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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NGANGTAR (Chad) (translated from French): It is not without a certain pride, mixed with joy, that I speak on behalf of my country in this Assembly which brings together so many distinguished persons from all over the world. My voice, which is an echo of Africa itself, is here to convey to you a message of confidence and hope from the people of the Republic of Chad. My voice, joined by those other concordant and powerful voices from Addis Ababa, Conakou and Dakar, will add a new note to the touching appeal which the African Heads of State have made to the four corners of the world. Africa, whose voice has deeply moved the peoples in all countries, would like to state its case once more through the fervent impulse and will of the peoples of Chad, which we shall try to interpret here as best we can.

2. May I convey to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my Government, warm congratulations on your splendid election to preside over the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. The many qualities which have marked you out for your colleagues' attention are a sure guarantee of the impartiality and skill with which you will guide our debates.

3. This session is, without a doubt, a very important one. Yet I think some time must elapse before it can be seen what place each session of the United Nations is to occupy in history, because of the complexity of the urgent and varied problems which come before the Assembly every year. So long as any part of the world, however small, lives in justified fear of any kind of threat, the anguished eyes of millions of human beings in all continents will be turned upon the courts of the United Nations. So long as one single country has to live under the cruel domination of another, so long as there exists a single individual enslaved in the name of one principle or another, the sessions of this Assembly will grow yearly more important. So long as part of the population of our planet goes hungry to bed at night or flounders in the slough of famine—so long, that is to say, as some parts of the world suffer from under-development—we shall continue to raise our

voices here to ask for the help of all in the finding of just solutions.

4. Before going into the details of the international problems which so preoccupy us, I should like to describe to the Assembly the positive contributions made by my Government, its efforts to ensure the happiness of its people and to work for that harmony and well-being which the world has made the ultimate goal of all social organizations.

5. My country, under the wise direction of Mr. François Tombalbaye, set in motion on the morrow of our independence a development plan based on a dynamic philosophy, which may be summed up as "Everything by the people, for the people". Our Government's programme, discussed at all levels of the Chad Progressive Party and enthusiastically approved, provided for an improvement in the material condition of the majority—peasants in the bush and workers in the towns—that is, an improvement in their material, cultural and social well-being.

6. In the realm of public health, the Government's aim is to increase the number of hospitals and clinics to the maximum.

7. Trade unions are encouraged in our country and function democratically, side by side with government bodies. Thus the worker is becoming increasingly aware of his role as the basic element in the country's progress. Even more important is the fact that the Government has begun to draft new labour and social insurance legislation, guaranteeing the freedoms and rights of the workers.

8. Chad has set itself the task of completely emancipating its women—in other words, of freeing them from all tutelage and ensuring their real equality before the law in relation to men. In this matter we have to overcome ancestral customs and beliefs which weigh heavily on the behaviour of our people. But no effort will be spared to make our women into full members of a society in which everything must contribute to the fulfilment of the human personality.

9. At the international level, the existence of destructive weapons such as the atomic bomb makes the quest for peace mankind's most immediate concern. As His Excellency President Tombalbaye so rightly said on 11 August 1963, the third anniversary of our national independence: "Just as peace and unity are indispensable to the building of a better Chad, so world peace is necessary for the development of the African continent."

10. It is a very special duty of Governments the world over, and of their leaders, to make superhuman efforts in order to ensure a lasting peace for mankind. The need for peace no longer has to be demonstrated. We have only to glance around in order to realize the incalculable consequences of a world war in these modern days.

11. Africa certainly has a mission to perform on the side of the forces of peace. The first prerequisite for peace is general disarmament. We pay tribute here to the many efforts made, throughout the world, to bring about total disarmament. This eighteenth session, at its opening, sees with hope a gleam of light on the horizon. The signing of the Moscow Treaty^{1/} is an unprecedented event, creating the climate of confidence that is indispensable to serious negotiation. This Treaty, which we signed on 26 August 1963 in all good faith, may herald the coming of international "détente".

12. The direct line of communication between Moscow and Washington has established contact between the leaders of the two great Powers. It is designed to reduce misunderstandings and to make it possible, in case of need, to avoid catastrophe by error.

13. The Republic of Chad has carefully followed the efforts made at the various disarmament conferences. We have studied in detail the many plans and draft treaties on disarmament. We shall not, for the moment, put forward any fresh proposals for disarmament; but my delegation wishes to take this opportunity of suggesting to the Assembly a possible procedure for debate, or, more precisely, a method of work.

14. The negotiators would adopt simultaneously, at each stage, one point from each plan or draft treaty for disarmament submitted by the two great Powers. This is the course advocated by an eminent European. Allow me to illustrate it: let us say that the Western plan provides, as a matter of priority, for the destruction of all vehicles capable of launching nuclear missiles in outer space, in the atmosphere and under water, whereas the Eastern plan give priority to the dismantling of foreign bases. Whenever it is a question of reaching agreement, each of the parties is afraid of upsetting the balance if it concedes a strategic advantage to the other.

15. In these circumstances, the method of work advocated by my Government would be to reach agreement, at each stage, on one specific point taken simultaneously from each side. For example, instead of dwelling on the question of whether to give priority to the dismantling of foreign bases or to the destruction of rockets, it would be agreed to eliminate the bases and destroy the atomic rockets at one and the same time. We could go through the list and proceed stage by stage on the basis of this "twinning" principle. Difficulties would doubtless arise; we should accordingly leave the experts full latitude to make any adjustments necessary. Furthermore, the principle of inspection and verification should be respected, since this method offers the advantage of security.

16. In this tortuous and difficult field, in which vital interests are at stake, we must shirk no effort to reach a compromise, for at the end of the road shines the brilliant future of mankind and future generations.

17. I should like to turn now to the Committee of Twenty-four,^{2/} which when submitting its report to the Assembly [A/5446 and Add.1-3] will not, I hope, come forward with empty hands. The forces of peace in the world are powerful, and are growing daily. All that we need in order to reach agreement is our wisdom and the good will of the negotiators.

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

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

18. While the global problem confronting our generation is world peace, we must not neglect other regional or local problems likely to involve us in conflict. In this connexion, the crucial problem, which is on a continental scale, is the elimination of colonialism, the complete eradication of the subjugation of one people by another, in accordance with the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

19. Peoples throughout the world recognize the arbitrariness of the domination of one people by another. Colonization has been condemned morally and specifically, both by religious sects and by lay societies—in fact, by all mankind. We Africans are ready to make any sacrifice in order to free our continent and help others to free themselves, in whatever latitude they may live.

20. Our independence would become an empty word if our brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had to remain under the colonial yoke and suffer persecution and torture that are inadmissible in the twentieth century. Those are greatly mistaken who believe that by sabotaging the United Nations resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries they will divert us from our primary objectives, which is to liberate our brothers. Some call us impatient; others accuse us of injecting passion into the settlement of a political problem. To all we shall reply that our only weapon is our wisdom and that our determination can overcome all obstacles.

21. In a resolution adopted on 4 April 1963 [see A/5446/Add.1, para. 251], the Committee of Twenty-four drew the Security Council's attention to the gravity of the situation in the Portuguese colonies and called for appropriate measures to be taken against Portugal, whose acts of repression were endangering peace and security in Africa.

22. In Southern Rhodesia, the Constitution perpetuating the supremacy of the Whites is unacceptable because the racist policy may provoke a long and bitter war. The Committee's hope of seeing colonialism abolished before the end of 1963 is not to be realized, but the attainment of that goal cannot be far off.

23. A recent article published in the *Daily Mirror* states that hatred is increasing day by day and that no one knows when or how the explosion will occur, for the policy of the Verwoerds is based on fear and on fear alone.

24. We have displayed moderation at Geneva, at the ICFTU meeting, at the meetings of GATT and here at the United Nations in meetings of the General Assembly and Security Council last month. Our spokesmen, to whom my country wishes to pay tribute here, have been equal to their task. They have been both firm and flexible.

