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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
 (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen): Mr. President, permit me first to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your country has shown deep understanding of our problems and aspirations, and on many occasions it has lent us support in those issues which affected us most. It is therefore an honour for me to stand in this Assembly to pay tribute to you and to the country which nurtured a first-rate diplomat and statesman like yourself.

2. On this very day, 26 September, we are celebrating the first anniversary of the Revolution. I am deeply honoured to be speaking on this day to you and to the world of the past suffering, the present joy and the future aspirations of our people. It is appropriately the year of hope and light for us.

3. On this particular day, last year, our people succeeded in putting an end to a backward, totalitarian and autocratic system of government. That system, for many generations, deprived our people of hope in the future and of light to seek that hope. Yemen was very much like a dark cell, many thousands of square miles in area, inhabited by several million prisoners. The deposed rulers were enemies of life and civilization.

4. The declaration of the Republican régime crowns a struggle of a quarter of a century; it is the fruit of sacrifices made by thousands who spent most of their lives in prisons and in exile, and of hundreds of others who sacrificed their lives so that their countrymen might live free from oppression, utter poverty and ignorance.

5. The free Yemenis began their struggle against the tyranny of the Imamate at the beginning of the Second World War. It was then that they realized that the independence for which thousands of Yemenis died became,

by Draconic calculation, an independence in stagnation, in perpetual poverty, in illiteracy, in disease and in isolation from all that is meaningful in the civilization and progress of man. Yemen, for too long—far too long—was a stage in which scenes of tyranny and atrocities took place.

6. Hundreds of Yemenis were put in dark and terrible prisons where they spent their lives without being heard of by anyone. Anyone opposing the Imam's policy or rule was branded an atheist and without due process of law imprisoned or beheaded. Nevertheless, and in spite of all these oppressive measures, the progressive elements of the people confronted the tyrannical government with tenacity and sacrificial courage. Anti-government leaflets were distributed, and secret organizations—around which the people and even some members of the royal family gathered—were formed. The free Yemenis launched the 1948 revolution. It was the first of its kind in the Arabnation. This revolution shattered the régime of Imam Yahya and declared a popular government, the first in Yemen, which established a National Assembly. The people declared their adherence and respect for the sacred national covenant, the country's provisional Constitution.

7. The 1948 Revolution and all the noble ends it represented failed, due to foreign intervention. The neighbouring hostile and reactionary forces moved and advocated war against the new régime. The revolutionary government sent a delegation to Riyadh in Saudi Arabia to hold a meeting with those who opposed the new régime. While meeting its opponents, the Yemeni delegation could only pose one significant question: Why are you so determined in your opposition to us? And to that question a significant note was added:

"Our revolution has removed the stain of shame which embarrassed all, and set free an Arab People which was rendered powerless and unable to cooperate sensibly with the rest of the Arab Nation in quest for progress. Our revolution is directed against none."

But the enemies of the 1948 Revolution were in no mood to come to terms with the revolutionary situation in Yemen. They could not bear to see the people of Yemen successfully directing a decisive blow to the most entrenched reactionary throne in the area. They saw in its success a threat to their power and vested interests and, consequently, sought its destruction. Then there ensued a flood of money and arms into Yemen and some border tribes were incited. Sana'a was exposed to looting and destruction. Deceived, surrounded by enemies in the North and imperialistic hostilities in the East and South, the revolutionary government fell and so did Sana'a. The country lost its ablest men and many a family lost its property and honour. Ever since the 1948 Revolution, the country remained under a tyrannical régime that sought no improvement, but the people were determined to effect the improvements it wanted.

8. There was a coup d'état in 1955. It failed because of the hesitation of the Prince, who joined it, and of the King, who just resigned as a consequence of it. In 1958 the Imam's Government sought to deceive the people by joining with the United Arab Republic. It seemed a clever political move designed to stalemate anyone except the Imam from taking any step. The paper Federation failed, and the people of Yemen continued their struggle. There were violent demonstrations in Taiz, Sana'a and Beida. The Imam beheaded the chief Sheik of Hashed, eighty years old, and his son. There followed opposition to the régime from the tribe of Hashed and the Qabbeitah and Yusfeen tribes in the South. This period of flux culminated in the attempt of three officers to end the life of the Imam. He was wounded, but escaped death. It was in this atmosphere of unrest that the Imam finally died in September 1962. His son came to the throne. He lost no time in announcing that he would follow the policy of his predecessor because he thought it wise. One could have asked: "Wise for whom?" With such an announcement of intent, the people and the army saw no hope of progress under the rule of the new Imam. The revolution was carried out and the Republic declared on 26 September 1962. And, as though conditions in the Arab nation and the rest of the world had not changed, the reactionary and imperialistic forces sought to destroy the revolution from without and by the same methods as in 1946: intrigues, money and arms.

9. But the Yemen revolution captured the understanding and sympathy of Arab and freedom-loving public opinion in the world and found full support from most of the Arab States, especially the United Arab Republic and the friendly nations which stood beside our people in their heroic struggle for justice and human dignity.

10. Our country was ruled by the Imam's personality, by his myths and by an imaginary power. This was made possible by the unbelievable degree of isolation and illiteracy in which our people lived. The country had no modern administrative system—in fact, there was no administration to speak of.

11. The old régime considered the country an estate to be exploited. The Government kept no sound financial records. There was no budget; there were no banking facilities and no knowledge of the country's income or resources.

12. In the past few years, when attempts to change the government were intensified, the royal family began to smuggle funds abroad. Even the few houses which the Yemen diplomatic missions occupied were purchased in their names.

13. When the Republican régime came into being, its first task was to establish an administrative system. This process is going on satisfactorily. However, the Republic's work in many other fields is slowed by the infiltration of arms and money from outside and the continuation of attacks against the Republic.

14. The new régime fully realized the heavy responsibilities which it carries. The introduction of new educational and health systems and the inducement of a satisfactory measure of economic growth are complex problems and have no simple solutions. However, we look with confidence to the future and our ability to meet the needs of our people. We look, too, for economic and technical assistance from the United Nations and friendly governments.

15. At this point I should like to turn to a problem that has troubled our people for many decades—the problem of the British occupation of Southern Yemen. The British colonial occupation of the Southern part of our country started in 1839, when Aden was occupied by the British aggressors. Through cunning and intrigue, Britain was able to force simple-minded sheiks to sign treaties which in effect gave Britain complete control over the so-called "Aden and Aden Protectorates". The Imam at that time was too weak to challenge British penetration into Southern Yemen. The gradual erosion of the authority of the Imam, due to the awakening of our people, began to endanger British hegemony over the South.

16. With classic ingenuity and precision, only to be expected from Britain, a new method was found by the British authorities to prolong their control over the area. An artificial State was created and named "The Federation of South Arabia". This done with the help of some stooges and followers and in complete disregard of the facts, history and geography and the desire of the people themselves in the area. By creating this State Britain sought to kill two birds with one stone: apparent compliance with the General Assembly resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and apparent compliance with the United Nations principle of self-determination—an attempt, no doubt, to paralyse Yemen unity and the territorial integrity of Yemen.

17. This was done with Britain comfortably in control of the area, from behind a facade of legality and legitimacy with which Britain presumably was endowed by their creation, "The Federation of South Arabia".

18. The British administration persists in oppressing the labour movement and the popular organizations. It suppresses newspapers that oppose its designs and imprisons or terrorizes all those who stand in the way of its policy. British aircraft have bombarded the areas which refused to join the so-called Federation.

