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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Aznar (Spain),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 53

Assistance in cases of natural disaster

REPORTS OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6033) AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6043)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before proceeding, I must offer a brief explanation to the Assembly. The delay in opening this meeting is due to the fact that certain representatives requested some time for deliberations, consultations and discussions on specific points relating to the item which is to be taken up at this afternoon's meeting. I gladly agreed and that is the reason for the delay in opening this meeting.

2. I understand that the Secretariat is not yet ready for this item to be submitted to the Assembly for a decision. Consequently, if there are no objections, consideration of the item will be postponed until a later date, which will be announced in due course.

It was so agreed.

3. Mr. PADILLA TONOS (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): In view of the fact that the item "Assistance in cases of natural disaster" has been postponed, the Dominican delegation wishes to inform the Assembly that it intends to propose an amendment to the draft resolution approved by the Third Committee (A/6033) concerning the provision of assistance to countries affected by natural disasters, with a view to extending that help and assistance and including other events which, because of their seriousness, may effect a country's economy, particularly in the under-developed world.

4. All the representatives here present in the Assembly must be well aware of the tragic events that have been taking place in the Dominican Republic for four long months, events that unfortunately have completely disrupted the Republic's economy.

5. My country considers that one of the instruments and organizations best able to provide it with assistance in these circumstances is the United Nations itself and its various specialized agencies. Consequently, the Dominican delegation will in due course explain its proposal that the United Nations, which is well aware of the situation in which the economy of the Dominican Republic has been left, should provide it with the assistance it needs as an under-developed country and as a country that is striving for faster progress, more tranquility and more social justice in the future.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

6. Mr. MUDENGÉ (Rwanda) (translated from French): I should like, first of all, to join previous speakers in extending my delegation's hearty congratulations to Mr. Fanfani on his election as President of the General Assembly at its twentieth session. It is with great regret that the Rwandese delegation and I have learnt of the accident suffered by the President of the General Assembly. We would ask you, Sir, to be good enough to convey to him our best wishes for a speedy recovery and return among us.

7. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the satisfaction of the Government and people of Rwanda at the admission to the United Nations of three new Member States belonging to the Afro-Asian family—the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands. We bid them welcome and believe that their admission, which is an importance advance in the achievement of our Organization's aims will enable us to tackle with new determination the serious problems facing the world today.

8. The twentieth session opens in an atmosphere of optimism and hope. The Rwandese delegation, like those which have preceded it on this rostrum, cannot but express its gratitude for the tireless efforts made by the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations. It would also like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the President of the nineteenth session, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, whose efforts have been particularly important in enabling the members of the Special Committee to carry out with great success the important task entrusted to them by the General Assembly. Thanks to them and to the goodwill shown

by all Member States, the Assembly is now in a position to proceed with its work normally.

9. Since my delegation did not have the honour of participating in the work of the Committee of Thirty-Three, it would like, with the President's permission, to give a brief statement of its views on the problem of peace-keeping operations.

10. The financial crisis which paralysed the work of the Assembly last year is fortunately moving towards a solution. But there is still much to be done before the Organization's constitutional crisis is solved. The respective functions and powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly must be established beyond all possible doubt. Some of us are aware that on this point opinions are totally divergent, although Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter is clear. I shall take the liberty of quoting it:

"In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

11. The fact that the Security Council has the principal and primary role in peace-keeping is beyond question. That is why my Government fully supports the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States, while recognizing the special and non-exclusive responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council.

12. Our position is based on reasons which are well known and which derive from the principle of the sovereign equality of States in this Organization. My country cannot accept the idea that the five great Powers which have the veto should be the sole masters of the life and destiny of the world.

13. We cannot accept, either, the idea that because a State is a permanent member of the Security Council, it can allow itself the luxury of paralysing the Council and thus permit a threat to international peace and security. This state of affairs must change. My Government therefore supports the idea of a revision of the Charter. We support the proposal that a new chapter on peace-keeping operations and the veto should be added to our Charter. It is essential that the United Nations should be remodelled so that it can better meet the needs of the time and act effectively.

14. We believe that the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe which are not permanent members of the Security Council have a role to play with respect to international peace and security. There can be no question of denying them the right to do so, since it is they which are, in many cases, the victims of aggression by one great Power or another.

15. It is for that reason, if I may now turn to the question of the applicability of Article 19, that the Rwandese delegation wholeheartedly supports the principle that a Power which has committed aggression against another should be solely responsible for the consequences of such aggression. It should therefore bear in full any expenses arising out of the peace-keeping operations provided for in Chapter VI and VII of the Charter.

16. This does not mean, however, that the Rwandese Government is opposed to the decision taken by the General Assembly on 1 September 1965 at the nineteenth session [1331st meeting] concerning voluntary contributions, which were suggested as a compromise solution by the Special Committee in order to restore the United Nations to solvency. In this matter my delegation will not go back on the past and will give its full support to the idea of the Afro-Asian group, of which it is proud to be a member.

17. It is our hope that all Member States will do their utmost to ensure that the United Nations overcomes once and for all the temporary crisis it has just gone through and that it is in a position to work progressively for the aims it has set itself, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and international co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields, without distinction as to race, sex, languages or religion.

18. As far as we are concerned, I can assure you that my Government will not spare any effort in supporting the action taken by the Organization in its efforts to promote peace and economic and social development for the sake of a better world founded on the fundamental principles of the Charter. It is my country's firm belief that in the present historical circumstances, the United Nations represents, as Pope Paul VI said in his remarkable address to the General Assembly on 4 October, "the only path of modern civilization and world peace" [1347th meeting, para. 24].

19. However, I wish to reiterate that, my delegation will refuse, as have all the other non-aligned delegations, to be a lackey of the imperialism of the great Powers which want to impose their will on us in the settlement of crises they have themselves provoked.

20. Until there is disarmament, we cannot speak of genuine and lasting peace. The arms race is more and more a cause of grave concern for present and future generations, and particularly for the small countries which do not have the means of obtaining these destructive weapons. These countries are being subjected to a sort of neo-colonialism and a new paternalism. Certain great Powers even dare to assert that the small countries, because they do not have atomic weapons, can have no say in settling the problem of peace. But peace is no one's monopoly. It is of equal concern to all of us, and in this connexion my Government fully approves of the idea of a world conference on disarmament in which all nations would take part without any discrimination. It would indeed be absurd to think of general and complete disarmament which was not agreed to by all the atomic Powers.

21. My delegation greatly regrets the fact that the Eighteen-Nation Committee has not yet achieved any results. We had hoped for the conclusion of a general agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Our hopes, alas, were disappointed by the much regretted failure of the Committee. Everyone knows that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the most urgent question of the hour, the one which has first claim on our attention in any discussion on disarmament.

22. The Rwandese Government continues to hope that a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and a convention prohibiting the use of such weapons will be concluded before it is too late. It was with this idea in mind that my delegation unhesitatingly associated itself with the other African States in requesting the inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of the item entitled "Declaration on the de-nuclearization of Africa" [see A/5975].

23. Rwanda, as I said on 21 May 1965 in the Disarmament Commission, "has always opposed the proliferation of nuclear weapons and will continue to do so".^{1/} We firmly believe that man will not find true peace as long as he lives under the threat of collective annihilation.

24. It is very disturbing, only a few months after the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations to find all over the world disputes which are at this moment poisoning international relations and threatening world peace and security. To the agonizing problems of disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons there are added all kinds of tensions, which may explode at any moment.

25. My delegation is profoundly disturbed by the situation in South-East Asia which more and more, is taking on unimaginable and very serious proportions.

26. In recent weeks, we have witnessed a fratricidal conflict between two States: India and Pakistan. We the members of the Afro-Asian family welcomed with inexpressible joy and profound relief the news that a cease-fire had entered into force between those two great Asian countries as a result of the goodwill shown by the two belligerents and the unanimous decisions of the Security Council.

27. My delegation firmly believes that India and Pakistan will before long find a way to put an end to the conflict which sets them one against the other and which might, if prolonged, spread throughout the whole of South East Asia and beyond. We also fully approve the recommendations of the Security Council contained in its resolutions dated 4 [209 (1965)], 6 [210 (1965)] and 20 September 1965 [211 (1965)], in which it called unanimously for the immediate cessation of hostilities and a lasting and fair settlement of the dispute. We venture to hope that India and Pakistan will implement the decisions and recommendations of the Council. We also hope for, and would even encourage, a summit meeting between the leaders of these two great countries at which they might consider together the possibility of putting an end to their differences. Moreover, my Government favours the holding of a referendum in the disputed region in order to allow the people of Kashmir themselves to determine their own future. We consider that this is the only democratic way left to solve this distressing problem which has persisted for nearly twenty years.

