations. I earnestly hope that this situation will be settled peacefully by the countries concerned at the earliest possible moment.

13. That these conditions of instability exist in Asia is a source of deep concern to us, not only from the standpoint of peace in Asia, but also from the standpoint of peace in the world. We are also deeply concerned over the state of economic and social development in Asian countries. Such development must be promoted, I believe, by greater efforts by the Asian people themselves in line with their aspirations and in accordance with their economic and social conditions, together with the support and co-operation of industrially developed countries. Their economic and social development thus promoted, it is my earnest hope that Asia will move forward towards stability and steady progress and thereby contribute substantially to the cause of world peace.

14. I should now like to express the views of my delegation on several of the important specific problems now facing the United Nations.

15. The problem of disarmament and the problem of banning nuclear weapons testing are directly and closely related, as we all know, to international peace and security. While the recent nuclear test ban treaty was the direct result of negotiations between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, we should not forget that the patient efforts made by the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament contributed much to this development. Nor should we fail to note that in the background are seventeen years of ceaseless effort by the United Nations. We should realize anew that the earnest plea of mankind, joined as one in the United Nations, that the world's voice of reason as it is represented here, ultimately will become the great power and the dynamic propelling force of progress.

16. As I have said before, the very fact that the recent treaty excludes underground testing renders the treaty incomplete. And this exclusion, indicating as it does the fact that the negotiating Powers were unable to reach any agreement on effective international control, including on-site inspection, makes the treaty unsatisfactory from the standpoint of general disarmament. Japan has consistently taken a very serious attitude towards the problem of nuclear weapons testing, and, accordingly, we have repeatedly advocated an early ban based on the principle of effective international control. We have done so because we believe that arrangements based on this principle would help to spur progress in the field of general disarmament.

17. We all realize, of course, that disarmament involves many complex factors. In the first place, it

must consider the demands of military balance—the balance of security. To ignore this factor would jeopardize peace, increase uncertainty, and would be contrary to the real purpose of disarmament. In the second place, any disarmament measure, to be effective, must be predicated upon the active involvement and participation of all the major Powers. No matter how loudly non-nuclear countries advocate de-nuclearization, they alone cannot bring about a positive solution. In the long process leading to general and complete disarmament, it is the great Powers which shoulder the principal responsibility at all times. In especially stressing the responsibility of the great Powers, I wish to express my earnest hope that the recent test-ban treaty will be further developed from a partial treaty to a complete one and that, in the area of general disarmament also, efforts will be stepped up to carry out, one by one, those measures which are feasible so that, by the accumulation of such efforts, the goal of complete and general disarmament may finally be attained.

18. The independence of colonial peoples is also an important problem demanding urgent settlement by the United Nations. We are very glad that since the Second World War, and especially in recent years, many colonial and dependent areas have attained independence. Meaning as it does that awareness and appreciation of human values and human equality have so deepened as to make this possible, it should be taken as a mark of great progress for mankind in modern times. But the process has not been completed. Colonialism still remains and must be denounced as contrary to human progress. In this sense, the adoption by the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was highly significant, and we hope and expect that the spirit of this Declaration will be fully realized.

19. In Africa in particular has the attainment of independence and the acquisition of freedom by dependent peoples been most notable. It is most gratifying that the Congo, long unable to rid itself of internal confusion and turmoil, has at last realized political unity and is now devoting its full efforts to the task of nation-building, with assistance from the United Nations. There are now more than thirty independent States in Africa. Last May, most of them met in Addis Ababa at the Summit Conference of Independent African States and adopted the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. It was epoch-making not only from the standpoint of African history, but also from the standpoint of world history, that such a firm step was taken in the direction of African solidarity and unity. There are, of course, many problems requiring settlement, many difficulties yet to overcome. But the significant thing is that the newly independent African States have laid a valuable foundation for economic and social progress and for the advancement of the life and welfare of their peoples through mutual co-operation and endeavour. It is my earnest hope and trust that this organization will co-operate fully with the United Nations and achieve a sound and healthy development.