19. The question relating to this problem has been under consideration at the United Nations in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. <sup>1/</sup> The Special Committee at its 163rd meeting on 3 May 1963 appointed a fact-finding Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee visited all the pertinent areas except Aden, due to the refusal of the British authorities to admit them. The facts obtained from the visit of the Sub-Committee are contained in its report and in the report of the Special Committee.

20. As a measure of pressure on the Yemen Government, Britain refused to recognize the Republican régime, and aggression against Yemen increased in frequency.

21. But none of this could conceal the facts or the nature of the problem. The real issues is the actual British presence in Southern Yemen; and Britain is very much in error if it assumes that its presence can be condoned by the people of Yemen.

22. This question does not concern the Yemen Arab Republic Government alone. It is also the concern of the people who declared their opposition and resistance to the British scheme even before the Republican régime. The problem is also very much the concern of the United Nations in that it involves violation of

<sup>1/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

the principles of its Charter and of the General Assembly's resolutions on colonialism.

23. Britain has for too long dominated the several parts of the Arab homeland, "Balkanized" it and established States and thrones. The Arab revolution had, and will have, to struggle bitterly to rid the Arab land and people of foreign influence and to right the wrong done.

24. Today we are past the first half of the twentieth century. A lot of developments have occurred in all fields relating to relations among nations, and yet we find Britain lagging behind in recognizing this fact in South Yemen as well as in Oman and the Gulf Territories. The Yemen Arab Republic strongly supports the Omani people in its desire for independence and urges this Organization to take strong steps towards the realization of the aspirations of the Omani people.

25. In other areas we see violations of United Nations principles as in Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique which are still denied their right to self-determination. In South Africa a majority of the population is denied the basic human right of equality. In all these and similar issues, our delegation supports the implementation of the principles for which this Organization was created.

26. There is very little to add to what is already known about the tragedy of Palestine. The Zionist organizations, with the tremendous means at their disposal, have sought to distort the facts and to mutilate reality. But in spite of these attempts the world does recognize the elements of the Palestine tragedy—peaceful people attacked by well-equipped and organized renegade Zionist bands which took, by murderous force, the cities, the villages and all that the Palestinians owned. All this occurred in defiance of the United Nations, the world and all the humane principles of civilized society. We are left now with people who, having lost their land, live in the open without a country or hope, watching, day in and day out, their farms and their houses being utilized by the intruders.

27. We are not against Judaism or against the Jews as a race. They have lived amongst us for many generations, free to practise their faith and to pursue their hopes in this life. However, we reject Zionism, the political movement that, in fact, reproduced in Palestine the Nazi atrocities, thus mocking the very basic values for which the world fought the Second World War.

28. The Yemen Arab Republic believes that there will be no peace and security in the area until the Palestinian question is rightfully solved and the refugees returned to their homeland. The conscience of this international Organization and the conscience of the civilized peoples of the world will always be overburdened with this distress. World problems cannot find real solutions, and true and lasting peace cannot be reached unless based upon the principles of justice and human dignity.

29. The partial success resulting from the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water<sup>2/</sup> has been a step forward, paving the road towards this human goal of lasting peace with justice. For the small nations of the world this agreement is a double rejoicing, for it not only opens the way to peace but also gives hope that the colossal sums of money which are being wasted in the

marathon race of nuclear explosions, spreading fear and poisons, will be converted to the use of spreading bread and butter, hope for a better future and confidence in man. Upon these premises, the Yemen Arab Republic, joining the many small nations, welcomes this Treaty and considers it an important watershed of a new era.

30. The Yemen Arab Republic supports all steps leading to better international relations and co-operation. It fully supports all efforts of this Organization aimed at promoting the cause of peace and progress and mutual understanding among nations. It holds in high esteem the principles upon which the United Nations is based.

31. Our people have an emotional drive to hold firmly their belief in the United Nations, its different organizations and all the Member States, particularly to rid themselves of the isolated prison to which they were condemned for generations and to benefit from world progress in their striving against illiteracy, disease and poverty.

32. For these noble goals the Yemen Arab Republic stretches a hand of brotherhood to all the nations of the world.

33. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): I have the honour and pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of Liberia and myself, to extend hearty congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

34. Each year the Presidents of the General Assembly have brought to this high office their various exceptional talents and capabilities and, by their activities, they have succeeded in confirming and renewing the esteem and respect which our Government hold for them and for their countries. We are again fortunate to be afforded the privilege of having an experienced and renowned personality such as you, Mr. President, to preside over our deliberations. We offer you our usual co-operation and best wishes.

35. It is a source of some satisfaction that the international climate at this time seems to have improved considerably, a rather happy coincidence in contrast with the ominous circumstances which have surrounded the opening of many sessions of the Assembly in past years.

36. Certain incidents have occurred within the past three months which, I believe, account for this new and exhilarating feeling of optimism. The first was the Memorandum of understanding signed by the United States of America and the Soviet Union on 20 June 1963 [see A/5488] in which an emergency communications link was established between the two capitals with a view to reducing the risk of war by accident, by miscalculation or by misunderstanding during periods of high international tension. This action was a practical and concrete achievement—an indication that both of these great Powers recognized the possibly catastrophic effects on mankind of a war, in which would be employed the dangerous mass weapons of destruction now at man's disposal, and were therefore willing to seek means by which the dangers could be reduced and the odious atmosphere of hatred and suspicion replaced by more attempts at understanding and mutual trust. This agreement threw open, even though slightly, the window of confidence.

37. After many years of fruitless talks on the matter of nuclear testing, during which period millions of peo-

<sup>2/</sup> Signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

ple yearned and longed for some ray of hope, the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom signed a partial test ban Treaty on 5 August 1963, bringing into effect a moratorium on nuclear tests in outer space, in the atmosphere and under water.

38. The President of the United States has referred to this agreement as a step "away from war" and the Soviet Premier has referred to it as "an improvement in the entire international situation". Be that as it may, the agreement has brought to our troubled world a ray of hopeful beginning toward the goal of peace, which can be achieved in freedom and justice based on accommodation and reason.

39. We do not entertain any illusion that this new hope will resolve all the issues on which both East and West are perhaps still divided; but we do feel, especially when we look back only ten months ago when the world was on the brink of a thermo-nuclear holocaust, that this Treaty may reduce our exposure to radio active fall-out and the harmful effects of atomic radiation; and that this treaty represents a significant effort in the achievement of better political and other relations between East and West. A new world can thus be seen, however far away, in which at least some measure of mutual trust is being used to replace mutual distrust, hatred and suspicion.

40. We therefore extend congratulations to President Kennedy, Premier Khrushchev and Prime Minister Macmillan for their efforts in achieving this essential first step, which my Government regards as one of the most important events in recent years.

41. My delegation proposes that this Assembly should here and now adopt a resolution calling on all States to become parties to the partial test ban Treaty and appealing to the nuclear Powers to continue negotiations for the purpose of ending nuclear tests underground.

42. I express the fervent hope of my Government that the successful efforts will not end with the partial nuclear test ban agreement, but that the Governments involved will take the maximum advantage of the new spirit which has developed, and advance steadily forward toward further reconciliation by gradually destroying the barriers which separate them and by solving the issues which very often have made disaster appear imminent.

43. This means also that the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament should continue its efforts to secure an agreement on disarmament and the regulation of armaments.

44. Another important development on the international scene was the Conference of African Heads of State and Government which was convened in Addis Ababa on 22 May 1963. This Conference established the Organization of African Unity. It was the first time in history that so many Heads of State or Government in any area had met to establish a regional organization. I think it is important to underline their opinion that the "Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ... provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among States" and their reaffirmation of their adherence to the principles contained in those documents as well as their acceptance of all obligations contained in the Charter. Our Heads of State and Government have thereby expressed their unequivocal support of the Charter and recognized the interdependence of States

in the world. I am certain that these expressions will be translated into deeds and, should other Member States also fulfil their obligations, the future of the United Nations will be assured.