28. In the same connexion, the Assembly should, as the Minister for External Affairs of Canada said at the beginning of this session, "express clearly and forcefully the collective conviction of the United

Nations that the war in Viet-Nam must be brought to a negotiated settlement" [1335th meeting, para. 108]. For our delegation, the solution of this problem lies in negotiation, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. As stated in *Le Monde* of 3 August 1965:

"It becomes clearer and clearer, as the conflict spreads in Viet-Nam, that there is almost no hope of finding a solution to it until the Americans and the Chinese make up their minds to respect certain principles."

29. Any solution to this problem presupposes the dual principle of self-determination and non-interference by other countries in the internal affairs of Viet-Nam. To try to resolve it by force of arms is simply madness and an absurd idea. The Viet-Nameese people must be given the chance, the opportunity to express their wishes as to their future, through free elections, and should not have ready-made solutions imposed on them from outside. We share the view expressed by several speakers that all foreign troops now confronting each other in that peaceful country should withdraw so that the Viet-Nameese people may freely choose their own destiny. We address an urgent appeal to all those concerned to refrain from all interference and to do nothing which might compromise negotiations and the restoration of lasting peace in that part of the world.

30. The time has come for the Assembly to devote all its energies to drawing up some form of charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes. My Government, which has adopted the principle of peaceful co-existence, even between States having different political systems, will support any initiative in this direction and takes this opportunity of expressing its satisfaction to the Government of the Soviet Union which asked for this question to be included in the agenda of the General Assembly [see A/5964].

31. Furthermore, the problem raised by the absence of the People's Republic of China from the international community is becoming increasingly alarming. On account of that country's absence, United Nations decisions remain a dead letter and lose all their effectiveness since China is not bound by the Charter. This situation may seriously endanger world peace and security. China feels frustrated and wants to show, in this and in every way, that it is a great Power and that it must be recognized as such. The delegation of Rwanda considers that this problem deserves the attention of all and, consequently, that it must be carefully studied and examined, in the interest of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

32. Out of concern for objectivity and realism, qualities which have long been shown by the people of Rwanda, its President and its Government, my delegation wishes here to endorse the appeal made by His Holiness Paul VI from this rostrum on 4 October 1965:

"... Strive to bring back among you any who may have left you, consider means of calling into your pact of brotherhood, in honour and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it. Act so that those still outside will desire and deserve the confidence of all; and then be generous in granting it." [1347th meeting, para. 31.]

^{1/} See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission*, 86th meeting, para. 106.

33. For our part, we see no objection to the People's Republic of China participating in our deliberations. For a country whose population makes up one quarter of mankind and, what is more, which possesses atomic weapons, cannot be kept indefinitely outside this Organization, which claims to be universal. We should merely like to see China refrain henceforth from interfering in the internal affairs of other States and practise a policy of peaceful co-existence with countries which do not share the same political opinions. The fact that China represents one quarter of the world's population does not give it the right to preach revolution in Africa, nor to foster subversion in our countries.

34. The Government of Rwanda has chosen a policy of non-alignment and will never be a "servant of any ideology", as Mr. Mpakaniye, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda, has said. It is for this reason, moreover, that my Government has never hesitated to establish friendly and diplomatic relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. In our opinion, all States, whatever ideological bloc they may belong to, "which, in the interests of international peace and co-operation, offer to assist us in our struggle against poverty and under-development—a struggle which we hope will triumph—in order to bring the people of Rwanda to full and complete development, will be counted among our best friends".

35. There is another matter which is causing my delegation concern. I refer to the question of decolonization. The delegation of Rwanda has frequently made known its views on the subject and its profound indignation at the fact that so many territories in Africa and elsewhere still remain today under foreign rule.

36. The attitude of Portugal is an unforgivable insult to the whole of Africa and a challenge to the conscience of mankind. The white minority in Southern Rhodesia is continuing to oppress the African majority of more than 3 million people. United Nations resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council have not been implemented, largely because those Powers which are members of NATO are acting as accomplices and share responsibility with these inveterate colonialists. Everyone knows today that the moral support given by NATO is attributable to a perfidious tendency to exploit Africa's natural and human resources.

37. The United Kingdom will bear a grave responsibility if the white settlers unilaterally declare Rhodesia independent. In this connexion, I should like to recall what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda said before this Assembly during the eighteenth session:

"... we would urge the United Kingdom not to let slip, in Southern Rhodesia, its last chance of repairing the errors of the nineteenth century and, since it still retains sovereignty over that supposedly self-governing territory, not to grant it independence until a new Constitution and Government have been approved by a majority of all its citizens" [1235th meeting, paragraph 158].

38. The delegation of Rwanda would like to renew that appeal today and to ask the members of the

Commonwealth, especially the African and Asian members, to exert pressure on the United Kingdom Government in order to avert the tragedy being plotted by Mr. Smith and his clique. As for the position which my Government will adopt in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority, Rwanda is determined to recognize the Rhodesian nationalist government and to grant it full support. In short, whatever is the attitude of the States members of the Organization of African Unity will also be ours.

39. With reference to the territories administered by Portugal, we address a last appeal to Portugal's partners and allies to break their ties with that country. The African States will not tolerate much longer seeing their brothers in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and elsewhere continue to be exploited by Portuguese imperialism.

40. The latent tension which exists in the south of the African continent might at any moment end in an explosion. To paraphrase Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), nothing will be able to stop the African States and people, who, number more than 250 million, once they emerge from their torpor and decide to fight colonialism and imperialism with force until they achieve their final objective: the liberation of the whole of Africa.

41. We therefore invite all States Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Special Committee on decolonization,^{2/} the General Assembly and the Security Council in ensuring, before it is too late, that the legitimate desire for self-determination of the peoples still under foreign domination is fulfilled.

42. The explosive situation which exists in the southern part of Africa is still further complicated by the threats, acts of violence, imprisonments, massacres and acts of brutality of all kinds which the puppet government of Mr. Verwoerd is inflicting on our African brothers in South Africa and South West Africa. All these violations of human rights and of the principles of the Charter must be censured and condemned unequivocally by the United Nations, by the adoption of practical measures such as, for example, economic sanctions against that country which continues to defy the conscience of the world and international public opinion.

43. I have spoken of the situation in Asia and in Africa; I should now like to say a few words about the problem of Germany, which remains the central pre-occupation of Europe today. This distressing question calls for an urgent solution. The delegation of Rwanda would like to appeal to the conscience of the great Powers responsible for the tragic and dramatic situation which has resulted in the partition of the German people. I am certain, I am firmly convinced that once the unity of that great people has been restored, Germany will make an important contribution to the cause of international peace and security.

44. I cannot conclude my statement without saying a few words about my delegation's views on the ques-

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

tion of development and international trade. The great Powers are still spending astronomical sums on atomic and space research while more than half mankind is living in utter poverty. Political decolonization is almost completed, but the countries of the third world still have to struggle against a new economic feudalism.

45. The delegation of Rwanda welcomes the results, albeit meagre, already achieved by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and hopes that the permanent machinery which has resulted from the Conference will be effectively assisted in pursuing the task which has already begun. As the French Minister for Foreign Affairs said, what is needed is to ensure that the earnings of the producers are stabilized at a suitable level [1341st meeting, para. 111]. It is the developing countries which are the main producers of raw materials and various tropical commodities. Justice must henceforth be done with regard to trade.

46. We appreciate the very praiseworthy efforts exerted by the United Nations on behalf of the developing countries in the economic, trade and social fields. In this connexion, several studies have been made, and plans drawn up for a better organization of world trade. We must now move on to the operational phase and, as I have already said, the industrialized countries have a special responsibility in this sphere.

47. The adoption of a Convention on Transit trade of land-locked States,^{3/} of which my country is one, is, of course, very encouraging. But it is not enough. My delegation hopes that the Convention will soon be ratified by all Member States and will be put into effect at once. We also think that the under-developed countries which produce raw materials will be assured remunerative prices which will enable them to increase their production. A system of preferences should then be established to assist the industrial development of less favoured countries and, as a previous speaker put it, the developing countries should be allowed to institute a system of protection for their infant industries, in order to prevent unfair local competition by the highly industrialized countries.