20. While there are these many countries which, having attained independence, are now beginning steadily to march on the road of construction and progress, it is a matter of regret that there still remain peoples who, contrary to their aspirations, are yet denied freedom. We can well understand why the countries which have already gained freedom and independence should be gravely concerned about the

fate of these still dependent peoples. But I think I should add that independence for these peoples should be attained peacefully, through constructive talks with the countries concerned, in a spirit of co-operation and understanding. In the interest of all concerned, we earnestly hope and expect that restraint will be exercised by the dependent peoples as well as by their newly independent neighbours so as to avoid undue haste and extreme actions which can only lead to greater confusion. At the same time, it is incumbent on the interested States to stand on the high principle of human progress and unsparingly extend their sympathetic understanding and co-operation toward fulfilling the aspirations of these peoples.

21. Calling for urgent solution, side by side with the problem of independence of colonial territories, is the problem of racial discrimination. It is painful and regrettable to note that, where discrimination continues to be maintained by law, the recent tendency is not to reduce but to intensify it. It is a clear defiance of human rights and of the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We earnestly hope that the spirit of the United Nations Charter will be upheld and efforts begun to eliminate this unjustifiable condition.

22. Basic to the question of securing permanent peace is the promotion of the economic progress and well-being of the developing countries—a problem of major importance to the society of nations today. In the solution of this problem, often referred to as the North-South problem, I believe the United Nations can perform an important and helpful role. At the present time, the United Nations has projected as a guiding concept in the economic and social fields the United Nations Decade of Development programme, and next spring we will see further international efforts made in this direction when the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is held. Japan will continue to take an active part in all such constructive undertakings of the United Nations.

23. What I wish most to emphasize in connexion with this problem is the fact that the primary and positive role for promotion of economic development lies with the developing countries themselves, and that the role of the United Nations is to arrange the framework of international co-operation for this purpose. It is a fact that these countries are deficient in the necessary capital and technology and are suffering from lack of export earnings, but it is also a fact that international efforts are being made both within and outside the United Nations to ameliorate these difficulties. However, there is a pre-condition that must first be met in order to organize international co-operation more effectively. This is that the developing countries on their part must realistically project their future course themselves and accordingly establish sound long-term development plans. So that they can formulate plans and carry them out on their own, it is necessary for these countries to raise their educational standards, develop their administrative capacity, improve the quality of their labour and strengthen their capacity for social and economic organization. To contribute to the efforts of these countries to obtain economic self-support, it is the policy of Japan to expand, as far as its national capacity permits, economic and technical co-operation, including more active trainee programmes. In this we want to give special consideration to requests particularly from Asian countries with which we are geographically close and with which we have intimate economic ties.

24. The expansion of trade is another highly important subject. Japan is in favour of promoting closer co-operation with the advanced countries to the end of assuring stable export incomes for the developing countries. We are also in principle in favour of the gradual lessening and removal of various trade barriers against the primary products of these countries. Happily, the climate for such efforts is already growing internationally, particularly in the councils of the GATT. At the same time, there is need for the developing countries to continue with greater vigour their efforts to exploit and develop exportable goods. For this purpose the most important thing, aside from the economic and technical co-operation of the developed countries, is for the developing countries themselves to find the most promising export industries and to develop them systematically. The cumulation of efforts on three fronts—*independent formulation of sound plans, economic and technical assistance and promotion of trade*—by the industrial countries and the developing countries, the exporting countries and the importing countries, will make possible a more systematized basis of international co-operation. In these efforts lies, I believe, the key to the solution of the North-South problem.

✓25. The United Nations has problems of its own to resolve. One of them has arisen from the growth in membership. Japan has been advocating that this growth should be reflected in the organizational structure and that for this purpose action should especially be taken to enlarge the membership of the Economic and Social Council and of the Security Council. Since most of the new Members are the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa and since one of the foremost problems now before the United Nations is the economic and social development of these countries, the question of enlarging the membership of the Economic and Social Council is, I submit, one of great urgency.

26. Another problem of paramount importance relates to the finances of the United Nations, especially with regard to its peace-keeping operations and the responsibility thereto of the Member States. The United Nations these several years has had a financial crisis on its hands due to the refusal by some of the Members to share the costs of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the operations in the Congo; and while this situation has troubled our minds, it is gratifying that at the special session last May a formula was found for sharing these costs for the latter half of this year in accordance with the spirit of mutual concession and co-operation. While Japan hopes that conditions will soon materialize which will no longer require the presence of the United Nations forces in the Congo, we want to stress at this time that the principle of collective responsibility should be consistently maintained with regard to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. This Organization cannot exist apart from its Members, but neither is it simply a gathering of individual members. The United Nations has a function and status of its own. And because it does, it has in trust the great mission of maintaining the peace and security of the world; and because of it, all the Members shoulder a heavy responsibility which transcends the national interests of each. The same responsibility also rests with those countries which are in arrears in the payment of their allotted shares in the maintenance of this Organization. Whether the United Nations can truly function effec-

tively depends upon whether its financial base is sound and secure.

