

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1218th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 27 September 1963,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Shtylla (Albania)	1
Speech by Mr. Khoman (Thailand)	7
Speech by Mr. Giri (Nepal)	11
Speech by Mr. Piccioni (Italy)	15
Statement by the representative of Cambodia	19

Page

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): I wish to take this opportunity, Mr. President, to extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly.

2. On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, I salute the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, and wish it every success in its work. The people and Government of Albania are steadfastly devoting their efforts and energy to the peaceful development of the country and to safeguarding international peace and co-operation, which is also in conformity with the high purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. To a country like Albania, which has suffered so much from wars and which is now engaged in building socialism, peace is very precious indeed. The Albanians are known as a freedom-loving people that is also devoted to peace and the maintenance of friendly relations with other peoples. It has never attacked the territory or the rights of other nations, nor has it permitted nor will it ever permit anyone to jeopardize its homeland, liberty or rights. It has always fought for freedom and progress. During the Second World War, the Albanian people, as a resolute member of the anti-fascist coalition, made extremely heavy sacrifices in the struggle against the Italian fascist and German nazi invaders, until total victory was won.

3. When liberation came, Albania was a backward agricultural country, ravaged by war and the depredations of the imperialists and constantly threatened by the latter. Everything had to be started afresh. That is what was done. The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Labour Party and its democratic Government, overcame all obstacles through unselfish determination. It resisted pressure and acts of aggression by the imperialists and their lackeys as well as economic and political blockade.

4. The Albanian people has thus far achieved considerable success in the socialist construction of the country. It has consolidated its national independence

and revolutionary victories. It has won the friendship and support of all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples. It is advancing confidently towards a bright future. The great peaceful work of the Albanian people and its achievements in the nineteen years that have passed since the liberation are the most eloquent proof of the consistent policy in favour of peace and welfare that is followed by the People's Republic of Albania. Albania is now an agricultural and industrial country which has reached the stage of building a completely socialist society, and is rapidly developing its productive forces and raising the general standard of welfare of its population.

5. The changes which have taken place and the pace of development are truly extraordinary, seen in relation to the pre-war situation. I need only mention that in Albania the over-all industrial production is now some thirty times higher than it was in 1938. New branches of industry that were quite unknown before the war have been established. The foundations are being laid for a chemical and metallurgical industry. The mining industry has expanded considerably, particularly as regards the exploitation of deposits of petroleum, ferro-nickel, chromium and copper.

6. Before the liberation, the most beautiful plains of Albania were marshes or wasteland. They have since become veritable market-gardens, producing substantial quantities of wheat, cotton, sugar-beet, tobacco and other crops. Whereas in 1938 Albania had a total of thirty tractors, today it has more than 6,800 fifteen horse-power tractors. Albania has become a construction site. The dwellings built during the last ten years alone would suffice to house the pre-war population of the five principal towns of Albania. My country's foreign trade was formerly an instrument of exploitation and domination in the hands of the imperialist Powers. Albania now has trade relations with many countries, on a basis of equality and mutual advantage. In 1962 its imports were three times larger than in 1938, and its exports were six times larger. Unemployment has disappeared. The number of workers is twelve times higher than in 1938. Interesting developments in this connexion are the training of higher cadres and the revolution that has been accomplished in the realm of education and culture. In 1938 we had a total of about 380 persons who had completed their higher education. Today the figure is 8,300. There are twenty-five times as many engineers as there were in 1938, seven times as many doctors, twenty-two times as many agronomists, and so on. Illiteracy has been eradicated, whereas in 1944 almost 85 per cent of the population was illiterate. At the beginning of the new school year, over 400,000 pupils and students were enrolled, which means that today in Albania almost one person in every four is attending school. Before the liberation, Albania had not a single institute of higher education. Now, in addition to the State University of Tirana, there are higher institutes of agriculture, dramatic art, fine arts, a conservatory of music, etc. More than three quarters

of the students have State scholarships. In the month of June this year, 1,130 students had completed their higher education.

7. Albania is one of the first countries in southern Europe to have completely eliminated malaria, that scourge from which almost 60 per cent of the population suffered before the liberation. Throughout the country there now exists a network of medical institutions of all categories, beyond all comparison with the pre-war facilities in both quantity and quality, and in all these institutions treatment is entirely free of charge to all citizens.

8. Particularly notable success has been obtained in economic and cultural development during the first years of our third five-year plan covering the period 1961-1965, which certain ill-disposed prophets had predicted would fail. In fact, it is they who have failed. As for the Albanian people, thanks to its exemplary hard work and to the internationalist assistance given by its friends, it is constantly winning fresh successes.

9. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania pursues a peaceful foreign policy which flows from the very nature of our socialist system, is in perfect harmony with the aspirations and true interests of the Albanian people, and guarantees the conditions suitable for the great work of peaceful construction that is going forward in our country.

10. In its relations with other countries, the Albanian Government always follows a policy of internationalist solidarity with the socialist countries, and a policy of peace and friendship with all other countries—first of all with the neighbouring countries—a policy which is based on the principles of equality, non-interference, mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, reciprocal benefits and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. These are the bases on which the People's Republic of Albania has established diplomatic relations with more than thirty countries and is developing commercial and cultural relations with other countries.

11. As it has always done, the Albanian Government continues to pay particular attention to its relations with neighbouring countries. With some of them we are developing normal trade relations and engaging in cultural exchanges. We wish also to maintain normal relations with the other neighbouring countries, according to the principles of peaceful coexistence, which would correspond to the reciprocal interests of our peoples and consolidate the cause of international peace and co-operation in the Balkan and Adriatic regions, where the People's Republic of Albania has become an element of peace and stability. We believe there is no real obstacle to the development of normal relations between ourselves and all the neighbouring countries. For our part, we shall always be ready for this.

12. The People's Republic of Albania is constantly widening its relations with the other countries of Europe and other continents. In the last few years, our relations with several recently liberated countries of Africa and Asia have made great strides. The traditional friendship of the Albanian people with its Arab brother nations has become even warmer. Our relations of friendship and co-operation with the Arab countries as well as with the free and independent countries of Africa and Asia are steadily developing. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania hopes eventually to extend its relations with those countries, especially in the area of commercial and cultural exchanges.

13. The People's Republic of Albania numbers many friends, not only its brother nations in the socialist camp but all peaceful and honest people throughout the world who have at heart the cause of liberty, national independence and progress. Albania is a small socialist country which desires peace and amity with other countries, but which naturally remains on guard—and not without reason—against the intrigues and hostile plans of the imperialists and their tools.

14. In the future also, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, flinching before no difficulty and yielding to no pressure, will remain true to the same global policy of peace and friendship with other countries, support for the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples, and action against colonialism and the imperialist policy of aggression. It will always favour the peaceful settlement of disputes, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and the Adriatic, in Central Europe and in the Mediterranean, in Asia and in the Pacific, in Africa and in Latin America, and it will always favour general and complete disarmament. It will always make its modest contribution to efforts to avoid another world war and to safeguard international peace and security.

15. The people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania attach the greatest importance to an effective easing of tension and a lasting peace in the world. This is in keeping with our basic policy and the needs of the peaceful construction of our country. Unfortunately, the situation remains tense. None of the major international problems has been solved. Threats to the peace remain serious and are increasing.

16. In the first place, American imperialism is making every effort to turn back the vast revolution which is taking place in the world, before our eyes, in social relations and in the balance of forces; that movement has manifested itself by the triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, as well as in Cuba, by the definitive collapse of the colonial system, by the triumphant advance of the peoples fighting for freedom, national independence, peace, democracy and social progress, and by the reversal of the balance of forces in the world in favour of those of peace and socialism.

17. History and current events show that the statements in favour of peace made by prominent figures in the United States of America are not confirmed by that country's actions or policy. The so-called "strategy of peace" and "global strategy" of the United States of America are two aspects of the same policy, the instruments of which are deceit, subversion and war and the purpose of which is the elimination of the socialist system and the restoration of the capitalist system in the world, together with the enslavement of all peoples that have been liberated from the colonial yoke, or, as Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, has put it: the defeat of communism. This is what underlies the incessant hostile activities directed against the socialist countries, from the "captive nations week" declared annually by the President of the United States to the aggression against Cuba. It is also what underlies the events of the Congo, South Viet-Nam, Laos, Angola and South Africa, where the colonialists and racists are massacring, with American weapons, Negroes who are fighting for their freedom.

18. Today, wherever there are hotbeds of war, wherever subversive activities are being conducted against peaceful States and peoples, wherever colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination still

survive, one finds United States imperialism, which is the source of the tragedy of today's world and mainly responsible for it.

19. That is why peace cannot be defended at this stage by painting an attractive picture of imperialism, by making demagogic statements about peace, or by nuclear blackmail, but rather by the effective, organized and sustained action of all peace-loving countries and peoples, designed to unmask imperialism and its aggressive policies, to give active support to all the countries threatened by it, and to compel it to accept a peaceful settlement of international problems, disarmament and peace.

20. The Albanian people, who have suffered so much from aggression by Hitler's Germany, note with concern—like all the other peace-loving peoples—that not only is the German problem far from solved but Western Germany has been turned by the NATO Powers, and particularly by the United States of America, into their main instrument of aggression in Europe, and that peace and the security of peoples are thereby threatened. Western Germany, equipped with nuclear weapons and urged on by its transatlantic patrons, pursues its revanchist and aggressive policies with increasing arrogance. It is openly threatening neighbouring socialist countries, and advancing impudent and dangerous claims to annex the German Democratic Republic, the first German socialist State to constitute an important factor of peace and security in Europe.

21. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania is of the opinion that this dangerous situation can be resolved by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. On this basis West Berlin, that focus of provocation and subversion, would also become a free and demilitarized city. We have always maintained that the peace treaty must be concluded as soon as possible with the two existing German States or, if the Western Powers stubbornly refuse to do so, then with the German Democratic Republic, which has expressed readiness to accede to it. The longer the conclusion of this treaty is delayed, the longer is the solution of the German problem postponed and the graver the situation becomes. It should be noted that at this stage, and particularly after the signing of the Moscow Treaty partially banning nuclear tests,^{1/} a tendency has emerged in the United States of America to find a *modus vivendi* and to "freeze" the German problem for the time being, in order to gain freedom of action in some other field of operations. What the West wants most is to postpone still further the solution of the German problem in the hope of reaping large dividends. We think that this dangerous plot against the security of the peace-loving countries of Europe and against peace in general must be laid bare while there is still time.

22. In the Caribbean, United States imperialism has not interrupted its aggressive policies against heroic Cuba for a single day: the economic and political blockade continues, pirate raids are being intensified, and new plans of aggression are being elaborated. But the indomitable Cuban people, led by their Government, are vigilantly defending their fatherland and the revolution while at the same time building socialism. They are the sovereign master of their country and their fate. A people which wrote the glorious saga of the Girón

Beach in April 1961, and which in October 1962 did not yield to brutal North American aggression, to blackmail and to various pressures, a people which did not accept that, on the pretext of international inspection of the withdrawal of strategic weapons, Cuba should become a second Congo, a people which have held aloft the banner of revolution, of sovereignty and of national dignity, are invincible and an inspiration to other peoples.