45. It should be clear, however, that all African States will demand that self-determination, freedom and independence be granted to every area on the African continent. We shall insist on respect for equality, human dignity and fundamental rights. We shall also insist that every Member State show respect for, and compliance with, the resolutions of the United Nations, not merely with those that are favourable to them. This will strengthen the United Nations, not weaken it.

46. There are some dangerous areas of tension apart from certain colonial areas in Africa which can threaten international peace. Among them are the problems of a divided Berlin, the situation in Viet-Nam and Laos, and the situation in the Middle East.

47. As there are provisions in the Charter which authorize the General Assembly to "discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security" and "to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation"; and which empower the Security Council to "investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute", my delegation feels that instead of waiting until tension rises unusually high or until a breach of the peace is imminent, the United Nations may do well to consider the possibility of taking some initiative by appointing individuals or creating commissions to ascertain facts to make studies and to conduct investigations so as to encourage peaceful settlements of such problems by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation and any other peaceful means that may be selected. We must not leave the situations to chance solutions which may or may not result in the best interest. In every instance, we must make full use of the United Nations in its unique role of assisting in the solutions of such important problems. In other words, let us strengthen the machinery of the United Nations for preserving peace.

48. Whilst I do not believe that the United Nations can or should be expected to solve all the difficult problems which threaten peace, no harm can result from fact-finding studies or investigations, which may enable the United Nations to keep the disputants talking and trying to find solutions to such problems.

49. Moreover, my delegation believes that the principles enshrined in the Charter, whether they be respect for the sovereign equality of all Members; self-determination of peoples; restraint from the threat or use of force; fulfilment of the obligations of the Charter; universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without regard to race, sex, language or religion; must be respected and applied fairly to all situations in which their application is warranted. In short, principles, not policies, must be our cynosure if international peace and security is to be maintained.

50. May I congratulate the Secretary-General for his report to the General Assembly [A/5501] and for the important role he has personally played in the past year to ease some of the tensions which had brought us close to war. I will submit a few brief comments on his able and comprehensive report.

51. The Secretary-General has advocated the continuance of technical assistance and the civilian opera-

tions in the Congo but has recommended that, in view of the considerably improved situation there, especially in the military character of the United Nations operations, an early withdrawal and winding-up of the United Nations Force should be envisaged and "the Congolese Government should assume full responsibility throughout the Congo for the maintenance of law and order" [A/5501/Add.1, section V]. My Government understands fully all the reasons which have led the Secretary-General to advance this suggestion.

52. In a communication,<sup>3/</sup> the Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, appealed for United Nations military forces to remain in the Congo for the first half of 1964. We note, in the report of the Secretary-General of 17 September 1963 to the Security Council,<sup>4/</sup> his recognition that serious risks are involved in an early withdrawal of the forces and that the United Nations Forces in the Congo could continue to be helpful to the Government and the country until the first half of 1964. We accept his suggestion that the time must come when the Government of the Congo will have to assume full responsibility for security and law and order in the country.

53. Nevertheless, the Liberian Government is very sympathetic to the views expressed by the Congolese Government, which is currently concentrating on the organization and training of its armed forces with a view to their deployment throughout the entire country. The Congolese Government seems confident that this task can be completed in 1964 and has suggested that, after its completion, the process of relieving the United Nations Force could be effected with greater smoothness and efficiency.

54. This assessment made by the Congolese Government itself, and the appeal made by its Prime Minister, should receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of this Organization so as to achieve the best possible results from the efforts and expenditure made in the past few years. It would be tragic if a memorable and important accomplishment in the cause of peace were partly undone by an error in timing of the disengagement of these forces.

55. At its seventeenth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1785 (XVII) and endorse the decisions of the Economic and Social Council to convene a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. A preparatory Committee was constituted to render the necessary assistance in the preparation of that conference. My Government considers that the conference is likely to prove a most important factor in opening up new avenues of economic hope for the developing countries.

56. In his report to the Second Committee [795th meeting], Mr. de Seynes, Under-Secretary for Economic Affairs in the United Nations, last year noted the stubborn downward trend in the prices of raw materials and observed that the determinants of that trend revealed nothing to indicate a change for the better. We who are the sellers of raw materials can translate the observation of Mr. de Seynes into cold, declining figures. The stark reality is that, while prices of our primary products are decreasing, the prices of industrial products are increasing. We are thus permitting an already wide gap between developing and developed

countries to widen, a fact which can have dangerous consequences for the fate of the world.

57. If the objectives of the Development Decade, for which our Secretary-General is so earnestly striving, are to be attained, there must be an improvement of the terms of trade of the developing countries and also an increase in the share of world trade. In short, international trade needs a thorough and fundamental re-assessment and the efforts and objectives set forth by the United Nations must be paramount in this respect.

58. My Government welcomes the coming Conference because we feel that the decisions to be reached should have two essential objectives: that of expanding world trade which means an increase in the production of all trading countries; and the establishment of fair terms of trade between the developing and the highly industrialized countries by arresting and stabilizing, at equitable remunerative levels, the steady deterioration in the prices of primary commodities and reversing their movements in relation to the prices of manufactured goods.

59. Unless this is done, we may as well resign ourselves to the unpleasant fact that the Development Decade is bound to fail. Our efforts this year must be dedicated to the achievement of these essential and indispensable objectives. As I expressed at the seventeenth session we must not risk a situation in which: "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Prosperity must be indivisible. The world cannot survive if it is to be part palace, part slum" [1132nd meeting, para. 22].

60. I come now to the question of equitable representation on the main organs of the United Nations. Speaking at the seventeenth session on this matter, I said:

"The expansion of the United Nations membership is, in the opinion of the delegation of Liberia, of great importance for the Organization's role in the maintenance of international peace and security. By such expansion the United Nations moves much closer to being the universal organization it was intended to be." [Ibid., para. 2.]

I further said:

"But there are important organs from which African-Asian States are excluded under agreements made before the increase in membership. Either the membership of these organs has to be increased or we will strive to use our votes to ensure adequate representation on each of them." [Ibid., para. 39.]

61. My Government does not consider the Charter of the United Nations as a static document, but as an instrument which is adaptable to changing needs and circumstances. Consequently, we feel that there is a pressing need for the necessary improvements in the Charter to obtain better representation for Africa and Asia on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

62. When the structure of the United Nations was being erected in San Francisco in 1945, Liberia was persistent in defending the principle of equitable representation on the Security Council and proposed an alphabetical rotation of non-permanent Members on the Council to guarantee the participation of all States in this body, inasmuch as geographical distribution could not be satisfied or applied through only six non-permanent seats. That proposal was regrettably defeated.

<sup>3/</sup> Official Record of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1963, document S/5277.

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5428.

63. It is not reasonable, fair nor just that thirty-two African Members of the United Nations should be denied the right to be seated in the important bodies of the Organization.

64. It is to be recalled that the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, discussed the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. The consensus seems to have favoured an expansion of membership [960th meeting] of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, from the regions of Africa and Asia in order that these two regions might participate more effectively in these organs.

65. At the seventeenth session, the Assembly decided that a Committee, appointed to make arrangements for a Conference on reviewing the Charter, should meet not later than July of this year and report to this session the results of its efforts [resolution 1756 (XVII)]. My Government is pleased that the Committee seems in agreement that the composition of the organs should better reflect the increased membership of the United Nations.

66. It may be useful to inform this body that, at the Conference of Heads of African States and Governments, this matter was discussed, and a specific resolution was passed instructing African representatives to take all possible steps to achieve a more equitable representation of the African region.