25. Speaking from this rostrum, I feel rising within me the cries of sorrow and indignation emitted by the women of Angola, South Africa and other areas who cannot bury their children, cut down by the deadly bullets of the racist soldiers in the service of colonialism. I tremble at the anguished moans of children who cannot cry "Mercy!" when Portuguese aircraft drop a hail of bombs over whole villages in Angola and Senegal. These poor souls have drunk the cup of misery to the dregs; they cry out and die in the name of the theory of Portugal's Overseas Provinces. They are dying so that we may speak here from this rostrum of the United Nations

and tell the world about the crimes which are daily being committed in some part of Africa.

26. We have learnt from the Press that the Portuguese Government intends to hold a referendum in Angola. Let those who propose to stage such a carnival realize that no one will be fooled.

27. South Africa has adopted a policy of panic. A new law^{3/} for the suppression of sabotage and of resistance by the Africans was submitted to Parliament at the end of April 1963. It surpasses in brutality all the measures previously adopted. That law entered into force on 2 May 1963 and was incorporated in the Constitution. It prescribes the death penalty for any South African citizen who either in his own country or abroad—even in the United Nations—calls for the abolition of the policy of apartheid, and this applies to all statements and speeches made since 1960. The police State of Verwoerd has openly declared war on the brave inhabitants of South Africa who are fighting for their independence.

28. We condemn, loudly and publicly, the proliferation in South Africa of factories for the manufacture of weapons to be used in stifling the black inhabitants' legitimate claims to freedom. We take this occasion today to call upon our friends, the great Powers, to ensure that the resolutions voted by the Security Council and the General Assembly are not treated with contempt.

29. Left to itself, the Salazar Government would be powerless to combat the colonies which have rightly revolted against its rule. Consequently, the suspension of all arms shipments, an economic boycott and the severance of all diplomatic and consular relations could not fail to have favourable repercussions on the policy of Portugal and South Africa, a retrograde policy which is of a truly criminal nature. We note hopefully the Statement of a United States representative that all arms shipments to Portugal will be suspended. In the field of trade, certain of the great Powers can complete the embargo by preventing any traffic in arms with the Portuguese Government.

30. The official or semi-official statements of those who refuse to follow the path of complete decolonization have no effect on us. We shall resolutely continue our advance along the road to liberation. That road will be long and arduous, but we shall not allow ourselves to be deflected, even for an instant, from our primary objective.

31. While threats of war, like colonialism, constitute one of the causes of friction in the world, the division of the planet into rich regions and under-developed regions is a no less serious source of danger.

32. The Government of the Republic of Chad is concerned essentially with the pursuit of the material and cultural well-being of our country's people. Political independence is, of course, one goal but it can be no more than one historic step towards the total emancipation of our peoples. There would be no independence if our peoples had to continue living in the same material and cultural conditions as in the era of colonialism. That being so, what are the obstacles to the development of the newly independent countries?

33. Let us set aside the many ancillary questions and concern ourselves with the problem that we regard as the most important and basic: the difference between the prices of imported products and those of exports. There is no equitable relationship between the prices

of the manufactured goods which we import and those of the agricultural produce and primary materials that we export. What is required is a certain balance which no small country can establish unilaterally and which cannot be achieved without the help of the United Nations. Chad would like to see this question made the basis of the work of the world trade conference planned for 1964,^{4/} to which we look forward with high hopes.

34. The United Nations Economic and Social Council, at its last session, dwelt at length on the need for foreign aid and on the developed countries' obligation to assist the developing countries.

35. The Government of the Republic of Chad has defined what it conceives to be the purpose of foreign aid and the perspective from which it should be viewed: the problem is how to overcome anachronistic economic backwardness, to develop national industry and to end the humiliating and unequal position occupied by the developing countries in international trade.

36. In Chad we agree with certain economists who hold that it is in the interests of the developed countries that the peoples of the developing countries should have access to the world market, for the more this market expands, the more the industries of the developed countries will prosper. We in the Republic of Chad are determined to cast off our poverty and make our country prosperous.

37. We shall overcome our economic backwardness by a natural process if we succeed in establishing a rate of development fast enough to exceed our rate of population growth. We have to invest in both agriculture and communications; we want to give priority to the development of national industries. We need the assistance of the more developed countries which can make available to us the funds required for smooth development. We are in favour of bilateral aid, but equally we share the hope expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations that all economic and social activities will be placed under the sign of the United Nations Development Decade. The United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas^{5/} is an event the importance of which we fully recognize. That Conference has placed within our reach the modern technology which is the first requirement for all development. The second requirement for development is the availability of sufficient resources; these we shall obtain thanks to the regulation of international trade which will we hope, be the result of the trade conference to be held within the framework of the Decade.

38. The Secretary-General, in the Introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [S/5501/Add.1, section IV], has informed us of his concern lest the Special Fund should be unable to reach its target of \$100 million for 1964. We, I need hardly say, strongly support the Secretary-General in his appeal to the participating countries that they should contribute enough to make it possible to reach this modest target. I should like to draw attention to that part of the Introduction [*ibid.*] which mentions the figure of 327 projects in 120 developing countries at a cost of \$672 million, of which the Special Fund is contributing 42 per cent and the Governments concerned the remainder.

^{4/} United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

^{5/} Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, held at Geneva from 4 to 20 February 1963.

^{3/} General Law Amendment Act of 1963.

39. The economic development of all the regions of the world is a goal which lies within our reach; it is no longer a dream. General disarmament, by releasing large sums absorbed by war industries, so that they can be diverted to peaceful enterprises in the developing countries, will accelerate these countries' growth.

40. The road which we must still travel to ensure the maintenance of peace in the world is, perhaps, long and difficult. But if we all look in the same direction, and if we maintain this constancy of effort with the good faith and good will of the twentieth-century humanist, we shall have grounds for optimism. We express this optimism, trusting in the effort that each one of us will make at the current session to resolve the various thorny problems before us. Whatever those problems may be—the proposed conference to consider revision of the Charter, the question of Palestine (rather, of peace in the Middle East) which was recently the subject of proceedings in the Security Council, the important question of the United Nations Emergency Force and the problem of its financing, or the question of the denuclearization of certain zones—the United Nations has in the past, and in connexion with the most burning questions, shown itself to be an effective organ fully conscious of its responsibilities.

41. Certainly the stormy debates which we have had on philosophy and ideology have often made our meetings tumultuous, but the United Nations has emerged from them with enhanced stature. The small nations place great hope in the Organization's work. The peoples of the entire world cherish the United Nations and feel for it the veneration accorded to institutions which, and persons who, have made their contribution to the rapprochement of men and to universal peace.

42. Let us hope that, after this session, our Organization will be even more deserving of the confidence and respect which it enjoys at the hands of millions of people. Let us hope that our Organization will as quickly as possible attain the goal of universality for which it was created and towards which all our efforts should be directed.

43. Mr. HAEKKERUP (Denmark): I wish to extend to you, Mr. President, the warm congratulations of the Danish Government and the Danish delegation on your election to the high post of President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are convinced that under your wise guidance this Assembly will achieve results that will benefit our Organization and the world as a whole. Our congratulations also go to the other members of the General Committee, whose wise counsel will assist you, Mr. President, in carrying out your important and heavy task.

44. One of the pioneers of the United Nations, the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Pearson, said on 19 September [1208th meeting] something that we all know but that may still be worth while recalling. Today we are eighteen years old. In my country that is the age at which one acquires by now a personality of its own. At the same age the League of Nations was dying. We are, to say the least, alive and active.

45. The question is often asked why we spend so much time speaking about ourselves, speaking about the United Nations, rather than discussing those problems of substance which the United Nations was created to solve. We are doing both. But if organizational questions continue to figure heavily on our agenda, the reason is, in my view, that the United Nations itself has become an important political factor in the world, and therefore also a political issue.

46. I consider this to be a sign of strength. Is it not true to say that today no international situation of any importance can arise without the questions being asked: What is the United Nations going to say? How will the United Nations react? How are we going to deal with the United Nations? Is it not true to say, too, that if a number of critical situations have been pacified due to a reaction on the part of the United Nations which had not been taken into account by those responsible, many more situations did never arise because the reaction to be expected was too heavy to face? As a matter of fact, today no foreign policy can be made without taking into account the United Nations. I think that is ample reason for pride, but also an incentive to go on discussing and endeavouring to strengthen the principles and improving the machinery of our Organization.

