

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1226th
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 3 October 1963,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. Aiken (Ireland)	1
Speech by Sir Garfield Barwick (Australia)	5
Speech by Mr. Péter (Hungary)	9
Speech by Mr. Erkin (Turkey)	13
Statement by the representative of the Philippines	16

Page

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): May I say at the outset, Mr. President, how happy the Irish delegation was at your election to the Presidency. We wish to express to you our most cordial congratulations on your election to preside over the present session of the General Assembly. Your eminent personal qualities, your distinguished record as the representative of your country to the United Nations, and your long experience of the practical working of the Organization afford ample guarantee that you will fully justify the confidence that the Assembly has reposed in you by your discharge of the duties of the high office which you occupy.

2. I should like at the same time to pay a tribute of respect and gratitude to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan. By the manner in which he conducted the debates at the seventeenth session, he demonstrated how much a President of the Assembly can contribute to the efficient dispatch of the Assembly's work by the judicious use of the authority of his office.

3. Coming now to the matters before the Assembly, I should like my first words to be words of welcome for the conclusion of the Moscow test ban treaty,¹ for indeed it is the first break-through in the long search for some agreement in the field of nuclear weapons.

4. Members of the Assembly may recall that the Irish delegation has for several years past called for an immediate agreement to stop all tests which cause radioactive fall-out and thereby kill and injure the living and cripple generations yet unborn. We appealed to the nuclear Powers not to make a ban on those tests conditional upon agreement on the more difficult problem of stopping underground tests. We realized only too well that serious political difficulties stood in the way of a limited test ban treaty. Many years of rancorous de-

bate and prolonged negotiations had made that manifest. Now that those difficulties have been surmounted and the Moscow test ban treaty has been successfully concluded, we extend our cordial congratulations to the Powers concerned on their achievement.

5. The Irish Government was one of the many which showed their appreciation and gratitude for the wisdom and courage of the negotiating Powers by the speed with which it welcomed and signed the limited test ban agreement. We realize, of course, that the Treaty is limited; that—as the signatories are still free to carry out underground tests—it leaves potential nuclear Powers at liberty to test underground. No one would seek to underestimate the value of the agreement reached, above all from the point of view of its psychological effect on the world political climate. On the other hand, it would be a mistake not to recognize that the Treaty, though valuable in itself, presents no insurmountable barrier to the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons.

6. It is said, of course, that underground testing demands much greater skill and experience than other nuclear tests; but, with the growing number of nuclear scientists in many countries and the constantly developing use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, I greatly fear that before long additional States will be technically capable of producing nuclear weapons without testing them in the atmosphere—or perhaps even without testing them at all.

7. However, though the Moscow Treaty may not have entirely precluded the possibility of further Powers developing nuclear weapons, surely it justifies and encourages the continuance of all possible efforts in that direction. We sincerely hope, therefore, that this initial tripartite success in obtaining a limited agreement in the nuclear field will spur the four Powers concerned to use every possible endeavour to secure the conclusion—before it is too late—of the basic agreement to stop once and for all any further spread of nuclear weapons.

8. The resolutions passed by the General Assembly in previous years, and the enthusiastic welcomes with which the test ban treaty has been greeted, are a clear indication that, once the nuclear Powers conclude a draft treaty to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons, they will have the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the United Nations in implementing it and, if necessary, in enforcing it. We owe it to our children to come to grips with this problem firmly now and not to bequeath to them a world in which nuclear weapons will have become conventional arms in international—and perhaps even in domestic—conflicts.

9. I submit that if the further spread of nuclear weapons is to be prevented it is a question of now or never. It is an unpalatable but unquestionable fact that, as times goes on, more and more countries are learning and practising the art of producing fissionable

¹ Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

material as a by-product of certain types of nuclear power plants. It is possible indeed that cheaper and more surreptitious methods of producing such material may gradually come to be developed. There are countries in the world today which are spending resources greatly needed for economic development upon missile and nuclear weapon research, and their Governments will be pressed—vigorously pressed—by their military staffs to produce or acquire nuclear weapons with all possible speed, not only for reasons of prestige but on the ground that other Powers, including potential enemies, are already equipped, or may shortly be equipped, with similar weapons. In those circumstances, if steps are not taken, and taken now, which will effectively prevent any additional State, however, wealthy and powerful, from producing or acquiring these weapons, there is nothing more certain, I believe, than that the possession of nuclear arms will before long commence to spread, and to spread in geometrical progression in ever widening circles throughout the world. I can think of no case in which the acquisition, or the threat of acquisition, of nuclear weapons by an additional State would not immediately drive at least one other State to seek to acquire similar weapons by hook or by crook. We must at our peril use all the influence and power at the disposal of the United Nations to close the door of the nuclear club now, no matter how insistently aspiring members may demand admission. If we can prevent it, there must be no fifth member.

10. In a problem as critically dangerous as the spread of nuclear weapons, it is vital that we should have no illusions about the basic factors involved or as to where the real power to solve it lies. I submit that the responsibility for taking the necessary steps to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons lies primarily and essentially on the four nuclear members of the Security Council. On behalf of the Irish delegation, I appeal to them to take immediate steps, inside and outside the Geneva Conference, to promote the agreements required to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons. No apprehension that in spite of our collective efforts some other State may in future come to possess nuclear arms should be allowed to stand in the way of the erection now—because there is danger in delay—of the strongest possible moral and legal barriers to the production, possession or control of nuclear weapons by additional States.

11. Members will recall that on 4 December 1961 the General Assembly unanimously passed a resolution on the prevention of the further dissemination of nuclear weapons. The operative paragraphs of that resolution [1665 (XVI)] read as follows:

"1. Calls upon all States, and in particular upon the States at present possessing nuclear weapons, to use their best endeavours to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under which the nuclear States would undertake to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons, and provisions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons;

"2. Urges all States to co-operate to those ends."

12. In their official statements made both before and since that resolution was passed, most of the nuclear Powers have given high priority to the importance of

preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. Those statements encourage us to hope that, now that the test ban treaty has been concluded, the Geneva Conference, which did so much to prepare the ground for that agreement, will crown its valuable work by giving special priority to the problem of preventing any wider dissemination of nuclear arms.

13. It must be clear that, in the circumstances of the world today, the very survival of humanity depends to a vital degree upon stabilizing the present uneasy balance of power in the world by restricting the possession and control of nuclear weapons to the States which already possess them. The Cuban crisis last year showed us how easily that balance can be upset and what can happen if it is threatened. The Cuban crisis showed also, I think, that, much as we might wish to have it otherwise, the non-nuclear States must rely on the enlightened self-interest of the nuclear Powers to save the world from a nuclear holocaust. Our ultimate aim, I submit, must be to develop step by step the rule of law and international law enforcement to the point where all nations can be assured of protection against aggression without individual national control of nuclear arsenals. Obviously, however, we are still very far from that point. In the meantime, surely it would be absurd if the acceptance of the status of a non-nuclear State were to be regarded as implying any degree of national sacrifice or loss of prestige. Surely, on the contrary, there is much to be gained both in moral prestige and in actual national advantage from helping to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and thereby helping to eliminate fears and suspicions and the danger of local situations escalating into nuclear conflicts.

14. All reasonable men recognize that the Powers which negotiated the test ban treaty did so in the hope of creating the climate for further negotiations to end the vicious spiral of the arms race. The danger now, it seems to me, is that the nuclear Powers may become again bogged down in prolonged and inconclusive negotiations and that the psychological advantages resulting from the Moscow test ban treaty may be lost.

15. We would hope, however, that the negotiation of an agreement to stop the spread of nuclear arms would present that danger in far lesser degree than any other effort in the disarmament field. Such an agreement should be negotiable without any great delay if we remember that it involves no inspection of the territories of the nuclear Powers, that they have agreed that it is deserving of high priority in their further disarmament negotiations, and that the United Nations has unanimously called upon them to conclude such a treaty. We hope and pray, therefore, that advantage will be taken of the favorable climate created by the Moscow treaty to negotiate and conclude an international agreement which will prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons during the period required to build a stable world based on law and justice and collective law enforcement.

16. In concluding my remarks on this subject, let me say that I wholeheartedly agree that the nuclear Powers, and indeed all the Members of the United Nations, should keep probing for agreement on any issue which tends to create tension and on any project which helps us to learn to work in harmony. I would add, however, that we should not forget that a successful strategy for peace must not fail to provide for sustained pressure on central problems while seeking valuable tactical gains on the periphery. And one of

the central problems of today, I submit, is how to secure and enforce an agreement which will prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons.

17. The non-nuclear States can, I submit, do something more than watch and pray while the nuclear Powers negotiate, or fail to negotiate, the agreements required to avert the dangers which threaten them and all of us. One thing we can do is to improve the capacity of the United Nations to conciliate differences and to maintain peace. Every international dispute settled, every conflict ended, is a step away from total war and a step towards stable and lasting peace. History shows that clashes between smaller countries seldom remain localized but tend to erupt all too easily into wide conflicts. If that has been so in the past, it is doubly likely to prove to be the case in a world in which science and technology have annihilated distance. We are all aware that there are areas in the world in which outbreaks of hostilities between smaller Powers would entail a serious risk of involving the nuclear Powers. It is clearly, therefore, in the interest of us all that the smaller Powers should reduce or eliminate the danger of conflict between themselves.