23. The events of recent weeks show that the imperialist threat to Cuba is growing and that no credence should be attached to the "guarantees" of United States imperialism. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania strongly condemns this dangerous activity and expresses the Albanian people's and Government's whole-hearted solidarity with the people and Government of Cuba.

24. A particularly tense situation prevails in the Far East, where the United States is intensifying its warlike policies. The United States continues to consolidate the aggressive military system it has erected around the People's Republic of China. It is conducting a huge hostile campaign against that great peace-loving country, and is inciting other countries to participate in this dangerous enterprise. United States generals openly threaten China and rattle sabres in the Far East. It is to be hoped that the United States of America will not engage in an adventure which is certain to bring it neither glory nor victory.

25. South Korea and South Viet-Nam are foci of tension and have a part to play in United States aggressive plans in the Far East. Contrary to existing agreements, to international law and to human justice, this Power is perpetuating the division of Korea and of Viet-Nam. Such a situation cannot fail to cause concern to the peoples of these two countries, who rightly yearn for national unity and peace, and to all peace-loving peoples.

26. Korea's northern part, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the northern part of Viet-Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, are independent and sovereign socialist countries which are devoting all their efforts and all their resources to peaceful construction, to economic and cultural development, to raising the people's living standards and to maintaining international peace and co-operation. Not a single foreign soldier is stationed in these countries. Power is in the hands of the people, and the Governments were returned in free and democratic elections.

27. The calm and happy life, the development and progress in these countries are a far cry from the situation prevailing in the southern portions of Korea and of Viet-Nam, where the law is laid down by the United States armed forces. South Korea, under double oppression by the fascist military clique in power and by the occupation forces, is suffering the agonies of poverty, exploitation and degeneration. The United States, shielding behind the name of the United Nations, has turned South Korea into a nuclear arsenal and a centre of provocation and aggression, and is preventing by force the country's democratic development and the unification of Korea. For years the people of South Korea have been obliged to struggle and sacrifice all for their fundamental rights and their national independence.

28. In South Viet-Nam not only is the United States of America trampling on the 1954 Geneva Agreements,^{2/}

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

^{2/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, 20 July 1954.

bolstering the power of Ngo Dinh Diem's fascist clique, which until recently it used to present as a model of democracy and which is hated by the whole Vietnamese people, but it has also intervened in the country by force of arms, and for years has been waging undeclared war on the heroic Vietnamese people. By what right and for what purpose does it intervene with its troops in South Viet-Nam, where a civil war, a domestic affair of the South Vietnamese people, is in progress? Is this not further evidence that United States imperialism has taken upon itself to defend all corrupt and anti-popular régimes, and that it is the sworn enemy of the freedom of peoples, of peace and of democracy? The recent sad events in Viet-Nam, which have aroused the indignation of all honest and peace-loving people in Asia and throughout the world, create a situation for which these Powers are directly responsible. The heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people, who have taken up arms in the cause of national liberation, democracy and self-determination, engages the sympathy of every people and will beyond question end with victory over the aggressors and their henchmen.

29. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania fully supports the peace-loving policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and their tireless efforts for the peaceful unification of their countries and for the withdrawal from South Korea and South Viet-Nam of the United States armed forces, which constitute the main obstacle to unification and a constant threat to peace in the Far East.

30. On disarmament there has been no progress towards agreement. The NATO Powers continue to oppose disarmament and to intensify the arms race. The United States of America continues to strengthen its aggressive blocs and the network of innumerable military bases which it has established all round the socialist countries and equipped with nuclear weapons. At the same time it is increasing military appropriations and conducting one provocative military manoeuvre after another.

31. The Soviet Union's proposal at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly to attain general and complete disarmament within four years^{2/} encountered favourable response everywhere. It will be recalled that on 20 November 1959 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution on that subject [1378 (XIV)]. Four years have elapsed since then, yet no concrete progress has been made towards disarmament. On the contrary, armaments have grown in quantity and quality and the danger of war has increased. The Western Powers tend to reduce disarmament to a mere propaganda slogan. Even the discussions within the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva have been fruitless, unless, against all logic, the establishment of a direct communication line between Moscow and Washington, which can be useful for every purpose except disarmament, is to be regarded as a step towards disarmament.

32. Similarly, the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963 by the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, cannot be regarded as a step towards disarmament, despite all the hullabaloo by which it has been surrounded and which is in some respects reminiscent

of the morrow of the Munich Agreement twenty-five years ago.

33. Since August 1945, when the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and senselessly killed hundreds of thousands of innocent victims, all peace-loving peoples and countries, including the People's Republic of Albania, have never ceased to struggle for a ban on these weapons of mass extermination and on all testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons, and for the destruction of stockpiles, in the conviction that these steps are both very important as an integral part of general disarmament, and effective in preventing a nuclear war. The imperialists, however, in whose hands nuclear weapons gravely threaten peace and mankind, have obstinately opposed these just popular demands.

34. When the Soviet Union produced the atomic weapon and thereby destroyed the United States monopoly, the United States embarked upon a frantic race to produce and improve nuclear weapons in order to maintain its supremacy in this arm, and used the nuclear weapon as an instrument of its policy of pressure, blackmail, and aggression against the socialist and other peace-loving countries.

35. The Moscow partial test ban treaty does nothing to solve the fundamental problem concerning all peoples: that is to say, the prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. The treaty provides only for the cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, whereas it permits underground tests and even makes them legal. It does not reduce the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons; it does not prohibit the production, improvement or future stockpiling of these weapons, or their import or export, or their use in war. This treaty does not lead towards disarmament, but engenders dangerous illusions which might induce peoples to relax their vigilance towards the aggressive policies of the imperialists and their plots against peace.

36. In its statement on the Moscow Treaty on 15 August 1963, the Government of Albania said:

"The Government of the People's Republic of Albania thinks that the partial stoppage of nuclear weapons tests partly meets the wishes of the peoples because it does to some extent reduce the danger to health; but the Moscow Treaty of 5 August 1963 is really a hoax and its consequences for the life of mankind are serious."

It is a well-known fact that one of the aims which have been mentioned in order to induce nations to press for the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests has been to stop the contamination of the atmosphere by radioactive fall-out from nuclear tests. But was the Moscow Treaty concluded for this purpose? Did the United States sign it out of concern for the health of the peoples? Not at all. The Moscow Treaty in no way guarantees the prohibition of nuclear tests, even in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; on the contrary, as has been confirmed by the official representatives of the United States, it leaves the three Powers entirely free to resume testing. Everyone knows that the United States has carried out hundreds of nuclear tests in all media without bothering about their effect on human health. We may rightly ask: if the nuclear Powers are genuinely concerned about human health, why have they only suspended nuclear tests—and only in three media—and why do they not decide to prohibit and liquidate the actual nuclear weapons which

threaten human lives? Nuclear bombs are not toys; if they fall, there can be no more question of protecting health, because they sow death, they kill people. That is the real danger, and the danger of nuclear war is just as great after the Moscow Treaty as it was before. That is why it is necessary to show up all this talk about protection of human health in its true light and to reveal the truth: that the Moscow Treaty was concluded for entirely different purposes.

37. Of course everyone knows that the United States had already discontinued nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water because for the time being it no longer needed them. It was, however, interested in preventing others from making such tests in those media and in ensuring for itself full freedom to carry out its own tests underground, which it needed in order to improve and enrich its nuclear arsenal. The Moscow Treaty guaranteed it that advantage.

38. Dr. Seaborg, the Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, told the Senate on 14 August 1963 that underground tests, which are not prohibited by the Moscow Treaty, would enable the United States to develop a wide spread of nuclear weapons; that it would be technically possible to test nuclear weapons of several thousand kilotons underground, and to gather data which might be even more useful than those gathered from tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

39. Similarly Mr. McNamara, the United States Secretary of Defense, in a statement to the United States Senate on 13 August 1963, stressed the advantages of the Moscow Treaty for his country. He said:

"But, by limiting Soviet testing to the underground environment, where testing is more difficult and more expensive and where the United States has substantially more experience, we can at least retard Soviet progress and prolong duration of our technological superiority."

Thus the Moscow Treaty achieves the United States Government's aim of achieving supremacy in nuclear weapons. Moreover, under that Treaty and on the conventional pretext of so-called "extraordinary events" or of the exercise of national sovereignty, the United States may, whenever it wishes and thinks fit, denounce the Treaty and resume testing in all media. The Moscow Treaty guarantees the signatory nuclear Powers a profitable status quo and a monopoly of nuclear weapons; it guarantees them every right and imposes no duties or sanctions if they violate it; whereas it forbids peace-loving countries from increasing their defensive power against the nuclear threat and blackmail of the imperialists.

40. It is perfectly clear from all these facts that there has been no change in United States imperialism and that the Moscow Treaty does not meet the need to strengthen peace but, on the contrary, suits the aims and objectives of the United States, which it allows to implement its war policies under the cloak of respect for the peaceful aspirations of the peoples.

41. In any event, the United States wasted no time in making use of its "freedoms" under the Treaty. It immediately resumed underground tests; it resumed negotiations to supply nuclear weapons to Western Germany under the cover of the so-called "multilateral nuclear force", and its negotiations with Canada to supply nuclear warheads to that country.

42. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania feels that it must stress another very serious aspect

of this problem. The banning of nuclear weapons tests, and the danger they represent, do not concern solely the three nuclear Powers which are signatories of the Moscow Treaty, as representatives of other countries have pointed out very justly from this rostrum. They concern all countries and all peoples, and should therefore be solved through mutual agreement between all the countries of the world. All countries, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, have their own rights which must be respected. They have the right to express their views about a question of such importance, on a footing of full equality. In our opinion all the parties concerned, that is to say all the countries of the world, should take part in the negotiations for an agreement to ban nuclear weapons tests. There is no doubt that, if this just course were followed, an agreement would be reached which would really lead to the banning of nuclear weapons and to disarmament. The Moscow Treaty opens the way to negotiations and agreements between only two or three great Powers on problems of concern to all the countries of the world, and to other agreements detrimental to the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, and the peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the colonial yoke. This dangerous practice cannot fail to arouse anxiety. It is time to point out that we have left behind us the period when a few great Powers could adopt decisions on important world problems without considering the other countries or their sovereignty, interests, rights and opinions. At the present time, only those agreements which have been concluded with the participation and approval of all the parties concerned can be effective and lasting. The Moscow Treaty cannot be considered one of them.

43. By giving the three signatory nuclear Powers a nuclear monopoly and a privileged position, the Moscow Treaty creates a striking inequality among States. It places the peace-loving countries at the mercy of the imperialists; it is a flagrant injustice and an incitement to imperialist policies of nuclear blackmail and aggression. Either nuclear weapons should be prohibited as an instrument of war equally for all countries and be completely and finally eliminated from the scene—which is the only just and radical solution—or else they should not, in which case peace or war cannot be left to the whim of a few Powers, particularly to that of the United States, which officially follows a policy of proceeding from a "position of force" and of preparation for war.

44. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, guided by the best interests of the Albanian people and of the cause of socialism and peace, has rightly spoken out against the Moscow Treaty, which in the last analysis serves imperialism and does not strengthen peace but imperils it, and must therefore be completely unmasked. In the future also the Government of Albania will continue to make determined efforts, jointly with the other peace-loving countries which form the overwhelming majority in the world, to secure the prohibition of all types of nuclear weapons and their testing, the destruction of their existing stockpiles, and general and complete disarmament.

45. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania notes with regret that the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty has unleashed a campaign of slander against the People's Republic of China, which once again reveals the aggressive nature of the United States policy and the real aims of the Moscow Treaty. But this malicious campaign can neither cast a slur on the peaceful policy of the People's Republic of China nor obscure the very important proposals made by its Government in the

declaration of 31 July 1963 circulated to Member States by letter of the Secretary-General dated 25 September 1963, advocating the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing that a conference of the Heads of Government of all countries of the world should be convened to those ends. The Albanian delegation hopes that these proposals will be supported by all peace-loving Governments.

46. The Albanian people and its Government, together with the People's Republic of China and several other peaceful countries, continue as always to struggle against the aggressive policies of United States imperialism and its partners, against the policy of nuclear blackmail, in order to remove the danger of war and safeguard peace.

47. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania hopes that the General Assembly will adopt at the present session decisions which will enable us to pass from sterile discussion and the dangerous illusions deliberately spread about disarmament, to practical and effective measures to achieve general and complete disarmament.

48. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has placed before the General Assembly a request (A/5498) for the inclusion in the agenda of the eighteenth session of an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". This question, as has been vehemently and rightly stressed by the representatives of Cambodia, Burma and several other countries preceding me at this rostrum, is a fundamental and pressing problem of the United Nations. Any delay in its solution is directly harmful to the United Nations itself and to the cause of international peace and co-operation. It is now clear that the absence of the People's Republic of China bars the United Nations from solving the principal international problems; whereas the presence of China would assuredly consolidate the United Nations and contribute greatly to current efforts to solve these problems.

49. China is a founder country of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council; it accounts for a quarter of the world's population. Without China the United Nations is neither universal nor effective. There is only one China in the world, one and indivisible: the People's Republic of China; and its Government is the only government which represents China and is competent to undertake or carry out commitments on China's behalf. It is neither just nor worthy that the United Nations should refuse the People's Republic of China its lawful place in this Organization because that is the will of the United States of America. We all know that the United States spared neither funds nor weapons to prevent the triumph of the socialist revolution in China. It follows a hostile policy towards the new China; it has occupied Taiwan and other Chinese islands; it is actively preparing aggression against China and spreading the absurd theory of the "two Chinas", which is part of its plot to detach and establish permanent dominion over Taiwan. All attempts to prevent the forward march of the People's Republic of China have failed and will always fail. The liberation of Taiwan and the other Chinese islands occupied by the United States is a lawful right of the People's Republic of China.

50. It is a fact that, every year, the United States Government's opposition to restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United

Nations finds less and less support. But it is in the interest of the Organization and of international co-operation to put an end as early as possible to this abnormal and intolerable situation, to restore China to its rightful place in the Organization, and immediately to expel the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all the organs of the United Nations.

51. The People's Republic of China is a peace-loving socialist country which has scored enormous successes in peaceful construction and plays a positive international role in promoting peace, the freedom of peoples, and the peaceful solution of international disputes and problems, as was demonstrated by the conferences on Korea, Indo-China and Laos. The People's Republic of China is one of the initiators of the five principles of peaceful coexistence; and that is the basis on which it maintains and develops multiple friendly relations with a great many countries, the majority of which are Members of the United Nations. Faithful to its policy of peace and friendship, it has achieved a negotiated settlement of the frontier questions with Burma, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. We fully support the just attitude of the Chinese Government in favour of a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian frontier question; and we hope that the Indian Government will respond positively to the Chinese Government's efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of this problem.

52. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania hopes that the General Assembly will at last at its present session solve justly the problem of China's representation in the United Nations, by expelling the Chiang Kai-shek puppet and inviting the real representatives of the great Chinese people, the representatives of the People's Republic of China, to come and take their rightful place.

53. For centuries colonialism held sway in the continents of Africa, Asia and America. The colonialists always claimed that they had brought civilization to the occupied countries. That is absolutely false. The cultural monuments of China, Egypt, India and Latin America, to mention only a few, bear witness to the high civilization of these countries and are a pride to the human race. To the countries which the colonialists occupied they brought not civilization but barbarism; they brought slavery instead of freedom, ignorance instead of culture, exploitation and savage plunder instead of development of productive forces, and the mass extermination of local populations.

54. The Albanian people are well acquainted with colonialism, for they have themselves suffered from foreign domination and exploitation. Under the former régime of the satrap Zog, who was brought to the throne by certain foreign Powers, Albania was a semi-colony in the midst of Europe, a victim of exploitation and a pawn in the hands of the imperialist Powers. Those Powers, by means of rapacious treaties, imposed on my country the "open door" system; they divided up its territory among their monopolies, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, AIPAC, and so on. They had plunged the Albanian people in the deepest poverty when finally, on 7 April 1939, fascist Italy unleashed its brutal aggression and occupied the country by force of arms to colonize it completely. But this state of affairs was overthrown forever with the triumph of the national liberation struggle and the popular revolution in November 1944.

55. The Albanian people, having itself passed through a similar ordeal of suffering and struggle for libera-

tion, understands perfectly the legitimate aspirations of oppressed and dependent peoples and will back them to the hilt in their struggle for national liberation.

56. In the last few years dozens of African and Asian peoples have thrown off by their heroic struggle the centuries-old colonial yoke and founded national States which are now Members of the United Nations and make a very important contribution to the struggle for the total liquidation of colonialism and the preservation of peace.

57. The Albanian people and its Government firmly defend the fundamental right of peoples to self-determination, and their right to freedom and sovereignty. There can be neither lasting peace nor solid international co-operation so long as peoples still suffer under foreign domination. That is why we consider that the total and final elimination of colonialism is the main task of our age. That is why we salute and shall wholeheartedly support until victory the heroic and sacrificial struggle of the peoples of Oman and Zanzibar, Angola and Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, North Kalimantan, and others. We support the incontestable right of British Guiana to full and immediate national independence. We condemn the savage oppression and the war of extermination waged against the people subjugated by colonial Powers like Portugal, the United Kingdom and South Africa, and also by the United States of America, which is doing everything possible to support the colonial Powers in this criminal undertaking and striving to substitute its own colonial and neo-colonial rule for the former colonial system.

58. We hail the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State^{4/} for its important contribution to the liberation of all the peoples of Africa, to the solidarity of all the African countries, and to the struggle against imperialism and against colonialism old and new.

59. The tragic events in the Congo reveal how the colonial Powers use the name of the United Nations to keep in slavery peoples who have risen up in the sacred struggle for freedom. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania will never agree to support, even indirectly, a policy directed to such ends. It therefore states, as it has already stated at previous sessions, that it will not participate in expenditure on the United Nations forces in the Congo and in the Middle East, or on purposes contrary to the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter.

60. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations is to support the just struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom, and thinks that it is high time effective steps were taken to eliminate the entire colonial system as rapidly as possible and for good, and to bar the road to neo-colonialism in all its forms. The Albanian delegation will support all efforts towards that end.

61. In the very first lines of its Charter, the United Nations sets itself the preservation of peace as a fundamental task. The cause of peace is the cause of all the peoples. It is the profound conviction of the people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania that war can be avoided and that peace and disarmament can be imposed on imperialism if all peaceful countries and all peoples of the world fight together for these noble purposes. We look to the future with optimism.

62. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania expresses the hope that the United Nations, whose principal purpose is to save the peoples from the scourge of another world war, will spare no effort to that end, and that the work of the General Assembly at its present session will contribute effectively to freedom, peace and international co-operation.

63. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to offer you the warm congratulations of my delegation, to which I add my own. At this time when the world and the General Assembly face a critical situation attended with many possibilities for peace, it is highly appropriate that a distinguished son of Latin America should preside over our deliberations. I should like to offer you, Sir, my good wishes for your success.

64. It is not often that the United Nations General Assembly can be said to have the good fortune of meeting in a climate of comparatively relaxed international conditions. Usually it is the other way around; and most sessions that we can remember were convened either under the threats of an impending crisis or in a heavy atmosphere of strained relations among nations. Indeed, one has to trace back some four years to recall a comparable easing in international tension. Then the Assembly gathered soon after the Heads of the two great world Powers got together in a Maryland farmhouse and were reported to have reached a vague understanding on some major world issues. The Assembly then was pervaded with what was known as the spirit of Camp David, which, unfortunately, vanished as quickly as it came about, and the euphoria with which the world, for a brief while, was bathed was soon replaced by the usual grim threats of disagreement and conflict.

65. However, the turbulent international conditions reached their climax last year when the seventeenth session was still in process. A storm which gathered in the Caribbean over Cuba threatened to break loose and even plunge the world into an unprecedented catastrophe. Thanks to the sustained efforts of the United Nations, its able Secretary-General and many others, the world was spared a devastating collision between the two major world Powers.

66. As a blessing in disguise, the storm cleansed the international atmosphere of some elements of dissension and conflict, and from the brink of the precipice to which some had inched so close, the lesson seemed to have been learnt that it would be to no one's advantage to confront another with a dire threat to his national existence. The outcome would have been inevitable, and disaster then would have ensued.

67. Once a way out was found, the international situation steadily, if slowly, improved. In the Congo, the scene of grave clashes of various interests, the situation took a better turn. Then on 5 August 1963 the first treaty of some international significance was agreed upon between the great Powers. Three nuclear nations undertook not to engage in further tests of nuclear weapons in the air, on the ground and under water. Although this Treaty is limited in scope and relatively simple in nature, it carries with it nevertheless a political meaning which should not be overlooked.

68. From the international standpoint, it may mean that nations of the two camps into which the present world is divided have agreed, at least for the time being, to call a truce in the development of their nuclear arsenal which represents the source of their

^{4/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, held 22-25 May 1963.

might and power. They may do so under the pressure of international public opinion or simply because they realize that the accumulation of radio-active particles in the air enveloping their countries is not far from reaching a danger point. On the other hand, even highly industrialized nations may begin to feel the increasing strain on their resources, which have been taxed heavily by the cost of nuclear experiments. If these could be halted, a great deal more could be done for the material living comfort of their people, whose demands for more consumer goods at reasonable prices have been growing lately. For some nations it has become plain that it is increasingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to have both the most advanced missile weaponry and at the same time an adequate standard of living. But the most important consideration of all is perhaps a more acute realization that a continued arms race, especially with nuclear armaments and their proliferation, constitutes a grave danger to the preservation of peace. Somehow or other, a conflict may be ignited either on purpose or by miscalculation, and nuclear Powers are probably better placed than any others to know that the results would be utterly disastrous for themselves as well as for the rest of the world. In any event and whatever motivations have prompted the nuclear Powers to conclude the said limited test ban treaty, their agreement has undoubtedly contributed to the easing of international tension and appears to be of a more tangible nature than any other spirit of understanding and conciliation which might have appeared in the past.

69. In this respect, Thailand has joined scores of other nations to endorse that treaty with the hope that this first step, however small, may be followed by others which will tend to consolidate still more positive evidences of international harmony and concord. My country for one sees no advantage in watching those who have the wherewithal to wage devastating warfare locked in an ominous struggle and engaged in a deadly race to produce the most lethal and destructive weapons. We certainly do not profit, nor do we expect to profit in the future, from the present division of the world. Indeed, we abhor dissensions either among others or between ourselves and other nations. Our aim is to support and promote efforts to bring nations closer together so that they may join hands in constructive endeavours for the benefit and welfare of their respective peoples.

