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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ESCOBAR SERRANO (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): In coming to this rostrum, I take pleasure in expressing to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of El Salvador, of which I have the honour to be the head, our warmest congratulations on your deserved election, as well as our best wishes for the success of the delicate task that has been entrusted to you in recognition of your ability and experience.

2. I should also like to tender to the General Assembly, on behalf of the people and Government of El Salvador, our thanks for the honour done us by the election of our representative to serve as one of the Vice-Presidents during this eighteenth session. For a small country whose material resources are limited and whose only wealth consists in the laborious and self-sacrificing spirit of its people and in its lofty concept of spiritual values, it is a source of great satisfaction to have been found worthy of the support and esteem of our sister nations, which the General Assembly has confirmed in granting us this signal honour. We accept it with the firm resolve to co-operate sincerely in all efforts to preserve an atmosphere of harmony and understanding among all those countries which, today more than ever before, desire peace and security to prevail throughout the world.

3. The delegation of El Salvador comes to this regular session of the General Assembly, as on previous occasions, imbued with an unshakable devotion to and respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and a profound faith in the worth and dignity of the human person and the equality of rights of all nations, great and small.

4. El Salvador, like all countries mindful of their traditions, together with a firm determination to develop and progress while preserving the widest possible measure of freedom, as well as a faithful dedication to democratic principles, also shares the world's deep concern for the preservation of peace,

and is convinced that it is only in an atmosphere of freedom, security and justice that mankind achieve its aims of happiness and well-being, as the reward of its painful struggles.

5. It is terrifying to think of the prospect and consequences of a further war, for the achievements of science are now such that a war might result in the total annihilation of the human race.

6. It is hard indeed for us to appreciate that the entire cultural heritage of mankind, acquired and expanded in the course of so many centuries and generations, could be destroyed in just a few hours of insensate folly. Because of this awful threat, the world contemplates in fear and trembling the arms race, imposed by the force of circumstances, which represents a huge drain upon the economies of nations, hindering the solution of the long-standing problems of poverty, malnutrition and ignorance, which, like an ancestral curse, have plagued humanity since its very origin. It is high time that men began thinking like men and showed themselves capable of using the great resources provided by modern science and technology to meet the needs of their fellow men, so that our short stay on earth may be a happy one, free from fear and anxiety, during which we may enjoy the fruits of our mental and physical labours in peace and tranquillity, avoiding paths of sterility and self-destruction.

7. The essential solution of this problem lies in the hands of the highest international body of all—the United Nations. Today more than ever before, the United Nations must look on itself as an organ of international security. It is the United Nations that must needs seek fitting solutions to the differences which unfortunately exist among its various Member States; and all countries, large and small, must strive sincerely to ensure that these solutions are effectively implemented in a climate of mutual understanding and trust. Fortunately, this session has begun under the very best auspices, in an atmosphere of harmony which promises to bring forth good results.

8. During these last few days, the clouds of gloom and despondency enveloping the world have been pierced by a ray of hope, in the shape of the agreement signed on 25 July in Moscow by three of the great Powers which have made notable advances in nuclear science, banning tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This agreement has received an extraordinarily warm welcome throughout the world. A great many nations, including my own, have hastened to sign it, as they consider that this highly important document represents a first step towards peaceful coexistence. We cherish the hope that this agreement will be followed by others, and that all countries will make a special effort to work tenaciously and unremittingly for the maintenance of peace.

9. In keeping with its peaceful traditions, El Salvador shares the deep concern felt by Latin America and by

all peace-loving countries at the arms race and the threat posed by atomic weapons. My country has consequently viewed with the greatest sympathy the suggestion of the Governments of Mexico, Ecuador, Brazil and Chile that Latin America be declared a denuclearized zone, and has stated in that connexion that it is ready to study with the greatest interest any draft convention that may be drawn up for the purpose of dealing with this vital problem. As I have said, we are gratified to see that a first step has been taken in this direction with the signing of the treaty on a partial nuclear test ban.

10. For the same reasons, the delegation of El Salvador will support with the greatest enthusiasm many resolutions aimed at safeguarding peace and ending the arms race, which may be submitted in the General Assembly.

11. In its foreign policy, El Salvador has always sincerely shown and will continue to show the fullest respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, a principle which it would like to see respected in every case by all other nations, for, like the illustrious Mexican statesman Benito Juárez, we believe that respect for the rights of others equals peace. My country holds the right of all peoples to self-determination in equal esteem, believing that the implementation of both of these principles, accompanied by guarantees of effective freedom, constitutes the firmest basis for human coexistence. I need hardly add, therefore, that El Salvador is opposed to every form of colonialism and to every aspect of discrimination, whether for reasons of race, religion, education or any other reason.

12. There is no doubt that the colonialist concept is disappearing and can now be regarded as an anachronism. In this connexion, we greet with interest and satisfaction the new policy introduced by Spain in Fernando Póo and Río Muni and trust that it will be productive of the most beneficial results for these African peoples. However, traces of colonialism still persist in the Americas, and these must not be allowed to remain much longer. America aspires to be the continent of freedom and democracy. I am obliged to refer at this point to the problem of Belize, which is still a dependent territory, situated on our very own soil, the soil of Central America, and the sovereignty over which formerly belonged to Spain. When we obtained our independence in 1821, the Federal Republic of Central America acquired from the Spanish Crown the latter's rights in this territory, so that in our eyes Belize is Central American territory and should be recognized as such. For this reason, and because of our close bonds of solidarity with our sister republic of Guatemala, we have always supported the latter's legitimate claims to this territory. We make this statement today in order to clarify our position on this important matter. We trust that it will be found possible to solve this question, through the greatest possible mutual understanding and a generous spirit of justice, so that this last offending trace of colonialism may be erased.

13. We rejoice at the birth of new States which, having reached political maturity, are now embarking on an independent existence. This is a legitimate aspiration and one which we sincerely understand and share, because we ourselves have experienced it in our own country.

14. It is truly encouraging to see how the membership of this Organization has increased in the space of only a few years. El Salvador has always believed that these new Member States should be more fully and equitably represented within the United Nations. With that end in mind, we have for many years been advocating that the Charter be amended with a view to increasing the membership of the various Councils, and we believe that there is no good reason for opposing such a reform. To attempt to solve the problem by any other means, such as by redistributing the available seats, would be unfair and would cause unnecessary hardship and resentment. The participation of some should not be limited for the benefit of others, but rather the participation of all should be increased so as to provide our Organization with a more equitable structure, and one more adapted to present circumstances.

15. Like virtually all the Latin American countries, El Salvador has been confronted with a new type of aggression, namely, ideological aggression, which advocates foreign doctrine inconsistent with our eminently democratic ways.

16. This problem, which is daily becoming more serious and is being fostered and sustained financially from far-off lands—with the further unfortunate complication that a beach-head has been established on our continent—this problem, I say, is having very substantial repercussions on the efforts which the American peoples and Governments have been making, to the best of their ability, to eliminate sources of social injustice, to raise living standards, to fight disease, to reduce illiteracy and to open up new sources of employment by taking advantage of their extensive natural resources and considerable reserve of manpower.

17. When all the countries of the Americas finally succeed in obtaining sincere and effective co-operation aimed at fostering their development, and the efforts already initiated and in progress to raise the cultural and technical level of their peoples, as well as their fight against disease and ignorance, finally bear fruit—when that day dawns, then we shall be able to say with pride that America is the continent of hope.

18. It is undeniable that a country can achieve such development through its own efforts, without having recourse to foreign assistance; but, in the present circumstances, in which the interdependence of States is making itself felt more and more, and there is an urgent need to accelerate the individual development of each country, the co-operation and assistance of the highly developed States is indispensable.

19. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the international assistance we have received under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

20. Since 1951, when the first agreements on this subject were concluded between the Government of El Salvador on the one hand and the United Nations and various specialized agencies on the other, we have received assistance under the Expanded Programme in the form of scholarships and the services of experts.

21. The studies made by the first mission of technical experts to come to El Salvador contain valuable suggestions and recommendations which have served in part as a basis for the formulation of our development programmes in various fields. Among those studies I might mention, in addition to a report on

over-all programming, various special projects in the fields of industrial development, domestic trade and transportation, civil aviation, ports, agricultural economy, the textile industry, employment and social welfare, housing, etc.

22. The programme for the economic integration of the Central American isthmus originated, under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), with the setting up of a committee composed of the Economic Ministers of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and El Salvador.<sup>1/</sup> This long-term programme is dependent on a number of projects undertaken by technical experts and specialists provided by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

23. The principal element of this programme, the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration has been in process of implementation for some years. A permanent secretariat with headquarters in Guatemala, created pursuant to the Treaty, has already been organized. Its primary function is to supervise the implementation of all agreements concluded or in process of being concluded with a view to promoting the economic integration of the region, and also to perform tasks in connexion with the improvement of the Central American common market.