27. We are in search of peace, a peace that is secure and permanent, a peace that serves all mankind. For this purpose we must rid the world of fear and insecurity. Even this alone would be a great advance. But our search for peace should not be limited only to such negative aspects; it should be vigorously pursued in the positive fields of human action, the lifting of the world, where poverty, oppression and stagnation still exist, to a healthier and more decent condition. In such efforts lies progress, and in progress lies the positive pursuit of peace.

28. The United Nations, above all, is an indispensable instrument of progress, and as such it can carry out its lofty mission to maintain the peace and security of the world. It is for us to strengthen the functions and enhance the authority of the United Nations as our own Organization.

29. The world situation appears now to be at a turning point. It is an important moment for us who want international tensions relaxed and the cold war ended. Without being optimistic or pessimistic, we must face reality as it exists and continue our day-to-day efforts with patience and perseverance, for in such an approach lies, I believe, the surest and shortest way to peace. For this purpose we must enhance the authority of the United Nations as our best instrument for international conciliation and co-operation, founded upon good will, and devote our highest efforts to this end.

30. Mr. President, I hope and trust that at this important moment in history this Assembly will, under your leadership, accomplish fruitful results and further pave the way to a true world peace, and, I assure you, Sir, that the Japanese delegation will contribute its utmost efforts toward this end.

Address by Mr. John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America

31. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome Mr. John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

32. Mr. KENNEDY (President of the United States of America): As one who has taken some interest in the election of Presidents, I should like to congratulate the President of the General Assembly on his election to this high office.

33. Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, representatives of the United Nations, ladies and gentlemen: We meet again in the quest for peace. Twenty-four months ago, when I last had the honour of addressing this body, the shadow of fear lay darkly across the world. The freedom of West Berlin was in immediate peril. Agreement on a neutral Laos seemed remote. The mandate of the United Nations in the Congo was under fire. The financial outlook for this Organization was in doubt. Dag Hammarskjöld was dead. The doctrine of "troika" was being pressed in his place and atmospheric nuclear tests had been resumed by the Soviet Union.

34. Those were anxious days for mankind—and some men wondered aloud whether this Organization could survive. But the sixteenth and seventeenth sessions of the General Assembly achieved not only survival

but progress. Rising to its responsibility, the United Nations helped to reduce the tensions and helped to hold back the darkness.

35. Today the clouds have lifted a little so that new rays of hope can break through. The pressures on West Berlin appear to be temporarily eased. Political unity in the Congo has been largely restored. A neutral coalition in Laos, while still in difficulty, is at least in being. The integrity of the United Nations Secretariat has been reaffirmed. A United Nations Decade of Development is under way, and, for the first time in seventeen years of effort, a specific step has been taken to limit the nuclear arms race.

36. I refer, of course, to the treaty to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water—concluded by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States and already signed by nearly one hundred countries. It has been hailed by people the world over who are thankful to be free from the fears of nuclear fallout, and I am confident that on next Tuesday, 24 September at 10.30 in the morning it will receive the overwhelming endorsement of the Senate of the United States.

37. The world has not escaped from the darkness. The long shadows of conflict and crisis envelop us still. But we meet today in an atmosphere of rising hope, and at a moment of comparative calm. My presence here today is not a sign of crisis but of confidence. I am not here to report on a new threat to the peace or new signs of war. I have come to salute the United Nations and to show the support of the American people for your daily deliberations.

38. For the value of this body's work is not dependent on the existence of emergencies—nor can the winning of peace consist only of dramatic victories. Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures. And, however undramatic the pursuit of peace, that pursuit must go on.