67. We look forward to executing these instructions, we hope, with the full co-operation and assistance of all Members of the Assembly. We note with satisfaction that an item appears on the agenda of this session which deals with the question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

68. Turning to the question of Portuguese territories in Africa and that of South Africa, the world has witnessed some strange and almost incomprehensible developments. For several years the African States have tried, in as reasonable and conciliatory a manner as they could, especially within the United Nations, to have the Government of Portugal recognize that the United Nations does have competence to discuss the territories under Portuguese administration in Africa, that the inhabitants of these territories do have the right to self-determination and independence, and that Portugal has the obligation of international accountability to the United Nations for its dependent peoples.

69. In spite of several resolutions which have been passed by large majorities in the General Assembly and the Security Council, confirming these principles, the Government of Portugal had defiantly refused to comply with these resolutions. Even following the disturbances in Angola and the subsequent actions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and with the feeling aroused in the world, the Government of Portugal still defied these resolutions and made no response. It is difficult to visualize what it hopes to achieve from this deliberate policy of self-isolation, which is so sharply at variance with the obligations of all Member States under the Charter of the United Nations.

70. The General Assembly has considered the question of apartheid since its sixth session in 1951 and the general problem related to the maltreatment of, and discrimination against, non-whites in South Africa since the first session. All the actions of the African States in these matters have been founded on the basic

principle that, as fundamental human rights are essential to the welfare of all men and to the development of the stable conditions necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among States, the United Nations has to take action to uphold principles which were clearly expressed in the Charter and which affect the very foundation of the Organization. Our efforts have, as you well know, been totally rejected both by the Governments of Portugal and South Africa.

71. Having exhausted every other means for a solution, the Heads of African States, at their summit Conference last May, decided among other things to instruct four African Foreign Ministers "to speak on behalf of all African States in the meetings of the Security Council . . . on the situation of African territories under Portuguese domination" and "to inform the Security Council of the explosive situation existing in South Africa".

72. Member Governments are fully aware of the decision of the Security Council on these two matters. The resolutions which were approved by the Council reflect the result of consultation and a very cordial and amicable exchange of views between the Members of the Council and the Foreign Minister.

73. In respect of the Security Council's decision on the Portuguese territories,<sup>5/</sup> my Government feels that that resolution has determined once and for all that the situation is disturbing peace and security in Africa. It has, accordingly, called upon Portugal to recognize the right of self-determination, to stop its repression, to enter into negotiations and to transfer power, after conclusion of such negotiations, to the indigenous inhabitants of these areas.

74. Further, the Security Council [1049th meeting] placed into the hands of the Secretary-General the responsibility for seeing that the Government of Portugal complies with that resolution, and the Secretary-General has been requested to submit to the Security Council, by 31 October 1963, a report on the results of his efforts.

75. African States are aware of the present efforts of the Secretary-General through his deputy, Mr. Godfrey Amahree, who has been in Lisbon recently. We are also aware of conversations taking place between the United States and Portuguese Governments.

76. On 12 August 1963 the Portuguese Prime Minister made a speech in which he said his country would fight to the limit of its human resources to maintain its so-called overseas provinces. We will, of course, await the report of the Secretary-General; but if this is the line that the Portuguese Government will pursue, the burden on the United Nations will become heavier, for each day the limits of endurance and the self-imposed patience of the African States grow less and less and the pressure of frustration mounts.

77. It is incumbent on the Security Council to take appropriate action to remove this dangerous threat to peace which results from these conditions of injustice and inhumanity, which can only lead to conflict as they have done in other instances.

78. Turning to the decision of the Security Council in respect of the policy of apartheid practised by the South African Government, we are again grateful for the action which the Council took. It is noteworthy that for the first time the Security Council, by that resolu-

<sup>5/</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/5380.

tion, has considered the racial policies of apartheid as a source of disturbance to international peace and security rather than as only a violation of the human-rights provisions of the Charter. Similarly the policy of apartheid has found no shred of support from any Member State of the United Nations. We are also awaiting the report of the Secretary-General on 30 October 1963 pursuant to operative paragraph 4 of the Security Council's resolution on apartheid adopted on 7 August 1963.<sup>6/</sup>

79. We are also concerned about Southern Rhodesia and the present status of the African majority in that colony. We call on the United Kingdom not to take any action that will cause a deterioration in that situation.

80. Looking again at the report of the Secretary-General, I note that he has reminded Member States of the financial situation of the Organization. It is to the matter of the present financial crisis and what efforts we should exert towards resolving that crisis that I should now like to turn. Speaking on the matter last year [1132nd meeting], I solemnly appealed "to all Members to accept the International Court's opinion and show their good faith by contributing their quota to these peace-keeping operations". I observed further that a failure to do so may be to paralyse the United Nations in one of its most important functions.

81. A special session was convened on 14 May 1963 to consider this financial situation. We are all familiar with the prevailing points of view on the legal question of the cost of the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo. Therefore the political and other arguments adduced to show why payment should or should not be made towards the fulfilment of those two operations hardly need to be restated. My Government believes there are other problems related to the financial crisis of the Organization which are not necessarily connected with the cost of the United Nations Force and the United Nations operations in the Congo.

82. Whatever political and legal points of view Member States may hold, the crisis goes beyond mere political and legal points. It is a crisis of the very survival of the United Nations itself. It raises a series of problems about the ability of this Organization to function effectively in the future, to remain an effective instrument in the settlement of international disputes, in the maintenance of peace or in its efforts to assist economic and social advancement in the United Nations plans for the Development Decade. Member States must recognize that we are draining the life blood of the Organization and threatening its very existence, not only by withholding funds for these military operations, but equally so in our failure to pay our annual assessments in full. It is sad to recognize that, at the beginning of 1963, twenty-five Member States, about one-fourth of the Members of the Organization, had paid nothing at all towards the United Nations Emergency Force assessments; that forty-eight States had paid nothing in the levies for the Congo; and that since 1960 some States have withheld or delayed their payments for the regular budget assessments.

83. My delegation appeals to all Member States which may be in default to pay up their assessments, and let us endeavour, in the words of the Secretary-General: to "evolve a satisfactory method of financing future peace-keeping operations" [A/5501/Add.1, section XI].

Such operations are necessary if international peace and security are to be maintained.

84. I do not know what posterity will think and say about us if, after reading of the vast sums of money spent on armaments in this century, they discover in the next chapter of their history books that the Third World War—the awful ruins of which they will see around them—became inevitable because the United Nations was made impotent in its functions by being unable to pay its debts. Let us, therefore, consider the establishment of a fund for peace-keeping operations which would ensure the existence of funds whenever an emergency occurs.

85. With the improved international atmosphere, our task is to take advantage of every opportunity further to improve the climate, to lessen tensions and to find fair and practical solutions to the problems besetting us, no matter how complex they may be. Let us make this an Assembly of additional steps towards our ultimate goal of peace.

86. I hope that our deliberations during this Assembly will redound to the benefit of mankind by leading to international peace and security, and I assure you that the Liberian delegation will co-operate in all legitimate endeavours towards this end.

87. Mr. ZORILLA DE SAN MARTIN (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The Eastern Republic of Uruguay wishes, through me, to congratulate Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the United Nations, on his election as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. I take this opportunity publicly to express our confidence in him. We know that he will preside over our debates with a fair mind and an equable spirit.

88. Our delegation has repeatedly voiced at past sessions of the General Assembly a concern which dates from the very beginnings of our nationhood: our love of peace and our firm desire to preserve mankind from the dreadful scourge of another war, the end of which in modern times no one can foresee. In addressing comity of nations I wish, as a first gesture, to express the supreme and unanimous message of our people—our most heartfelt prayer for the blessings of an abiding peace upon all the peoples of the world.