24. The publications of this permanent secretariat provide information about relevant aspects of the economies of the five sections of Central America, and especially about the evolution which has been taking place in regional trade following the establishment of their common market.

25. As representatives are aware, the activities of the United Nations Special Fund have strengthened and broadened the scope of the technical assistance programmes, with the object of ensuring that assistance is provided on a systematic and sustained basis in fields that are fundamental to technical, economic and social development.

26. With regard to the assistance we are receiving under the Special Fund, I should like to mention one aspect which was initiated with a Central American project to be carried out in various industrial development sectors. I refer to the Central American Institute for Research and Technology, which was approved as a five-year project in 1959.

27. I would like to say a few words about the importance which the Government of El Salvador attaches to the help it has received in the form of technical assistance and through the services of the Special Fund, for which it is most grateful.

28. Before summing up the programme of inter-American assistance, allow me to say that, despite the ill-intentioned distortions to be found in propaganda from foreign sources, the Americas are seeking, and finding, effective ways of promoting their economic and social development through plans of mutual co-operation. Those attacks are the outcome of a feeling of frustration and defeat on the part of the extremists, because the action envisaged in the plans is aimed at dealing calmly and boldly with our problems, and they know that as the plans are implemented their chances of success will dwindle and the banners of demagoguery and deceit with which they try to dupe the people will be snatched from them.

29. One of the plans which has been the target of special attacks by the extremist factions, both of the right and of the left, is the Alliance for Progress which reflects a new and determined attitude towards the new programmes for the Americas, programmes that can no longer be disregarded.

30. The Alliance for Progress is in fact the practical realization of an ideal which saw the light in Latin America itself and was adopted and promoted by the United States of America in an extraordinary effort of continental solidarity. It is not, as some have tried to make it appear, a unilateral institution or system of the United States Government for giving extraordinary financial and technical assistance, for unavowed political ends, to the Latin American countries to help them develop their economies and improve the level of living of their peoples. The Alliance for Progress is more than that; it is an agreement for mutual co-operation solemnly subscribed to by twenty Latin American countries in order to take, individually and collectively and as a matter of urgency, concrete and positive measures to carry Latin America beyond its present economic, social and cultural stage.

31. The Alliance for Progress is motivated by generosity and good intentions. It may have its faults—and indeed it does—like any other human enterprise, and we cannot expect them to disappear altogether. Nevertheless, we are convinced that this attempt, which is without precedent in the Americas and even in the whole world, and which involves an extraordinary effort on the part of the twenty States that have undertaken to carry it out, will help rapidly to improve the condition of our peoples. The effectiveness of the Alliance for Progress cannot be properly assessed after a mere two years of operation, given the obstacles which any social and economic reform is bound to encounter. Even though its progress may sometimes seem disproportionately slow, compared with the magnitude and urgency of the problems it is intended to solve, we must not forget that we have no other programme that could usefully replace it and that if its defects, which are inevitable in undertakings of this size, are corrected, it will produce better results.

32. The Charter of Punta del Este demonstrates the determination of the Governments of the Americas to unite their efforts to promote social welfare and economic growth. Among its objectives it clearly states the fundamental purpose of accelerating the economic and social development of the Americas in order to achieve the highest degree of well-being, with equal opportunities for all, as is fitting in democratic societies. At the same time, it clearly specifies that economic and social development is not an end in itself, but a means of achieving the well-being which is its fundamental aim. The measures which have been proposed to achieve these ends reflect economic growth and a rising productivity index and, in the social field, the improvement of health, education, housing and nutrition, employment and recreation, to mention the most significant.

33. A careful study of the Charter of Punta del Este shows the importance it attaches to the health factor. This is, in fact, one of the most delicate problems facing our peoples and it is necessary to deal with it at the same time as we are planning our economic growth and social progress, for, as the Group of Experts of the Organization of American States on Planning for Economic and Social Development in Latin America determined, improvements in health

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 4, para. 24.

conditions are not only desirable in themselves, but they are an essential prerequisite for economic growth, and therefore they must be an integral element of any meaningful programme in the region. For that reason, my country considers the money spent on health care as an investment, a productivity factor, not an expense. The yield on this investment is an increase in the capacity of the members of the community to strengthen the human factor in the production and consumption of goods and services, thus increasing the wealth of the countries concerned.

34. To sum up, we can say that the Alliance for Progress is not a political instrument and that its aims do not cloak any suspect intentions. It is a plan of broad and disinterested international co-operation. We welcome assistance from all countries which are able to give it in order to speed up our development, and they can be sure that the peoples of this continent will appreciate their co-operation and assistance, if given loyally, without ulterior motive or meanness, and be most grateful for it.

35. The Government of my country does not flatter itself that it has been able to carry out, or even to initiate, all the reforms envisaged in the plan of the Alliance for Progress, but it is doing its best to carry out a series of projects and reforms to raise the social and economic level of our people. I should like to say a few words about those which I feel are particularly important.

36. In the field of public health and social welfare, a study of the rates of mortality from infectious diseases, malnutrition, and lack of sanitation shows that they are distressingly high. This has indicated to us the need to organize food production in order to satisfy the basic needs of the population and to prevent the export of food products from reducing domestic consumption. A national health plan provides guidelines for government action; it covers the following points: constant health supervision in isolated and inaccessible villages, and an effective campaign against prevalent diseases, particularly malaria. This is the first plan of its kind in Latin America and it demonstrates the Government's interest in protecting the health of our people. Efforts are also being made to improve the existing health services and special support is being given to the scheme under which mobile units bring medical services to all parts of the country. The public health and social welfare budget for this year represents 10.57 per cent of the national budget. This percentage is highly significant, because it is the highest which has ever been achieved by the Administration in this field.

37. In the field of education, the "Literacy Crusade", launched by the Salvadorian Government barely ten months ago is already bearing its first fruits. The aim is to teach more than 500,000 Salvadorians to read and write in five years and I am happy to say that 50,000 are now benefiting from it. My Government is devoting 21.6 per cent of the national budget to education, and I am proud to say that in El Salvador, no other government department has a larger appropriation. The representatives from all countries who attended the twelfth General Conference of UNESCO at the end of last year were very impressed by the size of the education budget. It is in education that the joint efforts of the Government and the sponsors of the Alliance for Progress have succeeded best, and my Government is determined to obtain rapid results which will result in increased cultural benefits in the coming years.

38. I do not wish to take up any more of the Assembly's time by recounting the current activities of the Salvadorian Government in other branches of public administration. I only wished to mention these two aspects in order to emphasize that the policy adopted by my Government from the outset is designed to improve the economic position of the country and to raise the level of living of our people in an atmosphere of complete freedom and respect for democratic institutions.

39. Repeated references have been made from this rostrum to an event which is to occur during the first half of 1964. I refer to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

40. I am gratified to state that my Government has appreciated the importance of this long-awaited world event ever since the thirty-fourth session of the Economic and Social Council, bearing in mind the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade, adopted resolution 917 (XXXIV) on 3 August 1962, in which it resolved to convene the Conference. In that resolution, after recalling the General Assembly resolutions on international trade as an instrument for economic development, particularly of the less developed countries, it recognizes the importance of economic development for the stability of the world economy and the maintenance of international peace and security.

41. In view of the general hope that the Conference may give a new direction in different spheres of world trade, I do not feel that I need to take up your time by commenting on it. I should nevertheless like to take this opportunity to mention the joint statement by representatives of developing countries made in Geneva at the closing of the second session of the Preparatory Committee, and which the latter agreed to include in its report to the Economic and Social Council. The statement refers to the work and the objectives of the Conference which, according to the text of the statement itself "should represent an outstanding event in international co-operation conducive to the development of their economies and the integrated growth of the world economy as a whole".<sup>2/</sup> Later, it points out that international trade could become a more powerful instrument and vehicle of economic development not only through the expansion of the traditional exports of the developing countries, but also through the development of markets for their new products and the general increase of their share in world exports under improved terms of trade. Therefore, in order to achieve the aims of the Conference, a new international division of labour, with new patterns of production and trade, and a dynamic international trade policy are required. In particular, the representatives making the joint statement recommend to all Members of the United Nations that they give earnest consideration to these proposals and that they explore, before the beginning of the Conference, all practical means for their implementation, so as to make it possible to reach at the Conference basic agreement on a new international trade and development policy.

42. In the Central American sphere, I should like to refer to an extremely important meeting which a biased and ill-intentioned section of the Press has attempted to represent as an imperialistic conspiracy against a certain Latin American country: I refer to the meeting of the Heads of State of Central America,

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-Sixth Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, part III, document E/3799.



Panama and the United States of America at San José, Costa Rica early this year.