39. Today we may have reached a pause in the cold war, but that is not a lasting peace. A test-ban treaty is a milestone, but it is not the millennium. We have not been released from our obligations—we have been given an opportunity. And if we fail to make the most of this moment and this momentum, if we convert our new-found hopes and understandings into new walls and weapons of hostility, if this pause in the cold war merely leads to its renewal and not its end, then the shaming indictment of posterity will rightly point its finger at us all. But if we can stretch this pause into a period of co-operation, if both sides can now gain new confidence and experience in concrete collaborations for peace, if we can now be as bold and far-sighted in the control of deadly weapons as we have been in their creation, then surely this first small step can be the start of a long and fruitful journey.

40. The task of building the peace lies with the leaders of every nation, large and small. For the great Powers have no monopoly on conflict or ambition. The cold war is not the only expression of tension in this world, and the nuclear race is not the only arms race. Even little wars are dangerous in a nuclear world. The long labour of peace is an undertaking for every nation, and in this effort none of us can remain unaligned; to this goal none can be uncommitted.

41. The reduction of global tension must not be an excuse for the narrow pursuit of self-interest. If the Soviet Union and the United States, with all their

global interests and clashing commitments of ideology, and with nuclear weapons still aimed at each other today, can find areas of common interest and agreement, then surely other nations can do the same—nations caught in regional conflicts, in racial issues, or in the death throes of old colonialism. Chronic disputes which divert precious resources from the needs of the people or drain the energies of both sides serve the interests of no one—and the badge of responsibility in the modern world is a willingness to seek peaceful solutions.

42. It is never too early to try; it is never too late to talk; and it is high time that many disputes on the agenda of this Assembly were taken off the debating schedule and placed on the negotiating table.

43. The fact remains that the United States, as a major nuclear Power, does have special responsibility to the world. It is, in fact, a threefold responsibility—a responsibility to our own citizens, a responsibility to the people of the whole world who are affected by our decisions, and a responsibility to the next generation of humanity. We believe the Soviet Union also has these special responsibilities—and that those responsibilities require our two nations to concentrate less on our differences and more on the means of resolving them peacefully. For too long both of us have increased our military budgets, our nuclear stockpiles and our capacity to destroy all life on this hemisphere—human, animal and vegetable—without any corresponding increase in our security.

44. Our conflicts, to be sure, are real. Our concepts of the world are different. No service is performed by failing to make clear our disagreements. A central difference is the belief of the American people in self-determination for all peoples. We believe that the people of Germany and Berlin must be free to reunite their capital and their country. We believe that the people of Cuba must be free to secure the fruits of the revolution that has been betrayed from within and exploited from without.

45. In short, we believe that in all the world—in Eastern Europe as well as Western, in Southern Africa as well as Northern, in old nations as well as new—people must be free to choose their own future, without discrimination or dictation, without coercion or subversion.

46. These are the basic differences between the Soviet Union and the United States and they cannot be concealed. So long as they exist, they set limits to agreement, and they forbid the relaxation of our vigilance. Our defences around the world will be maintained for the protection of freedom—and our determination to safeguard that freedom will measure up to any threat or challenge.

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

48. We have, in recent years, agreed on a limited test-ban treaty; on an emergency communications link between our capitals; on a statement of principles for disarmament; on an increase in cultural exchange; on co-operation in outer space; on the peaceful exploration of the Antarctic and on tempering last year's crisis over Cuba.

49. I believe, therefore, that the Soviet Union and the United States, together with their Allies, can achieve further agreements—agreements which spring from our mutual interest in avoiding mutual destruction.

50. There can be no doubt about the agenda of further steps. We must continue to seek agreement on measures which prevent war by accident or miscalculation. We must continue to seek agreement on safeguards against surprise attack, including observation posts at key points. We must continue to seek agreement on further measures to curb the nuclear arms race, by controlling the transfer of nuclear weapons, converting fissionable materials to peaceful purposes, and banning underground testing with adequate inspection and enforcement. We must continue to seek agreement on a freer flow of information and people from East to West and West to East.

51. We must continue to seek agreement, encouraged by yesterday's affirmative response to this proposal by the Soviet Foreign Minister, on an arrangement to keep weapons of mass destruction out of outer space. Let us get our negotiators back to the negotiating table to work out a practicable arrangement to this end.

52. In these and other ways, let us move up the steep and difficult path toward comprehensive disarmament, securing mutual confidence through mutual verification, and building the institutions of peace as we dismantle the engines of war. We must not let failure to agree on all points delay agreement where agreement is possible. And we must not put forward proposals for propaganda purposes.