48. This year, which has rightly been designated "International Co-operation Year", the rich countries must make special efforts to assist less favoured countries in their struggle against poverty and under-development. The proposal was made here that 1 per cent of the national income of the economically developed countries should be set aside for aid to the under-developed countries; unfortunately nothing has so far been done about it.

49. Another deplorable fact is that the rich countries often impose on us quite exorbitant rates of interest for development loans. This state of affairs certainly does not promote the economic and social progress of the young nations, nor does it contribute towards ensuring a balance in international economic relations and towards consolidating peace in the world.

50. The Government and people of Rwanda would like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute

to the work of the Special Fund and the Technical Assistance Board for the aid they have provided to the developing countries, and especially for what they have done and are continuing to do in my own country. We also support the proposal of the Secretary-General that the programmes of these two bodies should be merged in order to increase their effectiveness and scope.^{4/}

51. Having reviewed the various problems which face our Organization today, it only remains for my delegation to reaffirm its profound and unshakeable faith in the rules and principles of the United Nations Charter. My Government is still convinced that the United Nations is, at the present time, the ultimate hope of weak nations, and my delegation would like to express its most fervent wishes for the complete success of the Organization's peace-keeping efforts. I am certain that, under the wise and competent guidance of our President, the twentieth session will contribute towards making the United Nations stronger and better able to restore peace, security and prosperity in the world.

52. Mr. SWAI (United Republic of Tanzania): We are sorry to note that the President is still indisposed. However, it is a great pleasure for me, in taking the floor at this time, to offer to the President, on behalf of my delegation, most hearty congratulations on his election to the high office of the President of this Assembly.

53. His unanimous election is a tribute to the imperishable achievement of his country's past. The light of the splendour and greatness that was ancient Rome's has continued to shed its radiance through the many centuries which have passed. It remains as a legacy to our present civilization and it has made a substantial contribution to our international norms and procedures. His personal qualities and talents are too well known and fully appreciated for me to elaborate further upon them. Suffice it to say that his wisdom, industriousness and dedication fill us all with great hope and confidence. The twentieth session of the General Assembly has a list of many difficult and dangerous problems on its agenda. We, who have conferred on him the honourable but onerous task of guiding this Assembly, have no doubt that he will use those great qualities and talents of his to bring about positive accommodations that will work towards the settlement of these problems. We should like to wish him a speedy recovery.

54. The year 1965 is an auspicious one in the life of this Organization. In the first place, it marks the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, and earlier this year we celebrated this event with appropriate ceremonies at its birthplace, San Francisco. In the life of any human organization, as in that of any human organism, we are entitled to expect, on the passing of the second decade of existence, the attainment of a certain maturity, the emergence of a certain assurance, and evidence of a readiness and determination to assume its rightful responsibilities. In the second place, 1965 sees the beginning of the second half of the United Nations Development Decade.

^{3/} See document TD/TRANSIT/9.

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex no. 2, document A/5755.

We have reached a mid-point in the race which was begun five years ago with so much vision and with so much hopefulness by this General Assembly. In the third place, this is International Co-operation Year, so designated to indicate this Assembly's pride and interest in the continued growth of international interdependence.

55. It is only right and proper, therefore, that we should approach the tasks of the General Assembly during this present session with most critical concern. Our duty compels us to review not merely the events which have transpired since the last session of the General Assembly, but the general record and performance of this Organization, in order to assess its strengths and weaknesses, if any, and collectively to engage in that exercise of reappraisal which in an individual one would term "soul-searching". To commence this exercise, it is necessary to recall that we are pledged by the Charter of this Organization to outlaw war and to take whatever measures that may be appropriate to eliminate threats to the peace and to repel aggression. We are solemnly bound to promote the economic and social advancement of peoples everywhere, and we are committed to respect the dignity and worth of the human person and protect non-self-governing peoples against abuses and political and economic exploitation.

56. When the events of the past several months are considered from this point of view, we are impressed more poignantly than ever by what the Secretary-General refers to in the Introduction to his Annual Report as "the distance that still lies between us and the goals we set ourselves two decades ago" [A/6001/Add.1, section I]. For the whole world has been witness to the very apparent tightening of international tensions, and the dogs of war, thought to have been restrained by Chapter VI and VII of the Charter, have been unleashed in every hemisphere, almost in every continent.

57. In Latin America, the peace of the continent was shattered anew, and civil war, fanned by ideological partisanship, overleapt national confines, revealing the continuing difficulties experienced in accommodating national self-determination with hemispheric or regional solidarity.

58. In Asia, refusal to abide by the terms of previously agreed peace accords has resulted in the dragging on of a debilitating struggle which has achieved little save the increasing devastation of a region and its long-suffering inhabitants. In yet another region, territorial problems, which had simmered unsolved for many years, finally erupted into a conflagration which, despite the industry and patience of the Secretary-General and timely action by the Security Council, still refuses to be extinguished.

59. In Europe, questions of divided nations and other problems still unresolved since the ending of the Second World War have caused a revival of dormant tendencies. In our own continent, racism and colonialism, universally discredited and repudiated, have united their forces to commit fresh aggressions and aggravated genocide.

60. Against this background of clashing ideologies, undefined boundaries and moribund imperialism stand

brandished the monstrous weapons of nuclear war and destruction. Tragically, but unmistakably, the existing state of international tensions and the question of disarmament are intimately interrelated. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that despite the extensive efforts of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament during the past months, it has again been compelled to report to this Assembly failure to "reach any specific agreement at this session either on questions of general and complete disarmament or on measures aimed at the lessening of international tension" [A/5986, para. 20]. Nevertheless, my delegation is pleased to note that the members of the Committee considered that the discussions served some useful purpose and that they may facilitate agreement in its further work. Progress in the field of disarmament—particularly of nuclear disarmament—is an urgent necessity.

61. My delegation has therefore followed with a very keen interest the attempts of the several world forces in the sphere of disarmament, both in the organized conferences under the auspices of the United Nations and in the single acts of individual Governments. We applaud the proposals made by the representative of the United States in his speech before this Assembly [1334th meeting], for the dismantling of certain numbers of nuclear weapons and the other proposals to reduce the dangers inherent in the high level of nuclear capabilities. We also welcome the other proposals to achieve general or limited disarmament. While the foregoing efforts are most laudable, it is regrettable that some countries are increasing their aggressive forces and thwarting these noble efforts by increasing their military mechanisms for global strategy considerations.

62. My delegation considers that the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and that of restricting their dissemination and proliferation must be considered as one, and dealt with as such. The proliferation of these weapons through treaty organizations is as much a danger as that presented by individual possession of them, and, at the same time, it creates no less a possibility of their being brought into use. We would therefore enthusiastically support a convention that will prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons, whether to single nations or to groupings of nations, and prohibit their use in the present and provide for their ultimate destruction as speedily as possible. The way has already been cleared in this regard by the several nuclear Powers which have announced their intentions of halting or of reducing production of fissionable material for military use. Such action on the part of those Powers is very gratifying. Also gratifying is the widespread approval which has been given to various proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones to be negotiated under international conventions. Therefore, it is the earnest hope and wish of my delegation that the declaration on denuclearization made by the African Heads of State and Government in Cairo in 1964, which is now on the agenda of this session [see A/5975], will be given the most active encouragement and support from all quarters. The conclusion of a convention for the denuclearization of Africa will most definitely provide for the consolidation of international peace, as well as actively reduce the strain on the economic development of that vast continent.

63. My delegation is convinced that in this important quest for agreement on disarmament and a reduction of international tensions, no effort should be spared and no avenue left unexplored. Therefore we support the proposal which Tanzania, together with other States, endorsed at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States held in Cairo in 1964, that an international conference should be convened under United Nations auspices—in which, however, all States should be invited to participate, whether or not Members of this Organization—with a view to concluding a general treaty on disarmament.

64. In this special year in the history of the United Nations, the Organization ought to undertake a new task of reviewing the role and function of one of its important organs: the Economic and Social Council. To achieve this task effectively, we feel that first the Organization should evaluate the records of the activities of the Economic and Social Council during the past twenty years and forecast future orientation.