70. While we may agree that the relationship between great Powers and, as a result, the world situation in general has witnessed some improvement which has given rise to a cautious optimism, we cannot and should not be carried away by premature enthusiasm. Experience of the past has shown that signs of amelioration in the international situation may be only ephemeral. On the other hand, the other aspect of the problem, namely the relationship between the larger Powers and others, still represents a cause of concern. In fact, the danger to smaller nations has in no way decreased, still less disappeared. Such a danger to their free existence comes not so much from a nuclear or global war as from other insidious means which have been and are still being employed to sap our strength, to undermine the structure of our society and ultimately to reduce us to dependence and subjection. Even at this time when the tensions among the great and powerful countries show signs of reduction, other activities of lesser scope and import continue unabated, causing loss of lives and property.

71. It is certainly welcome news to hear that no further nuclear tests from the three Powers will pollute the air we breathe. It will be even more satisfying if we are assured that the guns are silenced in the swamps of South Viet-Nam or in the high plateaux of Laos. That is, unfortunately, not quite the case. On the contrary, military clashes continue to take place in Laos with the active penetration and intervention from its aggressive and expansionist eastern neighbours. In spite of the 1962 Geneva Agreements, which gave the rebelling faction, namely the Pathet Lao, legal status and participation in the Government of National Union, the country remains divided and enjoys no stability. The coalition Government has not been able to carry out its task because of the obstructive tactics and intransigence of the Pathet Lao, which refused to carry out the terms of the Agreements. The International Control Commission, hamstrung by one of its members and receiving no co-operation from the Pathet Lao, which controls a good part of the territory, has not been in a position to perform its task fully and effectively. Then recently, not satisfied with the results of its obstructive efforts, the Pathet Lao resorted to political murders and even armed actions to place more territory under its control, thus bringing back to that unfortunate land chaos and turmoil. Moreover, from its bases in Laos, the Pathet Lao has tried to send its agents into Thailand to carry out its nefarious activities of infiltration and subversion and even to prepare the way for eventual insurgency with outside support. Facing this insidious threat, my Government has had to devote a great deal of effort and resources to ward off the danger that is likely to imperil our security and freedom. The struggle is going on in spite of relaxation in the general world situation, and the new understanding which appears to have been reached between the major Powers has little, if any, effect on the local conditions in our part of the world.

72. Likewise, in South Viet-Nam sporadic fighting continues to ravage the country. There again the aim of the neighbouring North Vietnamese régime is no less than to take over the whole country and to annex it under its domination. Although these efforts have yielded little result, thanks to timely help extended to South Viet-Nam by friendly countries, the war is still going on exacting a heavy toll in life and resources.

73. For these reasons, while we applaud and wholeheartedly endorse the mildly successful efforts made by the great Powers to bring about better understanding between themselves as embodied in the recent nuclear test ban treaty, our hearts and minds are still filled with concern and apprehension about the dangers which lurk around our towns and villages and which are even more real and immediate to our simple folk than those of a nuclear or global war. Therefore, while projects of great vision, such as the one suggested by the President of the United States, to plan and carry out a joint expedition to the moon with the Soviet Union, will undoubtedly enhance co-operation between the major Powers and represent a notable advance in the field of science and human progress, we wish it could also be possible for parallel efforts to be made to rid this earth from the scourge of subversive activities and insidious aggressions so as to make the simple life of our grass-roots people in the less developed countries safer and more worth while. The day when a treaty banning subversive activities of every kind is signed by all the countries in the world will be the day of triumph for all humanity.

74. This attitude will be readily comprehensible for those who know the complex problems the nations of Asia have to face. For not only are the dangers of aggressive expansionism constant and pressing, as has been seen in the case of Laos and Viet-Nam, but a great many other difficulties have also been added to complicate the situation further. In South Viet-Nam, for instance, in the midst of a life and death struggle, religious discontent broke out which could have been satisfactorily resolved with sufficient understanding and tolerance. Nevertheless, because of the lack of realization of the magnitude of the problem, the difficulty got out of hand. My country deeply deplores the unnecessary losses of lives and hardship suffered by the Buddhists in that country and hopes that the authorities concerned will take appropriate measures with greater wisdom and compassion so that complete freedom of worship will be recognized for Buddhists in equality with the people of other faiths.

75. Another unsatisfactory situation is that which prevails between Cambodia and Thailand. The relations which were broken off by Cambodia for the second time in 1961 have not been re-established despite the valuable good offices provided by the Secretary-General and his special representative, Mr. Nils Gussing of Sweden, as well as Mr. Narasimhan of the Secretariat, for which the Thai Government feels deep appreciation and gratitude. Thailand, for its part, is also willing to forget and forgive the destruction and depredations wrought in the past upon the towns and homes of the Thai people, as well as the treacherous actions of a certain Phya Lawaek.

76. Cambodian leaders would do well to realize and appreciate the sustained efforts made by my country to promote greater solidarity and co-operation among the nations of South-East Asia and, if possible, to contribute to this historic trend of regional co-operation, rather than stay out of it and even aggravate it by the recent decision to cut off official ties with South Viet-Nam, thus adding further disunity and instability to the region. For the sake of South-East Asian solidarity alone, if for no other reason, my Government has made it clear that it is prepared to meet and discuss with Cambodian representatives matters of mutual interest and concern. On various occasions, we have stated that Thailand entertained no animosity towards the Cambodian nation. We do not have any ill design against them, nor do we covet anything that rightfully belongs to them. We may be old-fashioned enough to believe in the sanctity of international treaties and agreements as well as the obligations which may result therefrom. If Cambodia could do likewise there would be no problem between our two countries. We wish them well, as we wish all our South-East Asian neighbours well. However, these good intentions must be reciprocated and Cambodia must treat relations between sovereign nations as a matter of importance, and not lightly as something which it can turn off and on. If such an attitude is adopted by Cambodia, then the present difficulty is likely to be resolved.

77. However, amidst the clouds which have descended upon our region, there has, fortunately, been a bright spot. A new nation, Malaysia, has emerged in South-East Asia with the accession of the territories of Singapore, Sabah or North Borneo and Sarawak to the previous Federation of Malaya. Thailand welcomes this friendly nation and wishes it continued success and prosperity. Malaysia, as one of our closest neighbours to the south, is certain to bring an important contribution to the peace, progress and prosperity of the region.

78. Although the birth of Malaysia has been accompanied by unfortunate events resulting in the rupture of relations of two of its neighbours, we firmly hope that the difficulties will be only temporary. After all, these countries have many affinities with one another. They belong to the same region and it is an inescapable fact that, somehow or other, they will have to live with one another not only as friends, but even as brothers and sisters. My country will certainly not be derelict in its duty and will assist them in every way it can to bring back good understanding and harmony among all its friends.

79. As may be seen from the above, the problems which beset the world and its many regions are multifarious. Although in the past, the United Nations and most of the nations of the world have had to concentrate their efforts in order to handle crises, it appears that our attention and preoccupation from now on may have to be devoted to the even more difficult task of handling the complicated problems of peace, or at least improving the international situation. The question that presents itself seems to be, how can the United Nations and the world at large employ their resources and energy to improve further the international situation? What steps should be taken to consolidate the small gains already made, to move ahead towards more concrete and substantial achievements and ultimately to reach more secure and peaceful conditions of international life?

80. It seems obvious to us that renewed efforts should be deployed to expand the scope of the limited nuclear test ban treaty so that it will encompass all dimensions of nuclear testing, including those conducted underground and, at the same time, to ensure proper safeguards, inspection and control. Following this, disarmament negotiations on nuclear as well as conventional weapons should be vigorously pursued until tangible results are achieved. In this connexion, a number of proposals have already been put forward in this Assembly, in particular, the one presented by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting] who advocated a summit meeting of Heads of Government or State represented in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Such a proposal, like others, deserves careful consideration. Although the tasks of that Committee are mainly technical and only partially political, that fact should not be an obstacle to the transferring of the responsibility to those high personalities, if we all come to believe that they can perform such a task in a more effective manner than technicians and diplomats. I feel certain that the Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors who, up until now, have had to shoulder that heavy burden will be greatly relieved in handing it over to their superiors.

81. On the other hand, and so far as the United Nations is concerned, concrete measures should be devised for setting up peace-keeping machinery. Among them, the United Nations peace force project, which has existed for some time in blueprint form and was recently improved upon by the Scandinavian countries, should be taken off the shelf for further study and implementation. Such United Nations peace units may well prove highly useful in cases of limited local incidents which, if not dealt with promptly, may spread further and develop into conflicts of major proportions.

82. This Organization should also give its attention to setting up instruments and institutions for settling disputes between nations. Two years ago I had the privilege of suggesting from this rostrum [1027th meeting]

the creation of what I might call a "service for peace committee". I believe that now more than ever there is a need for such an international organ which could be called upon to move quickly into an international difficulty or dispute so as to prevent it from endangering the peace and harmony between nations. If this idea, which has already been in the air for some time, should present an appeal, the details for developing it further should not be too difficult or complicated. It may be expected that, owing to the great variety of existing and future divergences, clashes of interest and even disputes, such a machinery, if one can be established and given adequate means to function properly, will undoubtedly prove to be of some usefulness. It will not in any way supplant the services which may be rendered by the Secretary-General and which have already demonstrated their high value. It will rather supplement the role of the Secretary-General, whose good offices and intervention will always be needed in more delicate situations where what is known as "quiet diplomacy" is particularly suitable. The organ which we have in mind will be working more in the open in cases which do not require strictly discreet negotiations or which have become a matter of general interest and knowledge.

83. It has been said that such a committee would be within the United Nations framework but not necessarily a part of it. The committee will, however, keep close contact with the United Nations, other international agencies and organizations. Its most important functions would be to give advice and make recommendations directly to the parties concerned and, if need be, it might serve as intermediary between those involved in the dispute or other disagreements.

84. While it is true that the problems of peace and war are of paramount importance to the welfare of the nations of the world, the economic questions present no less significance to the daily life of countless millions of people, especially in the small and developing nations. The nuclear or conventional weapons may kill instantly, but the continuous impoverishment of the less developed countries compared with the rapidly growing income of those more advanced industrially looks very much like a vise imperceptibly closing around our necks—or our stomachs—which may bring about a slow death or at least gradual starvation. The future, to say the least, is indeed bleak for the developing nations.

85. This is due in the first place to the invariable deterioration in the terms of trade suffered by the primary exporting countries, whose share of these commodities in total world trade has declined steadily. Whereas industrialized countries have been reaping substantial gains from manufactured products, both volume and price of which constantly increase, the developing countries' trade balances show persistent and cumulative deficits. This situation by itself is alarming because, if it should continue without redress, the probable result may be a renewal of the Roman society, composed of a few patrician countries and a multitude of plebeian nations whose sweat and toil serve to augment the riches of the privileged few.

86. This state of affairs has been further aggravated, on the one hand, by past and newly adopted measures which serve as barriers to the free flow of primary commodities from developing countries or tend to discriminate against them and, on the other, by unilateral or concerted actions aiming at controlling markets or depressing the prices of those commodities so as to increase still further the margin of benefits accruing to the industrialized countries. It is also curious to note

that, in the process of industrialized economies seeking further to expand and to enrich themselves, there is no ideological barrier separating them. They all deliberately or otherwise seem to be working together toward the same objective.