43. The meeting was held in accordance with the decision of the Presidents of the Central American Republics and Panama to improve the living standards of their people, as they are aware that this cannot be done without carrying out well-prepared programmes taking full advantage of their human, natural and financial resources, which, in turn, implies substantial reforms in their economic, social and administrative structures, while maintaining the principles governing their democratic institutions. The Presidents therefore met for the sole purpose of reviewing the problems which arise in connexion with the attainment of those objectives, and of considering at the same time the progress achieved in Central America through the programmes of economic integration and the Alliance for Progress.

44. Following an analysis of the situation, the Presidents of the Republics of Central America, convinced that the best hope for the development of the region is through economic integration, pledged to their peoples, inter alia: to accelerate establishment of a customs union to perfect the functioning of the Central American Common Market; to formulate and implement national economic and social development plans, co-ordinating them at the Central American level, and progressively to carry out regional planning for various sectors of the economy; to establish a monetary union and common fiscal, monetary and social policies within the programme of economic integration; to co-operate in programmes to improve the prices of primary export commodities, and to complete as soon as possible the reforms needed to achieve the objectives set forth in the Act of Bogotá and the Charter of Punta del Este especially in the fields of agriculture, taxation, education, public administration, and social welfare; all with a view to achieving the creation of a Central American Economic Community which will establish relationships with other nations or regional groups having similar objectives.

45. For his part, the President of the United States of America stated that he was "impressed by the determination of the Presidents of the Central American Republics to move as rapidly as possible toward the integration of the economies of their countries and by their intention to formulate a regional economic development plan within which national plans would be co-ordinated", and that he believed that "the co-ordination of their respective monetary, fiscal, economic and social policies is a great step forward in the achievement of this objective as well as toward the achievement of the goals set forth in the Charter of Punta del Este". Therefore, he said, he was "prepared to offer the greatest co-operation in the preparation and implementation of the regional and national development projects of Central America and Panama — and extend to them increased technical assistance". To this end he proposed "a fund for Central American economic integration, to be made available through the Central American Bank for Economic Integration".

46. Another important aspect of Central American policy, to which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala referred a few days ago from this rostrum [1214th meeting], is the reconstruction of the Organization of Central American States. El Salvador, a nation that is Central American by tradition and by conviction, has always supported every effort to promote the unification of the five countries forming the Central

American isthmus and to this end, is making every effort to see that the new organization, which will promote the achievement of this aspiration, receives the support it needs in order to carry out its noble task in the best possible way.

47. Some difficulties were noted in recent years which made us consider the need to make substantial changes in the Charter of this regional organization. With this end in view, the sixth Extraordinary Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Central America was held in December of last year at Panama, where a new Charter of the Organization of Central American States was adopted to replace the original Charter, but which, like it, will be called the Charter of San Salvador.

48. This Charter has already been ratified by the congresses of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, and we hope that it will soon be ratified by Costa Rica and Nicaragua also, so that it can come into force.

49. The people and Government of El Salvador are confident that through the increasing development of the programmes of economic integration and the reconstruction of the Organization of Central American States, more rapid progress will be made towards the political unification of Central America.

50. It only remains for me to repeat the fervent hope of the delegation of El Salvador, that the work of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly may be carried on in an atmosphere of harmony and understanding which will enable us to deal calmly with the many problems now before us and to find the solutions expected of it by an anxiety-torn world which is longing for peace, security, justice, respect for and faith in human dignity and freedom.

51. Lord HOME (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like immediately to say what a pleasure it is for me, representing my country here, to sit under your chairmanship. We are confident that your great gifts of intellect and your natural authority will guide this Assembly well during all its sittings. Therefore I wish you every success in your high office and I pledge that the delegation of the United Kingdom will always co-operate to help you and to further the purposes of our Organization and the smooth working of our affairs.

52. For a number of years those of us who have spoken to the Assembly have done so against a background of cold war, and on any analysis it has been the deep schism in ideology between the communist world and the rest that has accounted for the comparative failure of the United Nations to develop collective security and peace-keeping machinery—at once the ambition of the authors of the Charter and in the long run the only sure guarantee for the peace of the world.

53. I have never concealed from my colleagues who sit here where, in my belief, the blame for our frustration has lain. I have placed it firmly on that part of the Marxian-communist doctrine which permitted the use of force in order to promote and assert a political creed. National jealousies and national rivalries bear a heavy share of the guilt. But since the last war it has been subversion, backed by the threat of armed action, that has been at the root of the world's fears.

54. Now there are signs which herald a new chapter of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the West and that, in turn, may have the most profound effect on the influence and usefulness of the United Nations. If that is so, the reason for it is very largely this. Mr. Khrushchev has said time and again in recent months,

and declared on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, that in modern conditions to interpret the communist doctrine as leading inevitably to war is not only wrong but is folly. So strongly has he held this view and—if I may use the wrong metaphor—stuck to his guns in public that he has been willing to split the communist world in half rather than compromise on his statements.

55. If I may say so, with respect, the Soviet Union is right to take this uncompromising stand against war, and when Mr. Gromyko, when I was visiting his country a short time ago, allowed me to broadcast and to speak on television to the people of the Soviet Union, I told them that this was the key for which the world had been waiting, and indeed the only key which could open the way to genuine coexistence. Therefore I welcome it, as I do the approach to peace through negotiation, which was the theme running through the speech of Mr. Gromyko when he addressed this General Assembly on 19 September [1208th meeting]. For the plain truth is that since the nuclear bomb has been developed and perfected, war is unthinkable either as an instrument of national policy or as a means of propagating political doctrine. The more we know about nuclear weaponry—and now we know a great deal—the more certain it is that man will have to think again about his traditional habits and attitudes in respect of his relations with his neighbour.

56. On paper, the communist doctrine, as I understand it, and the communist theory, may include the use of force, but in fact Russia's national interest cannot endorse it. The Chinese may persuade themselves that, following a nuclear holocaust, they might inherit the earth. But nuclear dust knows no frontiers and all China's millions will not save it from that. China too, in due course, will need to drop force from its national programme if it wishes to survive. Mr. Khrushchev said recently in Moscow that at the end of a nuclear war no one could say what the fate of the survivors might be, and he asked the question: might not they envy the dead? It was vividly put; it could hardly be better put, because it is no exaggeration, I believe, of what the effects of a nuclear explosion and a nuclear war might be on mankind.

57. But good as it is, it does not go quite far enough. To renounce war is good, but to advocate neighbourliness is better. As a start, I think that we would all do well to realize that all roads lead neither to communism nor to capitalism, nor indeed to any other kind of "ism". In my country we have a mixed economy where private enterprise and public enterprise combine for the advantage of both. There are, I am sure, enough divisions in the world without trying to create any more which are artificial.

58. So while I agree with Mr. Khrushchev's renunciation of war, I perhaps show even more enthusiasm for another statement which he made, again only a short time ago. He said: "The construction of communism in the Soviet Union is tantamount to the fulfilment of our international duty to all the revolutionary forces of the world." In other words—and Mr. Gromyko will correct me if I am wrong—Soviet communism from now on, according to Mr. Khrushchev, will proceed certainly on its strength, but not through acts of power, not through acts of subversion, nor of exploitation of other people's quarrels, but by the force of example. If Soviet communism can convert the world by that kind of fair competition, no one can have any quarrel with it. I and my country may not

approve of communist philosophy or practice, but if communism wins on those terms then it has won by fair means.

59. It would be optimistic to think that, at this stage in our history, even though there may be a very much better atmosphere between the great Powers and a lessening of tension, we can avoid fighting of all kinds in the world. The dissolution of the empires of Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands has meant that the countries of Asia and Africa today are faced with the need to contrive harmonious relations between each other. Rivalries and jealousies are, it is true, already emerging—everybody knows that and everybody sees them—but there is a dawning perception of the truth that war between African or Asian countries may easily lead to catastrophe.

60. In Africa, for example, many of the newly independent countries realize what chaos there would be in that continent if there was an attempt to alter boundaries by force. If I read the conclusions of the Addis Ababa Conference<sup>3/</sup> aright, there certainly seemed a recognition of the red light in that respect. Yet perhaps I may be forgiven if I give one word of caution, for surely in contemplating wars of liberation, either to alter the direction of Portuguese colonial policy or to compel the South African Government to abandon its policy of apartheid, some are in danger of falling into the error which they have so vigorously denounced in others. For the lesson of the twentieth century and of the nuclear age is this—and it is the same for African, Asian and European—that force can never solve anything, and that the political emotions which inspire the desire to employ it however strong they may be must be resisted. Wars of liberation are none the less wars, and it is the duty of countries to avoid wars and of the United Nations, if it can, to stop them—wars of all kinds.

61. It is true, of course, that every nation has the right of self-defence, and that is necessary should a neighbour run amok, but example and negotiation, patience and persistence, are the only legitimate means of altering the *status quo*. That is the truth which nations everywhere, great and small, have to accept because, let me repeat, a nuclear explosion may take place in Europe or the Soviet Union or America, but nuclear dust has no frontier and unless that truth is accepted all men will die.