89. Our intention is to state here with all firmness that the time has surely come for us all to give thought to the future so that we may bequeath to following generations a new world, untroubled by threatening storm clouds, thereby setting our minds at rest and nourishing hopes of a bright future founded on the happiness of all men without distinction of race.

90. There is an old saying: "The rich man gives of his abundance; the poor man gives his heart". Uruguay has come here to give her heart and thereby contribute to the achievement of peace, which is the great aspiration of this world of ours with all the tensions and perils. Uruguay's ambition is to make the human condition progressively more tolerable by protecting the worker and safeguarding the family, and exhausting ourselves, if necessary, and every means within our power to attain this great end. We know that this is not easy, but let us have faith in the future. Each one of us must relinquish some small part of what he possesses in order to contribute to peace—the great goal of our collective happiness—unselfishly, without hypocrisy, and with a sincerity and faith in the future which must, of course, have clear and unclouded horizons;

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid., document S/5386.

otherwise there would be nothing left but chaos, hatred and destruction.

91. Uruguay will give every ounce of support in order to achieve this fundamental goal. Our country's territory is small, but we do not believe that the sacred principles of independence, justice and the rule of law, which we have ever held aloft with our banners, can be measured by a country's physical size. What a country thinks, and how its thought is applied and sustained—those are the important things.

92. It is only right, therefore, that we should reiterate that to our way of thinking human beings and their essential rights are sacred. We hold that it is absolutely indispensable to safeguard human personality in all its aspects, especially by ensuring freedom of thought, expression, association and assembly, and free access to all sources of culture. The idea of persecuting a citizen merely for criticizing or disagreeing with the government is alien to us. These ideals are bound up with all our past, forever stained with the blood shed in our struggles for independence. Protection of individual rights goes back to the very beginning of our nationhood.

93. We believe in the final triumph of these postulates which are essential to peace and prosperity. We trust that the effort of all free men, wisely and ably supported by the specialized agencies, will triumph finally over aggression, intervention, totalitarianism, subjugation of one people by another, economic exploitation, poverty and ignorance, and that we shall at last make the progress we desire and win prosperity for all mankind.

94. Uruguay trusts that the law-making function of this comity of nations will be the fundamental means whereby the peoples of the world may live together in peace, order and mutual respect. Consequently we stand for a clear and sincere international policy, and our aspiration is peaceful coexistence founded on the right of mankind to a better life without the awful threat of war.

95. Uruguay, which is the most peace-loving of countries, lost no time in signing the nuclear test ban treaty recently concluded at Moscow by the three great nuclear Powers and opened to accession by all well-disposed nations. It could appropriately be named the Treaty of Hope. It cannot be called a victory for any of the Contracting Parties, but is indeed a victory for the human race.

96. We in the Latin-American continent, which has from its early days been known for its love of peace and hatred of armaments, likewise received with hope the idea of progressing gradually toward the elimination of the awful threat of nuclear war through regional agreements by which we could explore avenues to implement resolutions adopted by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations on the prohibition and spread of nuclear weapons. We pray God that this may signify the end of an unhappy period of mistrust, anxiety and tension, and a persevering effort to start an historic era in man's quest for peace through mutual understanding and trust.

97. Uruguay believes, however, that the aim of destroying armaments is not enough. It must be supplemented by creating a new body of law of world-wide application, prescribing the means to enforce this effectively, and banning war and its weapons all over the world. The time has come for man to take thought, make up his mind to put an end forever to futile and

unprofitable strife with his fellow, and bend his strength and collective will to the conquest of nature and the equitable distribution of nature's abundance, among all those who are afflicted by poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance and who cry out for justice. This, briefly, is the philosophy which we truly love and to which we aspire for the sake of all.

98. The President of our National Council of Government, Mr. Daniel Fernández Crespo, on taking office spoke these words in the General Assembly of our Parliament: "Our international policy is to respect all obligations contracted by the Republic, exert ourselves to the utmost for world brotherhood, and strengthen our country's sovereignty by guidance and action. We acknowledge that our international dealings must be founded on the right of people of self-determination and on the principle of non-intervention as a base of reciprocal trust and mutual assistance among the smaller nations." We are obliged by this political ideal of ours based on self-determination to maintain a clearly anti-colonial stand. Uruguay has the honour to be a member and its representative to be Vice-chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization; and the Assembly is well aware of the clear, firm and determined stand taken by our delegation in that Committee, whose resolutions have never failed to receive our delegation's support.

99. It is our hope that very soon every country in the world will be governed by authorities freely elected by universal adult suffrage without distinction of race, wealth or education, according to the true and sovereign mandate of the people's will.

100. We think, and perhaps rightly, that this General Assembly session is the most important ever held by the United Nations, for it comes immediately after the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty and on the eve of the great Conference on Trade and Development in 1964.<sup>7/</sup> We consider that this Conference may prove to be the major event of the mid-twentieth century, since it will analyse the economic factors of the whole world. The attention of all mankind will be focused on this Conference, at which the most important problems confronting the world's economy will be debated.

101. In international trade Uruguay has to deal with markets in countries of very different characteristics. Some are highly industrialized; others, like our own, are chiefly producers of raw materials and foodstuffs. The difference in wealth and income per head between the two groups has been widening steadily to the disadvantage of the latter. There is a very important and graphic indication of this change in the terms of trade. Whereas in the early years of this century Uruguay exchanged one unit of raw material for each unit of manufactured goods, today she must give 1.40 units or more of raw material to obtain the same amount of manufactured goods as before. If we also consider that Uruguay relies almost exclusively on two export products—meat and wool—to earn foreign currency, we see that our position as suppliers is necessarily very rigid.

102. Because of our patriotic concern to revitalize our economy by giving more attention to the agricultural and stock-breeding sector, the mainstay of our well-being, and by trying to obtain big outlets for our meat and wool at the highest prices and on the best terms, we shall have to try to sell to those markets which

<sup>7/</sup> The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to begin in Geneva on 23 March 1964.

respect our rights and buy from those which will pay us the best prices for our product.

103. In the struggle for development and for our economic emancipation we have had to deal with a number of factors which are opposed to our advancement but which we are convinced we shall overcome.

104. These are all points which we have maintained in the United Nations because they constitute our guiding principles, especially in the Economic and Social Council—whose enlargement, incidentally, will have our whole-hearted support in view of the problems raised by the admission of new sectors of humanity to the Organization. It does not seem logical to retain the original membership of eighteen when the number of missions to this organization has doubled.

105. That is why Uruguay has great admiration for the work done by ECLA in the Western Hemisphere, which is of undeniable value. In the light of the principles expounded and developed by ECLA in recent years and the support given to it by the Charter of Punta del Este,<sup>5/</sup> no one disputes the urgent need for national economic planning as the only way to accelerate the process of economic and social development.

106. Uruguay placed great hopes in the United States new policy on Latin America, expressed in the Alliance for Progress, but we must confess that we believe this plan for global co-operation is today in need of dynamism to cope with present problems, which has thus far been lacking.

107. Almost two years after the launching of the Alliance, our peoples are anxiously awaiting some positive signs of progress towards better and more equitable standards of living, under the protection of liberty and democratic institutions, with the speediest possible economic and social development.

108. One should not look for immediate victories; it would be disastrous to expect too much of planning or to expect results too soon. No great advances have been made, nor could they have been made up to the present time but we are nevertheless entitled to draw attention to unjustifiable delays or obvious errors. All countries are now trying to hold to their own solution; moreover, the fact that we are working for long-term goals means that the ultimate objectives will also take a long time to achieve.