18. For this reason, I would again suggest that, wherever possible, regional groups of States should combine to organize and establish areas of law and limited armaments. Such groups, I would urge, should agree to settle their disputes on the basis of law or by means of conciliation, and should also agree to restrict their armaments to police level and to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons or amassing major offensive weapons such as heavy tanks, planes and missiles. Such groupings based on mutual co-operation, restricted armaments and the rule of law, would constitute major contributions to world peace and stability. It should be the special interest of the United Nations, including the nuclear Powers, to foster their development and to defend them against outside interference in their affairs.

19. The time is now ripe, I submit, for the United Nations to adopt a more positive role in international conciliation and to improve the efficiency of our peace-keeping machinery. While the great majority of Members recognize and appreciate the magnificent and self-sacrificing work of our Secretary-General, U Thant, and of his eminent predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, and the devotion and sacrifices of the United Nations civilian staff and military forces, we realize that up to now our peace-keeping efforts have had of necessity to be improvised to meet each new problem as it arose. The improved climate in the United Nations following the Moscow treaty gives us, let us hope, the opportunity which we have heretofore lacked to place our conciliation and peace-keeping machinery on a more systematic footing. We must not let slip any such opportunity as may offer.

20. It would be a considerable advance, I believe, if we could organize our conciliation machinery somewhat along the lines suggested by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Liberia on 26 September in the Assembly [1217th meeting]. As a means of anticipating and heading off any threatened conflict, we should, at the earliest possible moment, send a conciliator to the area concerned with the sole duty of bringing the potential opponents to the negotiating table to hammer out a peaceful settlement. Even if conflict should arise, we should—as I believe at one time in her history Switzerland used to do where conflicts arose between the cantons—send a conciliator, or a

succession of conciliators, to sow the seeds of peace among the opponents. The conciliators should have no responsibility for the control of any United Nations civilian or military operations in the area. Their task should be purely and exclusively conciliatory. They should, I suggest, carry no blueprint for peace. Their duty would be solely to bring the opponents together to search for a settlement on which they could agree.

21. Needless to say, what I have just said is in no sense a criticism of the many missions of conciliation undertaken by the late Secretary-General and by his successor and their assistants. Indeed, the world is deeply indebted to them for their work in the Congo, in Cuba and other areas. We should, however, at this stage of our development, realize that the principal offices of our Organization are so seriously overburdened by every-day administrative tasks that the Secretary-General and his assistants may often be tied to Headquarters at times when there is dire need for the whole-time, and perhaps prolonged, efforts of a conciliator thousands of miles from New York. I submit that our administrative structure should be such as to make it possible, whenever a local situation threatens to erupt into conflict, for a senior officer of the Secretariat, or any other representative whom the Secretary-General decides to choose, to give his whole and undivided attention to the task of resolving the situation by conciliation, free from all other duties for as long as the necessity for his efforts exists.

22. We should also consider, I think, what measures we can take at this stage to strengthen the Organization's peace-keeping machinery and to make it more effective. Representatives will remember the suggestion made by the Prime Minister of Canada earlier in this debate [1208th meeting], that national units should be especially trained and held ready for instant dispatch on peace-keeping missions. The availability of such units in adequate numbers would indeed be a valuable step forward, and the gratitude of the United Nations is due to the States which have announced their decisions to keep such units in readiness. But, whether or not there are enough such military units immediately available, it is absolutely essential to have at United Nations Headquarters sufficient civilian and military personnel appropriately trained to supply the necessary Headquarters and local staffs for operations in the field.

23. I fully agree with the proposal in this connexion made by the former Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General, Mr. Andrew Cordier, in the important address which he delivered at the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania earlier this year. Mr. Cordier suggested that military and civilian officers should be organized at United Nations Headquarters and trained to work together in planning and preparing for the various kinds of eventualities likely to arise. These officers would thus become well known to each other and to their superiors and could be promoted or reassigned according as their personal and professional suitability was discovered. To keep such staffs in being and training would undoubtedly cost money; but their professional experience, and their intimate knowledge of each other, of the working of the United Nations, and of their duties as United Nations officers, would be invaluable if the Organization were called upon to intervene in a critical and complicated situation, particularly if contact between them and with Headquarters were difficult. If, through lack of funds or for any other reason, we were compelled to improvise to meet critical situations, we should at least,

I suggest, spend as much as is necessary to have these combined staffs trained to make the best and most effective use of whatever resources may be at our disposal.

24. Speaking of the expense of peace-keeping staffs brings me to the problem of providing the Secretary-General with the funds required to carry out the peace-keeping duties imposed upon him by the Security Council or the General Assembly. I have no intention of repeating all the arguments which I used on this subject in the general debate last year [1142nd meeting], but I would again strongly urge that the Secretary-General should be empowered to borrow from all willing lenders—government and non-government—the funds necessary to implement the resolutions of our Organization if receipts from assessments fall short of the budgeted expenses. This Organization faces many problems with which it will have to live and struggle for many years to come. But if it should betray the confidence of those States which sought our help, or if it should fail to complete its peace-keeping efforts for lack of the will to raise sums amounting annually to no more than a few cents per head of our populations, I doubt whether future generations would feel that it deserved to live.

25. As a former Minister for Finance I realize, of course, the political difficulty of imposing taxation for any purpose, however worthy or essential. I realize that it may be, from time to time, politically embarrassing for some Governments to pay their assessments to the United Nations, particularly when these assessments can be postponed for two years without loss of vote. This is a situation which every loyal Member should, I suggest, be prepared to meet by lending its proportionate share of the defaulters' arrears until the two-year rule comes into play. If the United Nations paid a reasonable rate of interest, its loans would impose no great burden on those who subscribed to them. In any event, when we think of the efforts and sacrifices which we have already made to avoid falling down on our commitments to the Congolese Government and people, and when we remember that this Organization is the best and perhaps the last hope of building a peaceful world, it does not seem too much to expect that Members should be prepared to subscribe their appropriate share of whatever loans might be necessary to ensure the smooth and effective working of our Organization.

26. Before I conclude, there is one other matter with which I should like to deal briefly: that is the question of international trade and payments. As we are all acutely aware, this is a field in which problems arise not only between highly developed States, but between such States and countries still in the course of development. Problems also arise between States with completely government-directed systems of production and trade and those with freer economies.

27. As we have not yet begun to trade with the moon, the countries of the world can only live and develop and enjoy the full fruits of their labour by exchanging their goods and services for the goods and services of others. In the short run, countries with surplus balances of payments may arrange to postpone repayment for them by granting loans or gifts, or making investments; but eventually, they must import a surplus of goods and services if they wish to be repaid for those which they have exported.

28. With certain exceptions, such as goods in short supply or "strategic materials", all States are nor-

mally anxious to export more than they import in order to achieve a favourable balance of payments. But if a number of States impose an undue strain on the available means of international payment by refusing to buy or invest as much as they sell or receive from past investments, total international trade must tend to shrink and prices on international markets must tend to fall. It is as important for world trade to have a reasonable sufficiency of world currency in active circulation, as it is for a national economy to have money in active circulation in sufficient volume to meet the needs of traders and people. One of the best ways of preventing an insufficiency of international liquidity and for keeping trade at the highest desirable level, would be for all countries to buy or invest promptly and willingly all the surplus liquid reserves which they acquire on foot of current exports and receipts from past investments. What is required, I submit, is some agreed system under which this would happen automatically.

29. The idea of establishing such a system of regulating payments between States is not new. It was discussed in the report of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Employment and Economic Stability, published in 1949.^{2/} It was partially tried out by the European Payments Union established in 1950, and the experiment was very successful, for within a few years the volume of inter-European trade rose by 40 per cent. Before the European Payments Union was established, inter-European trade was strangled by a web of bilateral payments arrangements; but when the members of the European Payments Union were compelled by the obligations which they had undertaken to spend within their area 75 per cent of their surplus balances arising out of inter-European trade, or have them frozen indefinitely without interest, they quickly proceeded to spend these balances by importing from other member States or by making loans or investments within the group.

30. I suggest that the time has come when the feasibility of establishing a world-wide payments union based on similar principles could be usefully studied. I submit that in a world in which two thirds of mankind is hungry, ill-housed, illiterate and under-employed, and in which a very high proportion of production resources continue to be unused, it must surely be our aim to increase production in all our countries and to keep the growth of international investment and trade at the highest obtainable level.

31. I appreciate the value of current proposals for expanding international trade and investment by measures designed to increase international liquidity. But the question is whether, in order to obtain the maximum development of the human and material resources of the world as a whole, something more is not required, something in the nature of a world payments union by the operation of which international trade, visible and invisible, could constantly be maintained at a high and rising level and international payments kept automatically in balance by the full use of excess surpluses for foreign investment, loans or gifts.

32. I believe that if it were found feasible, the establishment of a world payments union would help to smooth out many of the difficulties which stand in the way of fullest possible expansion of world trade on an

^{2/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Ninth Session, Supplement No. 11.

equitable basis. I believe, moreover, that under such a system in which international payments were balanced automatically and on a reciprocal basis foreign trade would cease to be regarded as a weapon for use in economic or political cold wars and would come to serve more and more as an instrument for promoting world development and international co-operation.

33. In conclusion, I would hope that in view of the growing need for remedying the existing imbalances and inequities in the world economy, it may now be possible to have the establishment of a world payments union considered more objectively and on a broader basis than in the past. It is in that hope that I venture to put forward the suggestion, because in my belief the expansion of international trade on a fair and reciprocal basis would give all of us a greater and more enlightened interest in each other's welfare and prosperity. And in the age of nuclear weapons this is surely a consummation devoutly to be desired.