47. This being said, I want to put on record what ought, by now, to be known by everybody: Denmark continues to support fully the United Nations as an important instrument of peace and international co-operation. We will continue to contribute to the best of our ability morally, financially and materially to the work of this Organization. This is true in the field of peace-keeping activities, including disarmament. It is true in the fields of social and economic co-operation. It is also true in the field of protection of human rights. Even today we witness violations of these rights for reasons of race, religion, sex, political conviction. We must strive earnestly to increase the authority of the United Nations in securing these fundamental aspects of humanity.

48. While the United Nations, therefore, to an increasing degree, influences all aspects of international life and of our national behaviour, it seems to us a necessity that membership of the Organization should be all-embracing. We welcome every new Member. The principle of universality is to us fundamental. Our well-known attitude on the question of Chinese representation is in conformity with this principle. The same applies to our negative attitude to the question of releasing other Member States from their solemn obligations under the Charter.

49. Denmark has welcomed the peace-keeping operations so far undertaken by the United Nations. We have contributed financially to all and made men and equipment available for a number of them. To us there can be no question of abandoning the principle of peace-keeping activities as it has developed since the United Nations was created.

50. The Congo action proved to be a major success for the United Nations and of great benefit to the Republic of the Congo, thanks to the brilliant and courageous leadership of both the late and the present Secretaries-General and to the efforts and sacrifices of many nations and individuals. However, that action demonstrated how far such an operation can develop beyond what was envisaged at the outset. While a small minority of Member States have persistently argued that the Organization was running away with the action, most of us probably at some stage had a more or less vague feeling that perhaps the action was running away with the Organization. The problems attending the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations have proved to be more complex than many of us ever realized. This is illustrated by the financial difficulties now facing the Organization. We think, like Mr. Lester Pearson, that more thought should be given to these problems—not only to their financial and institutional

aspects, but also to the technical questions, questions of planning and preparing. It seems to us that the time has now come for the Organization to study these questions thoroughly. As you are aware, the Nordic countries have pushed forward with the idea of earmarking and preparing special military forces for the use of the United Nations. But wider co-operation and co-ordination in this field seem to be called for.

51. As regards the financial difficulties, we hope that through some hard thinking in the Fifth Committee a solution can be found which re-establishes the financial health of the Organization. We welcome the overwhelming support of the principle of collective financial responsibility resulting from the fourth special session of the Assembly. May the way thus shown by Member States, even those with a low capacity to pay, be a guidance to all nations in the sharing of responsibilities, so that we need have no fear for the future of our Organization.

52. Denmark's desire to see peace safeguarded through general and complete disarmament under appropriate control is unchanged. The United Nations has a primary responsibility in this field. We should, however, approach problems in a spirit of realism, keeping in mind that agreement between the major Powers, based on mutual interests, is the first condition of progress. To press ideas that have no chance of leading to such agreement can do more harm than good.

53. Discussion in the Assembly must obviously be influenced by the Nuclear Test Ban Agreement recently concluded between the three major nuclear Powers. Denmark, together with a large majority of other States, did not hesitate to sign the Agreement. And it is our sincere hope that those still missing will soon follow this example. The hopes raised in all mankind by this Agreement must not be disappointed but should inspire us to new efforts.

54. Already before the opening of the eighteenth session we noted with satisfaction signs of willingness on the part of the countries most directly concerned to conduct negotiations on further disarmament measures. The speeches we have had the honour to listen to since then have given us reason for increased optimism. We welcomed the great and statesmanlike speech of President Kennedy [1209th meeting]—a speech that took a line to which we fully adhere: that of defending without compromise the ideals of freedom and independence which we can never abandon, while offering to all the world the hand of peaceful co-operation.

55. We also appreciated the statement made by Mr. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting] as a most important step toward greater understanding between East and West. The ideas of these two speeches as regards the possibilities of progress in the disarmament field are remarkably close. Even in their terminology they showed some mutual approach. May we hope that the time is not far away when we may all talk in terms of peaceful, co-operative coexistence or, if you prefer, peaceful coexistent co-operation.

56. I do not want to disturb this tone of conciliation and mutual understanding which to all of us is essential. I am sure, however, that it will be no surprise to my Soviet colleague if I say that we are unable to share his views regarding Germany. Much as all Europeans, including the Germans themselves, wish for a true "détente" in Central Europe, it serves no purpose to close our eyes to the fact that such a "détente" is funda-

mentally dependent on the solution of political problems—first and foremost the right of the German people to self-determination. This question should certainly not be an obstacle to progress in the field of disarmament in Central Europe—especially if such measures can pave the way to greater understanding of the underlying political problems. It is our experience that good and neighbourly relations can be established with the Germany of today. Between Denmark and Germany—and everybody knows that we have had our problems—relations have never been better than they are today.

57. At the present time it would probably not be advisable for the Assembly to hamper the talks in progress by pressing on the participants various, no doubt well-intentioned, but perhaps more or less considered proposals. Our main task must be to encourage and give fresh impetus to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament while referring to it for further consideration such ideas as may emerge from our discussions.

58. We consider it of the utmost importance that in the economic sphere the United Nations is now beginning to take the initiative in three most essential fields: trade, industrial development, and financing of the social and economic infrastructure.

59. We fully realize that, without active United Nations participation in these fields, it is not possible to promote the universally-agreed aims embodied in the Charter: higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development all over the world.

60. We look forward to participating, in 1964, not only in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, but also in the forthcoming GATT meeting from which, we are convinced, the developing countries will obtain concrete advantages. The decision taken last year to hold the Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 must in our opinion be considered a major step towards solving the commercial problems facing the developing countries. The Conference may well become one of the major events—perhaps the major event of the Development Decade of the Sixties. We have noted with satisfaction the constructive way in which preparations for this Conference have progressed. Of the greatest importance is the general agreement reached that the main task of the Conference should be that of building up the economies of the developing countries by adopting or preparing practical measures in recognition of the need of these countries for special consideration in the marketing of their products and the urgent necessity of organizing world trade accordingly.

61. We welcome the proposed enlargement of the activities of the Special Fund enabling it to take a direct part in the financing of the essential infrastructure of the low-income countries. We also welcome the increased emphasis which, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the developing countries, the United Nations is placing on the furtherance of industrial development.

62. Before leaving the economic sector I wish to express Denmark's appreciation of the warm welcome which the developing countries gave our proposal at the seventeenth session concerning the establishment of a United Nations Training and Research Institute [see resolution 1827 (XVII)]. The final decision concerning the establishment of the Institute was taken this summer by the Economic and Social Council, and we are looking forward to studying during this session

the Secretary-General's first progress report on the financing of the Institute which, we trust, will be opened in 1964.

63. Denmark's basic attitude to the colonial issue remains unchanged: To give full support to the efforts within the United Nations to press forward towards independence for colonial territories and peoples as rapidly as compatible with the true interests of the peoples concerned. This attitude is clearly reflected in our participation in the Committee of Twenty-four.

64. We welcome the results achieved in this field since we met last autumn. We are very soon to welcome Kenya as a new Member of the United Nations. We may hope that Zanzibar will not be far behind. Developments which will eventually lead to independence for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are well under way. In the Far East, three areas—Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak—have recently merged with Malaya into an independent federation.

65. The more progress is made, the more we shall find ourselves left with cases presenting major problems, whether due to special conditions in the areas themselves or to the attitude of the administering country or both. This fact has revealed a certain tendency within the Assembly and its Committees to let theoretical considerations and principles domineer over the due regard for the local situation and the well-being of the peoples concerned. In cases where the will of the Administering Power to proceed as soon as possible towards independence and to co-operate fully with the United Nations is manifest, we should, in my opinion, go far in taking into account that country's evaluation of local difficulties and hesitate to press for specific measures of doubtful utility.