87. As a result of these chaotic occurrences, the developing nations are caught in a vicious circle. They know that they have to diversify and industrialize their economy so as to enjoy higher returns, which only manufactured goods can bring. Otherwise, they would be dependent on too few primary products, the markets for which are controlled by others seeking to keep the levels of prices as low as possible. But at the same time, and because highly developed countries through various means and actions are bent on keeping the prices of primary commodities unnaturally low, the developing nations see their income steadily reduced and the cost of industrial equipment and capital goods in general continuously rising. Consequently, much as they want to proceed with swift diversification and industrialization of their economy, they are deprived of the means to carry out the development schemes which could allay the economic ills from which they suffer.

88. It would seem reasonable, therefore, that the industrially advanced nations of the world should consider loosening their hold on the weak, developing economies, or otherwise they will cause the ultimate strangulation of those unfortunate nations. It is high time that, for no other reason than the enlightened self-interest of those privileged nations, they should cooperate in alleviating the hardship and sufferings of hundreds of millions of people now leading a substandard existence. If they continue to be obstinate in fulfilling their unbridled desire to make disproportionate profits, it will not be long before the whole world is strewn with impoverished and haggard-looking men and women sunk in their misery, and the world will then enjoy neither peace nor tranquility.

89. It may be too much for us to hope that this simple appeal will be heeded. We nevertheless count upon the moral authority of this Organization to bring about a better realization of the current alarming situation. Maybe the Conference on Trade and Development, which will be convened next year under the auspices of the United Nations, can achieve something that may lighten the burden which is now being borne by the developing nations. On the success of this Conference will depend the future economic outlook of the whole world. I hope that each and every one of us, and especially those of the privileged nations, will be conscious of this grave responsibility.

90. From the foregoing it is clearly apparent that the hopes of the world and humanity still rest on the United Nations, because as yet there is no other organization which may help to fulfil their aspirations and ideals. For that very reason my country firmly adheres to the principles and purposes of this Organization, particularly those enunciating self-determination and peaceful negotiation. In our troubled world of today, the principle of self-determination should be recognized and applied everywhere, as in the case of Malaysia, where the United Nations completed the task of ascertaining the wishes of the population of North Borneo and Sarawak, or in Germany, where the freedom-loving people should be allowed to choose their own destiny.

91. Likewise, the principle of peaceful and direct negotiations may prevent many difficulties and disputes from enlarging and getting out of hand. That is why my

delegation has declared itself ready to meet Cambodian representatives with a view to resolving our differences.

92. Although the relations among States and nations occupy the greatest part of our attention, it is not possible to lose sight of the individual human being who forms the basis of our society. The Thai people, like most other peoples in the world, firmly believe in the dignity and worth of the human person. We cannot accept or condone any practice which does not recognize this fundamental principle. Any attempt therefore to perpetuate inequality among peoples, as is the case with what is known as apartheid, which tends to create barriers between them, should be opposed and rejected as contrary to the aspirations of human society.

93. Finally, it is obviously not enough to support and uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter. To enable the United Nations to perform its functions efficiently and effectively, concrete and practical measures must be taken toward that end. At present it is a known fact that the United Nations has been operating under a heavy deficit, which, if allowed to continue, may reach the staggering figure of \$140 million. It is clear therefore that, if all Members do not strictly and faithfully discharge their obligations, the Organization may face collapse. In that unfortunate event, which we all strongly hope will not occur, the responsibility will unequivocally rest on those who failed to fulfil their duties and obligations.

94. Confronted with the many uncertainties and complications of the world today, the people of Thailand are fortified by the fact that, although some have tried to instil doubt and disbelief in their minds, they firmly and staunchly adhere to the principles of justice, of freedom and of national honour. While attempts have been made to influence our thinking both as a nation and as individuals, we shall not be swayed by thoughts and ideas which have no roots in our national heritage. The modern ideologies of our time, whether socialism or capitalism, are alien to our land. We know that our strength comes not from foreign elements which may be injected into us but from the eternal lights of Asia: freedom, compassion and tolerance. That is why the Thai people aim first at being good Thai, then good Asians, and at the same time good citizens of the world.

95. Mr. GIRI (Nepal): Mr. President, it is my honour and privilege to convey to you and, through you, to the Secretary-General, and to all the distinguished guests, the greetings and best wishes of my Sovereign, King Mahendra, and of the people of Nepal and of His Majesty's Government of Nepal for the success of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

96. I wish to associate myself with the previous speakers in extending, on behalf of my delegation, our warmest greetings and felicitations to you, Sir, on your well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly for the present session. May I add that your election is a tribute not only to you and your country but also to the continent of Latin America. May I be permitted also on this occasion to take the liberty of expressing our deep appreciation of the services rendered by your distinguished predecessor, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, whose mature wisdom and experience put such a firm stamp on the deliberations of the seventeenth session and the fourth special session of the General Assembly over which he presided.

97. I also wish to pay tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose dedicated efforts and "quiet diplomacy"

have not only added dignity to the office of the Secretary-General but have also strengthened the Organization. As a matter of fact, as has been amply borne out by the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/5501] and the Secretary-General's introduction to the annual report [A/5501 and Add.1 (GA/OR/XVIII) Suppl. 1 and 1A], a significant feature in the improved world situation appears to be added strength and dignity which our Organization has attained in contributing to the solution of international problems. A large share of credit for this must duly be given to our Secretary-General, U Thant.

98. Looking back over the progress we have made since we met here last year, we have reason to be satisfied, though, of course, to a limited extent. His Majesty's Government has noted with particular satisfaction that in many important respects the international situation has considerably changed for the better. While the sincerity and earnestness of the efforts made by the world statesmen in search of peace were never in doubt, the last session of the Assembly, so far as we were concerned, was dominated by a feeling of disappointment and some frustration at the lack of progress in negotiations for general and complete disarmament and for the nuclear test ban treaty in particular.

99. The search for peace through general and complete disarmament and through the banning of nuclear tests seemed hopelessly bogged down in a series of endless arguments and counter-arguments. To a world already groaning and smarting under the threat of thermo-nuclear war at any explosive point, were added the sudden, dramatic intensification of the prevailing tension of the Cuban situation and a new, unfortunate, unnecessary tension on the Sino-Indian border, right towards the beginning of the last session. The Cuban crisis and the Sino-Indian crisis posed a serious threat to world peace at that time. The prospects for world peace last year were much gloomier than they are today.

100. In contrast, as has already been noted so eloquently by the previous speakers and notably by the leaders of the two great Powers, the present session starts in a more auspicious atmosphere. The United States and the Soviet Union, upon whom has fallen so much responsibility for maintaining world peace, have worked hard to find a limited language of communication between them. The agreement which is popularly known as the "hot line" agreement and which has been concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union since we met last year in this Assembly, is the first step in this direction. As a result of this agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union are in a position to communicate with each other directly and immediately in case of any serious provocation.

101. Even more important than this has been the recent signing in Moscow of the partial test ban treaty between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. This treaty, limited in its scope as it is, has been, in our opinion, rightly welcomed all over the world. From now on there is no possibility of water and atmosphere being contaminated with radiation. This is a great relief. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has welcomed all these positive developments towards world peace, towards the relaxation of tension between the two groups of world Powers. However, though extremely significant, the two agreements embody the limited character of the language of communication between them.

102. It is our hope that these efforts for peace will be continued both in the United Nations and outside with the same earnestness and determination as has been evident in the recent signing of the nuclear test ban treaty, until a more comprehensive treaty embodying a complete banning of nuclear tests and another treaty embodying complete and general disarmament are concluded. My delegation has always stressed the paramount need of the world today for these two treaties and from this point of view has placed considerable faith in the seventeen-nation Disarmament Committee meeting at Geneva. The progress made by this Committee, although significant, has been slow and halting. The partial success of the efforts to ban nuclear tests as against the failure of the Disarmament Committee to make headway seems to suggest that real decisions on matters affecting world peace still rest with the big Powers. Nevertheless, since smaller countries are involved in the frightening consequences of war without having any real control over the decisions of war, they cannot persuade themselves to believe that this is a matter with which they cannot concern themselves.

103. Whoever makes the decision of war, either deliberately or through accident, will make a decision that will affect large human masses in smaller as well as larger countries. In other words, the number of countries that can start a modern war is limited, but it is clear that all will be affected by this war. The problem, therefore, as Nepal sees it, is this: the real decision to disarm has to be made by countries which possess skill and arms in such quantity and quality as would start a global war; and other countries have to work hard and with determination to create a climate and situation favourable to this decision. It is obvious that the responsibility of deciding lies squarely with the world Powers because they alone can start a global war; and to achieve this, world public opinion has to be as broad-based as possible.

104. In our view, the problem cannot be solved by ignoring the international political realities. His Majesty's Government believes that the paramount need for complete and general disarmament has to be placed constantly before world public opinion by all the countries of the world, including those which are outside the United Nations and, therefore, any step taken by any country to form broad-based public opinion in favour of disarmament will be welcome to us.

105. This leads me to the question of the proper representation of China in the United Nations. The views of my delegation on this question are well known because they have been stated year after year in this very Assembly. The United Nations Charter provides a specially built-in position for China; it is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The founders of the United Nations agreed to give this kind of specially built-in position to China in view of China's size and population and its potential power. We have no doubt that they had in mind the main territory of China when they drafted the Charter; they did not have the island of Formosa in mind when they agreed upon the special position for China. Now the People's Republic of China holds in effective control the whole of Chinese mainland territory and has done so for the last fourteen years. China today has a stable and effective government, discharging the duties of the State well and effectively. In these circumstances, it is our belief that it is against the spirit of the United Nations Charter to deny proper representation to the People's Republic of China. Moreover, the present experience of the United States and the Soviet Union coming nearer to under-

standing as a result of the constant intercourse between them in the United Nations should lead us to believe that the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would be of considerable help and assistance, on account of the moral pressures which the United Nations is bound to exert, in solving problems and lessening tensions in areas where China is involved. It is our humble opinion, which has been often repeated in this hall, that the cause of world peace and justice will be better served by having the People's Republic of China in than by keeping it out.

Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

106. At this point, I cannot help paying tribute to Indian statesmanship, which has shown rare judgement in making a clear distinction between the question of ensuring a legitimate place for the People's Republic of China in the United Nations on the one hand, and the difficulties, serious difficulties, that India has encountered in its relations with China on the other, and has not let its attitude toward the one colour its judgement in the other. Neither the Sino-Indian differences nor the Sino-Soviet differences have led either India or the Soviet Union to stand in the way of the proper representation of China in the world Organization; instead, they have taken considerable initiative in the matter. And it would be a real additional contribution to peace if the Sino-American differences in a similar manner were not to stand in the way of China's legitimate representation in the United Nations.