34. Sir Garfield BARWICK (Australia): Mr. President, allow me on behalf of the Australian delegation to congratulate you upon your election as President of this Assembly. This is a most distinguished office, but by no means an easy one. My Government and my delegation know that you will perform your manifold and often difficult duties with wisdom, fairness and despatch. Your record as a man willing to make personal sacrifices for the sake of principle, your previous Presidency of the Security Council, your service generally in the United Nations as Venezuela's representative, and your country's record of active support for this Organization, all combine to ensure this result.

35. The Treaty of 5 August banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water has now been signed by over one hundred countries, Australia being one of the very first. The final processes of ratification have begun with the recent approval of the Treaty by the United States Senate and by the Soviet Presidium. I shall not presume on your time by endorsing in detail what others before me have already said about the advantages of the Treaty: its limiting effect on the nuclear arms race; its restraining effect on those who would become nuclear Powers; its wholly beneficial effect, felt by nuclear and non-nuclear Powers alike, in putting a stop to the pollution of our atmosphere; and the new possibilities in the negotiation of disarmament which it has opened up.

36. Australia is at one with all of those nations which welcome the Treaty for the advantages it brings and the opportunities which it appears to present. At the same time, we must be clearly conscious of what the Treaty does not do. It does not reduce existing capabilities for waging nuclear war. Nor does it reduce the dangers and horror of conventional war. And in that connexion, lest we have an unbalanced view, let us remind ourselves that in the space of fourteen hours during the Second World War, in one blow from conventional weapons, 135,000 people died—twice the number of people killed by the first atomic blast—and eighteen hundred acres of a great city were destroyed. Finally, the Treaty does not directly engage the central problems of war itself or of the ambitions, the tensions and the fears which have so often led to war.

37. It is true, however, that tension between the two greatest Powers has been reduced by the Treaty. As evidence we have the statements made in this very hall by President Kennedy and by Mr. Gromyko in the first week of this session; and more recently

Lord Home has added his assessment. On the other hand there is still much that divides them, notably their disagreement about the proper meaning to be given to the terms "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful co-operation". So long as peaceful coexistence is interpreted and applied by one side as essentially involving a continuation of the cold war, at least so long will the causes of tension persist. This is not a happy prospect. Yet I do hope that Lord Home's plea that the nations use the opportunity of the moment will bear the fruit which he and all men of good will desire.

38. But, and I find this most disquieting, there is the continuing, indeed the darkening, shadow cast over the whole world, East and West alike, by a country which rejects even the Soviet concept of peaceful coexistence as "erroneous" and which, as its leader Mao Tse-Tung has made ominously clear, can contemplate with apparent equanimity the destruction of half the world.

39. The appalling fact is that Communist China continues to affirm its conviction in the inevitability of war. As an earnest of this conviction we have been forced within the last year to witness open aggression against India, a country which maintained friendly relations with Communist China and which was currently engaged in discussion with it. And, as the Foreign Minister of Thailand so rightly reminded us last week, South-East Asia has continued to be racked by subversion and covert aggression, notably in Laos and South Viet-Nam. Both of these activities draw inspiration and support from Peking. To all of this Communist China has now added its open rejection of the nuclear test ban Treaty and its reaffirmation of its intention to establish a nuclear capacity of its own.

40. Let none think that Communist China's absence from this Organization was a bar to its adherence to the Treaty. That instrument was carefully so drafted as to permit, and indeed encourage, countries whose international status or acceptability was in dispute to join in the Treaty's obligations. Communist China could have done so, had it had the necessary good will towards its fellows.

41. It is of the greatest concern to Australia that this most acute and unabated threat of major war emanates from, and is most directly focused on, the region of Asia, where Australia is geographically placed and with whose future its destinies are inevitably and permanently linked.

42. A number of specific items affecting the region of Asia—and particularly that of South-East Asia, with which Australia is most directly concerned—has been placed on the agenda of this Assembly, and I shall not take up the time of this plenary meeting by anticipating the comments which the Australian delegation will offer on each of them. I should, however, take this opportunity to refer briefly to two matters of particular importance.

43. The first of these is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Although the aims of this Conference are world-wide in their scope, its particular implications for the regions of South and South-East Asia are of greatest concern to Australia. Like the countries of these regions, Australia lives predominantly as a producer of agricultural products and of raw materials and we feel, with the countries of those regions, the down turn and insecurity of world prices of these commodities. From the very outset Australia has warmly welcomed the initiative taken by this Organization and it has given, and will con-

tinue to give, its fullest support to the aims of the Conference. We have demonstrated in a practical way our common concern with our Asian neighbours, not only by our work in the Conference but also by our recent entry into full regional membership of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

44. There is an urgent need for a sustained co-operative effort to raise living standards throughout the region, as indeed elsewhere in the world where they lag—not only for reasons of general humanity, but also because higher living standards will lead towards stability and security. Indeed, political independence needs underpinning by economic satisfactions. Furthermore, a general rise in economic levels throughout the region will not only benefit the developing nations but also, through the general expansion of trade, will promote the prosperity of the region as a whole. There is, of course, still an important role for economic aid, a field in which Australia is playing its part. But aid is only a palliative, not a solution. Although in an emergency there is a vital need for blood transfusions, no healthy life can be sustained indefinitely by transfusions alone. True economic growth and health, permanent and self-regenerating, must in the final resort depend on a sound basis of trade and development; and this in turn, in the case of the developing countries, depends on adequate prices for commodities. Australia will continue, with its fellow Members of this Organization, to seek solutions for this difficult and so far intractable problem.

45. The second matter which I wish to mention is a recent development of great importance in the region of South-East Asia—a development which has already attracted attention in this debate. I refer to the establishment of Malaysia, which the Australian delegation is most happy to welcome to this Assembly, through its distinguished delegation, as the constitutional successor to the Federation of Malaya.

46. During the last few years, as the decolonizing process has approached its final stages in South-East Asia, Australia has had a close neighbourly interest in the problem of how the remaining colonial territories of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak would attain their independence. Clearly, none of them was strong enough economically, politically or even in point of mere numbers, to stand on its own feet as a separate and independent nation.

47. My Government watched the painstaking efforts made over a period of many months to ascertain the views of the peoples of these territories on the concept of a wider federation launched by the Malayan Prime Minister in May 1961. I shall not take time to recite the extensive processes of ascertainment which were followed. It is sufficient for me to say that it became clear to my Government that the established criteria for self-determination were fully satisfied. It was on this basis that the Australian Government gave its public support to the concept of Malaysia. That the peoples of the two Borneo territories should have chosen to gain and exercise their independence as constituent members of federation with Malaya and Singapore was indeed natural. They had shared for many years a common legal and administrative system and tradition, had employed for both official and other purposes a common language, and had a common monetary system. Furthermore, that they should have seen advantage in joining a federation which had already proved itself to be a stable multiracial nation with a sound and developing economy was not surprising.

Australia believes that the record of the original Federation of Malaya augurs well for the success of Malaysia, which can become a stabilizing influence in the South-East Asian region and make a significant contribution to its peace and security.

48. When Indonesia and the Philippines early this year expressed their misgivings about the extension of the federation, Australia encouraged a meeting of the three Governments as a means of removing misunderstandings and enabling Malaysia to be created with the goodwill of its neighbours. As a result, the three Governments expressed an agreed basis on which Indonesia and the Philippines would welcome the new nation. That basis, namely a favourable report by the Secretary-General, eventuated. But unfortunately Malaysia has not in fact been spared the hostility of Indonesia and the Philippines.

49. The clear and unambiguous report of the Secretary-General confirms that in entering Malaysia the inhabitants of the territories had exercised self-determination in conformity with the resolutions of this Assembly. I am sure that all Members of this Organization should accept this conclusion and welcome a decolonization which accords with the principles of the Charter. I deeply regret that Indonesia and the Philippines, Members of this Organization, have so far refused to accept the enlarged Federation. I hope that they will yet do so and enter, *bona fide*, as Australia and so many other Members of the United Nations will do, into close and friendly co-operation with Malaysia.

50. But I am bound to say that the course of the debate here, as well as the recent events in Jakarta, fills me with misgiving. In his principal address [1219th meeting] the representative of Indonesia advanced, as partial justification for his country's refusal to accept the findings of the Secretary-General and for its declared intention to confront and destroy Malaysia, the form of the Federation as an alleged British creature imposed upon unwilling participants. In his subsequent speech in reply [1221st meeting], he advanced as a fresh justification the extension of the British-Malayan Defence Agreement announced in November 1961. But the role of Britain in welcoming and encouraging—but most carefully refraining from imposing—the concept of Malaysia, as well as the terms of the extended defence agreement which provides the security of Malaysia, had both been known for more than a year and a half when, in Manila in July and August this year, Indonesia set the satisfaction of the Secretary-General as to the wishes of the people of the Borneo territories as the sole precondition of its readiness to welcome Malaysia.

51. I should add that my Government has recently made it clear that, in the event of Malaysia or any of its constituent States being subjected in the future to armed invasion or subversive activity, supported, directed or inspired from outside—an event which would be greatly to be deplored—we shall, in conformity with the Charter, to the best of our powers and by such means as shall be agreed upon with the Government of Malaysia, add our military assistance to the defence of Malaysia's territorial integrity and political independence. This support springs not only from our long association with Malaya, a fellow country of the Commonwealth, but from our firm conviction that the new nation, as the expression of self-determination and the attainment and exercise of in-

dependence through federation, should be free to develop itself in peace.