53. Finally, in a field where the United States and the Soviet Union have a special capacity—in the field of space—there is room for new co-operation, for further joint efforts in the regulation and exploration of space. I include among these possibilities a joint expedition to the moon. Space offers no problems of sovereignty; by resolution of this Assembly, the Members of the United Nations have sworn any claim to territorial rights in outer space or on celestial bodies, and declared that international law and the United Nations Charter will apply. Why, therefore, should man's first flight to the moon be a matter of national competition? Why should the United States and the Soviet Union, in preparing for such expeditions, become involved in immense duplications of research, construction and expenditure? Surely we should explore whether the scientists and astronauts of our two countries—indeed of all the world—cannot work together in the conquest of space, sending some day in this decade to the moon, not the representatives of a single nation, but the representatives of all humanity.

54. All these and other new steps toward peaceful co-operation may be possible. Most of them will require on our part full consultation with our allies—for their interests are as much involved as our own, and we will never make an agreement at their expense.

55. Most of them will require long and careful negotiations. And most of them will require a new approach to the cold war—a desire not to bury one's adversary but to compete in a host of peaceful arenas, in ideas, in production, and ultimately in service to all mankind.

56. The contest will continue—the contest between those who see a monolithic world and those who believe in diversity—but it should be a contest in leadership and responsibility instead of destruction, a contest in achievement instead of intimidation. Speaking for the

United States of America, I welcome such a contest. For we believe that truth is stronger than error—and that freedom is more enduring than coercion. And in the contest for a better life, all the world can be a winner.

57. The effort to improve the conditions of man, however, is not a task for the few. It is the task of all nations—acting alone, acting in groups and acting in the United Nations. For plague and pestilence, plunder and pollution, the hazards of nature and the hunger of children are the foes of every nation. The earth, the sea and the air are the concern of every nation. And science, technology and education can be the allies of every nation.

58. Never before has man had such capacity to control his own environment: to end thirst and hunger; to conquer poverty and disease to banish illiteracy and massive human misery. We have the power to make this the best generation of mankind in the history of the world—or to make it the last.

59. The United States since the close of the war has sent over \$100 billion worth of assistance to nations seeking economic viability. And two years ago this week we formed the Peace Corps to help interested nations to meet the demand for trained manpower. Other industrialized nations—whose economies were rebuilt not so long ago with some help from us—are now in turn recognizing their responsibility to the less developed nations.

60. The provision of development assistance by individual nations must go on. But the United Nations also must play a larger role in helping bring to all men the fruits of modern science and industry. A United Nations conference on this subject, held earlier this year at Geneva, opened new vistas for the developing countries. Next year a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will consider the needs of these nations for new markets. And more than four-fifths of the entire United Nations system can be found today mobilizing the weapons of science and technology for the United Nations Decade of Development.

61. But more, much more, can be done: a world centre for health communications under the World Health Organization could warn of epidemics and of the adverse effects of certain drugs as well as transmit the results of new experiments and discoveries; regional research centres could advance our common medical knowledge and train new scientists and doctors for new nations; a global system of satellites could provide communication and weather information for all corners of the earth; a world-wide programme of conservation could protect the forest and wild game preserves now in danger of extinction for all time—improve the marine harvest of food from our oceans—and prevent the contamination of air and water by industrial as well as nuclear pollution. And, finally, a world-wide programme of farm productivity and food distribution, similar to our country's "Food-for-Peace" programme, could now give every hungry child the food he needs.

62. But man does not live by bread alone—and the Members of this Organization are committed by the Charter to promote and respect human rights. Those rights are not respected when a Buddhist priest is driven from his pagoda, when a synagogue is shut down, when a Protestant church cannot open a mission,

when a Cardinal is forced into hiding, or when a crowded church service is bombed.

63. The United States of America is opposed to discrimination and persecution on grounds of race and religion anywhere in the world, including our own nation. We are working to right the wrongs of our own country.

64. Through legislation and administrative action, through moral and legal commitment, this Government has launched a determined effort to rid our nation of discrimination which has existed far too long—in education, in housing, in transportation, in employment, in the civil service, in recreation and in places of public accommodation. And therefore, in this or in any other forum, we do not hesitate to condemn racial or religious injustice, whether committed or permitted by friend or foe.