66. Undue precipitation in such cases will only tend to reduce our influence on, and distract attention from, the cases on which we should concentrate, those where no good will is present on the part of the administering country or government. Hard pressure by the United Nations should be reserved for these cases, and here we should not shrink from using, eventually and if necessary, all the means placed at our disposal by the Charter, if such means prove suitable to bring about the changes we desire and if they can command sufficient support to produce that effect.

67. This leads me directly to the question of the policies of apartheid in South Africa which once again weighs heavily on our agenda. The United Nations has by now dealt with this question for a good many years. You may know how deep it has gone to the heart of everybody in Denmark. Numerous manifestations of one kind or another bear witness to the intense preoccupation of the Danish people with the question of apartheid.

68. The approach of the United Nations to the question of apartheid in South Africa has so far been, and rightly so, that apartheid must be abolished as contrary to the principles of the Charter and to human rights. Recently most of us have felt that if persuasion was not sufficient to induce the South African Government to change its policy, other means would have to be adopted. A most important step in this direction was taken by the recent resolution of the Security Council banning exports of arms to South Africa.^{6/} Other steps will undoubtedly have to follow.

69. The Danish Government is in agreement with this policy. I repeat: Denmark supports this line of action and feels that it should be pursued and pressure gradually increased. What we desire is not mere words or recommendations of a general nature, but measures the effects of which have been carefully studied beforehand and discussed thoroughly with a view to providing sufficient support from Member States. We recognize that the African countries have special interests in this matter, interests which naturally lead them to advocate an unconditional policy of sanctions. This special position also carries special responsibilities. It might be useful to initiate within a small group a dialogue between representatives of these specially interested countries and the major commercial partners of South Africa, which eventually will have to carry the main burden of such a policy of sanctions.

70. I repeat once again that we think such a policy of pressure necessary and justified. I must, however, ask myself and ask you a question which many Members of the Assembly have certainly for some time been asking themselves quietly. That crucial question is this: Is that limited line of action through pressure sufficient in itself to bring about peaceful developments towards a solution of all aspects of the South African question? I am very much afraid that that is not so. I am very much afraid that a policy of sanctions alone—I repeat alone—may well defeat its own ends, aggravate the present state of tension in the area and bring the possibility of tragic events closer.

71. Apartheid today causes misery to millions of people. Its abolition will, however, pose other problems. It is the duty of the United Nations to show the way forward in solving these problems in accordance with the basic principles of the Charter. We must face the fact that the great majority of the European population in South Africa wrongly assume that abandonment of white domination means abandonment of their own existence. It is our duty to prove to them that that is not so. It is our duty to demonstrate that there is an alternative to catastrophe and that the only way towards this alternative is through the abolition of apartheid. It is our duty to give all groups in South Africa hope and confidence that, after abolition of those inhuman and abhorrent principles by which the Republic of South Africa is now guided, there will be a happy and prosperous future for everybody who has his roots and wishes to continue his life in South Africa.

72. In other words, if the approach of the United Nations has so far followed a single line, we feel that it has now become necessary for the Assembly to formulate a supplementary policy, to make clear to the world what we would like should take the place of the present set-up—a truly democratic, multiracial society of free men, with equal rights for all individuals, irrespective of race.

73. Changing a society so deeply rooted in apartheid and dominated by a minority into such a free democratic, multiracial society may well prove to be a task which cannot be solved by the people of South Africa alone. I feel convinced that in such a process of development the United Nations will have to play a major role if we are to avoid a tragic disaster. We must consider how, if necessary, we can, in a transitional period, contribute to the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the life and civil rights of all individuals. We must likewise consider how the United Nations can best assist South Africa in laying the foundation of its new society.

^{6/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5386.

74. In our opinion it is high time for the Assembly to give thought to the positive policy to be pursued in South Africa and to the role which the United Nations should play in coming developments. Careful studies to this end should be initiated now. If not, we may one day be taken by surprise and have reason to regret it.

75. Progress in "decolonization" is evidence of what the United Nations has already been able to achieve. Apartheid in South Africa shows how much is still left to be done before the high ideals of the Charter are carried out everywhere in the world. By now we know a good deal about the problems raised by people of different habits, attitudes and racial extraction living together in one society. In this Assembly—in itself a picture of the multiracial society—we have solved these problems. Why should we not be able to achieve the same in every-day life?

76. The present "détente" and constructive approach between East and West have brightened our hopes of saving mankind from "the scourge of war" and bringing about a peaceful future for our world. While continuing our efforts, step by step, towards this goal, let us not for a moment forget our solemn obligation to fulfil the high ideals of equal human rights and respect for human dignity which are set out in the Charter. By following the guiding star of these ideals we can create a world in which not only war between States, but also aggressiveness between men, have been abolished and replaced by tolerance, co-operation and mutual good will.

77. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I would like first of all to associate myself with the previous speakers who have congratulated you on your election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly.

78. The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic shares the view, expressed here in the course of our debates, that the present session of the United Nations General Assembly, through the decisions it will adopt, will make a constructive contribution to the solution of the vital international issues facing mankind.

79. It is the opinion of the Romanian People's Republic, as stated from this rostrum by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the President of the State Council, that:

"The promotion among States of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the development of relations of multilateral co-operation among them with a view to maintaining and strengthening peace is the very 'raison d'être' of the United Nations." [873rd meeting, para. 61.]

On that occasion, the President of the State Council also expressed the conviction that:

"... every Member State—large or small—has the duty to make its own active contribution to the concrete affirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence in international relations. ..." [ibid., para. 72].

This, in a nut-shell, is what the United Nations means to Romania, and what it understands to be the duties incumbent upon the Members of this Organization.

80. The Romanian Government and people consider that the United Nations must play an active role and accomplish the mission entrusted to it by the Charter of eliminating the danger of thermo-nuclear war and strengthening international peace and security—which are essential if the people of the world are to achieve their aspirations.

81. The ardent desires of all peoples are directed more than ever before towards economic, social and cultural progress and towards the full use of the resources of our planet, so that they may enjoy the fruits of their creative work and of the achievements of modern science and technology. The main task of all States and all Governments imbued with a sense of responsibility towards their peoples is to work for the creation of the international conditions necessary for the attainment of these ends, and/or the peaceful solution of international issues.

82. In our time, when stockpiles of weapons which are unparalleled in their destructive capacity have been accumulated in various parts of the world, when the unleashing of a world thermo-nuclear conflict would inflict incalculable losses upon mankind, every possible effort must be made to protect humanity from a devastating war.

83. This goal, which is of primary importance, can perfectly well be attained through general and complete disarmament, which is the shortest and safest way to remove the danger of war, to release tremendous material and human resources for peaceful ends, and to develop fruitful co-operation among States. Although it strives at all times for general and complete disarmament, Romania is also in favour of the proposals to apply certain partial or regional measures aimed at reducing international tension and at paving the way towards an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

84. It was in this spirit that, on 8 August of this year, the Government of Romania signed the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, even though this Treaty does not cover nuclear test in all environments or solve the major problems of preventing the dangers to world peace inherent in the armaments race and the stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons. We regarded this Treaty as a step forward in the direction of an international "détente" and evidence that international issues can be solved through negotiation. At the same time, the Romanian Government expressed the hope that the conclusion of the Treaty would create favourable conditions for further steps towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

85. The obstacles which remain to be overcome are complex and numerous. The Romanian Government firmly maintains the view that the efforts of all must be directed, with perseverance, patience and realism, towards bringing the points of view closer together and finding mutually advantageous solutions. The method of negotiation, which the Romanian Government has consistently advocated, has proved effective in solving some acute international problems, such as last year's crisis in the Caribbean area, where the danger of a nuclear conflict was averted in this way. The commitments then made must be fulfilled to the letter.

86. The consideration of situations which vitally affect international peace and security, of the major and urgent issues of the world of today, of the question of general and complete disarmament and of measures to bring about a relaxation of tension and the decisions regarding them call for the participation of statesmen entrusted with the highest responsibilities. The Romanian delegation considers the proposal made by the Soviet Union (see 1208th meeting, para. 130) to convene a high-level conference of the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee early

next year to be a measure which would provide an appropriate framework for the most fruitful discussion both of general and complete disarmament and of individual measure to relax international tension. The Romanian People's Republic looks upon its participation in the work of that Committee with the highest sense of responsibility and supports all proposals the implementation of which would be conducive to the discontinuance of the armaments race and the establishment of a weapons-free world. My country, which has closely followed the developments in the debate on the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, would welcome the conclusion of an agreement banning the placing of nuclear weapons in orbit.