52. It is only a short time since we were faced with another decolonization problem in the same general area, a problem which generated strong emotions and led to acute and dangerous local tensions. I refer to the problem of West Irian. The report of the Secretary-General as to the present position with regard to this territory* will come up for discussion in this Assembly. Here I shall only say that Australia notes the steps already taken, under the aegis of the Secretary-General, in carrying out the agreement on this territory, and it looks forward to its further performance right through to the act of self-determination in such a manner that this Assembly will be able to receive with approval the reports of Indonesia and the Secretary-General that the agreement has been fully carried out.

53. Problems of decolonization arise in an acute form today in Africa. The African questions which will occupy so prominent a place in the discussions of this Assembly are varied, but it seems to me that they possess a common link: for the concern of the United Nations is to help the peoples of Africa in their rapid evolution to achieve independent, firmly based and harmonious societies in which no group shall have exclusive privileges, but in which each shall be able to make its contribution, and in which there shall be genuine equality among all citizens, without racial barriers or racial conflict. That I believe is the broad aim of this Assembly.

54. In the Congo, the problem is now one of national stability. Australia has always fully supported the United Nations effort there, both by paying its share of the cost and in other ways. The success of the United Nations in the Congo is heartening both for the future of the Organization and for Africa. This effort must be brought to a successful conclusion; and we welcome and support the proposals, now under discussion, which are designed to find ways of meeting the costs of a temporary prolongation of the United Nations military operation.

55. In the Portuguese territories the chief immediate problem is that of securing acceptance by the administering Power of the need for genuine self-determination and of rapid progress towards it. Here I shall only say that Australia has made direct efforts at the highest level to persuade Portugal of the necessity for these things.

56. In the Portuguese territories and in Southern Rhodesia—but even more acutely in South Africa—the problem presents itself of a minority, now enjoying effective power and a traditional position of privilege, which sees in the rise of independent States, and in the emancipation of Africans elsewhere on the continent, a threat to its own position and future.

57. This creates a situation which could be dangerous if it were to get out of hand. No one, no matter what his race, should contemplate—and I am sure few do contemplate—the actuality of open racial conflict in Africa. Even as a possibility it is appalling. To speak of confrontation, of one race by another, might appear to simplify matters; the two sides are easily identified and all one would need to do would be to choose one's own and oppose the other. But to speak in this way is to abdicate our reason in the face of the admittedly difficult and complex problems of multi-racialism, problems to be solved with untiring patience, if necessary, over a considerable period of time.

*Subsequently circulated as document A/5578.

58. The hateful doctrine of apartheid draws some of its motivation from such a refusal to attempt the adjustments for which multi-racialism inevitably calls. I am sure that the representatives of the new African States will refuse to abandon the hope of multi-racialism in Africa and will reject the ugly distortion of a confrontation of races. The representatives of Ghana and Uganda and Nigeria have already said as much in their speeches here.

59. I was glad to note the recent words of Mr. Kenyatta, the Prime Minister of Kenya—a country whose representatives we shall shortly welcome among us and, I might mention, one of whose senior officials is, I am pleased to say, this year attached to the Australian delegation. Mr. Kenyatta made it clear that in his view the European community in Kenya is necessary to the future of that country, that in the new Kenya there would be a place for all its citizens. These words and the spirit which underlies them are statesmanlike; and it seems to me that assurances of this kind, backed wherever possible by practical demonstrations, can do much to create and maintain a climate of mutual trust between the various communities in central and southern Africa. The creation of such a climate is indispensable if racial friction is to be avoided and if the benefits which all components of those societies can contribute to them are to be obtained. The representatives of Denmark and Sweden mentioned this aspect of the matter and I commend it, as they did, to the attention of the Assembly. As Lord Home has so justly said in his address this week [1222nd meeting], it is the essence of democracy that majorities should rule but that minorities should be fully safeguarded.

60. These considerations lead me to add that in Africa's struggle to achieve the broad aims which I earlier described—genuine equality of all citizens in independent, firmly-based, harmonious societies—there must be care and reflection in the choice of means to attain those ends. Is there not a danger that a policy of all-out pressure, whether in this Organization or outside, may fail to produce the right results, that it may lead not to yielding, but to ever more rigid entrenchment?

61. For example, I cannot believe that sanctions against the Republic of South Africa or its suspension or expulsion from this Organization or any of its agencies will cause the Government of that country to change its racial policies. Such courses are not persuasive but merely provocative of opposition. An embattled society resists, at whatever cost, until brought to the last extremity, by which time many of those whom the pressures were designed to benefit will have been irretrievably damaged in the conflict. And in Southern Rhodesia, where the situation is still in so many ways less rigid, may not such a policy put an end to the prospects of conciliation and advance through mutual endeavour, which I am convinced still exist there, and which I hope will be vigorously pursued by all concerned?

62. I fully understand the sense of urgency which weighs on the newly independent nations of Africa in their search for solutions to the remaining problems of their continent. No one should be asked to accept a standstill, and meaningful progress must consistently be made. But is it not the main task to build out of the existing elements in each State and territory stable and harmonious societies? And is it not the hope that such societies will endure for an infinity of time? It is

in that perspective, I suggest, that the pace of achievement should be measured. Might not extreme pressure not merely overtax this Organization but, by entrenching tensions—and perhaps increasing their significance—render the goal impossible?

63. This problem of orderly, planned decolonization, of working with all prudent dispatch towards self-determination and independence based on a solid political and economic foundation and on a healthy concept of racial co-operation, is not a question of merely theoretical concern to Australia.

64. In the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Australian Territory of Papua there are 2 million people. In the discharge of her obligations to and for these people—in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, and with full awareness of the expectations of this Assembly as expressed in its resolution 1514 (XV)—Australia in no way differentiates between Papua, the Australian territory, and New Guinea, the Trust Territory.

65. This Assembly should be in no doubt regarding Australia's intentions and policies in Papua and New Guinea. They have been repeatedly stated, and only last month were restated by the Prime Minister of Australia in the following terms:

"In these territories . . . we in Australia have accepted great responsibilities, responsibilities much too great to be passed off our shoulders lightly or in support of pure theory. We have immense responsibilities in these territories and we propose to discharge them. We look forward to the time when those territories will be completely politically and economically independent, where they will be a living vital country, controlling their own destiny . . ."

66. Towards these ends Australia has endeavoured to proceed in the political field by a process of constitutional change. This process, based on careful and continuing preparation at the fundamental levels of social, economic and political life, has quickened in response to the developing situation in the territories. The most recent advance has been the creation of a common roll on the basis of which—and through the exercise of the principle of "one man, one vote", regardless of race, creed or colour—the people of the territories will shortly go to the polls in elections for a House of Assembly in which more than two-thirds will be indigenous people.

67. There is in these territories co-operation and mutual respect between the indigenous and the non-indigenous people. Australia has scrupulously guarded against the alienation of land from indigenous ownership and has not only swept away inequalities before the law but by statute has unambiguously made discriminatory practices unlawful and punishable. As I mentioned earlier, political independence needs underpinning by economic satisfactions. Accordingly, there is already planned development of primary production, to which the country is now most suited and in which the indigenous people have an ever-increasing share. In addition, the Australian Government now has the assistance of experts from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development who are making a full economic survey of the territories to determine the lines which their future economic development might take.

68. Similarly, social development is being conditioned by carefully planned educational programmes, and here

I should mention particularly the investigations of a commission on higher education to determine the development of a university or of university-type institutions in New Guinea—of which some potential component parts are already vigorously in being—and as a basis for further extensive educational development.

69. However, in none of the fields of its development—political, social or economic—are the people of Papua and New Guinea yet able to proceed independently of Australian help. The biggest single item in the territories' revenue remains the annual grant of aid from Australia which this year has been fixed at 25,000,000 Australian pounds which is the equivalent of 55,750,000 United States dollars and which represents an increase of about 25 per cent over last year's figure.

70. This whole policy and programme is designed to place in the hands of the people of these territories adequate and modern instruments for the expression and the realization of their own will and desires. The Australian Government recognizes this popular will as the only factor which will ultimately determine the form of New Guinea's independence. The voice of the people can be heard and will be heard with increasing vigour through their own elected Parliament which, as I have said, will itself be constituted by the voices of every individual within the Territory on the basis of a common roll and universal franchise.

71. Although the half dozen issues on which I have touched are matters of outstanding concern to Australia and to many of the nations represented here, they are in fact only a small selection from the vast programme of urgent constructive work with which this Organization is faced. There is little dissent amongst us on the broad questions of what needs to be done, however much we may differ at times as to the wisest and most effective ways of achieving our objectives. By and large, also, each of us may acknowledge the general sincerity with which our fellow Members approach the solution of these problems, however strongly we may disagree at times about forms and methods. In the face of this vast array of tasks, however, we will need more than awareness of the needs and sincerity in considering them if our Organization is to achieve effective and lasting results.

72. We regret that continuing major global tensions necessarily still divert into economically unproductive channels large resources of effort and treasure, some at least of which might otherwise be added to those available for the peaceful purposes of our world Organization; but there can unfortunately be little immediate prospect of any significant redirection of these resources.

73. In the meantime, however, there is much which we can and should do to improve the capacity of our Organization to carry out its tasks effectively. The massive accession of additional Members to the United Nations, particularly during the last ten years, and the resulting reflection of new major regional interests, have made it urgently necessary to revise the Charter so as to make it accord more closely with current needs and to provide in the principal organs—especially the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council—for more adequate representation of new Members, especially the nations of Africa.