65. I know that some of you have experienced discrimination in this country. But I ask you to believe me when I tell you that this is not the wish of most Americans, that we share your regret and resentment and that we intend to end such practices for all time to come, not only for our visitors but for our own citizens as well.

66. I hope that not only our nation but all other multi-racial societies will meet these standards of fairness and justice. We are unalterably opposed to apartheid and all forms of human oppression. We do not advocate the rights of black Africans in order to drive out white Africans. Our concern is the right of all men to equal protection under the law—and since human rights are indivisible, this body cannot stand aside when those rights are abused and neglected by any Member State.

67. New efforts are needed if this Assembly's Declaration of Human Rights, now fifteen years old, is to have full meaning. And new means should be found for promoting the free expression and trade of ideas, through travel and communication and through increased exchanges of people, books and broadcasts. For as the world renounces the competition of weapons, competition in ideas must flourish—and that competition must be as full and as fair as possible.

68. The United States delegation will be prepared to suggest to the United Nations initiatives in the pursuit of all these goals. For this is an Organization for peace, and peace cannot come without work and without progress.

69. The peace-keeping record of the United Nations has been a proud one, though its tasks are always formidable. We are fortunate to have the skills of our distinguished Secretary-General and the brave efforts of those who have been serving the cause of peace in the Congo and the Middle East, in Korea and Kashmir, in West New Guinea and Malaysia. But what the United Nations has done in the past is less important than the tasks for the future. We cannot take its peace-keeping machinery for granted. That machinery must be soundly financed, which it cannot be if some Members are allowed to prevent it from meeting its obligations by failing to meet their own. The United Nations must be supported by all those who exercise their franchise here. And its operations must be backed to the end.

70. Too often, a project is undertaken in the excitement of crisis and then it begins to lose its appeal as the problems drag on and the bills pile up. But we must have the steadfastness to see every enterprise through.

71. It is, for example, most important not to jeopardize the extraordinary United Nations gains in the Congo. The nation which sought this Organization's help only three years ago has now asked the United Nations presence to remain a little longer. I believe that the Assembly should do what is necessary to preserve the gains already made and to protect the new nation in its struggle for progress. Let us complete what we have started for "No man having put his hand to the plow and looking back", as the Scriptures tell us, "is fit for the Kingdom of God".^{2/}

72. I also hope that the recent initiative of several Members in preparing standby peace forces for United Nations call will encourage similar commitments by others. This nation remains ready to provide logistic and other material support.

73. Policing, moreover, is not enough without provision for pacific settlement. We should increase the resort to special missions of fact finding and conciliation, make greater use of the International Court of Justice and accelerate the work of the International Law Commission.

74. The United Nations cannot survive as a static Organization. Its obligations are increasing as well as its size. Its Charter must be changed as well as its customs. The authors of that Charter did not intend that it be frozen in perpetuity. The science of weapons and war has made us all, far more than eighteen years ago in San Francisco, one world and one human race with one common destiny.

75. In such a world, absolute sovereignty no longer assures us of absolute security. The conventions of peace must pull abreast and then ahead of the inventions of war. The United Nations, building on its successes and learning from its failures, must be developed into a genuine world security system.

76. But peace does not rest in charters and covenants alone. It lies in the hearts and minds of all people. And if it is cast out there, then no act, no pact, no treaty or organization can ever hope to preserve it without the support and the whole-hearted commitment of all people. So let us not rest all our hopes on parchment and on paper—let us strive to build peace, a desire for peace, a willingness to work for peace, in the hearts and minds of all our people. I believe that we can. I believe the problems of human destiny are not beyond the reach of human beings.

77. Two years ago I told this body that the United States had proposed and was willing to sign a limited test-ban treaty. Today that treaty has been signed. It will not put an end to war. It will not remove basic conflicts. It will not secure freedom for all. But it can be a lever. And Archimedes, in explaining the principles of the lever, was said to have declared to his friends: "Give me but one firm spot on which to stand—and I will move the earth".

78. My fellow inhabitants of this planet: let us take our stand here in this assembly of nations. And let us see if we, in our own time, can move the world towards a just and lasting peace.

79. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In the name of the General Assembly, I wish to thank Your Excellency for the significant words which you have just addressed to us.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.

^{2/} Luke IX:62.