62. The nations of the world therefore must accept that truth—and, if it is accepted by the West and by the Soviet Union, that could alter the prospects for the whole of mankind. It could start to alter them now because the emphasis of the meetings between other countries and the Soviet Union would be changed. It would change because, instead of there being meetings to avert a series of recurrent crises, very often of an imminent nature, there would be meetings where we would look for mutual advantage. If the Soviet Union and the United States and the countries of Europe can set that example of peaceful change, it will be an example in the place where it is most needed. And then a new readiness to negotiate should almost immediately be reflected in easier relations within the United Nations, and a start could really be made towards realizing the ambitions of the authors of the Charter, when they held that the role of the great Powers was to combine together to help all the rest of the nations keep the peace.

<sup>3/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States, held in Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963.

63. I must, unhappily—but it is only realistic—express myself conditionally because, although I believe that the Soviet Union has publicly and finally renounced force, and although I endorse very much of the message which Mr. Gromyko brought to the Assembly, it does not help to gloss over the situations in which the communist and Western philosophies still confront each other on the ground. I am happy to say there are few of these places. But the Berlin Wall is still there, which is a denial of peaceful coexistence, either between West Germany and the Soviet Germany or between the NATO alliance and the Warsaw Treaty. Self-determination, which is preached for others, is still denied to the East Germans.

64. The Soviet Union claims that East Germany is independent and deserves recognition, but so little confidence do the Soviet authorities have in the régime and in the people that they forbid those free elections which alone can decide the future of that country.

65. Those disputes are there, and we must not overlook them. And there is little evidence that they can be settled now. Nevertheless, it is all gain if the Soviet Union and the allies of the West have decided that from now on these problems, as well as all others, should be settled by negotiation and not by force, however long that negotiation may take. If that is the difference between 1962 and 1963, that is the most notable advance. And what I want to be able to do in the Assembly at the nineteenth session next year, is to be able to look back and say that the eighteenth session marked the beginning of the end of the cold war.

66. I should like to say more; I should like to be more ambitious in any proposals that I may make on behalf of my Government. But I believe that we are at the beginning of a period in which we can organize peace and that meanwhile, although an agreement upon the main issues may not be in sight, nevertheless there are certain things that we can do, and should do, which would create a climate that would enable the so far unresolved political problems to be considered more objectively and more calmly. I believe that what we should do now is to agree on certain collateral measures which could contribute to an atmosphere of confidence, and I shall try to analyse very shortly what I believe the possibilities to be.

67. I think it is true that no country which has nuclear weapons today would hand over the control of those weapons to another country which has not. I am certain that that is true of all nuclear countries. In no circumstances would my country consent to hand over the control of nuclear weapons to another country which does not have them now. Nevertheless, although that is in fact the position, I believe there would be value to the world in an agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and I believe that such an agreement would reduce the risks of future war.

68. Then, in the field of anti-surprise-attack, I believe it would be a contribution to peace to place observers, even if they are in a comparatively static role, over the whole area of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, including the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and, if other countries are interested in joining such a plan, perhaps further afield. It would, I take it, reduce the fears constantly expressed by the West German Government and constantly expressed by the Soviet Union that there might be a surprise attack, either from East or from West. I believe that,

for the months immediately ahead, this is the most promising follow-up to the nuclear test ban treaty,<sup>4/</sup> and it should certainly be possible to work out and adopt such a plan.

69. Then, again—although this affects, of course, the United States and the Soviet Union more than anyone else—I believe it should be possible to prevent nuclear weapons taking charge of space. If the United States and the Soviet Union were able to come to such an arrangement, I hope it would be left open-ended in case others, at a later stage, were interested and wished to join.

70. If we could achieve all of these measures, or even some of them, then the atmosphere for general disarmament would be immeasurably improved.

71. The secret of the success of the Geneva Conference,<sup>5/</sup> and the success indeed of any disarmament plan, is still the same—still identical with the principles agreed to by the United States and the Soviet Union and ourselves two years ago. It is that the process must be balanced and the programme must be phased. If we could arrive at general and complete disarmament in one jump, which is the constant plea of the Soviet Union, well and good. But I think all of us agree that the confidence for such a move is simply not there at present. Therefore we have to be content with a rather less ambitious programme, although our aim, of course, must be general disarmament under effective international control.

72. In the context of a phased disarmament, I have given close attention to Mr. Gromyko's speech, and I welcome very much the constructive passages in it on disarmament, and particularly that passage in which he said that the Soviet Union would be willing to see a certain number of missiles retained on both sides in the third phase of disarmament. It removes, in my opinion, one of the objections to the proposals of 1962 made by the Soviet Union, and incidentally illustrates the value of discussions in Geneva, because in such ways and through such means we are able to modify our own proposals.

73. There are some others of Mr. Gromyko's suggestions to which I could not give so much approval. But it may be that we are getting nearer to the point now when we can make a beginning with the physical destruction of some weapons. That is what my Government wants to see—the physical destruction of some weapons—because, if that takes place, it will begin to turn the rising graph of armaments downwards. We intend to use the Geneva Conference for the most intensive study of the proposals now made by Mr. Gromyko and the general prospects of getting on more quickly with at least phase one of the disarmament programme.

74. Mr. Gromyko said that in order to bring about a radical shift in the disarmament talks, it might be convenient to bring together the leading statesmen of the eighteen countries, and I think he was thinking in terms of the Prime Ministers. We see some value in such a meeting. The best would be if it could meet to record progress; the next best would be to lay down clear directives to produce programmes of physical disarmament under a number of specific headings. But I hope I am not being irreverent when I say that

<sup>4/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

<sup>5/</sup> Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

such exalted gentlemen, on past form, have rather tended to be above the business of detail and the market place. Above all things, balanced disarmament requires precision.

75. Therefore, I suggest that the best way in which we should proceed would be to select certain objectives now, to subject them to intensive study either at Geneva or by some other machinery set up by our Governments, as is necessary. I would say that observers against surprise attack, non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, and progress on Stage I of disarmament, including the immobilization or the destruction of some nuclear delivery vehicles, is the practical programme which we could undertake. We would gladly join in discussions of any kind which would give us a chance of showing results. I would add that I think that, if the principals who have really to deal in disarmament can agree on the measures of disarmament among themselves, it would not so much matter what kind of meeting you had, either to record them or to point the way to future progress.

76. But I have used the word in the past, and I use it again now in default of a better, that we should not after the test ban treaty lose momentum. Because it would be easy, fatally easy, to relapse once more back into the armed dangerous stalemate of recent years. I do not subscribe to the view that there is no scope for settlement between East and West, or that if we go in for negotiations the result must always redound to the advantage of the other side. I am sure we can assure results which give us mutual advantages, because doctrine is changed by the facts of life, situations are not static, fresh opportunities arise which it is the business of statesmen to seize. If I believe, as I believe, that the mind of the Soviet Union is now moving in the same direction, then I can say nothing better than let our minds meet.

77. There is another aspect of United Nations practice, closely related to the problem of peaceful change, about which I would like to say a word. Inspired very largely by the newer Members of the Organization—and I understand the reasons for it—more and more of the Organization's time is being given to accelerating political change in dependent territories. We have always held in the United Kingdom that our dependent colonies should be made independent and that the territories should stand on their own feet in the world. That we have accepted long ago. But, frankly, there are certain repercussions deriving from the policy of decolonization by our country which we have lately found it rather difficult to understand.

78. I would like to illustrate this by two topical examples. Kenya's passage to independence has been marked by a rupture of diplomatic relations between Somaliland and the United Kingdom. Why? Because the United Kingdom refused, before Kenya achieves its independence, to dismember Kenya and has insisted that if there is to be any alteration in Kenya's frontier, that must be decided by the people of Kenya and the Government of Kenya after independence and not before. I doubt if anybody would quarrel with the United Kingdom on that. Yet it has led to a breach in diplomatic relations between one of our great friends and ourselves.

79. Then again, we have proclaimed the independence of Malaysia, thereby giving complete independence to three former colonial territories. The result of that has been a vicious attack on us by the country of Indonesia.

80. I am only asking today that the Assembly should ponder these things because they seem to us to be strange by-products of the grant of independence which is urged upon us as a policy by every Asian and African country. And, you know, imperialism can come about in any guise. I only leave that thought with you today.

81. But it inspires me to restate British objectives in a few short sentences, because the issue for us is not whether any territory should gain its independence; the issue is when it should gain its independence. The only check on the transfer of power from the United Kingdom to the government of the country concerned is that we want to be sure that when independence is granted, the country will be able to make both ends meet economically and that it will accept a constitution, from the day of independence, which will work for the well-being of every section of society in that country. Therefore, all we want to be sure of is this: that I or any other spokesman for the United Kingdom standing at this rostrum, or in any other international forum, can say to the world with a good conscience that we have provided the country concerned with responsible government within, so that it may be a good neighbour without.