87. In the view of the Romanian delegation, the recent Soviet proposal (*ibid.*, para. 137) concerning the retention of a limited number of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles on the territories of the Soviet Union and the United States of America until the end of the process of general and complete disarmament ranks among those proposals which, because they meet the position of the other party half-way, facilitate the narrowing of the gap between the respective positions.

88. A significant move towards ensuring peace in the world and creating an atmosphere of "détente" would be the liquidation of the last vestiges of the Second World War by the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. In this matter, the position of the Romanian Government is based on its recognition of the existence of two German States and of the need to put an end to the occupation of West Berlin and to make it a free and demilitarized city.

89. As it considers that the liquidation of military blocs would greatly help to improve the international situation and strengthen security throughout the world, the Romanian Government is in favour of the conclusion, as a transitional measure, of a non-aggression pact between the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the States signatories of the Treaty of Warsaw.

90. Another measure which might help us to move forward in the sphere of disarmament would be the reduction—and, as an initial step in that direction, the freezing—of the military budgets of States, which absorb huge amounts of money, resources and human energy for non-productive purposes, while a considerable portion of the world's population lives in the most inhuman conditions.

91. Proceeding from the belief that it is the duty of all States to help to consolidate peace and, above all, to establish good relations in the regions to which they belong, in 1957 and 1959, the Government of the Romanian People's Republic submitted proposals to the other Governments of the Balkan countries with a view to concluding a treaty which would turn the Balkans into an area of peace and co-operation, an area without nuclear arms and without nuclear weapons delivery vehicles. The past few years have fully confirmed the reasonableness of these proposals, and the increasing need to adopt specific measures for their implementation.

92. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the Romanian People's Republic proposed for inclusion in the agenda the item entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems". The General Assembly unanimously decided to include the item in that session's

agenda. In the explanatory memorandum circulated in connexion with the inclusion of the item, the Romanian delegation expressed its belief that:

"any improvement in the relations among States on a regional level would contribute to the improvement of international relations as a whole, to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for peace in the whole world, for international security, for settlement of the big yet unsolved international issues".^{7/}

Today, three years after the item was placed on the General Assembly's agenda, we note that the idea of regional agreements, in various aspects, is gaining increasing support and that the efficacy of such measures has been confirmed by the submission of numerous proposals.

93. The extent to which the idea of setting up denuclearized zones by comprehensive regional agreements reflects a desire for peace and security among all peoples is borne out also by the proposals for the denuclearization of Africa, Asia, the Pacific region and Latin America. The denuclearization of Latin America is on the agenda of the present session, [item 74], while the denuclearization of Africa and the need to put an end to the dissemination of nuclear weapons, are the subject of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its sixteenth session [resolutions 1652 (XVI) and 1665 (XVI)].

94. As regards Europe, proposals have been made to establish denuclearized zones in northern and central Europe, in the Balkans, and in the regions of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. The proposed regional agreements might lead to the formation of a system of denuclearized zones extending from the north of Europe to the seas in the south of that region. In this manner it would be possible to create an effective means of removing the danger of thermo-nuclear war between European States having different social and political systems, and a real and substantial contribution could thus be made to the lessening of international tension in general.

95. We also have before us other proposals providing for measures aimed at improving international relations, lessening international tension and establishing a propitious climate for the solution of issues at present dividing European countries which have different social and political systems.

96. We are of the opinion that the General Assembly ought to begin consideration of these proposals, concentrating on the most important and urgent problems and recommending principles and measures likely to facilitate the negotiation and conclusion of such regional agreements between the States concerned.

97. With these considerations in mind and inspired by the desire to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the establishment of a framework in which the widest possible regional agreements of the type described could be prepared, the Romanian delegation, on instructions from the Government of the Romanian People's Republic, requests that the item: "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems" [see A/5557] should be again placed on the General Assembly's agenda at the current session. We are convinced that debate on this question

^{7/} See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 75, document A/4440, para. 4.

will give a further impetus to the efforts being made at various levels to improve relations between the States of Europe.

98. In our day the movement for national liberation has brought down one after another the walls within which the world colonial system had for many centuries kept scores of peoples in the most cruel subjection. This process, one of immense importance for the progress of human society, has spread over entire continents. More than fifty peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America have won their independence by their efforts and have set out on the path of free development and self-determination. The final and complete elimination of colonialism is an irreversible process which can no longer be checked. It represents a chapter of great importance in the history of mankind and a mighty force in the forward march of the peoples towards peace and progress.

99. Colonial rule is still maintained in certain territories, where the desire for freedom and the right to self-determination are stifled by repressive measures. In violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of General Assembly resolutions, the colonial Powers have resorted to military operations against indigenous populations in an attempt to prolong the existence of a system finally condemned by history. In Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and other colonies, the peoples are waging a determined struggle to win their independence. In South Africa, where racial discrimination has been raised to the level of public policy, the African population is engaged in a courageous struggle for its fundamental rights.

100. The recently liberated States are in an increasingly strong position to counter the neo-colonialist methods by which the former metropolitan Powers seek to prevent new States from consolidating their economic independence. This is being made clear in the general debate this year. Faithful to its policy of supporting the cause of independence and national freedom for all the oppressed peoples, Romania expresses its cordial sympathy with those who are fighting for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonial slavery.

101. We consider that it is the duty of the United Nations, which has irrevocably condemned colonialism, to ensure that the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are implemented without delay in the interests of international peace and security and the progress of humanity.

102. There are still certain sources of tension and conflict and of threats to peace in South-East Asia and the Far East, which give rise to legitimate concern. In South Korea, for example, the presence of foreign troops represents the main obstacle to the fulfilment of the Korean people's legitimate desire for the peaceful unification of their country. A grave situation still prevails in South Viet-Nam, where, by the violation of the Geneva agreement,^{8/} by foreign interference and by the suppression of the fundamental rights of the population, the free expression of the people's will to re-establish the country's unity by peaceful means is thwarted.

103. The problem of economic development undeniably represents an essential feature of all international activity and one of the fundamental concerns of the United Nations.

104. The need to find and to evolve specific measures to promote the economic development of the under-developed areas and to strengthen economic co-operation among all States has also found expression in the present session of the General Assembly. One important action taken in this connexion is the decision to convene the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964. The Romanian delegation believes that the promotion of international trade on a mutually advantageous basis and the elimination of discriminatory measures and obstructive customs tariffs will enable world trade to play its proper part in speeding up economic development and in building a climate of international confidence and co-operation.

105. Attaching particular importance to that Conference, the Romanian Government has proposed for inclusion in the agenda, items on such matters as the elaboration of the fundamental principles for economic and trade agreements, the importance and effectiveness of long-term trade agreements in securing the stability and development of international trade, the importance of the supply on credit of capital goods for the construction of industrial units, deliveries to be repaid by a proportion of the output of those units, and the importance, for peaceful development purposes, of the resources released by disarmament. We express the hope that these proposals will be duly considered in the debates of the Conference.

106. As the Romanian delegation pointed out at the twelfth session of the General Assembly,^{9/} another measure which would do much to secure normal international economic relations would be one that might take the form of a declaration setting forth principles of international economic co-operation. My delegation is still convinced of the desirability of adopting a document of principles as an instrument of international co-operation and as a factor which would promote good relations among States, and considers that this problem should be given priority and that the preparation of such a document in the framework of the Economic and Social Council should be expedited. Similarly, the exploration of the most appropriate ways and means for increasing the pace of economic development should find its proper place in the proceedings of this session.

107. The current session will certainly also tackle such problems as industrialization, the utilization of the most recent scientific and technical advances, the need to draw up national plans for economic development, the training and specialization of national cadres and an expanded exchange of economic, technical and scientific experience.