65. Chapter X of the Charter, in particular Articles 62 and 66, enumerate the functions of the Council in the field of international economic and social co-operation. During the past twenty years, the Council has not remained idle. It has played a useful role in United Nations activities in economic, social, cultural, human rights, educational, health and related fields. The Council, however, like any other organ of the United Nations, needs a review to keep it in step with the changed and changing world circumstances.

66. My delegation believes that the Council should from now on concentrate more on implementing those decisions which have already been adopted. There is a need to ensure that the United Nations, through its common system of organizations, is making an effective contribution towards implementing and therefore attaining the objectives enumerated in Chapter X of the Charter. At this point, a few words about the co-ordinating function of the Council are worth mentioning.

67. It is my delegation's belief that the Council's co-ordinating responsibility has not been discharged satisfactorily and is still far from being satisfactorily accomplished. The Council's role of co-ordination becomes even more important in the light of the great expansion and complexity of the activities of the United Nations family. There is, of necessity, a need to give serious thought to the adequacy of the Council's inter-agency consultative arrangements and its consultative arrangements with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

68. After reviewing the co-ordinating role of the Council, it is only fitting that it should have with the new institution of Trade and Development that was created last year in Geneva.

69. Essentially, the Trade and Development Board has been created to deal with all matters concerning international trade as it relates to economic development. Since both the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, are organs of the General Assembly, an effective working relationship should be established.

70. We feel that this is probably enough as far as the question of the review of the Economic and Social

Council is concerned at the moment. My delegation will propose specific measures to deal with the problem at an appropriate committee of the General Assembly.

71. I should now like to say a few words on the United Nations Development Decade. What has been the performance of the developing countries? And what are their prospects for attaining the objectives of the Development Decade? Here I should like to quote the President of the World Bank, Mr. George D. Woods, addressing the Board of Governors of the Bank on 27 September in Washington, said, *inter alia*:

"Many of the developing countries are showing what can be done to lift output and living standards. Out of eighty developing countries in the Bank's membership, about one-third have attained in the recent past rates of five per cent or more in growth of real income, the target rate of the Development Decade. A high rate of growth is different from self-sustaining growth, however, and those countries will need encouragement and support for a considerable time to come. On the other hand, in close to half the eighty countries, accounting for fifty per cent of their populations, income per head has risen by one per cent or less. Even to keep abreast of recent high rates of population growth is not a negligible achievement, but it is far from sufficient. The average per capita income in this group is no more than \$120 a year. At a one per cent growth rate income levels will hardly reach \$170 a year by the end of this century. In some countries it will be much lower. This is crude arithmetic. But its implications are true and sobering. If the present trends are allowed to continue there will be no adequate improvement in living standards in vast areas of the globe for the balance of this century. Only massive and co-ordinated efforts of both the rich and the poor countries can bring about a substantial acceleration of growth and real progress towards a tolerable level of wellbeing."

72. Then Mr. Woods went on to deal with the problems facing the developing countries, such as fluctuations of export earnings of primary commodities, the need to receive development finance from external sources and the burden of debt. On the problem of the burden of the debt accruing from external borrowing he concluded:

"In any case, the underdeveloped countries as a whole must now devote more than a tenth of their foreign exchange earnings to debt service; and the figure is still rising. On present form, amortization, interest and dividends are offsetting the actual gross flow to the developing countries from all sources by half, and will continue to offset it at an accelerating rate. In short, to go on doing what we are doing will, in the not too long run, amount, on balance, to doing nothing at all."

As to how to solve this problem he said:

"The solution of the debt problem is at least in part within the powers and the means of the developed countries. They have already demonstrated their willingness by the creation of the International Development Associate—a major international initiative for transferring capital to the poor countries on concessionary terms."

73. This is a welcome trend in the right direction. The urgency of the problems of development cannot be overemphasized. Mr. Woods sounded the clarion call by saying:

"... development should be waged as a war, a war against intolerable living conditions that must be carried on with a determination to overcome all obstacles."

We have a war before us. Let us all combine forces to fight it relentlessly.

74. I now turn to the problems of Non-Self-Governing Territories and peoples. My delegation has always given its unqualified support to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that is contained in resolution 1514 (XV). In our opinion, passage of this historic resolution by the General Assembly must be taken to have supplemented the provisions of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter. It signaled international recognition of, at the same time as it legitimized, the "wind of change". It symbolized the passing of an era and the opening of new vistas of freedom and dignity for all. My delegation considers that the Declaration is a result of the universal changing of the balance of forces in favour of the progressive freedom-and-peace-loving system of the exploitation of man by man. Hence the Declaration is a clear expression of these progressive forces against the continuation of colonialism and for its eradication in all its forms and manifestations. The Government as well as the 10 million people of the United Republic of Tanzania fully and unequivocally reiterate their support of this Declaration as well as their support for the millions of people still struggling for their national liberation.

75. We have always condemned and repudiated colonialism and it is our convinced opinion that the existence of colonial territories and colonized peoples is a shame on humanity as well as a threat to human relations and therefore a threat to world peace and security.

76. Of particular urgency in this regard is the situation in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, where a minority Government not only controls the situation but is threatening to declare unilateral independence. In this respect, it is vital that the British Government should act according to its own protestations and precedents which it has so often justified before this Assembly and this Organization. The United Nations is agreed that if the racist minority Government does seek to declare unilateral independence, there again Britain must reassert its authority by whatever means are necessary. After doing so, the British Government must then act to implement United Nations resolutions on colonialism, and speedily transfer power to a government based on the will of all the people. In Southern Rhodesia the vital thing is that it should be clearly established beyond all doubt that independence cannot be granted or allowed except on the basis of majority rule. This is the principle on which there can be no compromise. Once this is established, the timing of the transfer of sovereignty to a majority government which is representative of the people can be negotiated. Tanzania believes that it should be accomplished quickly. But the principle is more important than the timing. A

betrayal of this principle is surrendering to racism; Tanzania expects the United Kingdom and the United Nations to fight racism and to uphold the principles of human dignity and human equality.

77. The question of Portuguese colonialism is another question that has persisted despite the several appeals to reason. The Portuguese Government still refuses to bow to world opinion and is seriously pursuing its brutal policies of war of oppression against the heroic peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. There is no doubt today that Portugal is one of the poorest countries of Europe, or the world for that matter, and hence continues to massacre and oppress the people of those territories in order to continue the exploitation of the rich resources that abound in them. But Portugal itself is tiny and poor, and it is a well-known fact that Portugal is receiving the active support of other Powers. The Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania have declared themselves unilaterally as well as through the Organization of African Unity. We are committed to the ultimate liberation of all of Africa. We therefore call upon those who tacitly and in many ways give support to Portugal, to desist from such activities, which enable her to thwart the expressed desires of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea who are struggling for their independence and liberation.

78. At this stage let me again state that the United Republic of Tanzania is uncompromisingly opposed to the abominable policies of apartheid practised by the South African racist régime. The freedom- and peace-loving peoples of the world have all categorically expressed themselves against the inhumanity arising from the practices of those policies of apartheid. There is no need, I am sure, for me to elaborate here once again on the effects of such policies. Under the umbrella of those policies, the South African régime has perpetrated and continued to perpetrate the denial of human rights to the millions of African people of that region. Enough has been said about apartheid. Action, we are convinced, and not words, is what is now needed.

79. My delegation hopes that this Assembly will support the arms embargo imposed against South Africa and the economic boycott organized by the African States, under the Organization of African Unity, that is designed to force the Verwoerd régime to abandon its inhuman and racist policies. My delegation will also reserve the right to propose, at the appropriate stage, other measures, including sanctions, should South Africa continue to flout the resolutions of this Assembly and aroused world opinion.

80. My delegation has always declared itself against the denial to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate right to speak as the authentic and sole voice of China in this Organization. It is the duty of this Assembly to face this question. There can be no doubt that the authority and prestige of this Organization will increase the more it approaches universality in its membership and realism in its policies. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that this Assembly will witness the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and invite that great Power to take its rightful place among this family of nations.