74. An equally urgent task is to solve the question of the finances of our Organization. However fully the United Nations may be developed to represent interests and views on a truly world-wide basis, it must

inevitably fail to achieve its objectives so long as it continues to be crippled financially by a section of its membership. In fact, as its membership continues to grow and as it assumes ever increasing and onerous tasks, the problem of virtual financial bankruptcy becomes increasingly acute.

75. I should like to conclude with a brief mention of a very valuable, and at the same time inexpensive, development in the activities of the United Nations. I refer to the increasing role of the Secretary-General, both personally and through his appointed representatives, in visiting troubled areas of the world, in making objective investigations into situations and forming objective assessments of them, and in providing his good offices to help the contending parties, and the United Nations as a whole, towards acceptable and just solutions. Several times during the last year we have all had reason to be grateful for this quiet and effective diplomacy. When, as happens only too often, this Assembly is faced by the contending parties with quite irreconcilable accounts of a situation on which the great majority of us would have no opportunity of first-hand knowledge, the objective contribution which the Secretary-General can make from his independent inquiries and assessments can prove invaluable to us all. One such instance is the case of Malaysia to which I have already referred. My delegation would like to express its warm appreciation of this development in the role of the Secretary-General and to congratulate him on the results of his efforts and those of his various representatives during the past year.

Mr. Tarazi (Syrian Arab Republic) Vice-President, took the Chair.

76. Mr. PETER (Hungary): In the new and rather favourable climate of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly three questions come to one's mind:

77. First, is this so-called armistice in the cold war just a temporary mood, one which will soon pass, or are there in the background any permanent factors that have prompted a lessening of general tensions?

78. Secondly, what should be done so that this period of "détente" might continue? In all probability, everything depends on what use will be made of the pause in the cold war.

79. Thirdly, then, what step could next be taken to widen the scope of agreements that would not only prolong but even deepen mutual understanding and international co-operation?

80. I will try to find answers to these questions by using as an illustration a rather peculiar recent incident which was the result of a common effort of Moscow and Washington. The emergency communications system established between the two capitals is doubtless unprecedented in history, being commensurate with the thermonuclear age. One would have expected the first message sent through the so-called "hot line" to be a solemn and even dramatic one, worthy of being remembered by generations to come. Instead, it went from Washington to Moscow in the following terms: "The quick brown fox jumped over the lazy dog's back." And from Moscow to Washington just a few letters and some numerals were transmitted. The first message on a communications system unprecedented in all history—and I want to mention, incidentally, that part of the installations were made in the German Democratic Republic—did not serve anything but a technical purpose: to test the accuracy and reliability of the teletype and code systems.

81. This really peculiar example illustrates how the two thermo-nuclear Powers most competent to judge the dangers and consequences of a thermo-nuclear holocaust have made it clear that in this extraordinary situation extraordinary measures are needed, and at the same time that caution and careful circumspection are by no means less necessary at each step taken on the common road opened by common measures.

82. The most direct factor in bringing about the present relaxation in international tension is the common awareness of the two thermo-nuclear Powers that under the shadow of the dangers of thermo-nuclear war their common task is to promote international co-operation against all sorts of war dangers, cold or hot, because any cold-war tension may lead to a hot war, and any hot war, however local in character, may lead to a thermo-nuclear conflagration.

83. Whatever the ideological or political system on the basis of which we participate in international negotiations, we have to recognize that in the age of thermo-nuclear weapons wars have lost whatever sense they might have had as a means of settling international disputes. Wars, even as ultima ratio, have no sense at all since the arrival of the thermo-nuclear age.

84. The Western Powers representing the capitalist system with its ideas may elaborate—if they wish—the ways and means of reversing the trend of history and restoring capitalism where it has already lost ground or introducing it where it has never existed, but in doing so they have to forego any attempt to resort to war. In the same way, moved by our conviction regarding the world-wide realization of a new society, that of socialism and communism with an amazing development of humanity, we wish to arrive at this new stage in the history of man through peaceful competition. In the present world situation, peoples and governments, for all the differences in their ideologies, have to live with a vision of peaceful development, of a world without wars. The new atmosphere in this Assembly has sprung from this world situation, and it is working for such a vision in our minds.

85. There exist, of course, anachronistic views that are hard to change. There are imperialistic quarters in whose view colonial exploitation may be maintained or world domination restored by force of arms, by a thermo-nuclear armaments race. There are obsolete views on the opposite side as well, to the effect that as long as imperialists exist wars cannot be eliminated from the history of mankind. However active the representatives of such views may be here and there, they cannot gain much support, for they are not able to present any realistic programme for carrying out their aims, except by taking the risk of thermo-nuclear holocaust. They think in reality that there is no alternative, for present and future generations, to a thermo-nuclear catastrophe on a world-wide scale.

86. To accustom our contemporaries to the conditions of the thermo-nuclear age is not an easy task. It took a long time, and the time of several sessions was wasted on lengthy debates, to arrive at the level of the realistic views prevailing today. A new factor has presented itself in the United Nations—the presence of newly independent nations. And their participation in this Organization has changed the destiny of many agenda items—one would even say, the destiny of this very Organization.

87. The process of decolonization has had a rather specific effect upon the life of this Organization, especially with respect to its approach to the problems of disarmament. What is contained in the partial nuclear test ban treaty, in connexion with the proposal for general and complete disarmament under strict international control, has its own history in the series of sessions of the General Assembly. The road has been long and sometimes rather rough. The records show that there have been meetings during which the representative of an atomic Power even ridiculed any idea of the harmfulness of radio-active fall-out resulting from nuclear experiments. It is also on the record that a host of arguments were brought up against general and complete disarmament of any sort, and some delegates went out of their way to prove that wars were organic parts of human nature.

88. At a rather sudden turning point, the growth in the membership of this Organization, due to the process of decolonization, set a new trend in disarmament proposals. The growth in membership and the breakthrough of those proposals proceeded side by side, almost like a single process. A fresh breeze swept into the deliberations of the United Nations. Old cold war issues faded away. Representatives who had been active in the anti-colonialist struggles detested and opposed the artificiality of the cold war debates and called for a new outlook on the world, firmly intent upon securing a good foundation for the development of the liberated nations.

89. We were told in this hall the other day that two or three years ago the outlook for this Organization was rather bad, but that today its prospects are much better. If it is so—and it surely is—the main explanation of this happy development is to be found in the activities of the new Member States. Their overwhelming proportion in the membership of the United Nations gives them special power and responsibility in determining the agenda of the sessions as well as in helping the Organization to keep to its real task of securing international peace, liquidating colonial rule, and promoting social development all over the world.

90. My Government is conscious of the improvement of the political atmosphere in the United Nations and of the beneficial activity of the new Member States.

91. The effects of the process of decolonization have led to a "détente", but now there is a growing danger that the atmosphere of "détente" may be used against the further progress of decolonization. Voices to this effect have already been heard in this debate. Efforts towards further realistic steps to consolidate peaceful coexistence should not be used as a pretext for opposing anticolonialist movements and prolonging colonial domination. "Détente" and decolonization are not antagonists, in fact they are linked to each other. The implementation of United Nations declarations and resolutions on the liquidation of the colonial system will promote international relaxation; it will eliminate the causes of international tensions. The eighteenth session of the General Assembly, with its unprecedented atmosphere of mutual understanding, will contribute to the perpetuation of this atmosphere if, through careful deliberations, it helps to find new ways and means of completing the process of decolonization before the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations.

92. Anticolonialist forces are strong enough to accomplish their work even without this Organization; but if the United Nations should fail to justify the hopes and expectations of the anticolonialist move-

ments, that would be harmful to the Organization and to international relations in general.

93. My Government has paid great attention to the historic Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in May 1963. Regional groupings and organizations are not always only for themselves and they are not always meant only to receive guiding ideas from the United Nations; they may exist for all of us and they may even offer guidance to larger communities. This is exactly the case with the Addis Ababa Conference. When it dealt with remoulding—as a Ghanaian poet put it—"the full figure of Africa's hopes and destiny" after formulating the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, it passed resolutions on concrete steps and measures in the field of disarmament and decolonization. The participants were aware of the fact that the struggle for disarmament would promote decolonization, and that in the same way the struggle for decolonization would encourage actions and negotiation for disarmament.

94. The Conference of Heads of African States and Governments set an example to all international gatherings of how to deal with real issues of the present time.

95. After declaring the imperious and urgent necessity of intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional achievement of national independence for all African territories still under foreign domination, they invited the Powers concerned to take concrete steps for the sake of decolonization. As for themselves, they established a special fund to help liberation movements and a special committee to organize the assistance given by African States to liberation movements. At the same meeting they called upon the great Powers, in particular the Soviet Union and the United States of America, to put forth their best endeavours in the interest of general and complete disarmament and to take preparatory measures to this end. They declared their determination to undertake negotiations aimed at ending military occupation on the African continent, and eliminating military bases and nuclear tests on African territory.

96. My Government gave heed to the appeal of the Addis Ababa Summit Conference regarding South Africa and Angola. The representative of Hungary in the eleven-nation Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa acted, in common with other members of the Committee, in the spirit of earlier United Nations resolutions and of the appeal of the Summit Conference of Addis Ababa. And my Government has adopted all the measures called for in the resolutions of the United Nations and the Addis Ababa Conference.