82. Now is that wrong? Is there any member, for instance, of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four<sup>6/</sup> who would quarrel with what I have said? Yet we in the United Kingdom constantly find ourselves in the dock on matters of colonialism. I hope that from now on—and that is the reason I mentioned this matter to the Assembly today at all—that we can go along with the majority of the United Nations in these colonial matters, for this reason. We have accepted the principle of self-determination without qualification. We have accepted that the majority should rule. We insist, as far as we are able to do before independence, that minorities must be protected. I do not think that any of you would quarrel with that. But if having established the rule of majority, and because of our scrupulous care to safeguard the interest of minorities—because that after all is the essence of democracy—we are going to be put into the dock, then I or the representative of my Government here will stand in the dock with our heads high.

83. I should like to say a word about what is called neo-colonialism, and I want to say it in good time and in good temper—so far. I should very much like to have a definition of "neo-colonialism"; I have never understood what it means, and I doubt if the authors of the word understand it either.

84. But my answer to the charge of neo-colonialism against my country, or indeed against any other country which still has colonial possessions, is crisp and direct, and I hope to the point. I shall put it in the form of two questions. Do the newly independent countries want capital for development or do they not? Is the world's greatest problem the gap which is developing between the earnings of the countries that are rich and the earnings of the countries that are poor, or is it not? My Government believes that the greatest problem before the world today, as the representative of El Salvador has hinted just now, is the gap between the rich and the poor countries. We believe that that gap must be bridged. And if the gap is to be bridged

<sup>6/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.



by means of capital for development, where is that capital to be found?

85. Now, if the cry of "neo-colonialism" was just a parrot-cry of adolescence the countries possessing the capital at present could shrug their shoulders and invest. But it is not. It is coming to be the prelude to the seizure of assets. A few more cases like Indonesia—this is why I want to make these comments in time to this Assembly—and the supply of capital will dry up, and not only there but further afield as well. It will not be the desire of Governments that this should happen. Our Government passionately desires to spare a portion of the national income for investment in under-developed countries. As I say, it will not be the desire of Governments that the capital should dry up, but what will happen will be that the investor will put his capital in places—and there are many such places in the world—where that capital can fructify.

86. I therefore hope that the countries of Asia and Africa in particular will heed this warning in time, and that we shall hear less about neo-colonialism. It is at best, I believe, a synthetic grievance, and at worst it is deadly dangerous because it encourages poverty and racialism—and those are two dangers which we should eschew like the human plague.

87. As I believe that East and West can come together, so I believe that there is no reason why Britain and the Members of this Organization should quarrel about colonialism any more. We mean to achieve the orderly transfer of power, and that is your wish too. We wish to achieve it by peaceful change, and that, I take it, is your desire too. And I tell you that we intend to transfer power with speed, but to do it in good order, recognizing everywhere—there is no exception to this—the rights of majorities, while at the same time protecting the rights of minorities in so far as we are able to do so.

88. Finally, I should like to offer the Assembly a few reflections arising from the expansion of the United Nations and the impact of that expansion on our procedures.

89. I think most people would agree that membership of the United Nations must be universal. I see no alternative to that, and I doubt if any other representative here sees one. If that is so, then Communist China and South Africa should be Members of this Organization, and so should any other independent country which establishes its identity to our satisfaction. If singly or in groups we carry the process of deploring the politics of one country or another to the point where eviction is allowed by majority vote, this Organization will simply cease to represent the realities of the world. No one asks that the United Nations should tolerate wrong. But our influence on each other should not be achieved by eviction or boycott; it should be achieved by example.

90. If universality is a rule of membership, then there are universal obligations which are a necessary counterpart to it. There are two obligations, as I see it, which are paramount. One is to keep the Organization solvent, and the other is to equip the Secretary-General with the means of keeping the peace and of taking peace-keeping action.

91. The United Kingdom does not always approve of the methods of the United Nations. We did not, for instance, approve of some of the ways in which the Congo operation was conducted. But we supported the

Organization with finance; we paid. We support the opinion of the International Court of Justice.<sup>2/</sup> If the United Nations Forces have to remain longer in the Congo, we shall again pay our share for that. We are always willing to pay our share of the general expenses of the Organization. But I think it is well that we here should recognize that this issue is coming to a head, and coming to a head quite quickly. In January, if matters continue as they are at present, under Article 19 of the Charter certain countries will forfeit their right to vote.

92. By a special effort of the free nations, the Secretary-General was able to launch a successful bond issue to pay the bills for half of 1963. That was possible only because the United States and the United Kingdom, among others, agreed to bear more than their share of the burden. I think that the great majority here will recognize that that is wrong. But the fact remains that it seems almost certain that some countries will refuse to pay, facing the Members of the United Nations with alternatives, all of which are bad. I shall list those alternatives as follows. Either we must abandon peace-keeping operations, or the whole cost of those operations will fall on those who really care for peace and stability, or by their own hand some Governments will deprive themselves of the right to vote. All those alternatives are bad, and we must try to avoid them. But what I think would be a situation in which some countries, having refused to pay their assessed contributions, at the same time claimed the right to vote on matters concerning peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Such a position, I repeat, would in our opinion be intolerable.

93. Somewhat back in history, I seem to remember, the cry was raised not far from here: "no taxation without representation". I am going to turn that round and suggest that there should be no representation without taxation. And I hope that the fact that I make the suggestion from an extra-territorial platform situated in an ex-colony will make it respectable in the eyes of my audience.

94. I trust that all Members of the United Nations will help to maintain its existing operations so long as they are needed and will equip the Secretary-General with funds enabling him to accept those assignments which help to avert war and keep the peace.

95. I do not wish to keep the Assembly, and I shall therefore put in only a few words what I want to see. I want to see the element of improvisation removed from the peace-keeping operations of the Organization. In particular, a start should be made to strengthen, on a permanent basis, the chain of command at the disposal of the Secretary-General. If certain operations have to be undertaken, surely it is better that they should be undertaken efficiently.

96. I should be very reluctant, and so would my country, to accept the position that the United Nations could do nothing but talk—although I must say that we are not bad at it. But to abandon peace-keeping operations would, in my opinion, be very bad, for we should be abdicating our duties, which include the promotion of peace and peaceful change—and they lie at the centre of the Charter.

97. We shall gladly share in the months to come with our colleagues in trying to avert this crisis in the

<sup>2/</sup> Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

United Nations, because should we fail in one of the main purposes of the United Nations our consciences would be heavy with failure.

98. President Kennedy in his speech on 20 September 1963 [1209th meeting] showed us other ways in which the United Nations can respond to the fundamental needs of man. We shall co-operate in trying to lower tariffs and expand trade, and above all, in what he said about the offensive against want, again emphasized by the speaker who preceded me. In that the United States has taken an outstanding part, My Government will line itself up with any activities of the United Nations in this crusade.

99. But wherever I turn to this or that aspect of international living, I always come back to the fact of the nuclear bomb and its impact on man's thoughts and actions. It is the most difficult of all things to reverse the thinking and the habits which have governed man's actions for thousands of years. Yet nothing less will do, because words like "annihilation", "extinction" and "holocaust" are this time real. That is the truth for East and West, for race and race, for coloured and non-coloured, and it is a truth which we must accept. If we accept it, we therefore cannot afford to indulge in the threats of force, the jealousies and prejudices which have been recurring features of international living.

100. The question which I am posing to you now at this General Assembly in 1963 is this: when we can certainly mark a reduction in tension which has so long bedevilled our affairs, can our minds now grasp the whole truth, and can this Assembly help man to cut through the habits of ages? Because in fact there is no choice if man is to live at peace. And if that is so, and only if it is so, and I pray it be so, man will live to see another and a brighter day.

101. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait):<sup>2/</sup> This is the first regular session of the General Assembly which Kuwait is honoured to attend after having been accepted as a Member of the World Organization at the last special session of the General Assembly [1203rd meeting]. I want, first of all, to express my sincere appreciation for the privilege of again addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations in the name of the Government and people of Kuwait. This is a happy occasion which will go down in the history of my country as an important milestone on the road to progress which Kuwait is determined to pursue.

102. Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you in the name of my delegation and my Government on your unanimous election to preside over our deliberations. Your able leadership has been demonstrated in the Security Council and in other activities of the United Nations. May I also be permitted to pay a tribute of high regard to your predecessor in this chair. The name of Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan has become affectionately associated in our minds with the proceedings of the last special session of the General Assembly, at which Kuwait was admitted to membership of the United Nations. Finally, I would be remiss in my duty if I were not to express my sincere appreciation of the statesmanship of U Thant, our Secretary-General.

103. This world Organization is becoming more and more truly representative of the vast majority of the

nations, and consequently increasingly effective in the attainment of the lofty objectives of the Charter. My delegation would express the hope that its institutions will soon reflect a proportionate and well-balanced representation of the different areas of the world.