81. Looming over the deliberations of this Assembly, although not a specific item on the agenda, is the serious situation existing in Viet-Nam at present, a problem that is of great and urgent concern to the people of Tanzania. We are convinced that no war effort can bring about the settlement of the Viet-Nam question. A solution must be found in accordance with, and based upon, the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

82. Indeed, the question of recourse to war as a means of the settlement of disputes is disturbing to my delegation. In so declaring, we want to make it plain and clear that we distinguish very definitely the legitimate struggles for liberation carried on by oppressed peoples as distinct from the aggressive wars carried on by the forces of reaction seeking to subjugate and dominate other areas and peoples. Having made such a distinction, we must now turn to the most unfortunate hostilities between two Asian nations, Members of this Organization. The war that was unleashed between India and Pakistan was indeed very unfortunate and we are now most appreciative that the leaders of these two great Asian States are seeking recourse to the peaceful settlement of their differences over Kashmir.

83. The twentieth session presents an opportunity of great challenge to the Organization. The preceding session saw the United Nations facing its greatest crisis as a result of financial indebtedness, disagreements among its Members concerning the responsibilities and liabilities of membership, and the distribution of powers among its main organs. While it could not be said that these difficulties have been satisfactorily overcome, it has nevertheless been demonstrated that the Members are at one during the present session in their determination to preserve the Organization which transcends their disagreements and differences.

84. It is this newly demonstrated determination which has given new strength to the Organization and revived the hopes of millions of people everywhere who put their trust and faith in the United Nations as in no other earthly institution.

85. Mr. AL-RASHID (Kuwait): It gives me great pleasure to express to Mr. Fanfani my congratulations and those of my Government and delegation upon his unanimous election to the Presidency of this very important and historic session of the General Assembly. The task of an Assembly President is never a simple one and we are certain that his broad experience as a renowned statesman and his noble spirit and character, will assure us the guidance we need if our Organization is to move forward significantly during the current session.

86. It was with deep concern that we heard of the unfortunate accident which happened to him last week, and we wish to express our deep sympathy and sincere wishes for his proper and prompt recovery, so that this Assembly may again benefit from his wisdom for the rest of the session.

87. We should also like to congratulate Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, whose tireless zeal and skilled efforts as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly helped to bring about an honourable solution to the political, financial and constitutional problems which faced the Organization.

88. May we also express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for the very valuable contribution he made to that solution. His wisdom and dedication to the cause of the Organization command our thanks and gratitude.

89. On behalf of Kuwait, I welcome the new Member States to the United Nations: Singapore, the Gambia and the Maldives Islands. With their presence here, a further step is achieved towards the universality of our Organization, the source from which we believe it draws its strength and vitality. We hope that our membership will continue to grow as those remaining colonies and dependencies throw off the yoke of colonialism and achieve the dignity of sovereign independence.

90. After the Second World War, the awakening of colonial peoples and their determination to attain freedom and independence have become the most significant factors governing international relations in this century. The United Nations, realizing the irreversible character of this trend, has dedicated itself to the cause of decolonization and devoted much of its effort to the achievement of such a goal.

91. While my delegation notes with appreciation the substantial accomplishments in this direction, we wish at the same time to express our strong dissatisfaction with the negative attitude of certain colonial Powers, which persist in their refusal to comply with the numerous resolutions of the United Nations calling for the liquidation of all forms of colonialism. This attitude, in our opinion, weakens the Organization and undermines its authority.

92. We emphasize that only when all dependent peoples are allowed to decide their destiny through the solemn act of self-determination will the era of colonialism be ended. The peoples of Aden, Oman, South Arabia, the Portuguese territories in Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, and those who are suffering under the inhuman practices of apartheid in South Africa, must all be given the right to exercise self-determination. The United Nations now has the power and the prestige to speed self-determination and independence in those territories. Oppression and repression must be halted, and domination in all its manifestations should be eliminated.

93. My Government was deeply disturbed by the recent developments in Aden. The suspension of the constitution, the imposition of martial law and the assumption by the High Commissioner of direct rule, constitute, in the opinion of my Government, a serious violation of the rights of the people of Aden, and are in direct opposition to resolution 1949 (XVIII), which called upon the United Kingdom Government to cease military operations against the people, to abolish the state of emergency and to repeal all laws restricting public freedom, to release all political detainees and to permit those in exile to return, and to allow the people of Aden to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination.

94. The action of the British Government is one of repression and my delegation strongly deplores such measures, and feels that they will never provide the proper ground for a peaceful solution of such a dangerous and complicated problem. The United Kingdom has promised Aden, and the Aden Protectorates, inde-

pendence in 1968, but independence should be preceded by actions that would give the emerging country a solid basis, founded on national unity, constitutional Government and a well-organized administration. The United Kingdom is no newcomer in the field of decolonization. We here invite it to continue its liberal policy of decolonization, which has resulted in bringing to this forum many new Member States. We appeal to it to abandon measures which may delay independence, but can never prevent it.

95. One other problem of special interest to Kuwait is that of Oman. The Ad Hoc Committee on Oman has amassed sufficient evidence to show clearly that this is a colonial problem. Accordingly, it is the view of our delegation that steps should be taken by this Organization so that the people of Oman may exercise their inalienable right of self-determination.

96. I should like to reaffirm that one of the most important functions of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore, we believe that it is most significant for the future of the Organization that Pope Paul VI has made his "pilgrimage for peace" to voice his appeal for the elimination of war and the achievement of a lasting spirit of brotherhood in the world. The delegation of Kuwait sincerely hopes that this appeal will be heard and that all men of goodwill will make every effort to attain this noble aim of world peace—a peace based on right, justice and understanding; a peace that is prefaced by the emancipation of those still struggling for their freedom; a peace that promotes genuine international co-operation for social and economic development and eliminates the flagrant differences between the developed and under-developed countries. For it is only when such a peace prevails that we can look with hope to a world where every man and woman would enjoy a better life in freedom and dignity.

97. It is with these positive views and great hopes in mind that we assess the future. Yet, it is a matter of great concern to my Government that the international scene is still disturbed by conflicts which endanger world peace.

98. Relations between Kuwait and the Indian sub-continent have existed for many centuries from the time our sailing vessels first landed there. Ever since then, our friendship with both India and Pakistan has grown in fraternal spirit. We were, therefore, deeply disturbed by the recent conflict which arose between these two countries, which we both admire and respect. We are grieved at the resulting loss of life and serious material damage suffered by their peoples. Our policy towards this grave situation is also governed by the joint declaration made at the recent Conference of the Heads of Arab States, held last September in Casablanca. That declaration stated:

"The Heads of Arab States, reaffirming their appeal to all Governments to renounce policies of force and to attempt resolving international problems through peaceful means, in accordance with the right of self-determination, express their deep concern for the armed conflict between India and Pakistan, and call upon the two countries to put an end to the hostilities and to solve their differences by peaceful means in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations."

99. The eminent role played by our Secretary-General in this matter deserves our highest appreciation and admiration. Though we were heartened by the unanimous action of the Security Council and the seeming acceptance by the parties to the cease-fire, the events which followed reflect, unfortunately, the dangerous nature of this conflict and its possible disastrous effect on world peace. We therefore believe that the United Nations should undertake a review of the fundamental factors of this long-standing problem, with a view to finding a lasting solution based on the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in harmony with the Charter.

100. The war in Viet-Nam is another one of those conflagrations which seriously endangers world peace and security. My delegation favours an early end to the fighting and we sincerely hope that the Secretary-General will continue his efforts to that end. We also wish to express our hope that all the parties concerned will make a positive and constructive contribution to these efforts, thereby discharging their fundamental responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, in accordance with their commitments to the Charter. As for Kuwait, we favour a solution that is based on neutrality and non-interference in Viet-Nam's internal affairs and the recognition of its independence and national sovereignty, as agreed upon in the Geneva Conference of 1954.

101. As we come to the close of this second decade of our Organization's existence, we should be aware of one salient fact, which is that compromise solutions and half solutions are no solutions at all. In the first instance, they do not satisfy the parties directly concerned and, equally bad, the problems, rather than disappearing from the international scene, remain with us year after year. In fact, they tend to spoil the record of achievements of this Organization to the detriment of its stature before world public opinion, and affect its usefulness in the accomplishment of its fundamental role.

102. Our Organization, through the collective will of its Member States, should courageously reject temporary, weak and compromise solutions. The Organization should have the will and determination to study difficult and complex problems in depth and solve them according to the principles of law, justice and equity.

103. If the Organization ignores this approach, then it is reasonable to expect that this failure will be reflected by those directly concerned in solving or exacerbating such problems taking direct actions in other than peaceful ways, to the detriment of world peace and security and to the United Nations itself.