109. To expect immediate results will obviously lead to rapid disappointment and unconsidered criticism. However, while we recognize that planning—particularly within our institutional framework—is a slow, although vigorous and decisive, process, it must be realized that the peoples of America require some immediate results and that the social situation in America also requires that certain goals should be achieved with the greatest possible urgency. It is evident that we need to find our own way.

110. We have thus attempted to find general rules and principles to govern our efforts and we have tried global planning and sector planning techniques. But these inevitable attempts at systematization must not make us forget that each country has its own circumstances and conditions, its own distinctive social and political history, and a national solution must be found for each of them. The solution must be found through planning and that is our aim. The task is not an easy

one and it therefore requires much time. Uruguay has nevertheless reaffirmed its belief in the appropriateness of this method and is confident that it will succeed through a system of planning agreed upon by the three groups concerned: Government, management and trade unions.

111. In this process we have not only sought to make a theoretical analysis of our economic variants or the model for our development; we have also stressed the search for and the promotion of specific development projects which will bring a new dynamism to our economy in the near future. At the same time we have set in motion the machinery for proposing basic reforms in political bodies, since without such reforms, we fear, any attempt at planning would be fruitless.

112. Thus, we have attempted to find our solution through planned development based on a twofold approach involving both a general survey of the nation's economic structure, as a whole and by sectors, and the execution of specific projects and structural reforms, the object being to set in motion a dynamic political process directed towards the elaboration of an over-all programme.

113. We are not building our future on external aid alone; we are aware of the need for efforts on our own part and of what we must do with our own means, our own labour, our own enthusiasm, our own purposefulness and our own resources. We must make a thorough study of the possibilities of trading with other regions of the world, particularly with those currently developing at a very high rate, such as the socialist economies, for example.

114. It is undeniable that the same deterioration of trade relations, which has historically done so much harm to Latin America's position in the world market, continues throughout the continent. We have protested a thousand and one times against the implications of this situation which leads to a transfer of wealth and the reduction of our opportunities for growth. A thousand and one times, at international conferences, we have maintained the view that no international aid can compensate for the loss of wealth resulting from the low prices paid for our products on the international market. We firmly reiterate that view today and we demand equitable prices and markets rather than loans and external aid.

115. The picture now appears even more gloomy because of the rapid growth of groupings on the European continent, as a result of the establishment of the Common Market. Latin America cannot remain indifferent to this situation, and we must see how our Governments can find a way out and a genuine and effective solution to this grave problem.

116. The Uruguayan Government, I may state, will give its full support to measures designed to improve the economies of the under-developed countries and to bring about, at the earliest possible date, the desired balance in our economic relations.

117. The world must eliminate a great curtain, which is neither the iron curtain nor the bamboo curtain that separates wealth from poverty. We cannot make any constructive advances in our diplomatic, trade and cultural relations if we do not firmly resolve to eradicate hunger, unemployment, lack of education and class differences from the face of the earth. This is, obviously, an urgent task to be given the highest priority.

<sup>5/</sup> Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the Ministerial Level, held at Punta del Este, Uruguay from 5 to 17 August 1961.

118. It is our belief that sound approaches to a modern world structure may be found in the opportunities for co-operation in the economic and social field and that we all have the same responsibility to carry the work to a successful conclusion along those paths. In this dialogue between people from all regions of the world, which takes place in an atmosphere of complete freedom, we can state our views and our fundamental aim, which is to satisfy the needs of the individual and the family by creating a happy community. Renan said that it is not speaking the same language or belonging to the same ethnic group that makes a nation, but, the sharing of great things in the past and the will to accomplish great things in the future.

119. Uruguay therefore invokes its history, the expression of its great past, and would imbue with a modern dynamism the minds of men who, like Artigas, gave us our country and whose ideals should not remain static. We declare here today to the representatives of virtually all nations of the world that our great ambition for the future is to achieve a lasting happiness based on freedom, for that is the only way in which nature may be overcome and subordinated to those aims which are the symbols of peace: work, order, law and, above all, justice for the 2,000 million human beings who hunger and thirst for justice but who also suffer from hunger and thirst.

120. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you whole-heartedly, on behalf of the Austrian delegation, on your election as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. We are all convinced that, with your wealth of experience in the United Nations, you will bring the proceedings of this session to a successful conclusion.

121. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General for his unflinching efforts in the cause of peace. The Secretary-General, U Thant, has succeeded, with great skill and circumspection, in steering the international Organization through difficult and challenging situations. I should like to mention, in particular, the United Nations Operation in the Congo, the role played by the world Organization in solving the problem of West Irian, and many other activities which I am unable to outline in greater detail within the context of this statement.

122. This session of the General Assembly—and this is something to which many of the speakers who preceded me have already drawn attention—is starting in auspicious circumstances. The partial nuclear test ban Treaty, concluded in Moscow on 25 July 1963, came as an immense relief to mankind; it also paved the way towards further solutions of the disarmament question, which has been a source of concern to all of us for many years. The idea of peace among nations is as old as the annals of history. But for the first time the idea of peace among nations has acquired a genuine meaning in practical politics, and it is a strange paradox that the ability of the human mind to destroy utterly and completely vast regions of our planet has brought peace closer to us than ever before. The joy we feel is two-fold—firstly, because the great Powers have succeeded in agreeing once again, which, unfortunately, has seldom been the case up to the present; and, secondly, because they have succeeded in finding at least a partial solution to such an important problem.

123. A further step towards easing the tension between East and West might be possible in connexion with

unsettled questions of outer space. An agreement along the lines of the statements made by President Kennedy [1209th meeting] and Foreign Minister Gromyko [1208th meeting] that outer space should be kept free from weapons of mass destruction would certainly have a profound psychological effect on the peoples of the earth in their earnest desire for peace. In the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Austria has endeavoured to promote an acceptable solution to the questions which have not yet been settled, and I think I can state that these efforts have found a positive response.

124. But all this should not blind us to the fact that the biggest part of this task has yet to be done: the achievement of genuine and controlled disarmament. The question of control seems to me to be particularly important here, because at this first stage of negotiations this is the only way to overcome mistrust. Many believe that this problem is insoluble because it implies a major encroachment on the sovereignty of the States concerned. Nevertheless I am of the opinion that it is quite possible to combine the principles of sovereignty with the need for control.

125. At one time, when the cold war was very close to becoming a "hot" war, the four great Powers found in Austria a system which, despite the great tension between them, proved to be strikingly effective. This system, widely known as the "Four in a jeep", was actually based on a very simple principle, that of self-control under observation by other parties interested in this control. Self-control takes account of the principle of sovereignty: observation by other parties, of their need for security. The successful functioning of this system suggests that, under admittedly more complicated circumstances, a similar principle could indeed be applied. Since the end of the Second World War, a solution has been found to only two international problems without involving any loss of position or prestige. These were the Austrian State Treaty<sup>2/</sup> and the question of the partial banning of nuclear tests. The Austrian State Treaty served as an example to show that after a marathon series of meetings, at which the situation seemed to be deadlocked time and time again—the Deputy Foreign Ministers and the sub-committee set up by them held a total of 360 meetings—at long last a successful solution could be found. Under the State Treaty, Austria became completely free. Its full political and economic sovereignty and its neutrality have contributed towards establishing peaceful relations in Europe. Ever since then, Austria has done its utmost, within the range of its possibilities, to contribute to international co-operation. It has furthered the decolonization effort, it devotes great attention to collaboration with the new nations of Africa and Asia, and it has given its full support to the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has its headquarters in Vienna.