104. As you mentioned in your opening address, Mr. President [1206th meeting], it is indeed a circumstance of happy augury that the present session of the General Assembly is held at a period when, for the first time after the end of the Second World War, genuine hopeful signs of lasting peace on earth are appearing on the horizon. Some weeks ago, a treaty was signed in Moscow placing a partial ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Kuwait readily joined the vast majority of the nations of the world by adding its signature to that historic document. It is to be hoped that this is merely the first step towards a complete ban on the testing of nuclear weapons, which in turn will ultimately lead to total nuclear disarmament.

105. It is high time to stop the cold war between the nations of East and West. It is high time to stop the arms race, that race which constitutes such a heavy drain on national resources and prevents their utilization for man's well-being and happiness.

106. The prompt and almost unanimously favourable response of the nations of the world, large and small, to this limited test ban treaty is conclusive evidence which should convince every thinking and conscientious human being on our planet that the peoples of the world have had enough of war. This is especially true because of the grievous loss of life and treasure and the untold misery which humanity has suffered in the last two world wars. It is conclusive evidence that what the peoples of the world aspire to and cherish above all is peace, security and freedom from fear. It is to be hoped that this strong world opinion which condemns recourse to war as an instrument of policy would lead all nations—those who are and those who are not yet Members of the United Nations—to abandon any narrow views concerning the alleged necessity of nuclear tests for national security.

107. While nuclear weapons constitute the most dangerous threat to peace, to human life and well-being, there are yet other factors which are capable of disturbing stability in various parts of the world and of exposing its inhabitants to serious anxieties and great dangers. Among these factors are the vestiges of colonial policies which are a thing of the past, but which some nations continue to pursue nevertheless in certain areas, more especially in Africa. The deplorable behaviour of Portugal naturally comes to mind in this context. The suffering, misery and inhuman persecution in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea are blatant transgressions against the principle of self-determination and the Declaration of Human Rights which can no longer be tolerated.

108. Kuwait has, on more than one occasion, expressed its full approval of the resolution of the United Nations [1514 (XV)] recognizing the necessity of granting independence to all nations who still groan under the yoke of colonialism. I refer to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960. Kuwait avails itself of this opportunity to confirm its policy of giving its support to these nations in the struggle for their natural right to self-determination. Kuwait would also like to express from this rostrum its hope that the General Assembly will

<sup>2/</sup> Mr. Al-Sabah spoke in Arabic. The English text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

take the practical steps necessary to implement this resolution and give effective help to these nations in order to enable them to realize their legitimate aspirations. We believe that this is the only way to avoid the dangerous clashes which are now disturbing the peace and security of the world.

109. Another unhappy feature of the present situation also imperils world peace and security. I refer to the ruthless policy of racial discrimination and savage persecution practised by the Government of South Africa against the vast majority of its original population and that of the territory of South West Africa now under its trusteeship. This is done under the hateful name of apartheid. Against the consensus of world opinion and in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration of Human Rights, the Union of South Africa continues to pursue its inhuman policy. This Assembly has spared no effort and has exhausted all patience trying to convince the Government of that State to change its deplorable course. But all this has hitherto been in vain. The time has now come to consider appropriate enforcement measures which will put an end to this human tragedy.

110. Kuwait's strong feeling against apartheid is inspired by the unanimous sentiment of its people, who firmly believe in universal brotherhood and who are dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. These lofty principles are reflected in Kuwait's Constitution which bans any discrimination based on race, colour or creed. In response to the resolutions of the United Nations condemning apartheid, Kuwait wishes to declare in this session of the General Assembly that it has decided to sever economic relations with the Union of South Africa. These relations are worth several million dollars, and they constitute the only ties which now exist between that State and Kuwait. My Government does this because it shares the anxiety of the Special Committee over the opposition of the Union of South Africa to the resolution of the world Organization. This opposition is not merely academic. It is also a practical challenge which is apparent in the action recently taken by the Union of South Africa in tightening the stringency of its arbitrary and oppressive measures.

111. If, out of sheer consideration for humanity, Kuwait raises its voice from this rostrum in order to plead for justice and freedom for nations who are remote from its territory, so much more is Kuwait naturally concerned at a tragedy which is much nearer home. I refer to the sad plight and the immeasurable injustice under which the Arab people of Palestine have been living for the last fifteen years. Strong ties of unity of origin, geography, tradition and culture bind Kuwait to the Arab people of Palestine, who continue to vegetate in untold misery, privation and neglect. They were driven out of their homes and evicted from their homeland for which they will accept no substitute and to which they are entitled to return. As I stated in the address I made in the special session of the General Assembly [1203rd meeting] on the occasion of the admission of Kuwait to membership of the United Nations, and as I want to confirm again today, the mere lapse of time does not deprive the people of Palestine of their legitimate rights to an honourable return to a country which is their own. May I add that the forcible dispossession of a nation, the substitution of another nation on its soil and the creation of an alien State in Arab territory on the ruins of the homes of its legitimate Arab owners, is in evident conflict with the

Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This constitutes a constant threat to the peace of the Arab World particularly and to the peace of the entire world in general. A fait accompli can never be a stable foundation for peace. Neither can the condoning of an injustice be a stable foundation for a just order. This is as true of the Palestine question as it is of any other world problem. If the history of nations provides us with reliable guidance, and if the experience of the past illuminates our vision of the future, then history teaches us that sooner or later nations will rise to seek redress of the wrongs and injustices they have been suffering under a fait accompli. So permit me once more in the name of a peace-loving nation to beseech you not to ignore the fire which is smouldering beneath the ashes in Palestine. It is constantly fed by the privations, suffering and resentment of one million displaced Arabs who are determined to return to their homeland. Indifference and apathy will not quench the fire which one day may flare up and endanger world peace. Justice and a humane attitude towards the catastrophe of Palestine is the only remedy.

112. If these anomalous political situations in the different parts of the world I have described constitute infringements of the Charter of the United Nations and are consequently a constant threat to peace, the unsatisfactory social conditions and the economic strains and stresses they engender in various areas in Africa, Asia and Latin America are yet another potential source of danger. Millions of human beings live in poverty and destitution. Like peace, social justice is indivisible. We are directly and collectively responsible for our less-favoured fellow men. Therefore, it is the duty of the more fortunate nations, within the limits of their potentialities, to help the needy peoples of developing areas.

113. In its previous sessions, the General Assembly discussed the aid which should be given to developing nations. Due to certain political considerations, which have been the object of careful study, the conclusion was reached that the most sound and effective aid was that extended through the United Nations.

114. At the seventeenth session of the Assembly it was decided to establish a United Nations capital development fund [resolution 1826 (XVII)] in order to provide part of the capital which is initially needed for basic economic reconstruction in developing countries.

115. As you are aware, my country has established a special fund for Arab economic development. This is in addition to Kuwait's contribution to different international development programmes.

116. But it is not financial aid alone which counts in economic development. Kuwait realizes its own indebtedness to modern science and technology. Our Constitution has made it a function of the State to encourage scientific research. My delegation would like to express the wish that a greater measure of co-ordinated endeavours under the United Nations should be exerted by the developed nations to bring the benefits of scientific research to the developing nations. May I refer in this connexion to Kuwait's effort to repay part of what it owes to modern science by providing the necessary funds which have enabled thousands of young men in sister countries to pursue their scientific and technical training. Kuwait has likewise granted a large number of scholarships to various countries in Africa.

117. On its admission as a Member of the United Nations, my country declared that it adopted a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment. It expressed its attachment to the Arab nation's objectives of liberty, unity and social justice. Kuwait now wishes again to reaffirm its faith in, and support of, this policy which it considers as a constructive and beneficial factor for the Arab Nation and for the whole world.

118. The United Nations is undoubtedly the bright hope of the world today. Let us therefore rise to the high level of the ideals of international co-operation for which it stands. Let the strong and rich nations extend to the weak and poor nations their assistance and co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and goodwill. This will redound to the benefit, not only of the developing nations, but of all the peoples of the world.

119. Let us give a greater measure of co-operation to make the United Nations more effective in the attainment of its objectives. Let us banish colonialism, racial discrimination, religious intolerance and all the forms of social and economic injustice and exploitation. Let us eradicate the causes of war and discontent and fight poverty, ignorance and disease wherever they are to be found.

120. In this manner, this world Organization will be able to realize man's most cherished hopes of peace, justice and prosperity.

121. Mr. NILSSON (Sweden): The general debate in which we are now engaged serves many purposes. Above all it gives the Governments of all Member States, great and small, an opportunity to present their views on the state of the world and on the particular problems which seem to them to be matters of special concern to the world community. The interventions in the debate, taken together, give a unique survey of the worries and fears, hopes and expectations that are uppermost in our minds. The debate provides a vantage point from which we can observe and assess what has happened, draw the necessary conclusions from failures and successes and try to map out the road that lies ahead of us.