104. One such problem which has plagued our Organization since 1947 is that of Palestine. The Palestine problem is like a smouldering volcano, frequently flaring into eruptions which threaten the peace of the Middle East, and which so often require the urgent attention of the Security Council. I must admit that it was to my great amazement that Mrs. Golda Meir, in her address to this Assembly, did not even mention the Palestine Arab refugees. How can she ignore them when they number over 1,250,000 men, women and children, who are settled just outside the borders of their country, surveying their homes and their

lands under the occupation of usurpers who drove them out in an inglorious war, and who reap, under the protection of military arms, the benefits from what they had built up over the centuries. Those Zionist racists whom Mrs. Meir represents should realize that they bear for ever the responsibility for all those refugees.

105. I should like to remind Mrs. Golda Meir and all the representatives to this Assembly of an essential fact to be remembered: that is, that the people of Palestine, whom she so cynically ignores, are the principal party in this dispute, and that their legitimate and sole representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is so recognized by all of the Arab States. It is our considered opinion that so long as the people whom Mrs. Golda Meir represents continue to dismiss the rights of the Palestine people, flouting the relevant resolutions of this Assembly and continuing to propagate a campaign of hatred against the Palestinians and Arabs, then tension will continue in the Middle East. The dialogue she so often advocates is only one of capitulation, and this no Arab will ever accept. The Government for which Mrs. Meir speaks should know that its campaign against the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people of Palestine will never succeed in stifling their deep desire to return to their homeland. This, too, the usurpers must never forget.

106. It is not enough to establish an armistice line or an emergency force. Nor has any positive result been achieved by the Palestine Conciliation Commission. Nor has the help and assistance rendered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East (UNRWA) over the last fifteen years added any positive element towards an ultimate solution. A true and lasting solution of the Palestine problem is a real test for our Organization and the conformation of the fundamental principles of right, justice and international law. The State of Kuwait calls for a radical solution that would deal with all the basic aspects of the Palestine question before it is too late.

107. We Arabs consider this problem, very simply stated, as the restitution of the fundamental and legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, independence and national sovereignty. Kuwait supports their efforts towards this goal, as do all the Arab States and the majority of the non-aligned countries. In addition, the Assembly should not lose sight of the fact that the partition resolutions in the case of Palestine are contrary to the principle of self-determination; for it was not the wish of the majority of the people of Palestine that any partition should take place.

108. I should like now to refer to the financial crisis which the United Nations recently faced with regard to peace-keeping operations. This was a most serious development, and the Organization should take definite steps in order to solve the problem once and for all. We therefore express our hope that all Member States, especially the big Powers, will continue to lend their moral and financial support to this end, so that the United Nations may become a stronger and more efficient instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

109. We should like to thank the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations for its valuable work and reaffirm our agreement, in principle, with the guidelines proposed in the report of the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.^{5/} Those guidelines constitute a valuable and constructive basis for further studies and negotiations. However, we should like to stress that the Government of Kuwait firmly believes that the maintenance of peace and security is, according to the Charter, based on the fundamental principles of collective responsibility. The fact that the Charter specifically defines the respective roles of both the Security Council and the General Assembly should on no account undermine this principle, nor should it permit any action which might prevent the Organization from fulfilling promptly and adequately its fundamental duties.

110. During the twenty years of its existence the Organization has had to face and find solutions for many grave crises. The search for such solutions has required a flexible approach, and some adjustments, which we endorse, have had to be made in the interpretation of the Charter, in harmony with its spirit and its obligation to preserve and maintain international peace and security.

111. The setting up of peace-keeping operations is a relatively new concept in international relations. Substantial experience has been gained through the various operations which the Organization has undertaken in this field. We therefore sincerely hope that the lessons learned will always be kept in mind when the Organization, through its two main organs, is called upon to discharge its duties.

112. As for the solution of the recent financial crisis of the Organization, the delegation of Kuwait supports the principle of voluntary contributions and hopes that all Member States will contribute according to their abilities and consciences as soon as possible.

113. It is the belief of my delegation that collective responsibility is as important to the field of disarmament as it is to peace-keeping operations. That is why we welcomed the Soviet Union's request to convene the full membership of the Disarmament Commission.^{6/}

114. The signing of the Moscow Treaty in 1963 and the agreement not to orbit nuclear weapons in outer space, [resolution 1884 (XVIII)] were good beginnings. The promise of the Moscow test-ban Treaty, however, will not be fulfilled unless we accomplish the following: all underground testing must be stopped; there must be universal ratification by all of the nuclear Powers, whether members of the Organization or not; those regions which desire denuclearization should be encouraged, and appropriate treaties which will be binding on all of the nuclear Powers and their allies should be prepared to protect those regions.

115. In this regard, we support the initiative of those States which have called for an international conference on disarmament to be convened in 1966,^{7/} and

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex no. 21, document A/5915, annex II.

^{6/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/210.

^{7/} Ibid., document DC/224.

hope that a positive decision to call such a conference will be made during this session. That conference must be open to all States. The peace of the world is too weighty a responsibility for Member States alone, especially because a conflict anywhere in the world, in which one of the nuclear Powers becomes involved, might contain the spark which starts a thermo-nuclear holocaust—one which would respect no boundaries.

116. In addition, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons must also be assured by a treaty which is binding on all of the nuclear Powers, without exception. If this is not accomplished, a heavy economic drain on developing countries would result from their efforts to match the nuclear arms of their potentially aggressive neighbours. This extra economic drain could result in the moral and financial bankruptcy of many countries, driving the weaker States into unhealthy alliances, believed necessary for their security. The final result would be the total collapse of international order as we know it today. The Government of Kuwait, therefore, calls upon all Member States to solve these problems, before it is too late. We need the support of the great Powers, and we appeal to the smaller States, who carry great moral strength, to continue to press the nuclear Powers until satisfactory safeguards and guarantees are received.

117. Let us turn to the field of economic development. The General Assembly called this decade the "United Nations Development Decade". The goal was a yearly 5 per cent increase in the economic output of developing countries, but it is to be regretted that this goal is nowhere near achievement. There is no doubt that, due to their limited assets and savings potential, developing countries require outside capital assistance. Suspicious of bilateral aid, they would welcome having a greater portion on a multilateral basis, through United Nations channels. It is easier for an international agency to insist on certain conditions being met without offending nationalist sensibilities or arousing suspicions.

118. One can also hope for and expect more effective assistance through greater co-ordination of aid programmes within the United Nations bodies and between the United Nations agencies concerned with economic and social problems. That is why the Government of Kuwait looks with favour on the projected merger of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, whose accomplishments we commend, into a United Nations Development Programme.

119. The specialized agencies also play their part in the field of international economic co-operation and, together with the regional economic commissions, play an important role in the sphere of regional economic development plans. Effective multilateral economic assistance can become a mighty instrument of peace and understanding among all countries.

120. The Conference on Trade and Development recommendation seeking to establish a United Nations Capital Development Fund^{8/} is another significant project, which we strongly support. While we realize

that voluntary contributions for such a fund would depend mainly on the developed countries, we also sincerely hope that the need for such a fund will be given the careful consideration it deserves to make this project a reality, for it is quite clear that the level of development aid required is at a much higher level than has hitherto been granted to developing countries.

121. The division of the world into the rich North and the poor South cannot be permitted to continue. We should not forget that poverty in the midst of plenty breeds discontent, and discontent breeds insecurity and instability. Nothing could be more detrimental to peace and security than the continuing division of the world into those who have and those who have not. Raising the standards of living in the developing countries, and equalizing them with the developed countries, is one of the greatest challenges facing all of us today. No one should assume that aid is the magic cure for all aspects of development. The principle of fair and equitable trade is just as important, and in many cases it overshadows that of aid.

122. Many of the developing countries are experiencing declining returns for their export products at a time when their required imports of machinery and manufactured goods are costing them more. Some have increased the volume of their exports of primary commodities, but were faced with lower prices for them, and as a result, are getting less for exporting more. These are economic problems with international dimensions, and it is not within the power of developing countries alone to resolve such a state of affairs.

123. By improving and stabilizing the value of exports of developing countries, we are putting greater purchasing power in their hands, which will eventually be returned to the developed countries in the form of purchases of machinery and equipment. Thus, assistance to developing countries carries with it the needs of future benefits for the developed countries themselves. In addition, we should note that the application of science and technology is also of great importance, since it enhances the productivity of land, labour and capital, and the United Nations should organize its application for the benefit of the developing countries.