126. Since its establishment, the International Atomic Energy Agency has done valuable work. I consider it important that the activities of this Agency, which the General Assembly has entrusted with the major role in the preparation and organization of the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, should continue to receive the full support of all Member States. In this context, I should like to refer to the need for efficient co-ordination of the activities of the various United Nations bodies, in order to avoid duplication of work.

<sup>2/</sup> State Treaty for the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria, signed at Vienna on 15 May 1955.

127. Austria takes the obligations deriving from its permanent neutrality very seriously, but it is at the same time always prepared to be of assistance whenever called upon to make a contribution to the cause of peaceful understanding. The Sunday in June 1961 on which President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev met in Vienna for the first time stands out as one of the great days in our recent history.

128. The most important task of Austrian foreign policy is to do everything possible to promote peaceful collaboration and co-operation among nations, particularly in the region in which we live.

129. Austria, which was once one of the large empires of Europe, is now one of the smaller countries and has common frontiers with many States. Fortunately, it has succeeded in establishing amicable and cordial relations with most of its neighbours.

130. We have much in common with Switzerland and, especially in recent years, the policy of neutrality. These two neutral Republics, stretching from the lowlands of Pannonia to the mountains of the Jura, certainly have exercised a stabilizing influence in this part of Europe. All outstanding questions between ourselves and the Federal Republic of Germany have been settled to our mutual satisfaction, and we enjoy the good neighbourly relations of two States which respect each other. Solutions have been found for practically all our differences with Yugoslavia and we have achieved a noteworthy measure of economic and cultural co-operation. The same is true of our relations with Poland, although it is not our immediate neighbour. There has been a similar positive development in the relations between Austria on the one hand, and Romania and Bulgaria on the other. We hope that it will soon be possible also to settle the open questions with Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which would pave the way for a similar development.

131. As will be observed from this outline of Austria's foreign policy, it is the desire of the Austrian Federal Government to establish the best possible relations with all States, especially with our neighbours.

132. Austria—and this is precisely what makes its position unique—lives in the centre of the European continent on the line of demarcation between the two great military alliances, and it shares hundreds of miles of its frontiers, on the one side, with States which profess the principles of communism and, on the other, with States which adhere to the ideas of democracy. It is gratifying that it has been possible to establish these good relations irrespective of the fact that individual States may belong to different military blocs or political ideologies.

133. It is all the more regrettable that I am not yet in the position today to report to the General Assembly, at its eighteenth session, something I would have liked to report, namely, that a satisfactory solution had been found by the parties concerned to the question of South Tyrol, which was the subject of General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960 and 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961.

134. As Members are all aware, the Austrian Federal Government brought the question of South Tyrol before the United Nations on two occasions, first in 1960 and then in 1961. After thorough discussion in the Special Political Committee, in which forty representatives participated the first year and thirty-four in the second, resolutions were adopted unanimously on 31 October 1960 and on 28 November 1961 respectively.

135. Resolution 1497 (XV) urged Austria and Italy "to resume negotiations with a view to finding a solution for all differences relating to the implementation of the Paris Agreement". This agreement in its letter and content provides not only for complete equality of all South Tyroleans with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, but also the granting of autonomous legislative and executive regional power.

136. At its sixteenth session, the General Assembly confirmed and reiterated this decision of its fifteenth session. This resolution is of particular significance. Until then the Italian Government had declared itself willing only to discuss the problem of South Tyrol, but denied Austria's legitimate right to negotiate, a right it has by virtue of the Paris Agreement. This right to negotiate was now clearly established by both United Nations resolutions. It will be appreciated why we therefore regard the two United Nations resolutions as essential progress in the clarification of the matter.

137. Furthermore, the resolution recommends that, should the bilateral negotiations fail, the two States:

"... should give favourable consideration to the possibility of seeking a solution of their differences by any of the means provided in the Charter of the United Nations, including recourse to the international Court of Justice or any other peaceful means of their own choice."

Accordingly, the United Nations did not recommend one specific peaceful means, but all the means set forth in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations. That too was very important progress because it makes it possible to select the most suitable means for settling the differences. But more important than anything else was the reference in the resolution to the Paris Agreement, which as I have already stated, establishes a system designed to guarantee the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province of Bozen "complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, within the framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development to the German-speaking element."<sup>10/</sup> The claim of South Tyrolean minority has thus been newly and solemnly confirmed, for there is no more important forum with greater moral reputation than the General Assembly of the United Nations when it unanimously expresses its will in this way. On that occasion, the Italian delegation, too, expressed its satisfaction with the resolution.

138. It is not my intention, at a session which, we all hope, will prove to be one of the most peaceful in the history of the United Nations, thoughtlessly to stir up a dispute and to disturb the favourable atmosphere that has characterized our deliberations so far. But I consider it to be my duty to inform the General Assembly, which on two occasions has adopted resolutions of such decisive importance to the population of South Tyrol, of what has been done up to now to implement these resolutions.

139. Immediately after the end of the governmental crisis in Italy in March 1962, the Austrian Government proposed to Italy, in pursuance of the two United Nations resolutions, that bilateral negotiations should be resumed at the earliest opportunity. This proposal was repeated several times in the course of the following months. Finally, in July 1962, the Italian Government agreed to a meeting of the Foreign Ministers. This

<sup>10/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

meeting was held on 31 July 1962 at Venice. On that occasion, mainly procedural points were discussed and it was envisaged that the substantive negotiations would continue in the autumn, if possible in October 1962.

140. During the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs and I agreed that the negotiations should be resumed on 30 October or 6 November 1962. On 18 October of that year, it was agreed to schedule a meeting of Foreign Ministers in Salzburg on 7 and 8 November 1962. It came as a complete surprise when, a few days before that date, the Italian Government declared that because of the proposed composition of the Austrian delegation—it was to include two members of the Tyrolean provincial Government, which is one of the nine Austrian provincial Governments—the character of the negotiations, as held at Venice, would be changed and that a further period of preparation would therefore be required by the Italian side. The meeting therefore could not take place.

141. On 20 November 1962—parliamentary elections had been held in Austria on 18 November—The President of the Republic of Austria called upon the Government which had been in office hitherto to continue to discharge its functions until a new Government was formed. The Austrian side was therefore ready and willing to negotiate at all times.

142. Immediately after the new Austrian Government was formed, it again proposed, on 9 April 1963, that the bilateral negotiations should be resumed. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that the Austrian Government's proposal corresponded to the wishes of the Italian Government, but that they would have to wait until a new Italian Cabinet was formed. On 24 July 1963, the Austrian Government again submitted specific proposals concerning a date for negotiations, and at the end of July an Austrian delegation proceeded to Rome for preparatory discussions. At these discussions agreement in principle was reached on the agenda for the foreign Ministers' meeting, the composition of delegations on both sides, and the date—the Ministers would meet between 2 and 5 September 1963 at Salzburg.

143. On 6 August 1963, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed us that, in view of the recent bombing incidents in Italy, it did not consider it opportune to hold the scheduled Foreign Ministers' meeting, and suggested holding the meeting in New York, where the two Foreign Ministers would be during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Austrian Government replied that it could in no circumstances agree to the proposed procedure, since it was the obvious intention of the subversive activities to prevent negotiations.

144. On 8 August 1963, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs informed us that he was prepared to agree that the planned meeting of Ministers should take place in the first ten days of September. On 26 August 1963, however, we were told by the Italian Government that a meeting of Foreign Ministers between 2 and 5 September 1963 would not further the objective that both sides wished to attain. The following reasons were given: first, the continuation of the terrorist activities and the lack of certain co-operation from the Austrian authorities in the search for the perpetrators; and, secondly, the critical attitude of the Austrian Press towards Italy.