108. In the Romanian People's Republic, the many-sided development of the economy, the industrialization of the country and the achievement of a higher level of living for its people on the basis of scientifically prepared development plans, represent fundamental principles of economic policy, which are being consistently applied by the Government. By these means, the Romanian's People's Republic has succeeded in achieving, within less than two decades, a balanced development of all branches of the national economy, with important advances in the country's industrialization and a higher standard of living.

109. Thus, the structure of Romanian industry has been radically altered, and new branches of industry have been created to transform and utilize the country's

^{8/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

^{9/} See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, document A/3740, paras. 20 to 23.

raw materials. The steady development of the Romanian economy is demonstrated by the fact that the average annual growth rate of Romania's industrial production which was 12.7 per cent between 1950 and 1959, rose to 15.8 per cent during the first three years of the Six-Year Plan, i.e. in the period 1960-1962.

110. Romania's steady economic progress has created the conditions required for the extension of economic relations with other States. Our country maintains economic and trade relations with more than eighty States in various parts of the world.

111. It is the Romanian Government's consistent policy to promote peace and international co-operation and to work for the objectives of its six-year economic plan. This creates new possibilities for active participation in international trade with all countries, irrespective of their social and economic systems, on the basis of mutual advantage and equal rights.

112. The Romanian Government and people believe that the United Nations, this great international forum founded on the principles of the sovereignty and equality of all States, of non-interference in their domestic affairs and of respect for their territorial integrity, can and should make a significant contribution to the speedy solution of the problems facing mankind.

113. The Romanian delegation is in favour of strengthening our Organization, which should become an active instrument for world peace and co-operation. The efficiency and prestige of the United Nations are seriously weakened, however, by the fact that the principle of universality, upon which this Organization is built, continues today to be disregarded. As it has done previously, the Romanian delegation firmly supports the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, and the immediate removal of the Chiang Kai-shek usurpers. The refusal to allow the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in the United Nations greatly limits the Organization in its task of promoting co-operative and friendly relations between States and maintaining international peace and security.

114. The agenda for this session includes many items on which useful discussion may take place and which may lead to the implementation of the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. Among these items is the one entitled "Measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" [item 47], which was placed on the agenda at the request of Romania at the General Assembly's fifteenth session^{10/} and which since then has been receiving the attention of the United Nations and other international organizations.

115. At the seventeenth session, the Romanian delegation submitted for consideration a draft declaration^{11/} embodying what we feel should be the guiding principles for all efforts in the field of training the rising generation. We are confident that this proposal will be studied carefully by the General Assembly during the current session and that appropriate decisions will be taken with regard to this important problem.

116. The eighteenth session has to deal with a variety of important problems whose solution is awaited by all the peoples of the world. There are still difficulties

in the way of their solution, and we cannot expect to see these difficulties overcome at once. If the session we are now attending can contribute to the establishment of a healthy climate in which we may find or come nearer to workable solutions, a climate in which reason may prevail in the relations between States, then the Romanian delegation believes that the results of the session will be counted among the useful contributions to man's unremitting efforts to achieve peace and understanding among peoples.

117. The Romanian delegation for its part will do all in its power to contribute actively to the success of the work undertaken at this session.

118. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): It is a great honour for me to take the floor on behalf of my Government at this eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly and to reaffirm my country's faith and confidence in an international institution which remains "our only refuge, our sole support, our only comfort", to quote the words used by the Head of the Khmer State from this rostrum during the general debate at the sixteenth session.

119. Called upon to sit in a parliament which brings together the great majority of Governments of the peoples of the world, a parliament where justice, equality and liberty govern relations among all countries, large and small, rich and poor, Cambodia is glad to be able to raise its voice—a voice all too often ignored—and to be able to discharge its duties and assume its responsibilities.

120. Conscious of the importance of this Organization to which it belongs, and imbued with the principles of universality by which it must be governed, Cambodia, animated solely by a desire to end the ostracism to which some nations have been unjustly subjected, finds itself obliged once again to raise the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China, whose Government is the sole representative of the 700 million Chinese.

121. For years Cambodia has persistently denounced this denial of justice and lack of realism, which cause our Organization to run the most serious risks. Since 1958, Cambodia, through its representatives speaking from this rostrum has done its utmost to focus the attention of the majority of this Assembly on the discriminatory policy being pursued with respect to the People's Republic of China. In 1958, in 1960, in 1961 and again last year, in a message addressed to the General Assembly, Prince Norodom Sihanouk pointed out the danger of unrealistic intransigence and the obstinacy of some countries in refusing the People's Republic of China its rightful seat in our Organization.

122. There is one fact which no one can or should ignore: without legal recognition of the People's Republic of China and without its participation in international deliberations, no agreement on or solution of any major problem such as disarmament or the total banning of nuclear tests will have any meaning. Moreover, at the recent Geneva Conference on Laos^{12/}—as in 1954 at the Conference on Indo-China^{13/}—the Western countries, including the United States, did in fact hold discussions with the People's Republic of China at the

^{10/} Ibid., Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 76, document A/4442.

^{11/} Ibid., Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 83, document A/C.3/L.1051.

^{12/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

^{13/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

negotiating table. These precedents deserve to be recognized. Why, in the circumstances, should we keep outside the United Nations a great, courageous, hard-working and peaceful people?

123. Cambodia, which belongs to no camp or clique, deems it its duty to protest against an act of ostracism which threatens to drive the largest and most powerful country of Asia into bitterness and hostility.

124. If the United Nations is not to fail in its noble mission, it must, in our view, seek to defend not only the principle of universality, which is its very *raison d'être*, but also the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although it should not set itself up as a world tribunal, our Organization should be able, by its influence and moral prestige, effectively to combat the injustice, iniquity and violence which still exist in some parts of the world.

125. In this connexion, the present religious conflict between the Catholic Government of South Viet-Nam and the overwhelmingly Buddhist population of that country should disturb the conscience of all of us. It is certainly not a habit of neutralist Cambodia to meddle in the internal affairs of another country, but, abiding by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we cannot remain indifferent or silent in the face of the persecution of the Buddhists of South Viet-Nam.

126. The bloody events of Huế, the immolation of Buddhist priests, the assaulting and sacking of Buddhist sanctuaries and the imprisonment of members of religious orders have brought this nation-rending conflict to a climax. Cambodia, where there is absolute freedom of all forms of worship even though Buddhism is the State religion, is profoundly disturbed by this antagonism, which poses a very grave threat to religious peace in South Viet-Nam and in that entire area.

127. The Royal Government and the people of Cambodia have repeatedly denounced and condemned this anachronistic religious persecution which threatens to disturb once again the balance and coexistence of all the religions that are to be found side by side in South-East Asia. The Head of the Khmer State has addressed messages to President Kennedy, President de Gaulle, President Radhakrishnan, Prime Minister Macmillan and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, requesting them, as a matter of urgency, to intervene in this highly distressing problem. We believe that anyone who is devoted to peace and justice must extend his sympathy, and, if he can, his aid and support to the victims of the inquisitorial policies of the South Viet-Nam Government.

128. The oppressive measures taken by the South Viet-Nam authorities and the many cruelties which they have inflicted on the whole of the country's population will nevertheless permit world public opinion to appreciate the tragic lot of the ethnic minorities. We must mention in particular the lot of our racial brothers, the Khmers Krom or Cambodians of South Viet-Nam, who for ten years have been the victims of despotism. Some 600,000 of our compatriots are living in frightful conditions on territory which was theirs but which unilateral acts stemming from a colonial past unjustly awarded to a foreign country. The first inhabitants of present-day South Viet-Nam were in fact the Khmers, who, despite successive Viet-Nameese invasions, remained in the land of their ancestors. These Khmers Krom, as we call them, have to this day preserved a profound linguistic and religious

uniformity, as well as purely Khmer customs and traditions.

129. Flouting the most elementary rules of international law and the sacred rights of the human person, the South Viet-Nam Government imposed Viet-Nameese nationality on the Khmer population from the very outset. Many prohibitions were then applied: prohibition of the use of the mother tongue, prohibition of the practice of Buddhism in traditional forms, prohibition of the observance of ancestral customs and prohibition of the use of Cambodian-sounding names.