124. Kuwait, all praise be to God, was blessed with substantial reserves of petroleum and, since its commercial exploitation, our country has experienced remarkable progress and prosperity. The Government of Kuwait, however, is aware of its responsibility to its neighbours in our region. As a practical interpretation of Kuwait's desire to assist its neighbours, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development was established in December 1961 with \$140 million, and then doubled the following year. Through the Fund we have contributed the necessary capital, at long-term, low-interest rates, for many development projects that might not have been started otherwise. We consider the Fund a constructive economic partnership in the field of regional development. I should like to point out that the State of Kuwait has committed about 25 per cent of its revenues in the last three years for economic development assistance. Our direct aid to Arab and other developing countries has exceeded \$350 million.

^{8/} Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No: 64.II.B.11), p. 47.

125. We have also contributed one-third of the capital, and participated in the establishment of an Arab-African Bank, which is expected to finance development projects in Africa. We support the bank and are certain that it will make a substantial contribution to Africa's capital needs and development.

126. Since its inception the United Nations has encountered many pitfalls and setbacks, but once again a crisis has been successfully brought under control, and we begin the twentieth session of this Assembly in a spirit of renewed hope and determination. This persistence in surviving, despite the many difficulties, this will to achieve the aims of the Charter, despite all negative factors this sense of potential strength, give us reason to believe that this Organization can and ultimately will succeed in reaching its noble goals. At this twentieth session, let us approach our coming-of-age with wary optimism. To attain a real state of maturity, however, this Organization must pass through a spiritual and moral reawakening which would be the only way to permit it truly to live up to its high ideals.

127. Until now the United Nations would appear to have functioned on an empirical basis, and a spirit of compromise has indeed helped to give some measure of stability towards the maintenance of world peace. But our endeavours towards a solution for so many vital problems have often been superficial and timid, and have only touched upon the apparent symptoms of our troubles. The deep-rooted crises remain unsolved; reason and logic have often had to give way to human failings: pride, vanity and selfishness have been allowed too much influence in our proceedings.

128. Is it not imperative that, at some point soon, we delve to the roots of each vital issue, and conceive of some way to give this Organization the power to arbitrate? To accomplish this, we would need courage and boldness, wisdom and sincerity. I do not believe, Sir, that this would be asking too much from this Assembly.

129. Mr. HERRAN MEDINA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): My delegation, my Government and my country take particular pleasure in welcoming the well-deserved election of His Excellency Mr. Fanfani as President of the Assembly, because of his outstanding personal qualifications and the close ties of friendship that have always linked Colombia and Italy. We address to him the enthusiastic congratulations of a nation proud of the Latin origin of its civilization, of a people that numbers among its greatest intellectual figures the most brilliant translator of Virgil, of a country which deeply admires modern Italy and cherishes the Spanish language which is fortunate to have so worthy a representative occupying the chair at today's meeting.

130. This hall still echoes with the august words of the Roman Pontiff, which are destined to be a lasting inspiration to us in our pursuit of the ideals of the Charter. His moral standing immeasurably enhances his appeal, which, for our purposes, is, of course, much more important than any sizable military or financial support. Our Organization has been given an inspiring moral endorsement by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose recent address in this Assembly

provides wise guidance for the solution of the problems that beset mankind today.

131. This session could have no better augury than the visit of His Holiness. The work which has begun with this general debate is particularly in need of the blessings of fortune, for our agenda is full of items requiring solutions that are both difficult and urgent.

132. Another hopeful sign has been the cease-fire between India and Pakistan achieved by the United Nations, whereby those two admirable countries have demonstrated in exemplary fashion their respect for the United Nations. Their attitude should be matched by all other Members in a determined effort to find formulas that will put an end to the Kashmir conflict once and for all.

133. We also have the good fortune to begin our work by deciding on the admission of three new Members—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore—to whose delegations I am happy to extend our warmest congratulations.

134. My country, whose statement in the general debate at the nineteenth session [1302nd meeting] was devoted to emphasizing the urgent need for the Assembly to carry out the recommendations of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development concerning the establishment of that Conference as an organ of the General Assembly, welcomes with satisfaction and a certain pride the establishment of that organ [resolution 1995 (XIX)] as one of the most important achievements of the United Nations in all the twenty years of its existence. It does not therefore, share the opinion of those who think that that session was less fruitful than other previous sessions, in which no step of comparable significance was taken. Nevertheless, my delegation is not unaware that, whatever judgement the nineteenth session truly deserves, it is now imperative—if the Assembly is to recover its prestige—that our discussions should lead to constructive and far-reaching understandings on at least some of the main items to be considered.

135. Two schools of thought, each of them covering a wide range of nuances, will probably vie with each other for control of the Assembly. Throughout the history of the United Nations the currents of opinion have split into these two general trends more consistently and more significantly than into other classifications, such as East and West, and industrial and developing countries.

136. According to one of these schools of thought, the Assembly is principally and almost exclusively a debating society, and the more successful the United Nations is in preserving the status quo, the better it will have achieved its purposes. It gives special priority to national sovereignty and tends to place a restrictive interpretation upon the Charter and the other relevant statutes so far as the activities of the different organs are concerned. Consequently, it attaches particular importance to financial matters, in which its budgetary conservatism becomes an insurmountable barrier to the expansion of programmes that are frequently suspect in its eyes.

137. For the second school of thought, on the other hand, the Assembly is the organ that should actively

promote the continuous and necessary expansion of co-operation among Member States, precisely because it is a forum of world opinion. National sovereignty and budgetary restraint are, according to this interpretation, less important than the seriousness of world imbalances.

138. Although the not inconsiderable frustrations suffered by the United Nations cannot necessarily be attributed to the first school of thought, it is clear that the achievements of which it can be proud derive from the second. In so far as the second school of thought has prevailed, the United Nations has advanced. Every step taken with regard to decolonization, human rights and economic co-operation can be attributed to its influence.

139. In the same way, the enormous task facing the United Nations requires that that school of thought should remain in firm control. Disarmament, the final elimination of colonialism, the necessary victories in the field of human rights and progress in economic co-operation demand a strong uninhibited United Nations, an Organization with a truly dynamic sense of its mission, prepared to interpret its mandate liberally and aware of the kind of world leadership that it is called upon to provide in the future.

140. Colombia has always sided in the United Nations with those who base their position on this general criterion, and will continue at the present session to remain faithful to the commitment imposed by that tradition. It has upheld that criterion ever since its representative at San Francisco, Mr. Alberto Lleras, a former President of the Republic, stood almost alone in opposing the veto, ever since another Colombian, Mr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, in his capacity as provisional President of the first session of the General Assembly, defined the role of the Assembly, and ever since its representative at that first session, another former President of the Republic, Mr. Alfonso López, predicted among other things that "the United Nations is an organism which, as events develop, will take shape and assume functions beyond the anticipations of the Charter".^{2/}

141. The duty to maintain international peace and security, which is one of the primary purposes and principles of the United Nations, is incumbent upon the Organization as a whole as well as on each of its Member States and all the groups of States associated together under regional agreements.

142. From the point of view of the United Nations, the regional organizations are instruments for decentralized collective security action. However, they cannot effectively solve the legal, economic and political problems which occur among their members, or further the co-operation within their geographical regions that would benefit them all, if they do not have adequate means of maintaining in the regions concerned an atmosphere of confidence and of justice based on the law that alone can enable them to make immediate use of their own resources for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the prevention and suppression of acts jeopardizing security of

their members, whether such acts originated in their own regions or outside them.

143. Inasmuch as the Charter of the United Nations gives first place to the inherent rights of States to individual or collective self-defence, it is only being consistent when it attributes to the regional arrangements in Chapter VIII the function of collective security in their respective regional spheres as laid down in the relevant treaties.

144. As regards collective security, powers conferred under regional arrangements do not affect nor have any reason to affect the corresponding powers of the Security Council. On the contrary, under the Charter of the United Nations itself, they are accessory to and compatible with the powers of the Security Council. The Security Council itself has repeatedly and authoritatively interpreted the provisions of the Charter and of the corresponding regional agreements in the sense that the latter may apply all the procedures laid down therein to the limit, as is stated in article 2 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The only measures subject to the approval of the Security Council are the enforcement measures mentioned in Article 53 of the Charter, measures designed to restrain or subdue, which are altogether different and far removed from those intended to dissociate or separate. No restrictions or conditions can be placed upon the right of a group of States, duly associated and bound reciprocally to respect each other's sovereignty—a right which individually they cannot be denied—to keep their distance from a threat to the peace or to disassociate themselves from centres of unrest that threaten international security by preaching and practising violence, subversive infiltration and intervention.