145. On the following day, the Italian Government was informed that its position had created surprise and

astonishment on the Austrian side, for the following reasons: first, for almost one year repeated efforts had been made by the Austrian side to arrange a Foreign Ministers' meeting, but these efforts had so far failed, solely because of the objections raised by Italy; secondly, the continuation of the subversive activities could not be given as a reason for a third postponement of the negotiations, because it would be tantamount to enabling some few extremists to continue indefinitely to prevent such negotiations. The reference to the attitude of the Austrian Press was no reason for postponing or deferring the meeting, because it was well known that there was freedom of the Press in Austria, and the Austrian Government could not be held responsible for what was printed in the Italian Press; thirdly, it is well known to the Italian Government that the Austrian prosecuting authorities acted without delay and irrespective of the persons involved whenever they were informed of activities in Austria connected with subversive activities in South Tyrol. These measures have in several cases led to the conviction in court of persons found guilty. On the other hand, it is a universally recognized principle that legal assistance to foreign countries is not granted in cases of a political nature.

146. In reply to the Austrian proposal that the negotiations should be resumed immediately after the return of both Foreign Ministers from the General Assembly—the Austrian side suggested the period between 14 and 18 October 1963—the Italian Government stated that it agreed in principle, but repeated the conditions it had already put forward. The Austrian Government took note with satisfaction of this agreement in principle, but rejected the conditions that Italy had again attached thereto.

147. I feel bound to point out that it is not complying with the United Nations resolutions when one side repeatedly attaches conditions to the mere holding of negotiations, conditions which cannot be fulfilled because they are outside the sphere of influence of the Austrian Government, or if demands are made on us to take action against the Press, which is contrary to the principles of our Constitution, or, finally, if we are given instructions concerning the composition of the Austrian delegation which are incompatible with our sovereignty.

148. I wish to repeat in unequivocal terms that the Austrian Government, the Federal Chancellor and I myself have always shunned terror and violence. I am convinced that we can find a solution for this unhappy situation only if we remove all the obstacles to the holding of negotiations at the earliest possible date. I feel sure that if more determined and energetic efforts to hold negotiations had been made by all sides during the two years since the last United Nations resolutions, a more peaceful atmosphere would prevail today.

149. It is most regrettable that the differences between Austria and Italy with regard to the question of South Tyrol have caused loss of human life.

150. We do not wish to dramatize the dispute. We want a settlement through negotiations. But there must finally be the will to negotiate on the Italian side, too.

151. Two years ago in the Special Political Committee [296th meeting] I drew attention to the fact that the Austrian Government had documentary evidence testifying that South Tyrolean prisoners had been tortured by members of the Italian police.

152. Since 1961, we have shown the greatest restraint, in order to enable the Italian authorities to take appropriate action of their own accord. This they failed to do. One might ask whether Austria is entitled to draw the Assembly's attention to such events which occurred in another State. Indeed it is.

153. The United Nations considers itself competent to deal with questions regarding the violation of human rights—as is demonstrated by Item 77 of this year's agenda. Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stipulating that no one shall be subjected to torture, corresponds to Article 3 of the European Human Rights Convention, to which Austria and Italy are parties. This Convention also provided for the establishment of appropriate organs for the protection of human rights. The Austrian Government therefore reserves the right to submit the matter to these organs for consideration.

154. The purpose of the extensive statement I have made here on behalf of the Austrian Government concerning the question of South Tyrol is to inform the Assembly of the state of implementation of the two unanimously adopted resolutions and to demonstrate that Austria has done everything to make negotiations possible. And we do want to negotiate. Only in this way can we comply with the idea expressed by President Kennedy in his memorable address to the Assembly on 20 September 1963:

"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." [1209th meeting, para. 42.]

155. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom to exercise his right of reply.

156. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): The representative who spoke first this morning referred in his speech to Aden and to the Federation of South Arabia under the name of South Yemen, thereby apparently laying claim to it. As he rightly said, this matter has been discussed at some length in the Special Committee of Twenty-four. The views of my Government have been fully explained to that body. I will not repeat them here, but will merely state that my Government has no doubt about its sovereignty over Aden. Furthermore, we reject the validity of the claim that the Protectorate of South Arabia is in any way part of the Yemen.

157. Reference was also made to increased aggression on the part of the United Kingdom against the Yemen. To this charge I will merely draw reference to the notes circulated, on the instructions of my Government, to the President of the Security Council on 2 July and 29 August 1963.<sup>11/</sup> These notes describe in detail all the incidents which have taken place on the frontier between the Yemen and the South Arabian Federation. They make it clear that in every case it was the Yemenis who opened fire first. The Government of the South Arabian Federation, and needless to say, my Government also, only wish to see peace and quiet along these borders. It is our hope that the Yemeni Republican authorities also share this aim.

158. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Yemen to exercise his right of reply.

159. Mr. TERCICI (Yemen) (translated from French): The United Kingdom representative considers that there is no doubt about his country's sovereignty over our region of South Yemen. Yet every principle of justice, the very concept of nationality, the facts of geography, history down the ages, religious beliefs, identity of customs, the feelings of the people—all these elements, all these factors and all these undeniable realities go to show that South Yemen is part and parcel of the country as a whole.

160. It is not because the forces of the British Empire occupied a part of our territory during the colonial expansion in the last century that that part must be regarded as independent of our country. The feelings of the people and international opinion are in favour of union between our country and the portion which was separated from it by force and through colonial concepts.

161. There is more to it than that. The United Kingdom is now seeking to set up an independent government in the southern part of our country. It intends, by so doing, to divide Yemen, thus creating a new anomaly in the world.

162. Other countries, both in Asia and elsewhere, have been divided artificially just as it is now intended to divide the Yemen. As we have all seen, however, the artificial division of certain countries which form single entities historically, ethnically, religiously and in every other respect, has merely sown new seeds of trouble and insecurity in the world.

163. We sincerely hope that yet another country will not be divided, that the unity of the Yemen will be restored and that when, sooner or later—we hope very soon—the United Kingdom leaves Yemen, it will do so honourably without leaving behind the smouldering fires of trouble or a partition which, for certain, will not survive. ✓

#### Organization of work

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): This concludes the list of speakers for today's general debate. There are no speakers listed for this afternoon, and therefore there will be no plenary meeting. I would ask members of delegations to confirm the inclusion of their names on the list of speakers for the remainder of the general debate, since I intend to close the list on Monday, 30 September, at 6 p.m.

165. I should like to take this opportunity to outline our tentative work programme for the next three weeks. The list of speakers in the general debate is complete until Friday, 4 October, inclusive, for both morning and afternoon meetings.

166. On Monday afternoon, 7 October, we shall begin consideration of agenda item 77, entitled "The violation of human rights in South Viet-Nam". We shall continue consideration of this item during the afternoon meetings of 8, 9 and 10 October if the need arises. The morning meeting on those days will continue to be devoted to the general debate. I hope that we may conclude consideration of item 77 before the end of the afternoon meeting on Thursday, 10 October. I would ask Members wishing to participate in that debate to enter their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

167. On Friday morning, 11 October, we shall continue the general debate, and I hope that we will be able to conclude it at that meeting. On the afternoon

<sup>11/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, documents S/5343 and S/5408.

of the same day we may be able to take up agenda item 83, entitled "Measures in connexion with the earthquake at Skoplje, Yugoslavia".

168. We might then devote the morning and afternoon meetings on Monday, 14 October, to consideration of

agenda item 80, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". As soon as we have concluded consideration of that item, we could proceed to hold the elections.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*