122. The smaller countries, whose foreign policies are geared, in the first place, to dealing with issues of peace and welfare in their respective geographical regions, are induced, in the general debate, to view their problems in a global perspective. They are brought to consider the practical implications of the growing interdependence between all peoples of the world. They are made aware of their special responsibilities in the work that has to be carried on for the avoidance of armed conflict, for the alleviation of human misery and for the safeguard of fundamental human rights in the whole world.

123. The Charter makes us view all our actions under a universal angle but it explicitly also encourages regional co-operation. There are, indeed, many economic and political problems that are best dealt with by the countries directly concerned. The regional economic commissions of the United Nations do useful work and gain in importance. The economic groupings in Europe are aimed at economic improvement, not only for the benefit of their own members, but also for the enlargement of trade with countries and other continents.

124. One of the most remarkable demonstrations of regional co-operation is the Summit Conference of

Independent African States held in Addis Ababa earlier this year. We should pay tribute to the high statesmanship shown by the African States. It is no easy task to harmonize the thoughts and actions of many countries on complex problems, and the work done in Addis Ababa is worthy of deep respect and admiration. A Charter of African Unity was drawn up which lays the foundation for future efforts. The preoccupations of the African States were expressed in resolutions marked by high purpose and a sense of realism.

125. To the Swedish delegation it comes natural to pay special attention to the decision by the African States to declare and accept Africa as a denuclearized zone. Together with a similar initiative by a group of Latin American Heads of State this decision is a pioneer endeavour to show the way to the practical implementation of one of the so-called collateral disarmament measures, hitherto the object of more general recommendations, namely, to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons.

126. What gives these regional plans such a realistic touch, and thus an advantage over more ambitious, universal schemes, is that they result from, and presuppose direct negotiations between, the sovereign States in a certain region. The modalities and the conditions on which they agree are, therefore, appropriate to the actual circumstances prevailing in the area which seems to give these plans a greater viability than recommendations of a more general character.

127. All this is very much in keeping with the intentions of my Government when we suggested, in the First Committee [1196th meeting] in 1961, the circular inquiry as to the conditions on which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country [see resolution 1664 (XVI)].

128. The basic approach behind this suggestion was that smaller nations, individually or in groups, might want to do their bit for the disarmament cause without waiting for world-wide agreements. We still feel that this approach is of great value. Disarmament concerns everybody and it should more than hitherto be discussed in terms of what individual countries, great and small, are willing to do.

129. One of the merits of the partial test ban was that it also opened up a possibility for the smaller States to share in an international responsibility by adhering to the treaty. Similarly, whenever new measures in the disarmament field are being debated, we ought to be looking with particular eagerness for those which would give us renewed opportunities to participate. Every attempt should be made to widen agreements on the regulation and reduction of armaments so that they become as truly international as is ever possible.

130. I might mention, in this context and as an example of what I have in mind, that, as soon as an agreement seems obtainable about advance notification of military manoeuvres and major military deployments, the Governments of the smaller countries also should be given an opportunity to join in. The Swedish Government for its part would be ready to do so.

131. Also in other ways the smaller nations may be called upon to play a part in connexion with agreed



disarmament measures, for instance, by contributing to the manning of control posts and inspection teams. In so doing we would directly engage a large number of countries even in strictly limited or regional disarmament measures and widen the circle of Governments with special, concrete responsibilities.

132. This approach is also applicable to the difficult problem of control. We recognize that disarmament agreements must be accompanied by such controls as are considered necessary by the parties concerned to safeguard their interests and the military balance of power. At the same time those controls must be kept as little cumbersome and as inexpensive as possible. The smaller countries can render valuable services for the working out and operating of certain types of controls, for instance, an open system for world-wide exchange of data from seismological recordings. In Sweden it is our intention to expand and to improve our capabilities of detecting and identifying seismic events wherever they occur. The more countries that do likewise, the better chance will the world community have to follow what is actually taking place by way of nuclear testing, and the sooner will it be possible to include underground tests also, at least above a certain yield, under a test ban treaty.

133. This brings me to the question of how we are to proceed with our joint international negotiations in the Geneva Disarmament Conference.<sup>2/</sup> I believe its work should be carried on along both the two main avenues, that is, the preparation of a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament and the programming of a variety of collateral measures. In relation to general and complete disarmament, the Committee might be asked to concentrate its attention on achieving a practical and realistic blueprint of measures pertaining to the first stage. No more detailed mandate seems to be called for at this point. But the General Assembly might well wish to remind the Committee of the urgency of its task, and point to the enormous resources of men and materials now tied up in the armaments race.

134. Work must also proceed on a whole range of collateral measures. A great wave of optimism has swept the world as a result of the successful completion of the partial test ban, but this momentum cannot be kept up for a very long time without further encouraging progress being made. We have to remind ourselves that one aim of such partial measures is to build mutual confidence between nations, while another is to "learn by doing", to provide a practice field for the many problem which will face the world when it starts on the uncharted course towards disarmament.

135. But just because the prospects for the reaching of agreements on such partial or collateral measures are so intimately dependent on shifts in the political atmosphere, it seems that we should avoid laying down any too firm and rigid rules for the conduct of the negotiations. I would even hesitate to suggest priorities; one measure or another may mature as a result of propitious political circumstances. And we should stand ready to welcome each and any of them as yet another beacon of hope.

136. For these reasons, the Swedish delegation will approach the question of resolutions with great caution, lest any directive should tend to bind rather than facilitate the deliberations in Geneva. We would rather

favour a resolution, which I hope would be unanimous, of a more general character. It might urge the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to devote constructive energy both to the question of general and complete disarmament and to collateral measures. It might encourage the Committee to proceed to more intensive technical penetration of schemes that seem promising. The resolution might, finally, recommend the immediate conclusion of agreements on measures which do not necessitate agreed controls.

137. The Swedish Government has noted with interest the proposal made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his intervention on 19 September 1963 [1208th meeting] that a conference of the States Members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, with participation of leading statesman at the highest level, should be convened. I wish to say that the Swedish Prime Minister even before the opening of the Geneva Conference stated the willingness of the Swedish Government to let itself be represented at a conference at the level of Heads of Governments, if and when such a procedure would be generally acceptable to the participating States, including the great military Powers. This attitude on our part remains unchanged. As a means of focusing world attention on the disarmament issue a conference of the type suggested might at some stage prove of great value.

138. I also want to say a word about the suggestion made by the People's Republic of China that a conference of the Heads of Government of all countries to discuss disarmament, in particular with regard to nuclear weapons, should be convened. The Swedish Prime Minister has outlined our attitude on this suggestion in a letter which has just been handed over to the Chinese Prime Minister. In the letter he states the satisfaction of the Swedish Government at the conclusion of the partial test ban treaty. He goes on to say that the positive effect of the treaty as a step to further disarmament measures would be greatly enhanced by universal adherence to it. He then expresses his regret that the People's Republic of China is not, at the present time, in a position to participate in the disarmament discussion in the United Nations. It is the hope of the Swedish Government, he says, that the Government of the People's Republic of China will have the opportunity to assume its proper role in the total work of the United Nations, including the field of disarmament. He concludes by saying that, in the opinion of the Swedish Government, the proposal to convene a conference with participation of all Heads of State would not be likely, at the present time, to meet such world-wide response as would enable a conference of this type to make a significant contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem.

139. The Charter itself, in Article 26, prescribes "the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments". The Charter also lays down an obligation to work for higher standards of living and for economic progress in general. These two goals are interrelated. We know that even a very small reduction of the astronomical sums of money now spent on armaments would free huge economic resources and make possible assistance to the developing countries on a scale not hitherto envisaged. But even in the absence of substantial progress in disarmament, assistance must be increased, in the interest of the human beings concerned and in the interest of peace.

<sup>2/</sup> Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

140. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 will no doubt be an outstanding event in the history of international economic co-operation. In particular, the attainment of even the modest targets of the Development Decade may depend on the concrete decisions taken at the Conference and on their effective implementation. The developing countries look to the Conference to help them reach a stage of self-sustaining growth and to raise and stabilize the earnings they derive from exports. I am sure that their hopes are shared by all. They are certainly shared by my Government, which is now actively preparing for our participation in the Conference. In so doing we will be guided by our earnest wish that the examination of the many topics on the Conference agenda may take place in a spirit of goodwill and on the basis of hard facts, so as to make the decisions and recommendations of the Conference realistic and useful. All countries have a joint interest in the integrated growth of the world economy as a whole.

141. To reach a more stable world order, we shall have to continue our work on disarmament and development. But it is equally important that we should try to make the United Nations, in the world as it is now, an ever more efficient instrument for keeping the peace. We must consider what can be done to enable the United Nations, whenever necessary, to take action to preserve peace.

142. The most important peace-keeping operation so far undertaken by the United Nations is now drawing to a close, even though it may be prolonged into next year. As has been confirmed by the Secretary-General, the United Nations mandate in the Congo, especially in its military aspects, has been largely fulfilled. The time will soon come for the Congolese Government to assume full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order throughout the Congo and for the safeguard of national security.