107. With the achievement of independence from Dutch rule by West Irian during the year, the process of decolonization is almost complete in Asia. It is a matter for gratification that the problem of West Irian has been solved in such a peaceful manner. Both Indonesian and Dutch statesmanship, coupled with the efforts of the United Nations and particularly those of the Secretary-General, can, in our opinion, take legitimate pride in this happy consummation. In Africa, too, more countries are on their way to independence. We are looking forward to the independence of Kenya, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to welcoming them amidst us as full-fledged Members of our Organization. But we regret that there has been little progress registered in the past year with respect to Portuguese territories in Africa, and with respect to South West Africa. We also regret that the situation in Southern Rhodesia continues to give rise to serious concern to all of us here. Nepal has always championed the cause of all dependent peoples and will continue to exert every effort within and outside the United Nations to bury colonialism in all its forms. In this connexion, I should also like to express my Government's appreciation of the recent Summit Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa. The Conference in itself has been an achievement of great significance because it has highlighted the basic problems of Africa and also its amazing possibilities. The meeting has discovered a new purpose and developed a new sense of urgency to solve the problem of colonialism and racialism in Africa. His Majesty's Government has welcomed the decisions of the Conference of the African Heads of State as a positive and constructive response to the challenges posed before Africa, and also welcomes the formation of the Organization of African Unity.

108. While the relaxation of tension and cold war between the Western and Socialist countries and the emergence to independence of many new countries during the last year have been welcome developments from

every point of view, the tension on the Sino-Indian border has been a matter of great concern to us. His Majesty King Mahendra has often expressed his deep anxiety over the continuing tension on the Sino-Indian border, and has pleaded for the peaceful solution of the problem. The tension between two great Asian countries like India and China, which has led to a sharp intensification of military preparations, causes great concern to us as we are situated between these two neighbours. This new development of tension in a peaceful area where the policies of the Governments concerned are guided by the principle of peaceful coexistence is in contrast with the relaxation of tension elsewhere, particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union. If the untiring efforts of the Western and Soviet statesmen could lead to a considerable lessening of the deeper and more complex tension in the world, similar efforts between the Indian and Chinese statesmen should not fail to lead to a happier state of affairs between them and in that region.

109. The situation in South Viet-Nam has also been a source of grave anxiety for His Majesty's Government. Nepal, along with sixteen other nations, requested inscription of the item "The violation of human rights in South Viet-Nam" in the agenda of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly [A/5489 and Add.1-3]. The title of the item is indicative enough of the essential point of our concern in the present situation in South Viet-Nam. It is, as the title says, a question of human rights, and not a question of religion. Nepal is the birthplace of the Lord Buddha. Although Nepal is a predominantly Hindu country, a unique feature of our cultural heritage is the fusion of the two great religions. There has never been a conflict in Nepal between Hinduism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact, Nepal has never known any religious or racial strife in its history. We believe in freedom of worship along with other fundamental freedoms, and our Constitution guarantees all these basic freedoms. What we regret most in Viet-Nam is the denial of freedom of religion to the majority of the people by the government of the minority religion. I should like to appeal here to the Government of South Viet-Nam to show goodwill and tolerance towards its own people so that the country, which unfortunately is already torn by internal political strife, may not be further divided by a denial of basic human rights to the majority of its people. We whole-heartedly echo the sentiments of President Kennedy who stated in his address to this Assembly:

"Our concern is the right of all men to equal protection under the law—and since human rights are indivisible, this body cannot stand aside when those rights are abused and neglected by any . . . State". [1209th meeting, para. 66.]

110. This brings us to yet another and perhaps more unfortunate example of the denial of the basic human rights of the majority of the population in the face of continued opposition of world opinion and the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council for no less than the past sixteen years. I am, of course, referring to the question of apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid is an affront to human dignity. My Government and my people have been unalterably opposed to this inhuman and fascist system that has been imposed by a minority Government, which refuses to see the writing on the wall. My delegation has the honour of serving as a member and Rapporteur of a Special Committee^{5/} appointed by the General Assembly last year.

^{5/} Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

The Special Committee's two interim reports [A/5418 of 9 May 1963 and A/5453 of 19 July 1963] and its report to the eighteenth session of the Assembly [A/5497] will come up for discussion later on. My delegation has had ample opportunity to express its views in the Special Committee, and these views are fully reflected in the reports.

111. In spite of the tensions which still continue in most of the perennially tense areas such as Germany, the Middle East, Cuba, and particularly Laos and Viet-Nam, and of the new tensions such as those on the Sino-Indian border which rule out any complacency, the general international political climate has registered a definite improvement. In order that this improvement in the political situation may continue uninterrupted, it is necessary that economic disparities between nations be minimized, if not eliminated.

112. To an under-developed country like Nepal, economic disparities rather than ideological differences constitute the challenge of the modern age. The problems we are facing are the problems of absorbing modern science and technology in our under-developed agricultural economy. In our opinion, therefore, whatever social system helps a country to absorb modern science and technology is likely to be stable for that country. The United States, Japan and the advanced countries of the West have absorbed modern science and technology in their economy under a capitalist democratic system; and so far as those countries are concerned, their system has met the challenge of the age and has become stable. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have absorbed modern science and technology under a socialist system; and so far as they are concerned, their system has also achieved stability. On the other hand, the differences between the two advanced groups of capitalist and socialist countries are losing their sharp edges and the differences between the advanced and less advanced countries even within the same system, whether capitalistic or socialist, are growing. We notice that tensions are increasing between the "haves" and the "have nots" within the same system.

113. We in Nepal, therefore, view our problems in this light. We are convinced that whatever political system we evolve must be capable of delivering economic goods, of ensuring adequate economic development and, as I have already said, of absorbing modern science and technology in our economy. We do not say that other values do not matter; but for us economic development is a challenge which we can only ignore at our own peril.

114. Our foreign policy, therefore, is directed towards highlighting not the ideological differences, however important they may be, but the economic differences which, unless minimized, are bound to become a threat to world peace. For this reason, we have already welcomed the launching of the United Nations Development Decade as a positive step in the right direction.

115. It is in the same spirit that has animated the concept of the Decade of Development that His Majesty's Government of Nepal has been implementing its current three-year plan and is already engaged in the formulation of its next five-year plan. National efforts for economic development of the country have been undertaken on an expanded scale ever since the overthrow of the feudal Rana oligarchy in 1951. But the pace has been much more accelerated and the plans drawn up more realistically since December 1960 with the advent of

Panchayat democracy in Nepal under the able guidance and leadership of our sovereign, His Majesty King Mahendra.

116. Panchayat democracy is the system that Nepal evolved to suit its own genius and its traditions. We were until early 1951 under a feudal oligarchy. It was then at the end of 104 years of autocratic Rana family rule that the people of Nepal, under the leadership of our beloved late King Tribhuvan whose memory we revere, threw off the yoke of the Rana régime and liberated the country from the shackles of mediaeval feudalism. The country adopted a parliamentary system of democracy under the interim Constitution of 1951 granted by the late King Tribhuvan and also in the Constitution of 1959 granted by our King Mahendra. However, the system, foreign as it was to the genius and traditions of the people of Nepal, failed to respond to the needs of the country. Befitting our national traditions and genius, we have now established our system of Panchayat democracy safeguarded by the new Constitution promulgated in 1962. We have set up in Nepal, as his Majesty King Mahendra said, "such a system as will reflect not only in theory and principle but in actual practice and in the everyday life of the people, the feelings and sentiments underlying the universal aspiration for human rights and social justice". In pursuance of our destiny, we naturally look to our neighbours and friends for goodwill and co-operation. The Panchayat system of democracy which is suited to our national character and historical setting under which all citizens, irrespective of their political creed, participate at different levels of Panchayat, in the affairs of the Government and in the formulation of national policies, is functioning smoothly in Nepal. We therefore feel that whatever system the national way of life may embody the best is that which sprouts from the soil and is not borrowed from outside. We have sympathy with and goodwill towards all countries which follow different ways of life suited to their own environment; what we expect from our friends and neighbours is the same amount of sympathy and goodwill in matters of our own national way of life.

117. In the area of economic and social development, I should like to emphasize here that in spite of the fact that international action both under the auspices of the United Nations family and outside the family has been taken on an expanding scale, enough cannot be said to have been done to cope with the problems of poverty, hunger and ignorance that still plague two-thirds of humanity. The gulf between the rich and the poor nations paradoxically enough has grown wider rather than diminished. This does not mean that the effort thus far has been wasted or the emphasis on priorities wrongly placed, but only that greater and more determined efforts are necessary both on the international and national scale. The inadequacy of resources for international development is ironic in face of the paradox that the present annual expenditures on armaments alone, as estimated by the Secretary-General, are about \$120,000 million, equal to the aggregate of national incomes of all under-developed countries of the world and about ten times their net capital formation. His Majesty's Government welcomed the study made last year by the United Nations on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament^{6/} and fervently looks to the day when parts of these tremendous resources will become available for purposes of development.

118. Before I conclude, I should like to reiterate that the people and the Government of Nepal look upon the United Nations, in great measure, as a guardian of the independence and territorial integrity of small nations and as a forum where small nations can make their own humble contributions to the cause of international peace and prosperity. His Majesty King Mahendra has said: "Nepal regards the United Nations as a guardian of the freedom of the small nations and would like it to grow in such a manner as would inspire the confidence of such nations". Nepal has always wanted to see a strong United Nations and will continue to strive for this.

119. In our search for strengthening the Organization and increasing its effectiveness, by making it reflect more realistically the composition of its membership, we find a need for a fair and equitable representation of Member States in the principal organs of the United Nations. We have on our agenda an item on the subject. This item has continued to be discussed in one form or another in the forums of the United Nations since 1955. But, unfortunately, the inequity in the distribution of seats and a complete disregard for the legitimate rights of representation of the large family of Asian and African States, have continued so far. My delegation, which again had the privilege of serving as a member and rapporteur of a negotiating sub-committee of the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter, feels, as was stated in my Government's communication to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, that the need to give adequate and equitable representation to the Member States of Asia and Africa in the two main organs of the Organization, namely, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, has been overdue. My Government also feels that sufficient thought should be given to the question of proper redistribution of the total number of seats in each Council, as experience has shown that expansion in the membership of some of the functional commissions and the various subordinate bodies of the Economic and Social Council has not necessarily led to an adequate and equitable representation of the Asian and African States in those bodies. My delegation sincerely hopes that the legitimate demands of the Asian and the African States which have shown immense patience in this matter and waited long enough, would receive the sympathetic support of all the Member States during the eighteenth session.

120. Closely related to the issue of strengthening the Organization is the problem of the financial solvency of the United Nations. My delegation cannot fail to note that the Organization is faced with the prospect of financial bankruptcy owing to the refusal of some Member States to share the cost of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Although we appreciate the reasons that have been advanced by those States for not paying their share of the cost, my Government feels that all the States Members of the United Nations are pledged to the principle of collective responsibility for peace-keeping operations by virtue of their membership in the Organization and their allegiance to the Charter. We therefore renew our appeal to those States to see their way, particularly in view of the present improved international climate, to save the Organization from financial bankruptcy.

121. To sum up, my delegation believes that among the tasks facing the present session of the Assembly the following four are the most important:

(1) Continued, determined efforts to extend the scope of the nuclear test ban treaty until it covers the entire

^{6/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1.

field of armaments, both conventional and nuclear. We are aware that this is an extremely complicated question but certainly not beyond the capabilities of the statesmen of this world to solve.

(2) The struggle against colonialism and apartheid has to continue, although it is a matter of great satisfaction that the forces of colonialism and apartheid are being increasingly isolated.

(3) The Assembly must continue to stress the position and economic aspects of world peace. "The present division of the world into rich and poor countries is", as U Thant has said, "much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds" [A/5201/Add.1, sect. VI].