130. Buddhist monks, including old men, have been murdered in cold blood; others have been tortured, imprisoned and maltreated. Monasteries are under harassing police surveillance; several have been closed to worshippers and used as military quarters, and sometimes destroyed. Members of religious orders and the faithful among the Khmers Krom have for a number of months been the object of a particularly violent campaign of repression. This amounts, in fact, to systematic application of a policy of genocide against a population which has committed the double crime of being Khmer and being Buddhist.

131. Many of these unfortunate compatriots of ours, fleeing the oppression of the Saigon régime, have found refuge in Cambodia. But in the course of this mass exodus, many were unable to reach freedom and safety and fell under the fire of the pursuing South Viet-Nam troops. In the past two years, over 7,000 men, women and children have crossed the frontier, and this flood of refugees has been steadily rising in the past few months.

132. Only recently, a group of about sixty Buddhist monks and believers who had taken refuge in Cambodia published a statement denouncing the cruelties of the Saigon Government. Part of this moving appeal to man's conscience reads as follows:

"We, Buddhist monks and former Khmer nationals of Kampuchea Krom, have seen with our own eyes the murderous acts of extermination and Buddhist segregation perpetrated by the Saigon Government, headed by Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem. The efforts to destroy the Khmer race and the Buddhist religion in South Viet-Nam are being pursued today even as they were yesterday in Kampuchea Krom.... We renew our appeal to all peace-loving countries to intercede with the Saigon Government in order that an end may be put to all acts of extermination of the Khmer race and of destruction of the Buddhist religion in South Viet-Nam, as well as to any actions that endanger peace in South-East Asia."

How could Cambodia remain insensitive to the desperate appeals of its sons? How could it remain indifferent in the face of religious persecutions that hark back to another age?

133. Tolerance impregnates the fabric of all the societies of South-East Asia. The Saigon Government is the sole exception to the rule. In Cambodia, where Buddhism is the state religion, all beliefs and forms of worship are not only permitted but receive all necessary assistance from the Royal Government. Moslems have their mosques and their Koranic schools where instruction is free. Those who wish to, freely make the pilgrimage to Mecca each year, and they obtain from the Royal Government the foreign currency they need for their journey and their stay. The Catholics also have complete freedom to preach their religion and to teach in their schools. Land is even made avail-

able to them free of charge for construction of their churches and cultural institutions.

134. The Royal Government has on various occasions sought to establish contact with the Saigon leaders with a view to putting an end to, or at least improving, a state of affairs which does no credit to mankind. But all our efforts have proved useless. We now put our last hopes in the United Nations, which has already grappled with the problem of minorities in various countries, and we ask the Organization to see that the most elementary rights of ethnic groups living under the iron rule of police régimes are recognized and respected.

135. Furthermore, South Viet-Nam has not ceased to harass Cambodia with border attacks and campaigns of provocation. Scarcely a week passes without incursions into our territory, violations of our air space and crimes against our civilian population. The International Commission for supervision and control responsible for the enforcement of the 1954 Geneva Agreements has been able to verify on the spot the deeds committed by the Saigon Government.

136. I shall not burden the Assembly with detailed statistics or evidence of the aggressive and expansionist policy of the South Viet-Nam régime. But the fact must be known that during 1962 Cambodia was the victim of 140 aggressive acts by the regular forces of the Republic of Viet-Nam. During the first quarter of 1963, we suffered twenty-seven violations of all kinds. In the course of one of the latest acts of aggression, on 19 August 1963, two South Viet-Nam aircraft bombed and machine-gunned a provincial guard-post located five kilometres inside our territory. The list of our compatriots—mostly peaceful peasants—who have been killed or wounded by regular troops from South Viet-Nam continues to grow. The innocent victims of these barbarous acts of our neighbours have included women, elderly people and infants.

137. Cambodia could not remain indifferent to this increasing number of aggressive acts. On 27 August 1963, at the request of the Parliament—which derives its authority from the Cambodian people—the Royal Government decided to sever political relations with the present Government of South Viet-Nam because of the crimes committed against the Khmer people of Cambodia, the crimes against the Khmer community in Kampuchéa Krom; the crimes against Buddhism, and against the community of Buddhist monks and faithful.

138. This grave decision, which was carefully weighed, was in no way prompted by feelings of hostility towards the people of South Viet-Nam. In fact, the Government's statement contained the following passage:

"The Royal Government wishes particularly to emphasize that the severance of political relations which has just been decided upon does not constitute a hostile step against South Viet-Nam. On this occasion, Cambodia wishes to reaffirm its feelings of deep sympathy for the people of South Viet-Nam who have suffered for many years under a totalitarian and aggressive dictatorship. When South Viet-Nam has regained its freedom and the people of South Viet-Nam have recovered all the fundamental rights of which they have been deprived, the Royal Government will be glad to renew normal relations with a democratic Government enjoying popular support

and to work for the establishment of trusting and friendly co-operation between the two countries."

However, certain Western observers, journalists and even diplomats are still unconvinced even when confronted with the clearest evidence and attribute our complaints and accusations to a national persecution complex. In spite of irrefutable proof and reliable evidence, they maintain that the Government of South Viet-Nam is already sufficiently occupied with its own civil and religious war and would not therefore indulge in the luxury of creating another front against Cambodia.

139. This may be a satisfactory argument in theory. Unfortunately, however, the real situation is quite different and does not bear out the thesis of these foreign observers. Despite our countless protests, the acts of aggression continue, the bombings have increased and crimes continue to be committed. A few years ago, the armed forces of South Viet-Nam acquired the habit of moving the frontier markers as their fancy dictated. Today, the Saigon Government is making unjustifiable claims of sovereignty over the coastal islands of Cambodia which have belonged to Cambodia from time immemorial. Such acts and such an attitude may appear surprising, but they merely reflect the continuing existence of the policy of imperialism which Viet-Nam has pursued for more than six centuries. History has taught us that this imperialism shows itself and flourishes whenever it finds support or when circumstances bring about a disequilibrium of forces in its favour.

140. Although the Saigon régime is decaying, it is nevertheless pursuing a policy of force and threats with regard to Cambodia. It has powerful support from abroad however, which enables it, not only to remain in power against the will of the people, but also to play cynically with peace and war in that part of the world. As a neutral and independent State, Cambodia would not have to raise problems which go far beyond its national context if, under the cover of fighting the Viet-Cong, the regular forces of South Viet-Nam were not using arms supplied by the United States of America, in an attempt to satisfy their expansionist designs against Cambodia.

141. Certain Western countries believe that they can come to South Viet-Nam's defence and justify the aggressions perpetrated against Cambodia by invoking the civil war in South Viet-Nam and the "unintentional mistakes" committed by the army of Mr. Ngô Đình Diêm. Who will accept such explanations? The massacre of Cambodian peasants, the destruction of their villages several kilometres inside Cambodia are unwarranted criminal acts which have no connexion whatsoever with the civil war that is taking place on Viet-Namese territory. Furthermore, if these were indeed "unintentional mistakes"—which seems highly unlikely—why does the Saigon Government reject our protests and refuse to offer its apologies and compensate the innocent victims of these acts of aggression?

142. As the Assembly can see, this situation poses a serious threat to the maintenance of peace in that area. Without exceeding its powers, the United Nations could and should consider this problem and find a solution which will ensure that the frontiers of a Member of the United Nations are guaranteed and respected. This is a suggestion which any State subscribing to the Charter of our Organization should understand and appreciate.

143. There is another difficult problem which we in Cambodia would like to see rapidly resolved; it involves our relations with Thailand. Cambodia does not intend to go on forever recalling its grievances against Thailand. The entire history of our relations, ancient and modern, dating from the seizure and destruction of Angkor in the fifteenth century to the case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear,^{14/} and the quite recent Koh Kong case, is full of examples which are significant enough in themselves. Nevertheless, our desire is to forget this cruel past and to place our relations with our neighbouring country on a footing of friendship and equality.