97. The appeal of Addis Ababa, together with those of the United Nations Committees dealing with colonial and apartheid issues, will give this session sufficient guidance for action in a more effective way to help African nations in remoulding the full figure of Africa's hopes and destiny.

98. It will be somewhat more difficult to discern what the United Nations will really be able to do to bring the situation in South Viet-Nam closer to a quick and lasting solution. I submit that Asian countries with a firm determination could be helpful in elaborating a realistic plan of action, just as the summit conference of African States promoted universal understanding for the unsettled issues of African nations. In South Viet-Nam, just as in South Korea and in certain other

parts of the Far East, the situation continues to be complicated and even dangerous because some Western quarters are under the illusion that the frontiers of one or another Western State run somewhere between North and South Viet-Nam or between North and South Korea. Those who cherish such illusions are tempted to undertake the defence of their own political ideas in those territories, even by force of arms.

99. Representatives of nations in that region could help to bring things back to the basis of the Geneva agreements and armistice treaties they themselves worked out in concert with the great Powers. If the United Nations, upon the initiative of Asian countries, could expedite the immediate application of earlier realistic agreements, then the peaceful way to the unification of Viet-Nam and Korea would be open. Then the notorious so-called First Lady, Madame Nhu, would stop boasting about her coming here with the intention of lecturing the United States on political morality.

100. Just as the entire process of decolonization has helped to create an atmosphere beneficial to high-level negotiations, so the United Nations by promoting the completion of decolonization will offer new possibilities for approaching the problems of disarmament in an even more effective way.

101. When direct negotiations between the great Powers are going on in search of further possibilities for reaching new agreements, is there any action at all left to the United Nations that could contribute to the success of direct negotiations? A representative of a State member of the Eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament, speaking in this debate, regretted the fact that the limited test ban treaty had not been drafted and signed at the negotiating table of the Eighteen-nation Committee. In reality, there is another fact to regret: it is that a chair is vacant at that table. The world is anxious to bring the full membership of the Committee to that table. The General Assembly certainly will not give up the hope that the time will come when representatives of all the States members of the Committee will share the responsibility involved in its activity. Delegations to this session of the General Assembly would promote the cause of real international co-operation for peaceful co-existence if they gave expression to their concern in that respect. Even in the present situation the Eighteen-nation Committee could be more helpful and efficient if all its members concentrated upon the proposals put forward with a view to narrowing the gaps between the opposing stands.

102. At a time when, fortunately, enough, direct negotiations of the thermonuclear Powers are in process, the question arises in the minds of many representatives: in what sense could the General Assembly itself and the Eighteen-nation Committee or any other body of this Organization make any useful contribution to the efforts to stop the armament race and promote disarmament negotiations? The discussions in the organs of the United Nations are no less important at a time of direct negotiations than at the time of any sort of stalemate in those negotiations. At a time when the direct negotiations come to a standstill, discussions in United Nations bodies ought to be directed toward getting the negotiations started again. At such a time as the present when direct negotiations are going on, the interdependence between such negotiations and United Nations debates becomes obvious. The very fact that the negotiations continue—not to mention

their results—may create an encouraging atmosphere for discussions in the organs of the United Nations, and those discussions, in turn, may stimulate and inspire new proposals and new agreements through direct negotiations. So it may be said that debates in the United Nations are not at all out of place while direct negotiations are being conducted; its tasks are even more important and its work may be even more effective.

103. In the present situation, following the Moscow Treaty, there are two particular issues for which special services may be rendered by this session of the General Assembly.

104. In the course of the general debate the Government of the Soviet Union proposed [1208th meeting] that the Eighteen-nation Committee should be convened at the highest level, with Heads of State or Government participating, in the first quarter or in the first half of next year, for the purpose of taking further steps to work out agreements on disarmament issues on the basis of the results obtained so far through United Nations discussions and direct talks. Several of the States members of the Eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament have already expressed their readiness to accept the proposal of the Soviet Union. Some have made reservations to the effect that their participation depended on whether the high-level meeting showed promise of results. Delegations favouring a high-level meeting should encourage the States members of that Committee to decide in favour of such a meeting. In the present situation a high-level meeting certainly would be useful, since the negotiations conducted so far have laid the groundwork for agreements that could be reached during high-level deliberations, and the Summit Conference of Independent African States could serve as a new guidance to the Eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament during its regular deliberations.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez resumed the Chair.

105. The overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have already signed the Moscow Treaty. In some countries, however, the official announcements of their accession to the Treaty were, and are still being, accompanied by cold-war propaganda stimulating international distrust. I refer to the case of a non-member State: official government circles of the Federal Republic of Germany exploited their accession to the Treaty for purposes of cold-war and hostile propaganda against the German Democratic Republic. I limit myself to that example. Delegations representing Governments that recognize the real value of the Treaty and have already signed it could contribute to lessening world tensions by calling upon Member States to be parties to the Treaty and by condemning all sorts of cold-war propaganda attached to the presentation of the Treaty and directed against the present trend of a growing international co-operation which tends to lessen the dangers of war and even to put an end to them for ever.

106. At this session of the General Assembly we are really surrounded by beneficial effects of the Moscow Treaty. The entire atmosphere, the statements, even the phraseology of the debates, are deeply pervaded by the spirit of an agreement which constitutes an important first step toward the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace. We only hope that the Moscow spirit reflected in this treaty will prevail; and if it does that will be a comforting experience

in sharp contrast to the experience of the so-called Geneva and Camp David spirals of such duration.

107. Beyond what has already been said regarding the significance of the Treaty for the safeguarding of the atmosphere against further pollution, limiting the nuclear arms race and imposing new common obligations upon the great Powers, I submit a few additional observations.

108. The Treaty, in its present form and in its relation to more general disarmament goals, is a more adequate answer to the expectations of the peoples longing for peace than it was in its earlier form as proposed three or four years ago. In earlier form, as it was then presented, separated from the proposals for general and complete disarmament and from other measures intended to lessen world tensions, it could have been used to create false illusions and betray the great expectations of peace-loving peoples by putting a partial agreement in the way of more comprehensive disarmament negotiations. In the Moscow Treaty, the original Parties—the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America—proclaim as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control. By signing the Treaty they pledged themselves to seek the speediest possible way to the achievement of a general and complete disarmament agreement. And so did all the Governments which acceded to the Treaty.

109. In this context the original parties promised to discuss other interim measures to lessen world tensions and to secure peace. Their joint communiqué referred specifically to the Soviet proposal relating to a non-aggression pact between the participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The proposal for such a pact is not simply the concern of the European and North American continents. The entire membership of the United Nations should concern itself with this matter of world-wide significance. The dangers inherent in the confrontation of the forces of the two organizations, aiming thermonuclear weapons at each other, are not only overshadowing the European and North American continents with the tragic possibilities of a thermo-nuclear disaster, but they are endangering the present and future generations all over the world. Delegations at this session, irrespective of the continents they represent, would do a service of world-wide importance if they could strengthen and stimulate the will of all concerned to negotiate a non-aggression pact between the two main military organizations. As the representative of a State Party to the Warsaw Treaty, I express the readiness of my Government to take part in such negotiations for the sake of international peace and security.

110. As a result of the enlarged and improved composition of the membership of this Organization, resolutions of United Nations bodies and actions of the Secretariat have improved in many respects; they are more adequate expressions of the principles of the Charter than they were before. I will illustrate this with two samples.

111. First, at the time of the Caribbean crisis of sinister memory the good offices of the Secretary-General were of great value. He was able to perform his action according to his goodwill because he felt he had the support of the overwhelming majority of

this Organization. Now the responsibility rests largely with the United Nations to see that promises are kept and that the sovereignty and social order of the Republic of Cuba are not threatened from the American continent.

112. Secondly, we have to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General in handling the West Irian question. After so many years of fruitless debates in the General Assembly, it is due to the good offices of the Secretary-General and to the participation of all concerned that the problem has been settled, and even in an exemplary way—exemplary in regard to the careful preparations for taking over and handing over the administrative powers and to the lawful solution of the financial questions.

113. Unfortunately enough, the question of Sarawak and North Borneo did not in due time get the amount of attention it would have needed. If the Governments of Indonesia and the Philippines express their resentment at not having been sufficiently consulted, we have to give heed to them. If alarming news of neo-colonialist efforts are coming from that region at the time of the final process of decolonization, the United Nations should give its sympathy to those who are anxious about colonialist infiltration. I wish to state that I share the anxiety of the Indonesian delegation. I only hope that the proposals of Indonesia and the Philippines will make it possible to find ways and means to protect this region of the world against any sort of neo-colonialist infiltration.

114. As long as the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are not restored, United Nations actions will be hindered or even paralysed in many respects: in adapting the Charter to the requirements of the present international situation, in dealing with questions of the Far East and with the problems of disarmament. It is impossible to deal with matters of world-wide concern without the participation of the largest State in the world, representing one-quarter of the whole world's population. The sooner the question is solved, the better for this Organization. The later a solution is reached, the more this Organization and the world situation will be harmed.

115. A new activity of great importance is within the reach of this Organization: the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held before long. It will be to the interest of peace and fruitful co-operation, if, by co-ordinating the existing functions and creating new ones, the Conference creates a permanent body to encourage the free development of trade relations and to foster measures against discriminatory systems. In this new political atmosphere there are increasingly valid reasons to hope that the Conference will, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, work out solutions for closer economic co-operation between countries having different social and economic systems and structures.