(4) The United Nations must be continuously strengthened as an instrument for international peace and prosperity by the impartial application of the principle of universality of membership in the Organization and an equitable representation of every Member State in all its principal organs.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

122. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):^{2/} Mr. President, in the name of the Italian Government, I wish to extend to you my earnest and sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the highest office of the General Assembly. The bonds of deep friendship existing between our two peoples are too well known to be recalled here. As Italians, we are therefore deeply gratified to witness this homage paid to your country and this recognition of your personal merits. We are indeed certain that under your expert guidance our work will be directed with full impartiality and will be crowned by success.

123. The eighteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is meeting at a time of special significance for all of us, a time when East-West relations, the most important factor influencing world peace, have entered a phase of positive development. Peoples everywhere are looking to the United Nations in eager and anxious expectation, hoping to witness further early progress which would strengthen the improvement in the international situation brought about by the recent agreement to ban nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

124. In this connexion I deem it proper, before going further, to pay due tribute to one who, by his highly inspired words and his initiatives, has contributed to breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding and distrust, thus joining all the peoples in a universal and irresistible yearning for peace: Pope John XXIII.

125. Close consideration of the facts reveals that a truly new development underlies the present situation. For the first time since the end of the Second World War, the Governments of Washington, Moscow and London were able to agree on the conclusion of a treaty of far-reaching political scope, to which almost all countries of the international community promptly adhered. The provisions of the various articles of that treaty are certainly of outstanding importance and the very fact that its conclusion has been advocated for so long and from so many quarters bears witness to this. Allow me to point out here, however, why the significance and the political and psychological scope of those provisions far exceed their literal meaning.

126. It is because we have witnessed—I repeat, for the first time since the end of the Second World War—a meeting of minds between the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom to move together along the path of disarmament and peace, forgoing mutual suspicion and distrust. It is so, moreover, because no other international agreement has ever been signed so promptly by so many States. Lastly, it is because all of this has taken place in accordance with the repeated and consistent appeals made in the last sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

127. Thus, the presence of U Thant, our Secretary-General, at the Moscow ceremony on 5 August 1963 when the Treaty was signed, represented not merely an act of courtesy and respect for the administrative head of our Organization, but was a recognition and an acknowledgement of the part the United Nations had played in this conciliatory endeavour.

128. Let us look back together for a moment, and recall those not too distant days when the tasks and the possibilities of the United Nations were questioned, and the Secretary-General had become the main public target of severe attacks, and we will then readily appreciate the extent of our recent progress. The most conspicuous evidence of this evolution was offered during last year's Cuban crisis, when U Thant and the United Nations were foremost in the effort for the preservation of peace.

129. The Treaty of 5 August 1963 must be regarded, however, merely as a first step toward disarmament and peace. A very long road still remains to be travelled, and for the time being we stand only at the beginning. The expectation of public opinion everywhere for further progress is high, indeed, as high as everyone's hope. This is the measure of our responsibilities. We are certainly not unaware of the considerable obstacles to be overcome in order to bring about such progress. But we also know that we can make substantial headway if we persevere together in the determination to seek the triumph of common sense and peace over selfishness and distrust. It will undoubtedly be a laborious and difficult victory, requiring patience, persistence and a gradual approach, but it is nevertheless within reach, because it is dependent exclusively on us. President Kennedy underlined this in his important address here on 20 September 1963, an address which won unanimous praise. I quote his words:

"The task of building the peace lies with the leaders of every nation, large and small. For the great Powers have no monopoly on conflict or ambition. The cold war is not the only expression of tension in this world, and the nuclear race is not the only arms race. Even little wars are dangerous in a nuclear world." [1209th meeting, para 4.]

130. If, for the sake of brevity, I now concentrate essentially on two subjects, disarmament and economic development, this is obviously not because the Italian Government intends to overlook other important items on our agenda. My delegation will state its views on such questions each time they come up for consideration. On the question of Charter revision, for instance, and particularly in connexion with the increase in membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, we advocate that those bodies be enlarged in a manner that will ensure—as is fair and equitable and, I should add, indispensable to the effective functioning of our Organization—and adequate re-

^{2/} Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

presentation of the countries which have more recently become Members of the United Nations.

131. We shall also exert our best efforts toward a solution of the difficult problem of the financing of peace-keeping operations, which is currently of utmost importance.

132. Neither will I digress at any length on the question of racial discrimination, in respect of which, as is known, our thoughts and our actions have always been inspired by the principle of absolute equality of human beings, which is the cornerstone of this Organization.

133. Likewise, I shall not dwell extensively on the problem of decolonization to which the United Nations has made such a noteworthy contribution in recent years. The process by which the non-self-governing peoples are achieving independence is now almost complete. Some cases, it is true, still remain unresolved; we are sure that they will be settled in accordance with the principles established in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). However, the main problem with which the United Nations will have to deal in the coming years will be that of ensuring the necessary economic and social well-being of the countries which have recently become independent. I shall return to this particular question in dealing with the problems of economic development.

134. On the subject of disarmament Italy has always maintained that, without losing sight of the final goal of general and complete disarmament, we must restore gradually mutual trust by means of prompt agreements which, though limited in scope, should be such as to pave the way for further and more comprehensive achievements.

135. The Soviet Union had hitherto opposed such an approach to the problem and, by proposing solutions certainly desirable but unattainable for the time being, appeared to favour the formula of "all or nothing". Now, with the Moscow agreement, the Soviet Union too appears to be convinced of the advisability of a gradual approach.

136. It will therefore be possible henceforth to apply this method by common consent to the disarmament negotiations. This represents a positive step indeed. The very experience through which a partial nuclear agreement was reached confirms that, by sensible methods of work and by mutual efforts of goodwill concentrated on the areas where the opposing points of view are not too far apart, it is possible to proceed towards positions from which the goal of general disarmament will no longer appear as remote.

137. Our endeavours must therefore be twofold. On the one hand, we should work to bring closer together the plans for general and complete disarmament thus far advanced at Geneva, which, unfortunately, still differ considerably on a number of substantive points. On the other hand, we should persist primarily in the search for speedy agreements in the sphere of collateral measures, which we regard as a particularly promising field. Naturally, even in this work on collateral measures, we should not forgo the principles that are fundamental to every disarmament measure—namely, balance and control—without which all agreements would be impossible or ephemeral.

138. Among the collateral measures that have been proposed at Geneva, some are worthy of special mention. For our part, we have repeatedly emphasized the advisability of discontinuing the manufacture of fis-

sionable material for military purposes and of transferring part of such material to peaceful uses, the advisability of measures for preventing war by mistake, of measures against war propaganda, and various other proposals on which, in our view, an agreement should not be difficult to reach. In this connexion, it has seemed to us very promising that both President Kennedy and Foreign Minister Gromyko have mentioned to this Assembly the possibility of an agreement to ban the placing into orbit of weapons of mass destruction. On this subject, the measures on which it is necessary and urgent to reach an agreement, President Kennedy said:

"We must continue to seek agreement on measures which prevent war by accident or miscalculation. We must continue to seek agreement on safeguards against surprise attack, including observation posts at key points. We must continue to seek agreement on further measures to curb the nuclear arms race, by controlling the transfer of nuclear weapons, converting fissionable materials to peaceful purposes, and banning underground testing with adequate inspection and enforcement. We must continue to seek agreement on a freer flow of information and people from East to West and West to East." [1209th meeting, para. 50.]

139. By this I do not wish, however, to disregard the proposals put forward by other countries, including the Soviet Union, some of which are worthy of consideration and careful appraisal.

140. Within this cursory review of the problems of peace, may I also be allowed to elucidate one point with regard to the Atlantic Alliance. The Alliance has not and never has had aggressive intentions towards anyone and has actually proved its desire for peace even in difficult circumstances. That, moreover, has always been and remains the firm resolve of all its members, including West Germany, in respect to which baseless accusations have sometimes been made.

141. Italy became a member of NATO because it was convinced that in a world unfortunately still armed, only the balance of forces permits the maintenance of peace and discourages aggression, though always with the hope that a time would come when peace could be ensured, not by regional equilibrium of armaments, but through a global security system in a totally disarmed world. That is the goal we seek.

142. If in the world-wide peaceful vision of the foreign policy pursued by the Italian Government, the Atlantic Alliance has this essential function of military equilibrium, an equally important part is that held by the building of Europe's political integration. Its achievement, in our view, would provide a further substantial support for the maintenance of peace in the world by eliminating all anxieties in the European continent and by overcoming those outdated forms of nationalism which lie at the root of a good many international difficulties. Thus, by striving for the political unity of Europe, Italy professes to be working for the lasting maintenance of peace.

143. We are convinced that our faithful acceptance of the solemn obligations of the Charter, the purely defensive aims of the alliance to which we belong and the specific posture of all our policy represent in themselves the best guarantees to reassure any country of our peaceful intentions. Nevertheless, the Italian Government, always anxious to contribute to any improvement in the international situation, is, in principle,

favourable to any act or statement which would help to restore mutual confidence and ensure better prospects for co-operation among all peoples. This applies not only and primarily to the prohibition of outright military aggression, but in general to all actions or steps which, directly or indirectly, may represent a threat to the free existence of States or may affect their security and give rise to mutual suspicion.

144. It is our desire, in fact, that in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, all countries in the community of nations should feel, to an ever-growing extent, confident of their future and free from any concern of outside threats, so that they may devote all their energies to the betterment and the uplifting, in every way, of the free life of their peoples.

145. It is now up to the General Assembly, in these substantially favourable circumstances, to give new impetus to the process of disarmament and to the Geneva negotiations. I believe we shall be successful in this task, if, as we have already done in recent sessions, we confirm our encouragement and establish new guide-lines to enable the negotiating body on disarmament to resume its work as soon as possible and to concentrate its efforts on those points on which a "rap-prochement" is already in sight.

146. Let us, therefore, stress those issues which can unite us and not those which divide us, and we shall undoubtedly be able to make further positive contributions to the favourable process that has begun.

147. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his statement here on 19 September 1963 proposed:

"...to convene in the first quarter or first half of 1964 a conference of States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament with the participation of political leaders of the highest level". [1208th meeting, para. 130.]

148. That proposal is not new; however, the context in which it is put forth is new. That is to say, it has been advanced in a statement the novel tone of which we found most gratifying. Notwithstanding certain controversial remarks with which we do not agree, Mr. Gromyko has emphasized the improved prospects opening up for the Geneva disarmament negotiations. We should be gratified to accede to this idea if sufficient progress in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, when it resumes work, will have brought about the appropriate conditions to enable a high-level meeting to bear certain fruit.

149. In the economic field, the general conviction has been growing in recent years that there is a need for increasingly close collaboration on a world-wide scale. That is certainly a positive development, which leads us to hope that we shall be able to continue with greater effectiveness the action necessary for the attainment of the objectives set out in the United Nations Charter.

150. The vast expansion of economic frontiers, which is the dominant characteristic of our day, emphasizes now the concept of the interdependence of the various continents which bands together by common needs and objectives all countries irrespective of their political and economic conditions. From this background there emerges the problem of balanced development on a world scale, which has become the central problem of our time and which is transforming the world around us.