145. My delegation believes that it is appropriate to stress in this respect the need for a vigorous reaffirmation of the principle of non-intervention, which is the cornerstone of respect for the personality of States and an essential element of peaceful international coexistence. Repudiation of this principle is incompatible with the very existence of international organizations which were established by sovereign States and which would have no basis for existing if that principle were abandoned. In the light of elementary political considerations and in view of the legal basis on which the international community must be founded, nothing can justify the intervention of one State in the domestic or external affairs of another; not even the threat of intervention from another source, since the second would be justified a posteriori by the first.

146. The satisfaction with which we all participated in the decision of 1 September 1965 that enabled the work of the Assembly to proceed normally cannot, of course, blind us to the fact that there is no agreement whatsoever on the substantive aspects of the problem raised by peace-keeping operations. It is logical, therefore, that we should give special priority to consideration of that problem and that we should all endeavour to prepare the ground for a substantive solution. In our opinion, such an agreement could in no circumstances detract from our recognition of the Assembly's powers in the matter of international

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Second part of first session, Plenary Meetings, 43rd meeting, p. 874.

security contained in resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for Peace". At the same time, without excluding other possible procedures, we have no hesitation in supporting the proposal of Brazil [1334th meeting, para. 11] concerning the adoption of a new chapter of the Charter dealing with this type of operation, since a matter of such importance deserves such special treatment.

147. Disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the suspension of nuclear tests are, of course, our main concern. As in the Disarmament Commission, my delegation will support the convening of a world disarmament conference, since, while acknowledging that agreements on disarmament desired by all the peoples of the world could be worked out in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, it considers that such a conference would give full play to a factor that might be decisive: the weight of world opinion.

148. Colombia is participating with particular interest in regional efforts to establish a denuclearized zone. The two sessions already held by the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America represent the beginning of an undertaking whose importance cannot be over-emphasized and one which, as it progresses, is bound to be confronted by formidable obstacles, among them the difficulty of delimiting the proposed zone—as the problems relating to Cuba, Puerto Rico and the French and British possessions are so discreetly referred to—and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary guarantees from the nuclear Powers.

149. My country, of course, views the delay in concluding agreements to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons with the greatest alarm and hopes that progress in this direction will be achieved at the current session. The atomic threat, which has been so seriously increased by the addition to the group of nuclear Powers of a régime which has persistently demonstrated its scorn for peace and which makes war its most valued banner, is growing while international action to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons is lagging behind.

150. For the basic principles of the Charter to be properly fulfilled steady progress must be made to promote respect for human rights. For this reason, my delegation will support the timely proposal submitted by Costa Rica [1342nd meeting, para. 53], on the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [A/5963].

151. The items allocated to the Second Committee are among the most important on our agenda. At a time when there is an urgent need to forge ahead in fields such as those I have mentioned, it is also absolutely necessary to make progress in the crucial matter of co-operation for development; both a hasty glance at the relevant economic indicators and the most comprehensive analysis of those indicators lead to the conclusion that the United Nations is very far from meeting its responsibilities in this respect.

152. All of us, even the most steadfast advocates of the present international economic order, agreed some time ago that the target of an annual growth rate of 5 per cent set by the Assembly for the

Development Decade was modest rather than ambitious, since it is only very slightly higher than the rate achieved in the previous decade. However, as indicated in Economic and Social Council resolution 1089 (XXXIX), based on the reports of the Secretariat, the rate of growth of the national income of most developing countries has been, for the first half of the current decade, considerably lower than that modest target.

153. It is well known that, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the Final Act of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, each developed country should supply financial resources to the developing countries in the form of investments, loans and grants, of a net amount approaching as nearly as possible to 1 per cent of its national income. Although that recommendation, which was rather revolutionary, was adopted without opposition and with few abstentions, the efforts to promote its implementation have not been very striking; on the contrary, there have been signs of a backward trend. One telling example will suffice: the annual appropriations approved by the United States House of Representatives for that country's foreign aid programmes are, compared with its national income, among the lowest ever approved for such programmes.

154. Similarly, little attention has been paid to the final recommendations of the Conference on Trade and Development concerning better terms for commodities, recommendations which are generally designed to increase the export income of the developing countries. Both the members of the European Economic Community and the other developed countries are completely disregarding the Final Act of the Conference. In that connexion, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to resolution 252 (XI), adopted by the Economic Commission for Latin America at its eleventh session, on the proposal of Colombia, which recommended that special priority should be given to urgent efforts to eliminate all discriminatory treatment in trade affecting the exports of the Latin American countries in accordance with the relevant recommendation of the Conference. The agreement reached at that Conference on this delicate matter could not be put into writing without encouraging to an unforeseeable extent movements favouring the establishment of hemispheric preferences which have already gained considerable impetus both in Latin America and in the United States.

155. The setting up of a specialized agency for industrial development within the United Nations family was first proposed by Colombia and a few other countries. After a long-drawn-out process in which the opposition of the developed countries led to one report after the other, one group of experts after the other and identical resolutions, one after the other in a different body, the proposal was adopted at Geneva by the Group of Seventy-Seven and is recommended in the Final Act of the Conference.^{10/} Finally, at its recent session, the Economic and Social Council, basing itself on yet another Secretariat study—and we hope this one will be the last—once again endorsed

^{10/} Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), pp. 66 to 69.

it and requested that the final decision should be taken by the Assembly at the current session. There is, however, little reason to be optimistic about the position of the developed market-economy countries on the matter. In any case, their support for this proposal which is so dear to the hearts of the Group of Seventy-Seven, or their rejection of it, will be eloquent testimony of their general attitude to the problem par excellence of two-thirds of the people of the world.

156. The indifference of the developed countries to the recommendations adopted by the Conference on Trade and Development and, in general, to their responsibilities to the developing countries forces the latter to close their ranks, to safeguard their unity whatever the cost and to defend their basic tenets even more stubbornly. The formation of the Group of Seventy-Seven has been considered potentially one of the most significant events of this period of history, since together, the developing countries will thus carry the negotiating weight of a super-Power. Such possibilities, which are dependent on the strict maintenance of the union, will be put to the test during this session, although the transformation of world trade into an effective instrument for development is a programme which will continue to be a matter of concern to the low-income countries for the rest of this century.

157. Since it is convinced that the future of such countries is linked to the strengthening of the Group of Seventy-Seven, my country is particularly interested in the proposal, put forward on 23 September in this hall [1334th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, on the convening of a conference of those countries.

158. Particular attention should be given to item 96 of the agenda of the General Assembly entitled "Review and reappraisal of the role and functions of the Economic and Social Council", since it is advisable, in the light of the new international trade machinery now established, to consider the courses of action and opportunities open to that body which has been respon-

sible for such important achievements as the regional economic commissions and the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. My delegation considers that retention of the important powers given to the Council by the Charter is in no way incompatible with recognition of the powers of the Trade and Development Board and that the functions of each are mutually complementary. It is also clear that the increase in its membership, which fortunately was effected by an appropriate amendment of the Charter [resolution 1991 B (XVIII)], will greatly enhance the authority of the Council and make the new phase of its work all the easier.

159. On the regional level, the main thing is, certainly, to forge ahead despite all disappointments with the Alliance for Progress which, if the letter and the spirit of Punta del Este is adhered to, is an irreplaceable programme of co-operation, and also to work together to promote integration. In accordance with a decision taken by the Economic Commission for Latin America, a large amount of the necessary technical work has been begun at the headquarters of that Commission for the purpose of reaching urgently needed agreements for strengthening the machinery to promote progressive integration. My Government, no doubt, like those of other countries in the region, attaches particular importance to that work and is prepared to participate in any new commitments which may seem desirable in the light of the conclusions reached, so that the artificial frontiers which separate our great fatherland may be gradually removed.

160. These are some of the views which will guide my delegation when it considers our agenda. All these views, and the views which it will express in the various committees, are all based on one solid premise: Colombia's enthusiastic support of the United Nations and its constant loyalty to the cause of our Organization which represents the best hopes of mankind.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.