144. In spite of all these difficulties, Cambodia has always hoped for a normalization of its relations with Thailand. It was with satisfaction and in an earnest spirit of co-operation that the Royal Government welcomed the mission of Mr. Nils Göran Gussing, Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.^{15/} I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute and express the feelings of sincere gratitude of the Royal Government to the distinguished United Nations mediators, U Thant, Mr. Narasimhan, and Mr. Nils Göran Gussing, for their praiseworthy intervention in the Khmer-Thai dispute.

145. In recent months, Cambodia has redoubled its gestures of goodwill and appeasement, in particular by agreeing to the exchange of some forty Thai prisoners for about ten Cambodian nationals, and by proposing the convening of a conference of technicians from both countries. I should like to state once again that Cambodia hopes for a normalization of its relations with Thailand. However, it is essential that these relations should be established on a solid and lasting foundation. This foundation can be nothing other than a formal recognition of our common frontiers, which have already been clearly defined and established by international treaties. Cambodia will never compromise on the recognition of its territorial integrity; this recognition, on the part of Thailand, may take various forms: an international agreement, a bipartite treaty, an agreement guaranteed by the United Nations, or simply a bipartite agreement signed before the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

146. Cambodia is weary of living always under the threat of nations over-armed and supported by great Powers for the purpose of fighting communism, which does not exist in Cambodia. We can no longer tolerate the refusal to recognize and respect our frontiers, we can no longer countenance attacks on our frontier populations. What country in the world in fact, would tolerate such a situation?

147. We desire only peace; we only want to live in peaceful coexistence with all countries—first and foremost, with our neighbours. In accordance with this desire and this aim, Cambodia proclaimed its status as a neutral State in an Act of 1957. However, in the face of attacks against our neutrality, repeated foreign plots to destroy it, and threats to our territorial integrity, Cambodia, through its Chief of State, has finally proposed that an international conference should be convened to deal with this problem which, in fact, involves the question of peace in South-East Asia. This proposal was sent to the thirteen nations which had just met to seek a solution to the Laotian question,

with the request that they recognize and guarantee the neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

148. Our legitimate and reasonable request was received coldly, except by the socialist countries, France and Laos. The Powers of the free world and their allies have, more or less clearly, justified their refusal by observing that a guarantee of our neutrality and of our frontiers could only be a military one which, apparently, would be contrary to their principles. Desiring to put the goodwill of these countries to the test, we are prepared to content ourselves with recognition of our neutrality and frontiers, provided, however, that our neighbour countries agree to such recognition. This condition is, of course, the most important one of all.

149. I have dwelt at some length—perhaps at too great length—on Cambodia's own problems because they are in fact closely linked with the situation in South-East Asia which has all too often been the subject of international attention. I should like, more briefly, to mention some of the major international problems on which Cambodia has already made known its position and point of view.

150. Among these problems, one of the most important, in our view, which must be taken up by this Assembly, is that of the divided countries; this is a most delicate problem because it involves, in fact, the opposing interests of the ideological blocs which are seeking to perpetuate a situation that runs counter to nature. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the Khmer State, observed from this very rostrum in 1961, "the ideal solution" to this paradoxical situation "would undoubtedly be that each of these peoples should be reunified through a general referendum organized and supervised by the United Nations, without intervention from the Government of either part of the divided country, since each such Government is aligned with one of the blocs originally responsible for the division" [1011th meeting, para. 83].

151. But before being able to act effectively in this direction, our Organization, which as the Secretary-General has rightly pointed out, must remain faithful to its universality, will have to enable the divided nations to make their voice heard from this rostrum. Thus, Viet-Nam, Korea and Germany should be admitted as of right to the United Nations, through Governments which effectively represent the totality of each nation. It is a profound injustice that the peoples of these countries should be kept outside our Organization and constrained to act through their allies or protectors in order to make their views known. Moreover, the admission to the United Nations of East Germany and West Germany, the two Koreas and the two Viet-Nams would not modify in any way the balance of forces of the two camps.

152. Today more than ever we must continue to devote our attention to the problem of disarmament. Cambodia welcomes the signing by the three greatest nuclear Powers—The United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom—of an agreement banning all nuclear tests except those underground. We should like to congratulate these three Powers and endorse their encouraging initiative. However, Cambodia has not deemed it necessary to sign the treaty, first, because it cannot hope, even in the remote future to become a nuclear Power, and second because our Constitution prohibits our accession to military treaties and pacts. In this

^{14/} Case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

^{15/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Seventeenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1962, document S/5220.

connexion, I would recall that the relevant article of the Constitution provides as follows:

"The Kingdom of Cambodia is a neutral country. It abstains from any military or ideological alliance with foreign countries. It will not undertake aggression against any foreign country."

This neutrality, which forbids the establishment of foreign military bases on our territory, thus implies, *a fortiori*, that the question of nuclear tests in Cambodia by a third Power could not arise.

153. Nevertheless, the tripartite Treaty of Moscow, despite its importance as a symptom of a relaxation of tension between the leaders of the two great blocs, should not make us forget that general and complete disarmament remains the ultimate goal of mankind. Despite the Moscow Treaty, the great nuclear Powers still possess, and make large-scale use of the ability to continue producing, stocking and perfecting their nuclear weapons of mass destruction. It is thus to be hoped that the first step which has just been taken will be the forerunner of an era of "détente" in which the nuclear Powers will first prohibit and then completely destroy their terrifying weapons.

154. In the meantime the Royal Government of Cambodia wishes to see the immediate creation of denuclearized zones. In this connexion, we should like to pay a tribute to the five Latin American countries which have given concrete form to this great idea of partial denuclearization.

155. Finally, I would again draw attention to the continued importance of conventional armaments in some parts of the world. The small local wars still being fought in Viet-Nam, in the Middle East and in Angola, in which the techniques used are those of the last world war, but they are none the less most destructive. A characteristic of these Asian or African wars is that the opponents are usually not producers of arms and therefore rely mainly on obsolete equipment of the great Powers. This problem should be given careful consideration in any programme for complete disarmament.

156. There is a third problem to which we must pay attention, although its evolution and the progress already made are grounds for optimism. I am referring to decolonization. Despite the racist intransigence of some and the hypocrisy of certain colonial Powers which are trying to perpetuate a past which is gone forever, the great majority, consisting of the peaceful forces of the entire world, is still striving to do away for ever with policies based on domination and enslavement.

157. Cambodia, which has been judged worthy of the confidence of this Organization by being chosen for

the vice-chairmanship of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, is pleased to have been able to contribute to positive action on behalf of the enslaved peoples. Today, decolonization is almost completed, and only a few countries, in Africa, are still engaged in a struggle which will erase once and for all every trace of the shame of colonialism.

158. In concluding, I should like to touch upon two questions which affect us indirectly but which, in present circumstances, are matters in which the United Nations cannot intervene effectively.

159. The first of these is the controversy and border conflict between India and China. In December 1962, on the initiative of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, six non-aligned countries, including Cambodia, met in order to seek ways and means of assisting two great nations of Asia. Unfortunately, our efforts were not as successful as we had hoped and, if today our Indian and Chinese friends are again in a state of peace, it is but a very precarious peace which a single spark would suffice to destroy.

160. Cambodia fervently hopes that India and China will succeed in re-establishing relations of trust and friendship and, above all, that they will resume their talks on this dispute. All the non-aligned countries share this wish and are striving to allay this border conflict. We should now like to express the hope that the other Powers will also contribute to the re-establishment of a stable peace in the Himalayan area and will not consider this dispute between India and China as a new front in the cold war.

161. Again in Southern Asia, the Laotian problem is still causing grave concern. It is true that the agreement signed by thirteen Powers in 1962^{16/} theoretically recognized and guaranteed the neutrality of Laos; but in fact our unfortunate neighbour is still witnessing sporadic fighting between Laotian factions, and conspiracies and rivalries between the two ideological blocs. The fate of our Laotian brothers is a matter deserving of concern and we should assist them effectively to restore peace, stability and unity.

162. In concluding this statement, I should like, on behalf of my country and in my own name, to extend my warmest congratulations to the new President of the General Assembly and to convey to all representatives here present my most sincere wishes for the success of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

^{16/} Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.