151. During the fifties we saw considerable progress in identifying the lines of action to be followed, as well as in achieving a better understanding of the requirements for an accelerated advance towards the attainment of conditions of complete independence for all countries of the world, also from an economic and social standpoint. It is, therefore, from this foundation that during the sixties, during the United Nations Development Decade, we should continue to pursue on a practical plane the programme for action, bearing in mind the importance of laying a solid basis which will allow all the peoples to build their own future with confidence. This year too, during our proceedings, frequent references will be made to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI). We know that the general anxious expectation is expressed at times in a tone of optimism and at other times in a tone of pessimism. In fact the broadness and complexity of the objectives to be attained are such as to impose careful reflection, strict discipline and unceasing efforts in the field of international co-operation, if we want the Development Decade to represent the first great step towards the substantial reduction of the economic gap dividing a world which the United Nations, instead, should seek to bring together in equality, prosperity and peace.

152. Even more than the mobilization of new energies, the result at stake requires essentially a qualitative improvement and an appropriate co-ordination of assistance, in a joint effort by the developing and the industrialized countries which would take into account all different components which must interact harmoniously in the various phases of the development process.

153. In this connexion I should like to stress a number of specific points with reference to which the United Nations can exercise a primary propellant function.

154. The first of these points is undoubtedly the formula of "trade and aid" which we have advocated and which we are gratified to see universally accepted in recent years. In that respect, I am especially convinced that only by harmonizing rationally organized assistance with adequate solutions to the principal problems of international trade will it be possible to make constructive progress towards the aims we are pursuing.

155. Fully aware that international trade can become one of the main instruments for improved development of the developing areas, we earnestly intend to contribute with all in our power to the success of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held next spring.

156. Italy, a member of the European Economic Community and thus well aware of the advantages of integration and close co-operation with other countries, will strive to ensure that the Community itself will participate in the consolidation of international economic co-operation, inspired by principles intended to enhance the development of world trade and the gradual elimination of restrictions and barriers. Likewise we shall strive to ensure that the Community—in the very spirit of the Rome Treaties—should look toward, to the world around it, in a liberal and constructive approach, avoiding selfish, inward-looking tendencies.

157. While we are all aware of the essential need to tackle these problems in a spirit of frank co-operation, we know equally well that the broadening of international trade and the granting of financial aid, however essential, are not in themselves sufficient to solve the

problems of development. Those instruments should be supplemented by technical assistance, which is indispensable for the establishment of the infra-structures necessary for industrialization and for the professional training of cadres in the developing countries. This is a field which lends itself to fruitful action by the United Nations, and a field in which Italy can offer its accumulated experience. Particularly valuable, in our view, is the work done by the United Nations Special Fund for pre-investment projects.

158. Still on the subject of international economic co-operation, I should like to recall that the Italian Government recently had the honour of being host in Rome to the United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism. That Conference was the first initiative of its kind in the United Nations framework. Indeed, we were gratified to note that the Conference reached a successful conclusion, laying the basis for the fruitful development of that important facet of co-operation among Member States.

159. Finally, I should like to draw attention to the statement made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/5501/Add.1] to the effect that the past year has been marked by a number of developments which will further the success and effectiveness of the United Nations. It is our firm hope that this new political and psychological atmosphere may open substantial and favourable prospects also in the economic field.

160. At this point I feel obliged to extend my statement in order to explain the Italian Government's position on the problem of the status of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Alto Adige—a subject on which Mr. Kreisky, the Austrian Foreign Minister, spoke at length yesterday [1217th meeting].

161. The Austrian Government complains that, during the past twelve months, no meeting has been held between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. As a matter of fact, this is quite true, and the Italian Government, which is anxious for a speedy resumption of the bilateral negotiations with Austria, is the first to regret, not only this circumstance in itself, but above all the causes which brought it about. What, then, are the origins of the present situation?

162. When I met Mr. Kreisky a year ago in New York, at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, we agreed on the advisability of meeting again at the beginning of November. At that time I envisaged a continuation of the talks between the two Foreign Ministers that had taken place in Venice at the end of the previous July.

163. These talks had once more placed the Italo-American negotiations in a perspective of hopeful expectation while, at the same time, the Italian Government was working on the problem at the internal level by means of a Study Commission entrusted with the task of preparing—with the co-operation of representatives of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Alto Adige—proposals for specific legislative measures for the further improvement of the autonomous regional Statute. However, just before the scheduled meeting, we learnt that the composition of the Austrian delegation was not to be limited to the immediate associates of the Foreign Minister, but was to include members of the Tyrolean regional Government. While I would not wish to comment here on the political wisdom of such an innovation for a meeting that was to be held on the eve of the Austrian general elections, the mere fact that it

had been made implied that the meeting would have had a different nature from those held in Venice and New York. Hence Italy's request to study the situation created by this element.

164. So the meeting did not take place at that time, mainly on account of the impending Austrian general elections, which meant that several months were to elapse before a new Austrian Government was formed. It is true that, in the meantime, the previous Government had remained in office as a caretaker government, but it had none the less resigned, and it is hardly surprising that we should have wished to deal with a Government that would be representative of the new Parliament. By the time such a Government had been constituted in Austria, general elections were about to begin in Italy, requiring a further lapse of time before the new Italian Cabinet was established. On the very day that my country's Parliament passed a vote of confidence in the new Government, I hastened to ask Vienna to indicate a date for the meeting of the two Foreign Ministers. It was in reply to that Italian proposal that Austria expressed the wish to send a senior official to Rome in order to discuss the agenda for the proposed meeting. We promptly agreed to this suggestion. However, the arrival of Ambassador Waldheim in Rome, towards the end of July 1963, coincided exactly with the resumption in Alto Adige of the terrorist activities which had practically ceased during the previous twelve months.

165. In spite of these far from encouraging occurrences, the basis was laid in Rome for an agreement on the agenda for the planned meeting. This circumstance, however, brought about a negative reaction on the part of those who had an interest in sabotaging Italo-Austrian relations. In fact, the acts of terrorism steadily increased so that in recent weeks the total number of incidents reached a very high figure. This could not fail to affect adversely the climate of Italian public opinion as it was impossible not to associate those terrorist activities with the lack of effective preventive action in neighbouring Austrian territory to preclude the crossing of terrorists and their weapons into Italy. In the Italian Government's view Austria is explicitly bound to undertake such preventive action under article 9 of the State Treaty, which requires it to prohibit and suppress all activities on the part of organizations engaging in actions hostile to any Member of the United Nations. In this situation Italy felt that it would be preferable to propose that the meeting in question should be held in September, at the beginning of the session of the United Nations General Assembly. If the Austrian Government had accepted our proposal, the meeting in New York would already have taken place and our willingness to negotiate could not have been questioned. The Austrian Government, on the other hand, prefers a date in October, and insists that the meeting be held in Europe.

166. At this stage, may I be allowed to emphasize two circumstances. The meeting between the two Foreign Ministers was recommended by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960 and resolution 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961. However, these resolutions are predicated on three points, the last of which recommends that both parties refrain from any action which might impair their friendly relations. This third point cannot be divorced from the first.

167. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the Italian Government could not fruitfully resume negotiations

with the Austrian Government if Vienna should fail to take due account also of the last point in the General Assembly's resolutions. Thus, while we regret, as I said before, the fact that the surveillance at the Austrian border is not exercised in such a way as to constitute a serious obstacle to the crossing into Italy of terrorists with their warlike equipment—notwithstanding the Italian Government's repeated appeals to the Austrian Government for co-operation to that end—I should also like to recall and strongly deplore the recent statements by Austrian authorities against the Italian judiciary. It is not the first time that this has happened, and it has been seen recently how the Council of Europe vindicated the Italian judiciary with respect to similar accusations made by Austria on previous occasions. The Italian Government considers that the misrepresentations of fact and the unfounded allegations contained in certain statements by Austrian authorities are incompatible with paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960. Above all, we cannot but indignantly reject the statement alleging the existence of evidence to the effect that prisoners of Alto Adige have been tortured.

168. The second matter to which I should like to call your attention is that, throughout this entire period, the Italian Study Commission for the problems of Alto Adige has continued, and has almost completed, its work aimed at solving the substance of the problem at the internal level. This effort made by the Italian Government—with the co-operation, as I already mentioned, of qualified representatives of the German-speaking inhabitants—should crown our endeavours to eliminate the sources of contention over the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946.^{8/}

169. However, I should like once again to stress that, provided no further attempt is made to vitiate the atmosphere between the two countries, we are still prepared to hold a meeting with the Austrian Foreign Minister in October. We hope that this resumption of negotiations will result in a speedy settlement of the entire controversy.

170. To conclude my statement, may I say that those among us—and if I am not mistaken, they are not few in number—who have considerable political experience know full well that it is better for responsible statesmen to exercise utmost care in their language so as to avoid the risk of being deluded by events. Nevertheless, I do not hesitate to voice here my optimism on the results of our deliberations at this session.

171. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The representative of Cambodia has the floor to exercise his right of reply.

172. Mr. NONG KIMNY (Cambodia) (translated from French): My purpose in asking to exercise my right to reply is not so much to answer the representative of Thailand as to set the record straight about certain opinions just expressed by him that might cast doubt on the objectives of Cambodia's policy towards its neighbours South Viet-Nam and Thailand.

173. This policy remains what it has always been: one of peace and co-operation. In his statement this morning the representative of Thailand said:

"Cambodian leaders would do well . . . to contribute to this historic trend of regional co-operation, rather than stay out of it and even aggravate it by the recent decision to cut off official ties with South Viet-Nam, thus adding further disunity and instability to the region."

174. It seems to me that in passing this judgement criticizing a foreign-policy decision by Cambodia, the representative of Thailand is jumping to conclusions without stopping for a moment to study the causes of this break in the relations between my country and South Viet-Nam. As the head of the Cambodian delegation explained in detail in his statement on 25 September [1215th meeting], Cambodia took the painful decision to break off political relations with South Viet-Nam because the Saigon régime had committed a series of crimes against the Khmer people, against the Cambodian minority living in South Viet-Nam, and against the Buddhist community in South Viet-Nam.

175. For years Cambodia's frontiers have been systematically violated, our peaceful inhabitants attacked and murdered without provocation, our air space violated almost daily. No country in the world—and I am sure that I can include Thailand in this—could agree to maintain normal relations with such an aggressive neighbour.

176. The representative of Thailand deplores the disunity and lack of stability in our region; but he cannot lay the blame for that at Cambodia's door; if he will study the reasons which impelled us to sever relations, he will easily see that the fault can only be that of the Government of South Viet-Nam.

177. The second point on which I should like to reply to the representative of Thailand is this. The Thai Minister said that Thailand believed "in the sanctity of international treaties and agreements as well as the obligations which might result therefrom. If Cambodia could do likewise there would be no problem between our two countries".

178. We are happy to note these words, but do not understand the doubt expressed by the Thai Minister about Cambodia's attitude towards international treaties and agreements concluded between our two countries. I can solemnly affirm here, on behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia, that one of the constant elements of Cambodia's foreign policy has been strict and absolute respect for international treaties and agreements and for the obligations resulting therefrom.

179. Lastly, my delegation would wish to share with the Thai delegation the opinion that if, in any future negotiations in which we may be called upon to participate, each party undertakes to respect the sanctity of international treaties and agreements, the difficulties between our two countries can be overcome.

^{8/} United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.