116. In conclusion I venture one more remark. The limited test ban treaty, however limited it is, has a by-product that cannot be overlooked. It virtually turned the entire world into a dramatic world congress for peace. Peoples everywhere, all over the world, had to concern themselves with it. Governments in official meetings, national assemblies, houses of representatives, senates—some of which have never even discussed a real peace programme—were and continue to be confronted with the treaty of the three great Powers, to which more than a hundred States have

already put their signatures. And this confrontation is a challenge to them, compelling them to open the way to proposals that are intended to help place the world on a basis of constructive competition without wars. This world-wide plebiscite also offers new possibilities for the United Nations to perform its real task for the sake of international peace and security and social development.

117. Mr. President, you have begun your high functions under favourable auspices. Let me express the hope that the favourable indications will not diminish but will grow day by day and step by step as the work of the General Assembly proceeds. In this expectation I extend to you and to the Secretary-General the good wishes of my delegation.

118. Mr. ERKIN (Turkey) (translated from French): As I take the floor it gives me particular pleasure to express to you, Mr. President, both on my own behalf and on that of my delegation, our sincerest congratulations on your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly. Your distinguished personal qualities, your unswerving fidelity to the principles of the Charter and your thorough knowledge of the work of the United Nations give us the assurance that you will be brilliantly successful in discharging the functions of your high office. The fact that you have been chosen is likewise proof of the respect and friendship which your country has won within the great family of the United Nations.

119. On this occasion I should also like to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Zafrulla Khan, whose distinguished services to the cause of peace and international co-operation do honour to his country and to him personally.

120. During the past year the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, on whose shoulders the heaviest responsibilities of our Organization rest, has repeatedly had occasion, by demonstrating his exceptional qualities as a statesman, to justify the confidence placed in him by the United Nations. The skill, impartiality and wisdom which he has displayed in particularly delicate circumstances command the respect and admiration of us all.

121. In the light of this session's agenda, I should like to make a brief statement of my delegation's views on the principal events which have taken place on the international scene since we last met. While this period has not proved decisive for the solution of the problems affecting world peace and security, it has been marked by encouraging developments in that direction.

122. During this period we had occasion to follow with interest several useful meetings which took place in a more favourable atmosphere than in the past between the representatives of the Powers which bear a particular responsibility in the matter of international peace. This permits us to hope that the long and sterile confrontations which characterized the post-war period will now perhaps be succeeded by a new political climate in which it will be possible to open the way to an improvement in the situation on the basis of existing realities and of mutual trust.

123. I should like at this point to say that the Cuban crisis, for all the dangers with which it was fraught, provided a fresh point of departure in the search for more effective ways and means of achieving a relaxation of tension. At the beginning of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly we were aware that

the Cuban crisis was day by day assuming more alarming proportions and threatening mankind with the prospect of an imminent thermo-nuclear war. If in the end mankind was spared the catastrophe of an atomic war, that outcome was attributable primarily to the courageous actions and the good sense of the statesman concerned. I should like also to praise the efforts made in those circumstances by the United Nations Secretary-General. His attitude during the crisis, inspired by his great devotion to the cause of peace and supported by the high moral authority of the United Nations, helped to make it possible for the principles enunciated in the Charter to prevail. This development augurs well for the spirit which should predominate in international relations in the future.

124. The progress made towards a relaxation of tension since the Cuban crisis enables us for the first time to hope that this trend will become more pronounced. The establishment of a direct communications link between the capitals of the two great atomic Powers is certainly a measure that will help to eliminate the possibility of a war breaking out by miscalculation.

125. The most encouraging step in this direction, however, has unquestionably been the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. We consider that the prohibition of these tests, which are harmful to the health of present and future generations, is a positive first step towards the halting of the armaments race. That is why the Turkish Government welcomed the conclusion of this agreement and was one of the first countries to sign it. We hope that this Treaty will be followed by the prohibition of underground nuclear tests and will open the way to other and broader measures that will lead to general and complete disarmament, which today as yesterday constitutes the essential problem which mankind must face. Among the items on the agenda of the General Assembly's eighteenth session, this problem, the solution of which will be the cornerstone of international peace and security, should unquestionably be one of our foremost concerns.

126. The establishment of a lasting system of peace and security based on the principles of freedom, justice and equal rights for all peoples, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, is the sincerest wish of the Turkish Government and people. My Government is firmly convinced that such a system of peace and security, to which all mankind aspires, can be established only through the achievement of general, complete and balanced disarmament, carried out by stages under effective international control and embracing both nuclear and conventional weapons. Since the days of the League of Nations and, more recently, within the United Nations, Turkey has contributed unceasingly to the efforts to achieve a settlement of this problem.

127. I shall not go into detail here concerning the progress and setbacks that have characterized the question of disarmament. The complexity of the problem must not, however, cause us to slacken our efforts, for the continuing interest of the General Assembly in this problem is indispensable to its solution.

128. As I had occasion to state from this rostrum at the seventeenth session [1135th meeting], the guiding principles laid down in the joint statement of the United States and the Soviet Union concerning disarma-

ment negotiations^{3/} and confirmed by the General Assembly in its unanimously adopted resolution 1722 (XVI) constitute the foundations on which a realistically conceived disarmament programme must be built. Such a programme must also, in conformity with the principles of the Charter, include appropriate procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace.

129. The basic difficulty which stands in the way of disarmament is undeniably the question of control, a topic repeatedly referred to in the records of previous sessions. Here again it seems to me that the way to overcome the difficulty, which it would be foolish to minimize, is clearly indicated in the principles I have just mentioned. I should like in this connexion to quote paragraph 6 of the joint statement:

"All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honouring their obligations. During and after the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the most thorough control should be exercised, the nature and extent of such control depending on the requirements for verification of the disarmament measures being carried out in each stage. To implement control over and inspection of disarmament, an international disarmament organization including all parties to the agreement should be created within the framework of the United Nations. This international disarmament organization and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places, as necessary for the purpose of effective verification."

130. These various aspects of the disarmament question which I have briefly reviewed confirm the fact that the frightful destructive power of weapons which are constantly increasing in number and diversity, and the speed and range of the vehicles designed to carry them, make peace and security more indivisible than ever. This fact alone suffices to demonstrate that disarmament problems must be solved, not in a fragmentary and regional way, but globally, on a world scale, and within the framework of a programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

131. Being fully convinced of the incalculable advantages which would result from the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the people and the Government of Turkey whole-heartedly support every constructive effort to that end. Convinced as we are, however, of the need to achieve general and complete disarmament as rapidly as possible, we are equally convinced of the need to beware of any partial solutions which might jeopardize the desired goal of balance, peace and security. In support of this view I cite the decision, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, that all measures of general and complete disarmament should be balanced so that in the implementation of the treaty no State or group of States could gain military advantage to the detriment of the others and that security would be ensured in equal measure for all.

132. Proposals to limit the means of defence of States in certain areas without the prior establishment and implementation of a programme of general

and complete disarmament would seriously endanger the security of the States in question. As long as atomic weapons and the means of delivering nuclear weapons are in the possession or at the disposal of a group of States which could use them against other countries, such proposals would simply result in unilaterally depriving States situated in critical areas of adequate means of defence and would likewise endanger the collective security arrangements made in conformity with the United Nations Charter for the sole purpose of self defence.

133. As I said at the beginning of my remarks on the question of disarmament, a new atmosphere conducive to the establishment of mutual trust and understanding seems to be emerging in international relations, an atmosphere that could well lead to the conclusion of the agreements which are essential to world peace and security. We therefore whole-heartedly share the hopes and desires so eloquently expressed in this connexion by the speakers who have preceded me here.

134. With reference to this same topic I should like on behalf of my delegation to express our most sincere hopes that the work being carried on in the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva^{4/} will be expedited so that specific and detailed conclusions capable of leading to the achievement of general and complete disarmament may be reached. My Government, for its part, will continue to give unfailing support to all efforts being made to achieve this objective, to which the fate and the well-being of mankind are closely linked.

135. The efforts to promote the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space are being followed with interest by my Government. The importance which the United Nations attaches to the progress of the work undertaken in this new field of activity so characteristic of modern times surely merits the unanimous approval and encouragement of world public opinion.

136. The few comments which I have just made on certain developments and current problems may prove useful to the process of conceiving and bringing into being a happier era in international relations. I deem it equally necessary, however, to draw the attention of this Assembly to a point which has been a cause of constant and serious concern. Although the atmosphere of mistrust which vitiated international relations in past years seems to be giving way to a more wholesome frame of mind, we still have a long way to go before we reach the point where international relations are free from the prejudices of the post-war period. Consequently, it is important to guard just as much against the disappointments which would result from excessive optimism as against the delaying effects of an unjustified lack of trust. Considering the problem in this light, we feel that we should not lose sight of present realities, which compel us to seek just and lasting solutions to the questions of general security.

137. These questions are not limited to disarmament. They also embrace certain other problems which, to our great regret, have remained unsolved for a very long time. In this connexion I should like to make special reference to the question of Berlin and Germany. The Turkish people, who cherish feelings of warm friendship for the German people, regret that that nation should still be deprived of its national unity

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

^{4/} Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

despite the principles recognized by the United Nations Charter. My delegation would like to think that the new efforts to improve relations between East and West will also serve to increase the possibilities for a solution of this problem that would take into account the legitimate aspirations of the German people.