143. The time has not yet come to draw all the lessons from this great and novel experiment in international co-operation. But it can already safely be said that we have reason to be proud of United Nations action in the Congo, not only because it has helped one young Member of our community to consolidate its position as an independent State, but also because it has shown the potential variety and scope of United Nations influence in situations that might endanger world peace. We should be aware that this action was originally ordered by the Security Council, which means that it was not opposed by any of the permanent members of the Council. Thereby a firm basis was laid from the beginning, and such differences of opinion as have arisen have concerned only the way in which the mandate was carried out, not the mandate itself. Another characteristic feature is that the action is not an enforcement measure, but is based on voluntary collaboration. The United Nations has provided machinery to allow Member States to give assistance to another Member State which has requested such assistance.

144. We should now undertake a systematic study of the peace-keeping operations which have been undertaken hitherto, with a view to enabling the United Nations to act swiftly and efficiently should new action be called for. This study should deal with problems of political control, executive direction and administrative procedures. An analysis seems so much the more important since this type of activity is not directly foreseen in the Charter. It would also serve a useful purpose in the disarmament context.

145. Further, we should encourage such preparations as single countries or groups of countries are willing to make for the earmarking and training of national stand-by forces to be put at the disposal of the United Nations when necessary. Several States, among them the Nordic countries, have already worked out arrangements along these lines. An exchange of information among the countries concerned in order to achieve co-ordination would certainly be valuable.

146. Should the call come, national units would be sent out with greater confidence if we were assured that the military operations were well prepared and, from the very start, well directed by the United Nations central authorities. Therefore, I believe it would be helpful if the Secretary-General could be assisted not only by his excellent Military Adviser Major General Rikhye, but also by a small military staff of officers at the latter's disposal. Long-term planning and co-ordination would thus be facilitated.

147. It is well known that the Congo operation has caused grave financial difficulties. I will not go into this matter beyond saying that the principle of collective responsibility for the financing of United Nations activities should be upheld. Opinions may differ as to the appropriateness or even the legality of this or that decision, but refusal to pay the contributions fixed in accordance with the rules is contrary to a reasonable interpretation of our obligations. Here again I want to pay tribute to the African countries, which, in a resolution adopted at the Addis Ababa Conference, explicitly confirmed their determination to live up to all obligations under the Charter, including the financial ones.

148. Besides the Congo, the United Nations has also accepted concrete responsibilities in another African matter of grave importance. I am referring to the question of the policies of apartheid in South Africa.

149. Why is it that this issue is loaded with such heavy significance and causes such deep indignation? It seems to me that the basic reason is that human beings are being humiliated and deprived of elementary human rights by an express act of will of the rulers. The majority of a country's population is systematically treated by its own authorities as second-grade citizens. That policy is based on a repugnant philosophy of human relations which belongs to the past and which, when applied in our time, can only lead to disaster.

150. In Sweden there is a spontaneous and strong opinion condemning apartheid. We feel that the policy of pressure adopted by the United Nations has to be continued. The Security Council is undoubtedly the organ best suited to decide on such action. The resolution of 7 August 1963<sup>10/</sup> is a milestone on the road of gradually increasing pressure on the South African Government. We feel that the Council should continue its discussion as soon as possible after receiving the report of the Secretary-General.

151. It is fitting and necessary, however, that the General Assembly itself should deal with the matter. We should recognize that it is not enough for us just to talk and to adopt resolutions. We must now consider, in a realistic manner, what further action on the part of the United Nations could actually lead to the result we all have in mind, that is, the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a truly democratic, multi-racial society with equal rights for all citizens. We

<sup>10/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5386.

should look ahead to the moment, which must come, when a change in that direction takes place. We should study closely the political and human problems that will inevitably arise in connexion with this change. We should discuss the part that the United Nations might be called upon to play in order to make the change an orderly and peaceful one. We should try to give advice on the practical application of the principles of equality and democracy in a multiracial society. Making full use of the experience gained in other African countries with similar problems, we should consider what guarantees could be given for the protection of life and civil rights and the legitimate interests of all individuals and all groups. Together with gradually increased pressure such a positive course of action could mean the avoidance of catastrophe and the beginning of new and more hopeful developments.

152. The Special Committee on South Africa has rejected as unfounded the claim that the choice in South Africa is between white domination and the end of the white community. I am in full agreement with the special Committee's opinion. I should like to add that our efforts should be aimed at demonstrating the falsity of that thesis. As was suggested by the Danish Foreign minister, Mr. Haekkerup, in his speech on 25 September 1963 [1215th meeting], we should try to prove in a manner which can be understood by all individuals and all groups in South Africa that there is a real chance of a happy and prosperous future for everybody. The tide that is flowing towards freedom and equality cannot be reversed. Attempts to stop it are vain and they will lead to chaos and misery.

153. As delegations are aware, the Foreign Ministers of the northern countries have been invited by the South African Government to visit South Africa. We have given a negative reply. It seems to us that the invitation has to be viewed against the background of the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to the racial policies in South Africa. In other words, such a trip could be undertaken only if it would serve the purpose of furthering progress towards a solution in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. That is not the case now. A trip would be meaningless, and might be harmful, as long as the South African Government shows no sign of a will to change its policies and to start on a new course in collaboration with the United Nations.

154. I do not want to conclude my remarks on this matter without pointing to a type of contribution that individual countries may give to the cause of preparing South Africa and South West Africa for a new era of full democracy. I am thinking of the need to give higher education to young people from the majority populations of those countries. In Sweden we are prepared to make available a number of such scholarships.

155. I have come to the end of my speech. There is general agreement amongst us that this session opens, to use the words of President Kennedy, "in an atmosphere of rising hope, and at a moment of comparative calm" [1209th meeting, para. 37]. Some may be tempted to think that our work will, therefore, be less exciting, perhaps even dull. They are wrong. If we were to make some progress on giving new impetus to the disarmament talks, on preparing the ground for United Nations operations to keep the peace in the future and on organizing effective United Nations action for the protection of human rights in South Africa, we should then have accomplished something very dramatic and something of which the Assembly might be proud. The

Swedish delegation is determined to do what it can to further those ends.

156. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Indonesia has asked to speak in the exercise of his right of reply. May I suggest, with all due respect, that in view of the late hour he should do his utmost, without prejudice to his right of reply, to keep his intervention as short as possible.

157. I call on the representative of Indonesia to exercise his right of reply.

158. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): In exercising my right of reply I shall be very brief.

159. The representative of the United Kingdom, in his speech, asked for a definition of neo-colonialism, and his manner in asking was not very friendly. In fact, the definition was given in my statement at least ten times. I shall now repeat it once more.

160. Neo-colonialism is the identification of decolonization, sacred to Asia and Africa, by the colonial Power with its own interests.

161. I made it clear in my statement that Sarawak and Sabah had been decolonized but, at the same time, bound to the United Kingdom by a military agreement already decided by the United Kingdom and Malaya almost two years before Sarawak and Sabah were granted independence. We call neo-colonialism what Malaya, Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore were forced to accept, namely that Malaysia would allow the United Kingdom to use its military bases in Singapore to preserve Pax Britannica in South-East Asia, a large part of which is Indonesian territory. This is neo-colonialism. We have not asked for Pax Britannica in our territory. What we want there, and what we are entitled to have, is Pax Indonesia in our territory.

162. I would ask such countries as Belgium, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and any other self-respecting country in the world whether they would want Pax Britannica in their territories. Why Pax Britannica in our territory? Of course, for the security of British military, political and economic interests backed by military bases in Singapore. That is neo-colonialism.

163. We wish to have mutually profitable economic relations with any country in the world, including Britain. We wish to have them with Britain. But we want such relations to be free—free economic relations between equal partners without any possibility of pressure, and not under the umbrella of an unsolicited alien Pax Britannica. That is neo-colonialism. If the British Foreign Secretary is not present, I would request the United Kingdom delegation so to inform him. I would also appreciate it if the United Kingdom delegation would remind him of certain obligations which we expect a British nobleman to have.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Somalia has asked for the floor in order to exercise his right of reply. I will make the same appeal to him as I did to the representative of Indonesia.

165. I call on the representative of Somalia to exercise his right of reply.

166. Mr. Nur ELMU (Somalia): The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, in his speech this morning, attempting to clarify the reasons which have determined the recent rupture of diplomatic relations between my country and the United Kingdom, told the Assembly

that we wanted to dismember Kenya against its will and before its independence. I wish to state, without fear of contradiction, that the opposite is true. It has been a very old British colonial policy since the beginning of this century to dismember the territory which is usually known as the Somalia Peninsula or

the Horn of Africa and we are firmly opposed to any further dismemberment of our homeland. We have no quarrel with Kenya, whose independence is strongly supported and warmly welcomed by us.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*