138. As to the question of Korea, I should like to reiterate today the hope for a solution of this matter which I expressed here last year [1135th meeting]. Turkey has consistently supported the United Nations objective of a freely unified, independent and democratic Korea. Our efforts will continue to be directed towards that goal.

139. It has been established beyond any doubt that lasting international peace and security can be assured only if there is a climate of mutual trust and understanding. The United Nations Charter, taking cognizance of this fact, enunciates the basic principles by which Member States are to be guided in their international relations: fidelity to their undertakings, respect for the rights and the territorial integrity of other nations, the will to live in peace with neighbouring countries, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. These are some of the principles which we have all undertaken to observe.

140. It need hardly be said that only scrupulous adherence to these principles will enable us gradually to dispel mistrust and thus overcome the numerous obstacles which still bestrew the path to real international co-operation. It is therefore essential that the United Nations should contribute further to the dissemination and universal application of these principles by exercising the prestige and high moral authority with which it is endowed in the realm of international affairs.

141. Among the activities of this kind carried out by the United Nations, the effort to restore the territorial integrity of the Congo must certainly be accounted a praiseworthy achievement.

142. Noteworthy progress has again been made this year in international co-operation at the regional level. Certain countries situated in the economically less-developed regions have decided to combine their efforts with a view to strengthening their security and developing their common resources. Turkey has always held the view that such arrangements established in conformity with the Charter and designed to promote regional co-operation, are a force for peace and stability and at the same time enable their members to achieve a more rapid economic recovery.

143. As we all know, on 25 May 1963, at the conclusion of the conference which brought the African and Malagasy Heads of State and Government together at Addis Ababa, the Organization of African Unity was set up. We welcome the establishment of this organization, the purposes of which are to strengthen the unity and security of the signatory States and promote co-operation among them and thus to raise the level of living of the African people. We hope that this organization will contribute to the harmonious and balanced development of the African continent and thus strengthen international co-operation.

144. The accession of colonial peoples to freedom and independence has proved to be one of the most remarkable phenomena of our time. We are extremely

happy to note that one of the ideals of humanity, solemnly proclaimed in the Charter, is well on the way to complete realization. Indeed, this unprecedented development in the emancipation of nations confirms the soundness of the principles of our Charter, which are in conformity with universally accepted modern concepts.

145. The United Nations can be justly proud of the contribution which it has made to the emancipation of peoples. From an original membership of fifty-one States, it has increased more than twofold and is thus on the way to universality, which is one of its objectives.

146. A tribute is due to the spirit of co-operation and the fidelity to the principles of the Charter which the great majority of Member States have displayed in effectively helping the United Nations to achieve this lofty aim. It is remarkable that a task of such historic magnitude could have been carried out in a relatively short space of time. The understanding shown by the principal administering Powers in evaluating the pressing needs of our time likewise deserves to be recognized as a positive and constructive factor in this welcome development.

147. The Turkish Republic, ever since its establishment has proclaimed its unshakable faith in the notion of independence and has constantly affirmed that this inherent right of nations constitutes one of the foundations of international morality. That is why Turkey has always taken a special interest in the cause of the colonial peoples and has supported the efforts made in the United Nations to advance it, in conformity with the spirit and the provisions of the Charter. My delegation expresses the firm hope that the Assembly, as a centre for harmonizing international relations, will succeed in completing this historic task with all the wisdom and realism which it has always displayed.

148. The economic and social items on the agenda are again of such importance as to warrant our most careful attention. If the close interdependence of political stability and economic and social well-being is taken into account, there can be no doubt that the solution of many political problems and, consequently, the maintenance of peace itself depend in large measure on the action taken in this sphere.

149. Because the continuing disparity between the level of living of the developed countries and that of the developing countries is not conducive to the establishment or maintenance of harmonious international relations, the active participation of the United Nations in the struggle of its Member States to overcome poverty, disease and illiteracy is of paramount importance.

150. Although there exist today technical possibilities without precedent in history for the rapid development of the less favoured areas of the earth, many countries, as is well known, are having serious difficulties carrying out their development programmes owing to a lack of capital, trained personnel, basic facilities, skills and technical knowledge. The United Nations has been making a tremendous effort to overcome these difficulties through the technical co-operation programmes of the United Nations itself and of the specialized agencies.

151. The Special Fund in particular has made remarkable progress since it was established in 1958, and its contribution to the economic advancement of

the developing and less developed countries deserves special mention.

152. The exceptional services rendered by all these agencies in the economic and social fields are praiseworthy; yet the problem is of such scope and complexity that further efforts by the United Nations are called for so that the action being taken may be made even more effective. We hope that the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade will be fully achieved. As stated in the relevant resolution [1710 (XVI)] of which Turkey was a sponsor, the economic and social development of the economically less developed countries is basic to the attainment of international peace and security and to a faster increase in world prosperity. We are convinced that effective international co-operation within the framework of this resolution will also enhance the prestige of the United Nations.

153. The United Nations is assuming ever wider international responsibilities by virtue both of its economic, social and cultural endeavours and of the activities which it is called upon to undertake for the maintenance of peace. If we sincerely want the United Nations to carry out its functions effectively, it must, of course, be provided with adequate funds; otherwise its activities are apt to be hampered.

154. Many countries, including Turkey, make their contributions regularly even though for some of them this represents a considerable strain on their budgets. We were therefore gratified when the General Assembly, at its fourth special session, adopted the resolution [1874 (S-IV)] establishing the principle of the collective responsibility of Member States for the financing of peace-keeping operations. The Turkish Government, for its part, has undertaken to make a contribution which is quite substantial in proportion to its budgetary possibilities. We firmly hope that the appeal made to certain countries on that occasion for the payment of their arrears will soon bring results. I should like to take this same opportunity to express to the Chairman and members of the Group of Twenty-One^{5/} our deep appreciation of the efficiency with which they have carried out the task entrusted to them.

155. At its fourth special session the General Assembly also adopted a resolution [1879 (S-IV)] calling for the establishment of a peace fund. In the light of experience it may be said that the establishment of such a fund is of particular importance because it would considerably facilitate the task of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. Such a fund would enable the United Nations to act quickly in discharging the obligations incumbent upon it in this regard. As the resolution so aptly states, the Secretary-General must have sufficient financial resources at his disposal so that he might be able, in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of the Charter, to take prompt and effective action in the event of a threat to or a breach of the peace.

156. The problems of security and economic progress to which I have just referred are awaiting solutions which cannot fail to influence the daily lives and immediate future of our peoples. The solution of these problems assumes a very special importance today because our society has reached a stage where social progress

has become imperative. It is therefore essential to lay the foundations of a true and lasting peace as rapidly as possible so that this task may be accomplished in the most favourable circumstances.

157. The possibilities offered by recent developments in the direction of an international relaxation of tension will surely encourage our Assembly in its efforts to attain this goal. The experience gained during the Cuban crisis, for example, placed us for the first time since the war in a situation in which we had become sufficiently mature to direct our efforts towards achieving better understanding in the field of international co-operation. I am fully convinced that the Assembly, with its customary realism, moderation, wisdom and imagination, will make the most of this propitious atmosphere.

158. In conclusion I should like to say that my delegation, in its desire to contribute in the most constructive way to the deliberations of the General Assembly, will, as in the past, do its utmost to facilitate the solution of the problems on our agenda. It is my hope that the eighteenth session of the General Assembly will make a positive contribution to the cause of international peace and security. I am convinced that under your leadership, Mr. President, this session will bring mankind closer to the peace and well-being which constitute its deepest aspirations and its most cherished wishes.

159. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of the Philippines to exercise the right of reply.

160. Mr. INGLES (Philippines): The references made to my country this morning by the Minister for External Affairs of Australia have constrained me—indeed with regret—to rise and exercise the right of reply. In view of the lateness of the hour, and bearing in mind that the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines has yet to speak in the general debate—when he will undoubtedly deal in greater detail with the Philippine position on the question of Malaysia—I shall limit myself to expressing the surprise of the Philippine delegation at the attitude shown by the Australian Minister for External Affairs towards the Philippines this morning.

161. Australia and the Philippines, as everyone must know, enjoy the friendliest relations. We have some common problems to the solution of which we are jointly dedicated. We have common interests to protect, too, as allies under the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. Against this background of friendship, my delegation was shocked to hear the Minister for External Affairs of Australia allege that Malaysia had not been spared the hostility of the Philippines.

162. While my delegation readily recognizes that it is the privilege of Sir Garfield Barwick to champion the cause of Malaysia since Australia and Malaysia are linked together within the British Commonwealth of Nations, my delegation emphatically denies him the right to pass judgement on, much less condemn, the attitude of the Philippines towards Malaysia. Australia is not privy to the Manila Accord of 5 August 1963, and we would have expected the Australian Minister for External Affairs to be more circumspect when he attempted to interpret the provisions of that agreement. It is highly presumptuous, to say the least, for a third party, especially one

^{5/} Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations.

claiming to encourage agreement among the parties directly concerned, to come to this rostrum and question the good faith of any of the parties to the Manila Accord. Never by word or deed has the Philippine Government expressed any hostility towards Malaysia. As a matter of fact, the recognition of Malaysia is still under advisement by the Philippine Government. How can Australia, or anybody for that matter, now accuse the Philippines of hostility toward Malaysia?

163. I regret that this reply has to go into the records of this Assembly, but if in the wise judgement of the Foreign Minister of Australia he would see fit to withdraw the remarks which he made and to which this reply has been made, then, by the relation of cause and effect, that portion of his statement and this statement of mine would no longer form part of the records of the general debate.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.